

Young Spartacus

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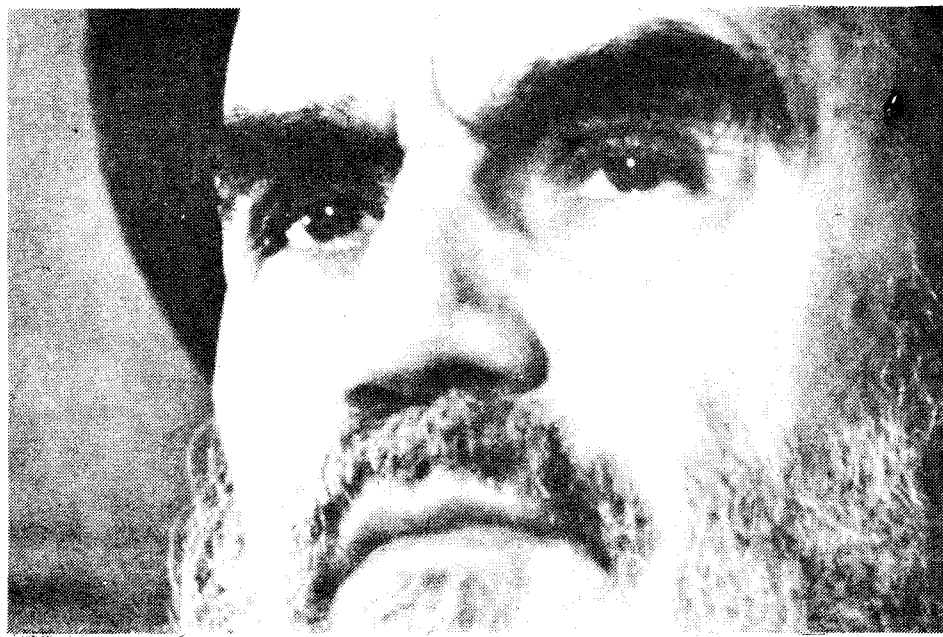
Khomeini Targets Women, Left, Nationalities

Workers Must Overthrow Islamic Republic!

APRIL 2—As Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini and his black-robed mullahs were celebrating the victory of their "Islamic Republic" in a just-concluded rigged referendum, thousands upon thousands of Iranians were in open revolt against the "just rule of Islam." April 1 was declared "the first day of a government of God," but nationalist rebels in Kurdistan, Azerbaijan, Baluchistan and among the Turkoman tribes of Iran's Northeast were having none of it as bloody battles with the new regime continued. Left-wing Fedayee guerrillas and the Muslim Mojahedeen have held onto their weapons, anxiously awaiting an attack by government forces. And the women who took to the streets of Teheran to shout "No to the Veil!" and "Down with Khomeini" have still not seen "the dawn of freedom."

Khomeini is moving swiftly to head off the threats to his regime by attempting to consolidate a reliable army. On March 19, loyal army and police units throughout Iran demonstrated to prove their allegiance to the theocratic government and to encourage the return of cops and soldiers who had deserted during and after the fall of the shah. "Disloyal" elements are being purged from the Islamic neighborhood committees and militias which can be combined with the rump of the imperial army to suppress the wave of dissent.

Uniquely, the international Spartacist tendency warned from the very beginning that the movement to overthrow the despised shah was under the firm control of the mullahs who exploited the democratic aspirations of the masses in the service of social reaction. Khomeini's aim of dragging Iran back to the days of Mohammed grows clearer with each passing week. From the length and breadth of the country come reports of Islamic tribunals executing homosexuals and flogging and stoning "adulterers," petty thieves, and gamblers as well as those



Burnett/Contact



Duhamel/Sygma

Tens of thousands of women in Teheran protested Ayatollah Khomeini's commandment to impose the veil.

found guilty of the "crimes" of drinking alcohol or being "promiscuous." The puritanical Koranic lynch-law has spread from the provincial towns and villages, socially backward strongholds

of Islam, to Iran's major cities.

No to the Veil!

In the urban centers resistance to the revival of this medievalist filth erupted

on International Women's Day, March 8, as thousands of women protested the grim-faced Khomeini's order that female state employees must wear the *chador*, the black cloak/veil which symbolizes the seclusion and vicious repression of women under Islam. A week of militant demonstrations successfully blocked the mullahs' demand, but if today such measures are described as merely "religious duties" and not as state law, tomorrow in an Islamic theocracy, there will be no distinction!

The relatively small and predominantly middle-class women's movement has, however, been unable to reverse a whole battery of reactionary governmental acts enforcing the subjugation of women: a ban on abortion and on education and the reversal of the Family Protection Act of 1975 which limited polygamy and at least allowed women some possibility of obtaining divorces.

The women protesting for their rights have been met time and again by vicious thug attacks launched by Khomeini's followers. The March 9 demonstration was stoned by Muslim zealots and on the next day three women were shot and others were knifed and beaten. One hundred thousand Khomeini fanatics rampaged on March 18 chanting "Women's freedom yes! Indecent clothing no!" and "Protests against the veil—an American plot!" For Iranian women, Khomeini offers nothing but 7th century-style servitude.

Rebellion: From Azerbaijan to Kurdistan

The history of the current Iranian state is a history of the brutal repression of the majority of its peoples. Only two-fifths of the population are Persian in this "prison house of nations." The founder of the Pahlavi "dynasty," Reza

continued on page 3

Victory to the Teamsters!

APRIL 3—As we go to press the Teamsters and the trucking companies are squared off in the first major labor battle of 1979. A Teamster victory in this crucial strike could destroy Carter's seven percent wage guidelines and win substantial improvements in pensions and working conditions for 300,000 drivers and warehousemen. It could as well ignite an offensive by auto, rubber and electrical workers whose contracts expire this year.

When negotiations for the Master Freight Agreement (MFA) broke off in the early hours of April 1, IBT (International Brotherhood of Teamsters) presi-

dent Frank Fitzsimmons ordered "selective strikes" against 75 freight carriers, including many of the largest companies, but allowed most of the firms to continue operating. The industry's bargaining arm immediately responded with a call for a nationwide lockout, a move undoubtedly intended to provide the White House with an excuse for ordering the IBT back to work under the strikebreaking Taft-Hartley Act. So far Carter has temporized, but the Interstate Commerce Commission is planning to authorize wholesale scabbing by suspending current regulations and permitting any insured trucker "to haul

anything anywhere" (*New York Times*, 2 April).

Instead of pulling out the entire freight industry and mounting a counter-offensive, Fitzsimmons announced that he will "follow the government's orders" and return to work if Taft-Hartley is invoked (*Star Ledger* [Newark], 3 April). Additionally the IBT president has already or is about to sign hundreds of interim settlements which will allow companies to continue operating if they pledge to accept the eventual national agreement. Such "interim" deals totally undermine union solidarity and make a mockery of

organized labor's "no contract, no work" tradition.

The next few days will be critical. Last year's bitter coal miners' strike demonstrated once again that every major labor struggle leads in short order to a confrontation with the capitalist state (a prospect which is anathema to the likes of Fitzsimmons). As first auto and then other industries begin to shut down for lack of parts and supplies, the bourgeois media will agitate for strike-breaking action by the government. Partisans of the working class must demand instead: Hands off the IBT! Victory to the Teamsters Strike! ■

Minority Council at Ann Arbor Hears SYL

Black Trotskyists Against Liberalism

ANN ARBOR—A crucial political question has caught the attention of black students at the University of Michigan: What led to the demise of the black protest movement of the 1960's? On February 13 a predominately black audience heard black nationalist author and academic Harold Cruse discuss "how we blew it in the sixties" and how black students can connect "their academic life with the problems of the community."

Cruse remarked that the "militant trends" of the black nationalist movement did "great things" but never "understood the American system." Not once mentioning the Black Panther Party—by far the most militant, anti-liberal black organization of the 1960's—Cruse critiqued the black nationalist movement in the service of pure liberalism. Making only the most timid criticisms of the Urban League and the NAACP, Cruse offered a rehash of the time-worn ethnic politics of the Democratic Party under the guise of "coalitionism" and a "new politics" as a "novel" means to realize black political potential.

During the discussion period the Spartacus Youth League (SYL) took the floor to address some of the real questions of the audience. The SYL noted that the demise of the Panthers was not due to their militancy or the fact that their military posturing made them a prime target for murderous government repression. The failure of the Panthers was that their nationalist ideology prevented them from seeing that the fight to eradicate racial oppression must be based on the struggle to unite the entire working class to smash capitalism—the real material basis of black oppression.

A trade-union supporter of the SYL then challenged Cruse's "new politics":

"You say that you are in favor of coalitionism. Well, O.K., where does this coalition strike? Does it strike at the root of racial oppression—the capitalist system—or does it attempt to win a few reforms? This brings me to what the previous speakers were driving at: that under capitalism reforms are reversible. As long as there is a capitalist ruling class, what they give with one hand they

can take away with the other, sometimes a few years later.

"So in the late sixties under pressure from the ghetto uprisings and the existence of such militant black organizations as the Panthers, the bourgeoisie granted a few reforms such as the inner-city programs, minority admissions to the universities, etc. But when the economic crunch hit, what were the first things to go? Right—these same programs. So for any movement to be successful it must strike at the root of racial oppression—the capitalist system."

The SYL's class-struggle perspective was so clearly and effectively counterposed to Cruse's bankrupt liberalism that many students stayed for further discussion after Cruse left. Additionally, the SYL was invited to the next meeting of the Alice Lloyd (dormitory) Minority Council to present a revolutionary strategy for black liberation.

Key to unlocking the class struggle in this country is the destruction of illusions in the capitalist state held by most militant workers, including blacks. The liberal civil rights movement looked toward the U.S. government to secure black equality and the black establishment backed racist peanut-boss Carter's election. But now they impotently bemoan his string of "broken promises," while pleading with "life-is-not-fair" Carter to implement his "human rights" campaign here at home.

On March 13 SYL spokesman Topaz Knight began her presentation to 40 black freshmen and sophomores by denouncing this very same campaign which is the hope of the liberals. She pointed out that in the land of "human rights" crosses are burned by the racist terrorists of the KKK in the president's home town and racists rampage through the streets of American cities from Boston to Chicago to Louisville. She explained:

"The same ruling class that murders the Black Panther Party, that sent its federal troops, its STRESS squads against the black and ghetto poor in Detroit... this same ruling class has a perspective abroad."

Comrade Knight stated that the real intent of the "human rights" crusade is to whip up anti-communist sentiment in America in order to strengthen the hand of the U.S. to act as policeman for the "free world" against the Soviet Union.

"The international capitalists want to restore capitalism in the Soviet Union. We say, 'The Russian Revolution is our conquest, the workers' conquest!' While we defend the deformed and degenerated workers states against capitalist restoration, we simultaneously call for



SYLer Topaz Knight protests Nazi bookstore, Detroit, 1978.

political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucracies, which stand in the way of workers democracy."

If blacks look to the capitalist state for justice even under a Nixon or a Carter, it is partly because the current trade-union leadership has been a major prop of the racist status quo. The labor bureaucracy has turned a deaf ear to the plight of the ghettoized minorities—they have not defended busing or open housing, nor have they made any real attempt to organize the unorganized, particularly in the South.

The government's anti-union affirmative action schemes play upon the union misleaders' complicity in racist job-trusting practices and thus pose the bourgeois state as the only alternative to the bureaucrats. Most of the left has gone along with the liberals and aligned themselves with the government against the unions.

The Spartacist League/SYL stands alone in fighting both for the independence of the unions from government interference and for the ousting of the pro-capitalist, racist labor bureaucrats. What is desperately needed is a class-struggle leadership in the unions that will be in the forefront of the fight for black equality and will link that struggle to the interests of the working class as a whole.

The speaker cited the example of the black member of United Auto Workers Local 6 who attempted to move into an all-white area of Chicago in 1975. His house was repeatedly firebombed while, predictably, the cops did nothing. Militant members of that UAW Local

put forward a motion to organize an around-the-clock defense of their union brother's home. The motion was passed, autoworkers stood guard—and the nightriders were successfully driven away.

As the SYL speaker explained, "when you have the backing of the entire United Auto Workers behind you, you have the strength of the working class—the integrated working class. That is the strategy we counterpose to the liberals' and reformists' reliance on the government." She then concluded:

"Blacks in this country have historically been forcibly segregated—first as slaves, now as wage slaves. Indeed it is the forced separation of blacks, their continued forced segregation and brutal ghettoization that is special oppression, which necessitates special forms of struggle.... Unlike chattel slavery, wage slavery has placed in the hands of black workers the objective conditions for successful revolt. Thus the target is the system of class exploitation, which is the common enemy of black and white workers.... We do not want to see blacks set up for another defeat, nor do we want to see blacks isolated from the only strategy which can liberate them from the brutal oppression of capitalism. We have a strategy to combat special oppression, that is, through the construction of a revolutionary combat party to make a socialist revolution. "Students in and of themselves cannot overturn capitalism. Students may be won over to the perspective of a vanguard party. What I'm saying is 'make your choice': You can accept the crumbs handed down by the ruling class, with the understanding that these concessions are temporary and short-lived. Or you can genuinely eliminate special oppression once and for all—by fighting for socialism in our lifetime."

JUST OUT!

Women and Revolution

Iranian Women Face Islamic Reaction

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Trotskyism vs. Black Nationalism

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SPARTACIST LEAGUE FORUM

NO TO THE VEIL!

For Workers Revolution

to Defeat Islamic Reaction!



When the Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini emerged as the leader of the Islamic mass movement against the dictatorial regime of the butcher shah of Iran, the international Spartacist tendency warned that an "Islamic Republic" would represent no gain for the Iranian masses. Khomeini desired nothing less than to return to the superstitious prejudices of 7th-century fundamentalist religious law. Now that the mullahs have "won" in Teheran and outraged women have taken to the streets to protest imposition of the *chador* and national minorities are in

armed revolt throughout the country, this warning is dramatically confirmed.

The Iranian masses urgently need an independent, working-class revolutionary party, capable of struggling in its own name against the reactionary social program of the mullahs. Only the perspective of a new socialist order can show the way forward in Iran. It is with a vanguard party of the Iranian working class armed with the fighting program of revolutionary Trotskyism, that the courageous masses of Iran will win their liberation and the liberation of all the exploited and oppressed.

Fatima Khalil, a Near Eastern communist woman militant of Muslim origin, will draw on her own experience as a student activist and trade-unionist organizer and chart the revolutionary strategy which will lead the Iranian masses to the liberation of the communist future.

BOSTON

U. Mass Boston
Thursday, April 12, 2:30 p.m.
College Building 2
First Floor Room 617
For more information call: (617) 492-3928

Harvard
Thursday, April 12, 7:30 p.m.
For more information call: (617) 492-3928

CHICAGO

Roosevelt University
Wednesday, April 18, 7:30 p.m.
Herman Crown Center
For more information call: (312) 427-0003

DETROIT

Wayne State University
Thursday, April 19, 12:30 p.m.
For more information call: (313) 868-9095

University of Michigan at Ann Arbor
Friday, April 20, 7:30 p.m.
For more information call: (313) 663-9012

LOS ANGELES

Cal State L.A.
Saturday, April 28, 7:30 p.m.
King Lecture Hall No. 2
For more information call: (213) 662-1564

BAY AREA

San Francisco State University
Wednesday, April 25, 2:00 p.m.
Student Union, Room B114-115
For more information call: (415) 863-6963

University of California at Berkeley
Friday, April 27, 7:30 p.m.
For more information call: (415) 835-1535

University of California at Santa Cruz

Thursday, April 26, 7:30 p.m.
Kerr Hall, Room 212
For more information call: (408) 462-4037

NEW YORK

New York University
Saturday, May 5, 7:30 p.m.
Meyer Hall of Physics, Room 121
Sponsored by the NYU Friends of the
Spartacus Youth League
For more information call: (212) 925-5665

Iran...

(continued from page 1)

Shah, during the 1920's heeded the Persian chauvinists' calls to curb the Turkish "yellow danger" and the Arab "green danger" by shutting down the press, schools and other institutions of the Turkish-speaking Azeris, the Arabs of Khuzistan and other nationalities. His son drowned in blood the independent republics of the Kurds and Azeris in 1946, and hunted down Baluchi, Kurdish and Arab separatist guerrillas in the 1960's. The mutual antagonism between Iran's Persians and the national minorities is compounded by the fact that the former are Shi'ite while the latter are Sunni Muslims.

The rule of the mullahs promises to continue this Great Persian domination in the name of "Islamic unity." But Iran's oppressed nationalities have taken advantage of the vacuum of authority created by the overthrow of the shah to militantly press for their own demands. On March 18 a series of clashes between Kurdish guerrillas and former imperial troops culminated in a week of pitched battles at the northwestern city of Sanandaj. The Kurdish population, incensed when the provincial governor (newly appointed by Khomeini) attempted to transfer arms from the city to outlying Shi'ite areas, staged a protest in the public square. They were mowed down by murderous gunfire. In response they stormed the police headquarters and, aided by the Fedayeen, besieged the army garrison. Khomeini then sent his helicopter gunships to the town—Sanandaj was indiscriminately strafed and hundreds of civilians were killed. Eventually a deal was struck with the Kurdish mullahs and tribal chiefs, guaranteeing them local government posts if they withdrew their forces from the town.

But no sooner had Khomeini's concessions temporarily appeased the Kurdish leaders than a new revolt broke out. When the government tried to stop

the Turkoman tribesmen from regaining their grazing land (which had been seized by the Pahlavis and their hangers-on), fighting erupted in the western town of Gunbad-i-Qawus. The Turkomans defeated local Muslim militiamen and gendarmes, and are now defending the town against a detachment of regular troops. While the Central Committee of Turkoman Councils has refused all of Khomeini's offers to negotiate, new uprisings are reported in northeastern Azerbaijan and Baluchistan in the East.

It will take a victorious workers revolution to break the shackles of national oppression. An Iranian workers government would immediately recognize the right of self-determination, i.e., the right to a separate state, for those national groups capable of establishing an independent political economy (e.g., the Kurds). Iran's many nationalities must be

Catherine Leroy



Mullahs' aim: theocratic dictatorship.

granted full linguistic, cultural and political rights!

Trotskyists, while giving no quarter to Persian chauvinism, must at the same time wage a political fight against the ideology of *nationalism*. When the plebeian masses are tied to their "own" oppressors, Khomeini will maneuver among the various nationalist movements in order to crush them one by one. Deferring to the Kurds' "own" ayatollahs and mullahs, for example, as the Fedayeen have done, only *disarms* the Kurdish people. Revolutionists can win the working masses away from the venal warlords and holy men, who seek only to expand their own privileges and authority, by championing a complete agrarian revolution that will place the land in the hands of the tiller.

The struggle for the redistribution of the land as well as for the basic democratic rights of the national minorities requires a fight to overthrow the central Persian state. That fight can only be led by a truly multinational vanguard party. While conducting special work among the nationalities (separate language newspapers, commissions and sections, for example) Trotskyists, basing themselves on the lessons of the Bolsheviks' struggle against nationalist polyvanguardism (e.g., the Jewish Bund), therefore oppose separate parties of Kurdish or Baluchi revolutionaries.

Iranian Left Kowtows to Khomeini

Unfortunately no revolutionary party exists in Iran today—it must be built, not least of all in political struggle against the Iranian "far left" which plays the role of "loyal opposition" to the reactionary mullahs. It is truly disgusting that ostensible Marxists seek to portray the religious bigot and anti-communist Khomeini as a "progressive democrat." It is equally obscene that other fake-lefts have sought to "expose" Khomeini's "limitations" when it was clear from the start that he merely has been implementing the Koranic funda-

mentalism that he preached all along.

The pro-Moscow Tudeh party totally supports the ayatollah and the "creation of an Islamic republic" (*Daily World*, 21 March). Their craven bootlicking has led them to echo the mullahs' charges that the Kurdish rebellion was a product of the CIA! The Tudeh's wretched reformism flows from its loyalty to the narrow diplomatic interests of the parasitic bureaucracy ruling the Soviet degenerated workers state—a state which under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky was originally established in part by a bloody struggle *against* Muslim reactionaries of Khomeini's ilk.

The various Maoist groupings, whether for or against the current Peking regime, differ little from the Tudeh party—all supported a vote for Khomeini's Islamic Republic. The pro-"gang of four" Union of Iranian Communists went so far as to assert that even though the referendum was rigged, a democratic government would emerge anyway! Even the bourgeois liberals of the Democratic National Front are to

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Young Spartacus

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

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April 1979

INTERVIEW

ILWU Militants Fight for Class-Struggle Leadership

On February 12 Young Spartacus was able to interview two veteran Bay Area trade-union militants, Bob Mandel and Howard Keylor. The two have been tenacious fighters for a class-struggle program in the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU).

Mandel, a member of the Militant Caucus in Local 6 (warehouse division), has been elected to the Executive Board of the Local three times. He also has a long history in the civil rights and antiwar movements, and as one of the "Oakland 7," was tried for opposition to the Vietnam War. Howard Keylor, on the Executive Board of Local 10 (longshore division) is the co-editor of the Longshore Militant together with Stan Gow, also an Executive Board member. Keylor's over two decades of experience in the ILWU and his break from long years of support to the reformist Communist Party give him a unique perspective on the fight for a class-struggle trade-union leadership.

The campaigns for concrete actions of working-class solidarity with the victims of South African apartheid and the Chilean junta described by Mandel and Keylor provide an effective alternative to the insipid moralism of campus-parochial divestment drives and reformist illusions in U.S. imperialism's "human rights" demagoguery. Through its exemplary work the Militant Caucus has not only demonstrated its ability to defend the interests of the ILWU rank and file, but also to act as a tribune for the interests of all the oppressed.

Our support to such a political alternative to the present trade-union bureaucracy puts us in sharp contrast to the various New Leftist, social-democratic and Stalinist youth groups, whose "solidarity" with the working class boils down to little more than apologizing for the workers' current misleaders. As the founding document of the Revolutionary Communist Youth (RCY)—predecessor of the Spartacus Youth League—Youth, Class and Party states, "The goal of the RCY's intervention in working-class struggles is to aid in transforming the labor movement into a revolutionary socialist instrument. The RCY seeks to become the student-youth auxiliary of the communist opposition within the labor movement."

YSp: The Spartacus Youth League in its work emphasizes the central role which the working class must play in leading social struggles and fighting in the interests of the oppressed. Bob, originally coming from a New Left, student-vanguardist political milieu, what led you to eventually become a leader of the Militant Caucus?

Mandel: I'd been active in a whole variety of activities from about 1960 on, starting with the "Ban the Bomb" movement, the civil rights movement and then in the antiwar movement. One day in 1971, sometime after the U.S. invasion of Cambodia, I woke up to the fact that the New Left was no closer to leading a socialist revolution than when I had come into political activity. I always had sort of a primitive pro-working-class position, largely coming from Communist Party [CP] influence (my parents were long-time Stalinists). I came to the conclusion that an entirely different approach was needed, and that was to construct a revolutionary leadership, openly revolutionary, instead of the "stages" approach, programmatically adapting to the existing liberal or reformist consciousness of whoever you were trying to organize. Secondly, that it was only the working class that could make a revolution.

What played a very large role in my coming back to that recognition was two things: one was the French events of 1968, but even more was the antiwar movement. I saw the ineffectuality of the student movement—certainly it was a catalyst, but it was absolutely powerless; and working with GIs I became convinced that, in fact, working-class Americans could be won over to a revolutionary perspective. So, that's what led me to go back to the ILWU of which I'd been a member since 1967.

In 1971 and early 1972 the longshore division was on strike for about 134 days, and a little bit over halfway through, the government intervened with the Taft-Hartley law. I worked in a bloc which advocated a sympathy strike by the warehouse division to defend the longshoremen, understanding that the longshoremen are the backbone of the union, feeling that the whole strength of the union should be mobilized against government strikebreaking. This bloc was composed of CP supporters and Revolutionary Union [RU] supporters.

Workers Vanguard



Howard Keylor (center) and Stan Gow, Longshore Militant editors, campaigning.



ILWU militants protest cop killing of black youth, Oakland, 1976.

the people who subsequently became the Revolutionary Communist Party. Well, the bureaucracy completely quashed this move to call a sympathy strike, even though it got a lot of support among warehousemen. Most of the CP and RU supporters capitulated completely; they put up no resistance whatsoever to the leadership's refusal to carry the action out. So, I started thinking about the whole thing and came to the conclusion that a new leadership was needed in the union.

I started reading on the question of what approach revolutionaries should take to the trade-union movement. And through discussions with militants in the phone company whose work is politically supported by the Spartacist League [SL], I came to the conclusion that a class-struggle caucus had to be built, that is, a vehicle to fight for leadership on a class-struggle program, a vehicle to organize the membership, and a vehicle to organize opposition to the bureaucracy and to put itself forward as an alternative to the bureaucracy. So, it was a combination of broader political experiences and the specifics of the union struggle.

YSp: Howard, you have an even more extensive political history in the ILWU.

Keylor: Let me talk first of all about my own evolution from a militant rank-and-file trade unionist in 1948 to a firm supporter of the Communist Party's policies in the trade-union movement until 1961. This discussion is painful for me because it means I have to discuss wasting 26 years of trying to find a way to unleash the militancy of the working class. I've been a conscious revolutionary all my life, ever since I was about 17 or 18. I could never figure out until recently just how to implement that in terms of effective trade-union work.

The Communist Party in tradition and still today has a policy of supporting and attempting to set up a middle-left alliance, which means in practice supporting every slightly left-talking or militant-talking bureaucrat who comes along. When they betray, when they succumb to the pressures of the higher bureaucrats or the Democratic Party or the government or pressures of the employer, the CP simply throws up its hands and says: well, we'll try again with another one.

The thing that finally broke me from supporting the CP's policy was the

support they gave to the [Harry] Bridges-[Louis] Goldblatt International leaders' sellout of jobs and working conditions under the 1961 mechanization and modernization contracts. But even then I was still blocked and locked in to the CP's style of work.

Bob mentioned the 1971-72 longshore strike. There was an extremely high level of militancy on the part of longshoremen. There was even a section of the local leadership who were ostensibly opposed to the sellout policies of the International leadership. The results, however, were a real defeat. This forced me to rethink and to desperately look for other ways of operating. From 1972 to about 1973 I put together a non-programmatic rank-and-file bloc that put out a newspaper. That fell apart over differences around the 1973 contract. So I was sitting there looking desperately for a way out when I came into contact with Bob and other trade unionists who were supported by the Spartacist League.

One of the more valuable things that I learned during arguments and discussions was the question of how militant, honest trade unionists can become sellout bureaucrats, as so many of my associates had become. It became clear that unless an active trade unionist understands the role of the government, understands that the capitalist government is the enemy, they are inevitably going to become demoralized and capitulate and either opt out of the struggle or become bureaucrats.

My own history was also rather checkered in this respect. I had for years been an active member of the Democratic Party. I had campaigned for many people who [were supporters of the Democrats and] later became office holders in the union. I have seen them without exception betray the interests of the working class, including the immediate interests of our own union. So I was ripe for a hard programmatic stance in the trade-union movement of uncompromising opposition to the capitalist parties.

YSp: What are some of the key programmatic differences which separate the Militant Caucus from both the union leadership and other oppositionists?

Mandel: Centrally, we have an open, anti-capitalist program. We stand for expropriation of the capitalist class, and specifically of the longshore-warehouse industry, without compensation.

In terms of strategy what distinguishes us completely from the CP supporters or from any others is that we place absolutely no confidence in the U.S. government. We view it as our enemy, the enemy of the working class, and we say that to our fellow workers. So, we will not take the union to court, we oppose anybody taking the union to court. We understand that the government only steps into the labor movement in order to control it. Take a look at Arnold Miller and why the Labor Department stepped in—it was essentially a way of controlling militancy in the miners' union.

Hand in hand with that position is the fight for complete political independence of the working class which we capture in the call for a workers party to fight for a workers government. The bureaucracy is of course part and parcel of the Democratic Party. They openly push the strategy of winning reforms by electing so-called "friends of labor" in the Democratic Party to office.

YSp: What were the most important issues which demonstrated the Militant Caucus' program and established your authority as class-struggle oppositionists?

Mandel: The kick-off was the KNC glass works strike in December of '74 and January '75. For the first time in at least two decades an ILWU picket line in the Bay Area was being attacked by scabs under police protection. It was very clear to me and to the people who subsequently became the Militant Caucus that Bridges and Goldblatt were willing to see the KNC strike defeated. So we put out a leaflet calling for militant tactics to defend the strike: mass picketing against the scabbing; defying injunctions if it came to that (and it did come to that) and calling on the longshoremen and the Teamsters to refuse to handle hot [scab] cargo, which they did. That was the thing that laid the basis for the Caucus.

In 1974 the mayor of San Francisco, Alliotto, launched an anti-black dragnet, Operation Zebra. Every black male between the ages of 16 and 20 was stopped and searched and given a South African-like pass card. We fought for union demonstrations against Operation Zebra, up to and including labor strikes and we demanded that the ILWU repudiate their endorsement of Alliotto's nomination for governor.

Keylor: San Francisco longshore Local 10, my Local, had unanimously passed a motion for an open-ended boycott of Chilean cargo in support of the trade unionists and workers of Chile. And that resolution had just been left sitting there. A number of us came together to implement a campaign to attempt to get that boycott carried out on a short-term, effective basis. The ILWU has a tradition of international working-class solidarity going clear back through the 1934 strike. A tradition which has not been actually carried out in practice for many decades. So that while we were resting on union tradition, we were also struggling against the compromises and fear that had been built into the union leadership for many years.

It was left to those of us who later became the Militant Caucus, plus some others, to actually implement the boycott. We were successful in doing this because we intersected a call for an implementation of a short-term boycott issued by the International Confederation of Transport Workers Unions. That was history in the making. It was the first action of international working-class solidarity involving stop-work action, or strike action, that had taken place in the ILWU in many, many years.

Mandel: The original motion for an open-ended boycott was put forward by Archie Brown, who was a prominent public spokesman for the CP, and a long-time member of the Local 10 leadership. So Archie made this motion, and it just sat.

We discovered that every two weeks there was a Grace liner hitting San Francisco and proceeding up and down

the coast, carrying cargo for the Chilean junta. So there was an obvious target for stop-work action demanding freedom for left-wing and trade-union political prisoners. Now, I initiated a Committee to Implement the Boycott. The terms of the Committee were simply that you had to be willing to fight for the implementation of the boycott, and that the boycott was to defend any left or labor prisoners of the Chilean junta. But Archie Brown refused to carry the thing through. In fact Archie refused even to circulate our petition to get the thing implemented. And that came as no surprise, because the CP's policies, both in the ILWU and internationally, are class collaborationist.

When the stop-work action actually occurred members of our Committee went down to the docks and agitated for longshoremen and clerks to refuse to handle the cargo, and we showed them the paper sanction which had been granted by the International and local leaderships. And that's how the boycott happened.

The Spartacist League initiated a demonstration in support of the longshore action through a picket line on the second day of the boycott. Earlier they had thrown up a picket line in Los Angeles, calling for longshoremen not to handle Chilean cargo. The longshoremen honored the picket line until Harry Bridges called down to L.A. and ordered the Local 13 leadership to order the longshoremen to cross the line.

Now what's interesting is what the CP was doing while we were down there on the docks urging the longshoremen not to handle the cargo, and the Spartacist League was picketing the docks. The CP and all of its fellow travelers were in downtown San Francisco, picketing the Grace Line headquarters, pleading with Grace to free class-war prisoners in Chile! And it's the same kind of strategy the CP had pursued in Chile itself, an alliance with the bourgeoisie, preaching confidence in the liberals among the bourgeoisie.

YSp: Could you describe your efforts to build working-class solidarity actions to aid the anti-apartheid fighters in South Africa?

Keylor: Very early on we waged a continual campaign in longshore to attempt to get stop-work actions to support black South African workers. At one point we got such a motion through the Local 10 membership, and then the CP supporters actually sabotaged their own motion—

Mandel: They sabotaged it a week before the Soweto uprising!

Keylor: They sabotaged and prevented action that could have taken place, for which there was wide support in Local 10, action for which we had done a great deal of work, and circulated petitions and gotten a lot of support.

YSp: Last year's coal strike was the most dramatic working-class upheaval in this country in nearly three decades. What happened in the ILWU during the strike?

PUBLIC OFFICES:

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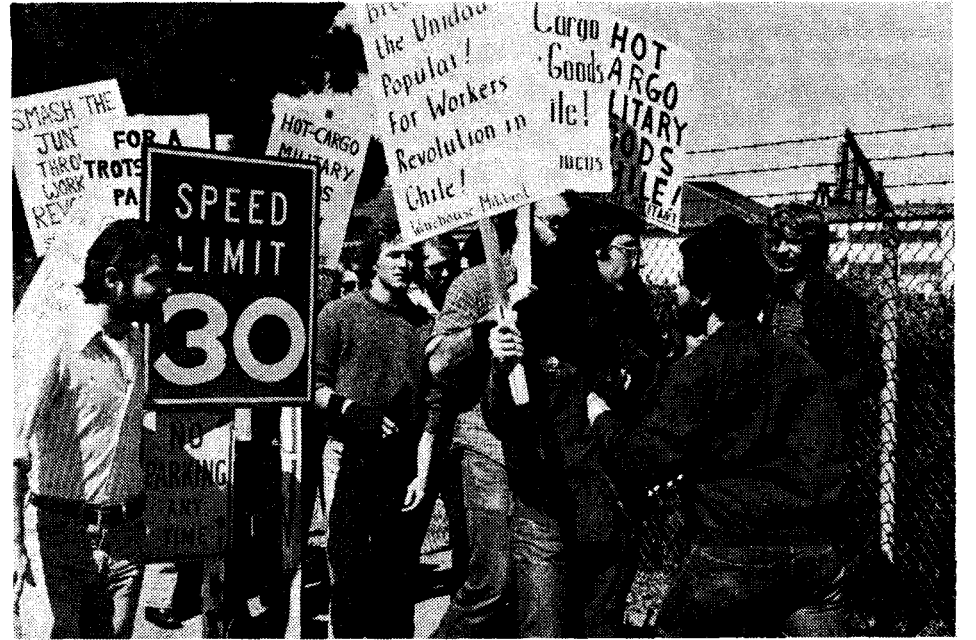
Keylor: Under pressure from militants in the union, who were demanding that the entire ILWU take strike action in support of the miners who were at that point preparing to defy the Taft-Hartley injunctions, the International Executive Board of the union passed a resolution to take strike action in support of the miners. However, the implementation of that resolution was left in the hands of the International officers, who sat on it and kept it out of the press and even kept it away from the knowledge of the rank-and-file membership of the union.

It was our Caucus which actually blew the whistle and publicized the fact that the resolution had been passed. The

two-year term on the Executive Board. The mood of the membership in our Local at present appears to be conservative. We did not do as well in the elections as we had hoped. We ran four candidates for Exec. Board and I was the only one who was elected.

What's going on in Local 6 is that our contract expires June 1, and there's no question that the employers are going to make take-away demands against the union. If we refuse to give in, there's no question there'll be a strike. They may even try and provoke one anyway in order to seriously bloody the union. The membership, having seen a series of defeats—starting with the '76 city

Workers Vanguard



San Francisco, June 1978: Stalinists attempt exclusion of ILWU militants from Chile protest.

local bureaucrats and the reformist political people in the union, including supporters of the CP, the Communist Labor Party [CLP] and the Socialist Workers Party [SWP], to a man, did not demand the implementation of that motion.

Mandel: Both the CP and SWP supporters went beyond simply passively leaving the thing in the hands of the bureaucracy. There was a meeting in San Francisco at which Larry Wing, president of Local 10, spoke and announced the call for the sympathy strike. However, he didn't ask the meeting to go on record supporting the strike because he, like all the rest of the local leaders, wasn't interested in such militant tactics. Well, the CP and the SWP didn't want it either. When a sister in the transit workers union made a motion to support the ILWU International Executive Board's call for a 24-hour solidarity strike, we spoke in its support. But two CP supporters got up and said that they thought that it was "premature" to take strike action in defense of the miners, and they abstained on the motion. The SWP supporters got up and opposed it. They said: "Vote it down and let's raise money and let's hold rallies" and so on. And because of the role of the SWP, the thing went down to the deep by a vote of approximately 120 to 70.

The SWP role in the miners strike was consistent with their position on the Sadlowski campaign in the Steelworkers. The SWP wants to be the advisers to a new level of left-talking trade-union bureaucrats. And the way you become advisers to the bureaucracy is by showing in decisive instances that you know how to derail class struggle which threatens to erupt. And they've proven again and again that that's their appetite. And in the small opportunities that they've had to betray, they have certainly betrayed. The miners' one was damned important. If there'd been that solidarity strike, if Carter's government had been faced with national actions by unions against Taft-Hartley, not only would it have been backed down, but the miners very well could have gone ahead and won that strike, and Taft-Hartley might be buried by now.

YSp: What's the current situation in the ILWU? What does the future hold?

Mandel: I was just elected to my third

workers strike, then our own master contract strike in '76 (which was the worst-run strike in the history of the warehouse local), the defeat of a series of organizing strikes—the membership is worried.

Now at the same time, we got a broader and more interested programmatic response than we ever have. On the question of a shorter workweek with no loss in pay, people understood that we have to talk about fighting for jobs for the unemployed as well as for our own union members if we're going to win them to our side and prevent scabbing. People clearly have begun to see from Carter's strikebreaking that the government is our enemy. So that when the bureaucracy tried to stage a recount and arrange it so that I lose the election in the hope that the class-struggle policies of the Caucus wouldn't be represented on the Executive Board, a significant section of the secondary leadership of the Local, plus a large number of rank-and-file members, came to our defense. About 20 warehouses, 12 chief stewards, three or four new Exec. Board members all demanded that my election to the Exec. Board stand.

So what we're fighting for is a shorter workweek at no loss in pay, an uncapped cost-of-living escalator, a pension equal to the average monthly wage, the unrestricted right to strike, child care paid for by the companies and a number of other contract demands. We're also fighting for elected strike committees. Unless the bureaucracy's defeatism is circumvented by an organized membership, the union will not be able to carry through successful strike action, and the precondition for that is understanding that the government is our enemy.

Keylor: Stan Gow and I have just been re-elected to our fifth term on the Executive Board of our Local with an increased vote. Stan was just elected for the first time as a delegate to the International Convention and Coast Longshore Caucus. Now, this occurs after the imposition last year of another three-year sellout contract. What it indicates is that an increasing number of longshoremen have come to realize that our program is the only program that can win what is needed.

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BOOK REVIEW

Chinese Shadows (1978)
The Chairman's New Clothes: Mao and the Cultural Revolution (1977)
 by Simon Leys

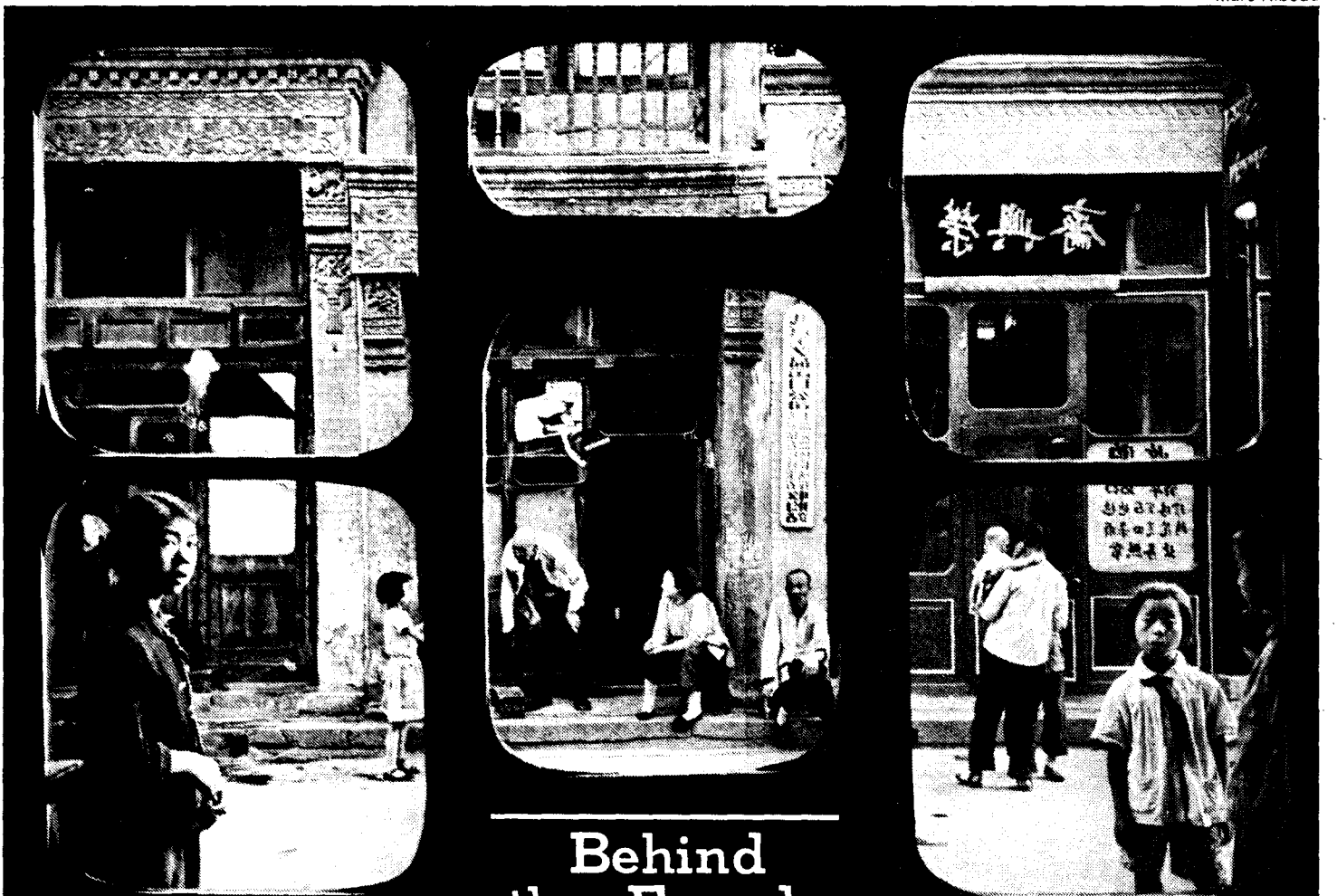
Now that the State Department says it's okay—almost obligatory, really to like China again, you can hardly open a newspaper without finding a glowing account by some newly returned traveler of China's openness, splendid cuisine, friendly people, thrilled response to the latest American cultural tour, etc. The *New York Times*' staff writers appear to have taken over the press agent rhetoric of the U.S.-China People's Friendship Association—quite in line with the American bourgeoisie's turn to the Chinese bureaucracy as a counterweight to the "northern polar bear," the USSR (which these same writers paint as a gloomy prison house of peoples, a totalitarian and sinister oppressor of "dissidents," a vast gulag of prison-camps).

Simon Leys' books on China (his latest, *Broken Images*, just published in Britain was not received in time to be reviewed here) are a devastating refutation of all this naive (and not-so-naive) enthusing over America's latest ally. Leys' books were written initially to counter the distorted picture of Mao's China presented by leftist intellectuals and radical youth who believed Maoism represented the first true socialism, opposed to the conservative "materialist" policies of the Soviet Union.

Leys has nothing resembling a Trotskyist analysis of these bureaucratically-deformed workers states, but defines himself as a George Orwell-style socialist with a "somewhat muddled sympathy for anarchism." He is motivated by a deep concern for aesthetic and intellectual integrity. A Belgian art historian and Sinologist (Leys is the pen name of Pierre Ryckmans), for over 20 years he has been devoted to the study and appreciation of Chinese culture, and has previously published a lengthy study of the 19th century Chinese painter Su Renchan and Chinese translations. His worldview is strikingly similar to that of George Orwell in many respects and his writing reveals both characteristic Orwellian strengths and flaws.

These are important and valuable books, and should be read by every serious socialist seeking insight into what life is really like in a deformed workers state. While the approach espoused by Mephistopheles in Goethe's *Faust*—"All theory, my friend, is grey/The golden tree of life is green"—has its limitations, nonetheless an honest first-hand account and a few choice anecdotes may often illuminate more than volumes of the most impassioned, but abstract, political argument.

Chinese Shadows particularly is quite devastating—far more than the an-



Behind the Facade

Exploding the Myths of Maoist China

guished cry of a cultured man outraged at the Maoists' wanton destruction of much of China's rich cultural heritage. With passion, humor and a keen eye for telling detail, Leys' book is thoroughly convincing, and it is difficult to choose from among its vivid, frightening, hilarious and sad anecdotes only a few.

"Friends of China" Know-Nothingism

Chinese Shadows is a collection of vignettes, as Leys puts it, describing his six-month stay in China in 1972. Since, as he shows, it is impossible for a foreigner today to see the real China, he has devoted his essays to a minute examination of the bars of the privileged prison cell which the Maoist authorities provide for visiting "friends of China,"

Der Spiegel



"Backyard steel furnaces" during the "Great Leap Forward" of 1958.

the shadow-play puppet shows they put on and the lengths to which they go to prevent contact between foreigners and the Chinese people.

His most stinging barbs are aimed not at the Chinese party hacks who spout well-worn clichés (after all, it's their job) but at those foreign travelers and residents who accept the "Chinese shadows." "A good many foreigners not only get used to being cheered and applauded everywhere they go—there are claquees at the entrances to and exits from every school, hospital, factory, even street—but they actually come to enjoy it." Even Chinese-speaking foreigners resident in China find themselves carefully isolated by the regime, with only their (government-supplied) servants to talk to. Leys bitterly writes, "One can't go too far wrong when one bets on ignorance, foolishness, vanity, and stupidity," as the Chinese bureaucracy spares no effort to isolate the outsiders, itself providing them with every little luxury, special trip, and coveted souvenir in order to sap any curiosity and initiative.

Leys is most outraged by the "traveling salesmen of Maoism," the foreign fellow travelers and party hacks who enjoy annual free trips to China: "These docile visitors—who would never have the bad taste to venture alone in the streets to find out how people live, who never go anywhere without their guide and their interpreter, who meekly accept their cloistered existence in dismal palaces, blind and deaf to Chinese sights and sounds—fit superbly into the official plans.... Here, since the travelers know nothing, nothing surprises them." Thus they swallow without protest every twist in party line, the sudden purge that wipes out yesterday's right-arm or successor-designate of the

late Great Helmsman—Liu Shao-ch'i, Ch'en Po-ta, Lin Piao (today one can add the "Gang of Four"). Leys flays the sycophantic journalists: "Once they see the old heroes in the gutter, they make up for lost time in reviling them by doling out a double ration of insult."

A familiar pattern—Leys quotes Victor Serge's comment on the pro-Stalin fellow travelers of the 1930's:

"I have seen intellectuals of the left responsible for editing reputable reviews and journals refuse to publish the truth, even though it was absolutely certain, even though they did not contest it; but they found it painful, they preferred to ignore it, it was in contradiction with their moral and material interests (the two generally go together)."

—*Memoirs of a Revolutionary*

What is perhaps most moving about *Chinese Shadows* is its highly personal and evocative quality; compared to the professional "friends of China," Leys is both more knowledgeable and more genuinely sympathetic to the Chinese people:

"During the Cultural Revolution, activists were seen busily forbidding the private ownership of songbirds and goldfish—two popular Chinese hobbies: even in the most miserable slums you will seldom see a yard without some lark in a reed cage and/or a couple of fish in a jar—in order to liberate the energy required for the worship of the Leader and the hatred of class enemies. Inversely, in 1972 the reappearance of bowls of goldfish in Sun Yat Sen Park in Peking was deemed a true harbinger of some 'liberalization' in the regime...."

The New Mandarins: "Those-Who-Ride-In-Cars"

The old mandarin-bureaucracy had ten degrees in its hierarchy; Leys points out that the "new mandarins" (as he

calls them) have instituted thirty degrees, each with its carefully measured privileges. This system, adopted in 1956, was in no way touched by the Cultural Revolution! The old phrase for mandarins was "those-who-eat-meat" and Leys suggests "those-who-ride-in-cars" as the new, since the only cars are official ones, cherished symbols of rank: black limousines for the higher-ups, Russian or Czech cream or gray smaller cars for lower levels: "Peking is thick with these capacious hearses; their blinded windows have an aura of august mystery.... One of the favorite pastimes of Peking people—they do not have many—is to crowd around the entrance of the Peking Hotel or near the Great Hall of the People on gala nights to see the long processions of official cars go past with drawn curtains."

The banquets themselves are tedious affairs (enlivened only by an occasional special guest like the shah of Iran or Nixon), with their unvarying protocol, two Chinese bureaucrats at each table (the more important can enjoy the food; the lesser makes conversation with the honored guests). Everywhere Leys traveled the same pattern appeared: gloomy luxury hotels for foreigners, where Chinese "natives" are forbidden; locked and dusty old museums, libraries, artifacts, open only to foreigners, only by appointment; a *cordon sanitaire* of guides, interpreters and officials to block the unsophisticated traveler's every attempt to break out and see things for himself.

"Destroy the Old..."

The few historical monuments which have been refurbished are purely for foreign consumption. As part of a calculated policy of appealing to the West, "it was essential to make people forget about the excesses of the Cultural Revolution and to restore the traditional image of a pragmatic, reasonable, courteous, responsible and deeply cultured China." But this façade conceals massive and irreparable destruction of much of China's heritage.

Much of *Chinese Shadows* is a scholarly guidebook of things that are no longer there. Leys vividly describes his search for the remnants of the majestic, ancient city walls and gates of Peking, in vain: "finally, at Hsi-chih men dead-beat after rushing around madly for a whole afternoon, I could not deny the evidence: this obscene stump among the rubble, which the workmen were beating down with their picks, this was all that remained of Peking's last gate...." Those he asked were vague as to why the historic sacrilege had occurred, but the real reason is clear: destroying the physical remnants (often of great beauty) of the old feudal regime is an *evaison* of the need to destroy those remnants in social relations, to distract the masses with energetic *physical* destruction so they may not see the new bureaucracy which rules over them. Leys puts it nicely: "The tragedy is that the sacred powers dwell not in those innocent stones, whose beauty is sacrificed in vain, but in the minds of the wreckers."

The punchline to the whole sorry business is that, while workmen were tamping down the crushed stones and pouring blacktop over them, the bureaucracy sent abroad an exhibit of archeological artifacts found during the tearing-down, as proof that the Cultural Revolution was "preserving" China's culture. It must be understood that these are not the mere carping points of a disaffected petty-bourgeois aesthete—we share Leys' outrage over this wanton destruction, and for some of the same reasons. Indeed, it is not the ancient stones which are the mortal danger to the revolution—it's the bureaucrats themselves.

"Vade-mecum of a Pig Breeder"

The Chinese bureaucrats have destroyed more than the feudal heritage. There are no Chinese books on the

history of the Chinese Communist Party! As Leys explains: "A directive of Lu Ting-yi in the 1960s explicitly forbade the writing of the history of the party. This is a good example of Chinese pragmatism: rather than have to write and rewrite the history of the party, according to purges and successive crises (as the Russians do), better not write it at all."

Instead, what the Chinese people get to fill the void is the reminiscences of revolutionary swineherds (one of the few books found in Chinese bookstores was an opus whose title Leys gives as "Vade-mecum of a Pig Breeder"), and ersatz folk heroes, as in the campaign to emulate Lei Feng. (And, of course, there is the Great Helmsman himself, Mao, whose beaming red-sun visage still appears everywhere.) Interestingly, nobody is encouraged to "emulate" Mao directly though (just to "learn from"); it is rather the humble and unknown "cogs in the machine" like the apocryphal Lei Feng on whom the people should model themselves. This humble soldier (who reportedly died in a banal accident at the age of 20) was apparently a very model of Maoist Boy-Scoutism. Exhibitions were launched nationwide in the 1960's showing *photographs* of Lei Feng "helping an old woman to cross the street," "Lei Feng secretly doing his comrades' washing," "Lei Feng giving his lunch to a comrade who forgot his lunch box," etc. As Leys observes sarcastically, "Only cynical and impious spirits will wonder at the providential presence of a photographer during the various incidents in the life of that humble, hitherto unknown soldier."

The Chinese Gulag

Behind the puppet show exposed by Leys lies a huge and complex society, and a vast network of prisons, work-camps and "northern settlements" analogous to the USSR's Siberian forced-labor camps—a real Chinese gulag archipelago. Of course, the concern of Jimmy Carter and his liberal sychophants for "human rights" begins and ends at the borders of the Soviet Union, so while the U.S. press endlessly recites the names and exploits of Russian "dissidents," nobody can name one single *Chinese* political prisoner. But a window onto this huge prison complex does exist—a memoir of seven years spent in China's prisons by Bao Ruo-Wang (Jean Pasqualini): *Prisoner of Mao*, first published in this country in 1973.

Bao's account of life in Mao's prisons was an important addition to the—unfortunately—still growing literature by prisoners of Stalinism. It is especially valuable in revealing the special Maoist practice of "thought-reform" which goes on every day, participated in by every prisoner. Unlike the Russian police, who lock people up, get the obligatory "confession," and then forget them, the Maoists actually seem to want to make their prisoners *believe* in their own guilt. As Bao puts it: "Their aim is not so much to make you invent nonexistent crimes, but to make you accept your ordinary life, as you led it, as rotten and sinful and worthy of punishment." He tells the story of one poor man arrested by mistake (right name, wrong man) who after some months of this treatment felt so guilty that when the authorities discovered their error, they had a terrible time persuading him to go home.

How many people are actually imprisoned in China? No one apparently knows (at least in the West), but as Bao points out, the Chinese authorities are fond of declaiming that "Only a small minority, perhaps five per cent, is against us; they are being forced to build socialism." Out of a population of perhaps 800 million, this is some 40 million people! (This does not include those thousands upon thousands of youth and students sent into the countryside during the Cultural Revolution,

nor those undergoing forced labor under the "Education through Labor" program for "mistakes" rather than "crimes.")

The Politics of the "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution"

The core of Leys' *The Chairman's New Clothes* is a diary he kept while in Hong Kong during the height of the Cultural Revolution which threw Chinese society into chaos during 1967-69. It was this bloody turmoil which forced Ryckmans to become Simon Leys and speak out:

"The author of this work originally had no interest in political questions and had tended to confuse Maoism with the liking and admiration which China, past and present, has never ceased to inspire in him. But he was impelled—by the weight of evidence thrown up in the texts, facts and personal accounts which assailed him daily in Hong Kong throughout the years of the 'Cultural Revolution'—to cry out, like the child

enemies and regain supreme power, using the army as a base:

"The 'Cultural Revolution' had nothing revolutionary about it except the name, and nothing cultural about it except the initial tactical pretext. It was a power struggle waged at the top between a handful of men and behind the smokescreen of a fictitious mass movement....

"The idea that Mao might in fact have lost power must have been difficult for European observers to admit, from their distant observation posts. Nevertheless, it was with the aim of regaining it that he launched this struggle....

"It is the army which holds the key to the story of how Mao managed, in the space of three months, to overturn the balance of forces and makes his breakthrough....

"The 'Cultural Revolution' was an incredible *grande valse*, glittering with promotions and purges: not only does one search in vain for an expression of the 'spontaneous will of the masses' (they have always been presented with *faits accomplis*, and play the role of a choir or of a hired audience...), one



Red Guards and victims: "The 'Cultural Revolution' had nothing revolutionary about it except the name" (*The Chairman's New Clothes*).

in the fairy story, 'But the Emperor has no clothes!'"

It was especially the bland tranquility with which the "China watchers" and Maoists in the West greeted the Cultural Revolution, the alacrity with which they accepted the ruling clique's soothing "explanations" which stung Leys. This tranquility was only briefly broken by the discovery one day in 1968, of:

"a number of bodies... on the beaches of Hong Kong.... For the most part, they were men belonging to the eighteen to thirty-five-year age-group.... Their clothes were those of labourers and peasants... bound hand and foot in what is known as the 'great binding of five flowers'... a rope tying the feet, the wrists and the neck successively... indicating that they were not victims of random violence, but had been methodically put to death in a mass execution."

The corpses had floated down the Pearl River from mainland China into Hong Kong.

The evidence available to Leys in Hong Kong indicated that a great power-struggle had broken out between wings of the bureaucracy, and his carefully amassed evidence confirmed the now generally accepted analysis of the Cultural Revolution as an attempt by the ousted Mao Tse-tung to purge his

cannot even decipher any ideological coherence....

"It would be as pointless to try to find any trace of an 'ideological' confrontation or of a 'philosophic' contradiction between Mao Tse-tung and Liu Shao-ch'i as it would have been to find one between, for example, de Gaulle and Pompidou....

"The military coup d'état gave the Maoists control of Peking.... The gigantic task which Mao was to be faced with over the next three years was to seize power in the provinces, and to reabsorb the innumerable and powerful local pockets of resistance.... The battering-ram which Mao used to dismantle the party apparatus was therefore made up of the 'revolutionary masses', with the youth in the front line.... All Mao needed to do was denounce his personal rivals as the sole origin of a system of which he himself was in fact the author and then open the floodgates of popular anger against them.... When their [the Red Guards'] role was finished, Mao was able to abandon them to military repression and replace them with a collection of mandarins [bureaucrats] who were identical to the original ones."

As the most political of Leys' books, *The Chairman's New Clothes* also most clearly reveals the flaws in Leys' understanding and approach. While provid-

continued on page 8

China...

(continued from page 7)

ing a wealth of empirical data on the effects of Maoist rule in China, there is no real explanation as to why things happened, or how the deformations and stultifying repression of Chinese society today can be overcome.

Leys himself might not even disagree with this evaluation; he does not claim to be a political theorist, but only someone determined to tell the truth as he sees it. His political sympathies are eclectic, even idiosyncratic, ranging from admiration for some (generally more cautious and conservative) elements of the bureaucratic Old Guard to solidarity with "Li Yi-che," the collective pseudonym of disillusioned Red Guard radicals whose 1974 manifesto, "On Democracy and Legality Under Socialism," he repeatedly salutes. Perhaps most striking is Leys' identification with the pre-Maoist writer Lu Hsun, who "fought relentlessly for the cause of enlightenment, social revolution, human dignity, and intellectual freedom"; to the extent Leys holds out any hope of struggle against the Maoist regime, he seems to look toward intellectuals, individual men of conscience, rather than collective revolutionary action by the masses.

In a 1976 preface to *Chinese Shadows* he writes:

"For four years I spent most of my time collecting and analyzing documents relating to the Cultural Revolution. To my increasing dismay and horror, I realized that in the West, news media kept the public almost entirely ignorant of the evidence available to anyone who could read Chinese.... At first I myself was reluctant to speak out; not being a political scientist, I felt ill-qualified to write on political issues....

"My only wish is that writers with better qualifications than I will soon take my place and deal with these political issues...."

Fair enough. But then Leys uses a quasi-Marxist terminology which implies a political program. Whatever his own modest conception of his books, they project a general political attitude toward Maoist China and by extension toward all Stalinist-ruled states.

Leys' attribution of the Great Leap Forward to Mao's personal idiosyncracies—his unworldly, artistic temperament—points to the basic weakness of his books:

"In 1958, Mao launched the 'Great Leap Forward' movement which, like the 'Hundred Flowers' episode a year earlier, was not the result of a collective decision by the higher party ranks but simply and essentially a product of Mao's own visionary inspiration.... In short, in order to catapult China into communism, Mao's dream was to replace the material factor by the spiritual; instead of electrical power (Lenin's words), revolutionary power. Here we have one of Mao's most striking idiosyncracies...an idealistic

and wilful approach to problems which is in fact that of an artist or poet, for whom reality is not a ready-made element in any situation but must be invented and fashioned to follow the demands of a purely subjective and inward vision."

—*The Chairman's New Clothes*

Leys' subjectivist analysis here is wrong. The Great Leap Forward was not due to the irrational whim of one man, but was the false, ultimately disastrous, policy of the *bureaucracy as a whole* in response to the *real* economic problems it faced.

The Cultural Revolution was launched by Mao to recoup the authority he lost by his stubborn defense of the Great Leap Forward economic catastrophe of 1958-61. Therefore the latter's origins and program are key to understanding the Cultural Revolution. Essentially, the Great Leap was an attempt to catch up with the advanced capitalist world in 15 years, based on mammoth self-sufficient rural communes, using the off-harvest labor of the peasantry for industrial production by primitive methods (backyard steel furnaces).

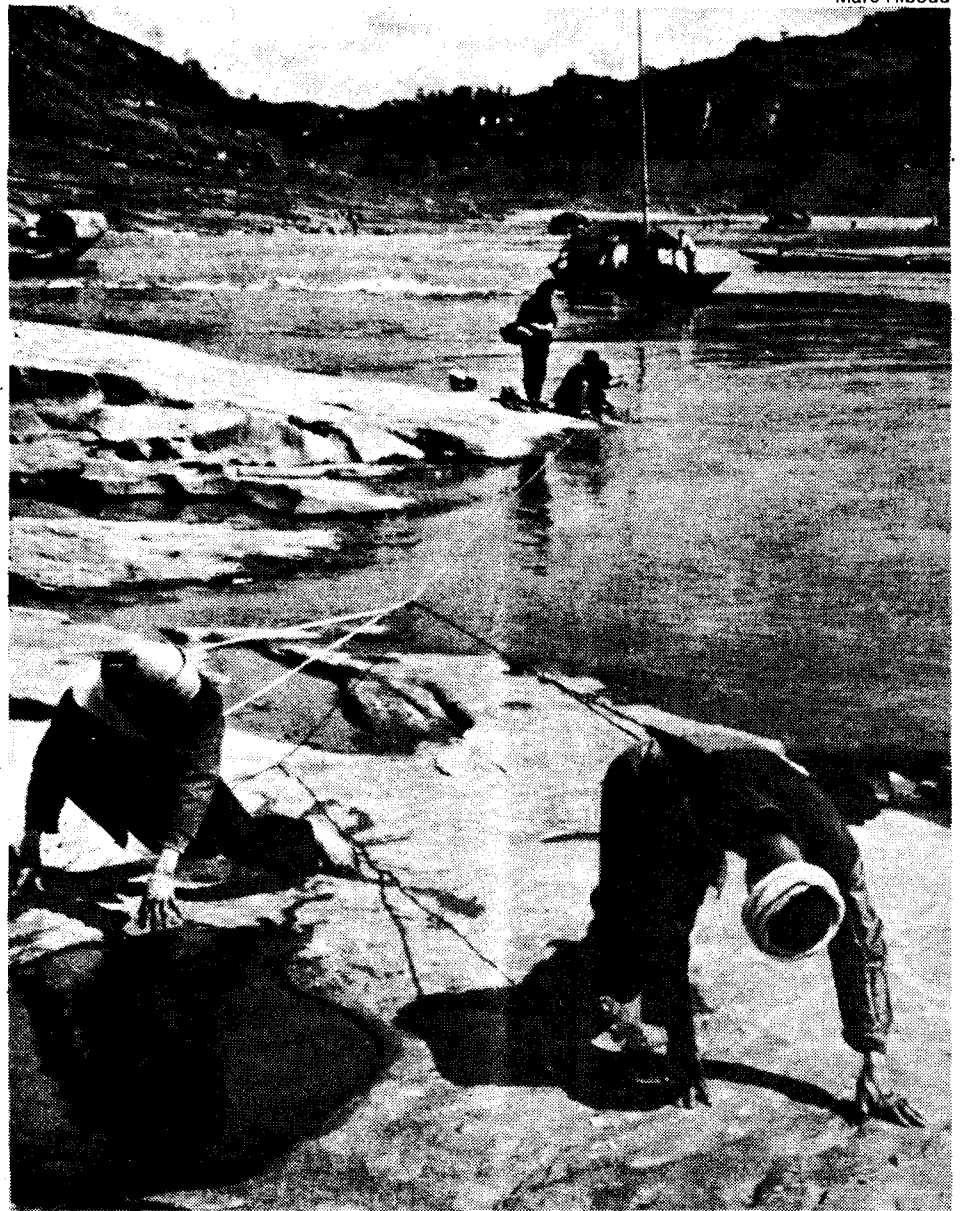
Collectivization and Industrialization in the 1950's

The first Chinese Five Year Plan (1953-56) was modeled on the first Soviet Plan, with its unbalanced expansion of heavy industrial construction. But China in the early 1950's was qualitatively poorer than Russia in the late 1920's, producing only one-half the food grain per capita. The rapid expansion of the industrial labor force led to dangerous shortages in the urban food supply and also in agricultural raw materials. The Chinese bureaucracy's initial response to this over-expansion was to retrench, and in 1957 industrial investment was cut 20 percent (T.J. Hughes and D.E.T. Luard, *The Economic Development of Communist China 1949-1958*, 1959). Thousands of workers were shipped back to the countryside.

A second major factor leading to the commune system of the Great Leap was the contradictory state of agricultural collectivization. In contrast to Stalin's Russia, the collectivization of Chinese agriculture through 1957 had a large voluntary component, and the peasants had real influence over the scale and pattern of production in the communes.

However, rural party cadres were under intense pressure to maximize output, but without the power to force the peasants to do so. Thus they pressured the government to transform the collectives into *de facto* state farms where the peasants could be ordered about.

A third important factor in the Great Leap Forward was the deepening Sino-Soviet rift. The Maoist bureaucracy figured (correctly) that it couldn't count on large-scale Soviet economic aid



Chungking, China, 1965.

much longer, and so opted for a nationally self-sufficient economic policy. Given the intense hostility of U.S. imperialism at the time, Mao's China could not replace Soviet economic aid with capitalist credit. Peking's *current* large-scale foreign borrowing is based upon its alliance with imperialism against the USSR, as deputy prime minister Deng Xiaoping (Teng Hsiaping) openly acknowledges:

"In 1972, through the Shanghai communique between the United States and China and through normalization of Chinese-Japanese relations we produced the conditions for obtaining external assistance."

—*New York Times*, 27 November 1978

The Great Leap was indeed a reckless exercise in utopian voluntarism. However, it was not a peculiar product of Mao's "artistic temperament" but of the false consciousness of the Chinese Stalinists, committed to achieving "socialism in one very backward country" in their lifetime. Without understanding the economic underpinning and problems facing China, the twists and turns of bureaucratic policy would appear bizarre indeed.

Leys' Own Utopian Voluntarism

The weakness of Leys' overall analysis is indicated by a vague, promiscuous use of the term "revolution." For example, he calls Mao a revolutionary in the first half of his life, that is, until his coming to power in 1949. Yet nowhere does he discuss the *objective* changes in Chinese society brought about by that social revolution of 1949. "We must acknowledge the considerable material improvements in many areas of Chinese life since 1948, but at the same time it is a fantastic imposture to present the regime as socialist and revolutionary when in fact it is essentially totalitarian and feudal-bureaucratic," says Leys, making no attempt to relate the governmental superstructure to the *class* basis of Chinese society. In both books he refers to the Chinese bureaucracy as a class, but makes no attempt to consider the origins and the economic and social bases of this supposedly new form of class society.

Leys sees the *ideological* similarity of Chinese Maoism and Russian Stalin-

ism, but does not recognize this as an expression of the identical class-political nature of the two countries—bureaucratic governments based upon collectivized (proletarian) property forms. He is for People's China but against the "imperialist" USSR. He denounces the Kremlin for "having actively resumed the old tsarist policy of expansionism." He goes so far as to call tsar-loving Russian dissident Solzhenitsyn "an upright and free man." In his virulent Russophobia, he conforms to the current state of Western public opinion as well as to Maoist doctrine.

In general he has a profound lack of comprehension of the economic basis of politics. At one point his economic naiveté combines with his Sinophilia to produce a view that is more utopian voluntarist than the "radical" Maoism which he condemns:

"The potential of the Chinese people for intelligence, inventiveness, endurance, ingenuity and activity is such that it can adapt itself even to inept governments (like the British colonial government in Hong Kong or the Kuomintang government in Taiwan), and to discriminatory legislation (as in the majority of countries of South-East Asia) and it still manages to perform miracles. By comparison, the results which the People's Republic of China can lay claim to are deeply upsetting to informed observers rather than a cause for admiration, for they know only too well that China would achieve infinitely more and better things if only its government had not undertaken systematically to inhibit and waste its human resources."

—*The Chairman's New Clothes*

This pejorative comparison of China to British Hong Kong and Kuomintang Taiwan is meaningless. These are relatively small areas, heavily dependent upon foreign capitalist investment—kind of colonial industrial parks. The notion that China could or should emulate the economic development pattern of Hong Kong or Taiwan is utopian as well as reactionary.

Leys fails to consider why, during the past three centuries, China—despite its rich and ancient culture—has fallen so economically behind Europe and Japan. Yet this fundamental historic fact dominates the consciousness of the Chinese Stalinist bureaucracy. Economic systems and economic relations

continued on page 10



Lin Piao (standing, front left), Mao's "leftist" hatchetman (purged 1971).

RCP Calls CPML's Number

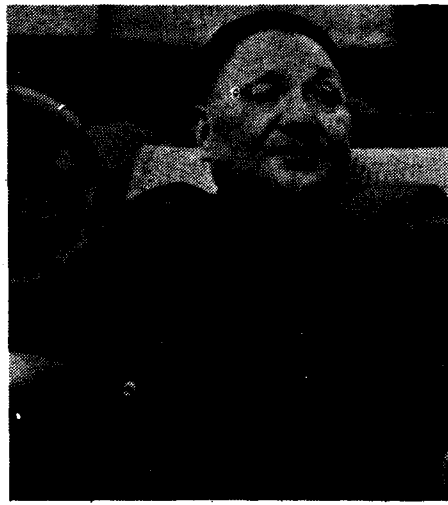
For a group more used to "polemicizing" against their political opponents with tire irons, black jacks and lead pipes, Bob Avakian's Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) has done a surprising thing: they've managed to produce a hilarious parody of *The Call*, newspaper of their arch-rival Michael Klonsky's Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) [CPML].

The fake "Special Washington's Birthday Issue," published by the "Communist Party (Menshevik-Liberal)," features a front-page article by one "Michael Klonsky." There's a picture caption story entitled "Another Example of Appeasement" castigating the "ultra-liberal" *Chicago Sun Times* for printing a photo of a polar bear peacefully floating on its back (thus painting the Russians as "friendly" and "harmless"). There's a letter from "Capitaine Jacque Mercenaire" who thanks the *Call* for teaching him that he's not fighting with the French Foreign Legion in Zaire only for money but as "part of the international united front against Soviet hegemonism." Ads for "China Gold," paper cuts of Uncle Sam ("formerly available only on Taiwan province") and subscriptions ("Enclosed is \$3. Please don't send me the *Call* for six months") are scattered throughout. What makes the parody so effective is that great gobs of the material have simply been lifted from the pages of *Peking Review* and the CPML's own *Call* (such as the letter which expresses worry that the health of the Chinese will suffer due to the trade deal with Coca Cola!). Give them enough rope...

The CPML has certainly not been amused by Avakian & Co.'s sense of humor (however infantile some of it may be). At Kent State, for example, CPML supporters have expressed a

deep-seated fear that readers of the RCP's parody won't realize that they are looking at a fake! The "Klonskyites" seem to have all the confidence of a lamb being led to the slaughter. CPMLers are even muttering about lawsuits to ensure that innocent readers don't mistake the "CPML-Joint Chiefs of Staff Communique" for the real line of Klonsky's Peking-loyal toadies. (Perhaps they are also worried that Klonsky and Chairman Hua might actually be mistaken for "cloned chimpanzees" as a caption on page four has it!)

Of course the RCP's assault on CPML's bloc with the U.S. imperialists in the interests of Chinese foreign policy rings exceedingly hollow: Maoists who live in glass houses shouldn't throw stones. Not too long ago Avakian & Co. were just as slavish as the Klonskyites in supporting Mao's campaign of reconciliation with U.S. imperialism—from the welcoming of Nixon to Peking at the height of the 1972 bombing of Hanoi to



Deng Xiaoping.

justifying China's support to the 1975 South African/CIA invasion of Angola. With their worldview shattered by the purge of their heroes (the "gang of four") the RCP has been wandering around in the political wilderness with no place to go but nuts. They spend their days getting their heads beaten in by the cops while they call upon all and sundry to "storm the heavens and make revolution." Being the American imitators of the defunct Red Guards is not a very rewarding pastime.

So, if we see an issue of the RCP's "theoretical" magazine, *Revolution*, and find inside letters from Louise Day Hicks (ROARing her thanks for the RCP's support to the "People Must Unite to Smash Busing" rallies in Boston), a Washington, D.C. Kuomintang supporter (solidarizing with the "Embassy Five" and their January attack on the Chinese liaison office) and Ayatollah Khomeini (praising the RCP's righteous stand on women, morality and the family); we'd have to look awfully close to determine whether Klonsky was returning the favor or whether it was the real McCoy. ■

NOTICE
Beginning with this issue *Young Spartacus* is going over to the system of transliterating Chinese names officially introduced by the Peking government on January 1 and subsequently adopted by most Western newspapers. Until the new (Pinyin) usage becomes familiar to readers we shall print the old style (Wade-Giles) version after the first mention of a name: e.g., Deng Xiaoping (Teng Hsiao-p'ing). For certain well-known place names and historical personages (such as Mao Tse-tung and Chou En-lai) we shall continue to use the previous spelling.

ILWU...

(continued from page 5)

An indication that our program is getting increased support is the fact that in this election, for the first time, a candidate emerged from the rank and file—from the lowest seniority longshoremen hired as B-men in 1969—for a committee office whom we can support; a candidate who ran on a class-struggle program very similar to the Militant Caucus program. It's also significant that the Communist Party supporters in the union have been unsuccessful in getting anyone elected to any committees in the union, and that their support appears to be deteriorating.

In this recent election for delegates to the International Convention we based our campaign in large part upon the necessity for the longshore division to use its power and strength in support of the warehousemen in the upcoming contract fight, in support of Canadian longshoremen who have rejected their contract recently and in support of the Hawaiian sugar workers who are now negotiating a contract. All sections of the union are suffering from a drastic decline of jobs, a very serious attack upon the very basic strength of the union.

It's only the Militant Caucus' program that shows the way to win these struggles. In all of these strikes in which our sister unions will be engaged in the ILWU this summer and this spring, we will be advocating that longshoremen take solidarity actions by refusing to handle any scab cargo, by manning picket lines and, if necessary, by taking solidarity strike actions to bring the whole union out in support of any of the sections of the union that are under attack. ■

China: Don't Be a Cat's Paw of U.S. Imperialism!

China's invasion of Vietnam has been a crucial test for the left. The attempt to "bloody" the heroic Vietnamese working people in collusion with U.S.

imperialism and the potentially direct military threat to the Soviet Union strike at the foundation of revolutionary politics. The Spartacist League/

Spartacus Youth League has responded by pushing to the fore our unconditional defense of the deformed and degenerated workers states against imperialist attack and capitalist restoration.

The fake-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP), however, has made clear its willingness to abandon defense of the Soviet Union in order to attract elements of the social democracy into their "party of the whole swamp"—the SWP's 1977 fusion with the explicitly Soviet-defeatist state-capitalists of the Revolutionary Marxist Committee being a prime example. In their never-ending efforts to cultivate an image of bourgeois respectability, the SWP is desperately attempting to duck the question of military defense of the USSR by simply denying that the Chinese invasion had anything to do with the Soviet Union!

Across the country local committees and supporters of the SYL participated in the highly successful sales blitz of the SL's *Workers Vanguard* (featuring "China Get Out") and submitted letters and articles to dozens of campus papers. The Boston Organizing Committee did model work in this regard: the comrades were successful in printing articles in a number of papers on major college campuses in the area including Harvard, Brandeis, MIT, U. Mass (Amherst) and U. Mass (Boston). It is this kind of timely propaganda work that can bring to American students and workers the unique perspective of Trotskyism. ■

To the Editor:
The invasion of Vietnam is a dangerous anti-Soviet provocation by China in collusion with United States imperialism. While this criminal assault is being carried out...

The U.S.-China Connection
The Chinese invasion of Vietnam is a dangerous anti-Soviet provocation by China in collusion with United States imperialism. While this criminal assault is being carried out...

Collegian
American imperialism over-USSR, capitalist restoration in the USSR, Vietnam, including the immediate follow-up nationalistic Stalinist policies of the Sino-Soviet greatest imperialist threat to their anti-capitalist revolutionary reactionary policy, both under Mao and on everyone from Castro, Breznevski, to the... an to join in an unholy alliance. And it is obvious to all!

The Tech
Opinion
The Peking-U.S. Collusion in Vietnam
By Alvin Schorr
The U.S. has long been an ally of the Chinese in their imperialist adventures. The Chinese invasion of Vietnam is a dangerous anti-Soviet provocation by China in collusion with United States imperialism. While this criminal assault is being carried out...

China, Vietnam and U.S. imperialism
The Chinese invasion of Vietnam is a dangerous anti-Soviet provocation by China in collusion with United States imperialism. While this criminal assault is being carried out...

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China...

(continued from page 8)

are ultimately decisive in the life of societies and in relations between countries. Mao, much mythologizing to the contrary, understood this. Mao's policies, however utopian in principle and disastrous in practice, were aimed above all at restoring China as a great power—really the great power—in the world. The continual and deep schisms within the bureaucracy are conditioned by the contradiction between the extreme material backwardness of the country and the nationalistic great-power aspirations of its rulers.

Anti-Stalinism and Truth

Leys sees himself as a truth-teller—the very titles of his books indicate his overriding aim to expose the myths of Mao's China. Above all he strives to rip away the lofty pretensions of Maoism and to bare its seamy reality.

Sometimes one gets the impression that he is less incensed by the great crimes the Maoist bureaucracy has committed against the Chinese people than by the fact that it does so in the name of revolutionary socialism. In *Chinese Shadows* his main furor is directed against the China groupies—the Maria Macciocchis and K.S. Karols—who present it as a socialist paradise in order to indulge their shallow political egos.

In this Leys is very reminiscent of George Orwell (whom he quotes at length) in his passionate hatred of official cant backed up by state terror. There are significant parallels between the two men. Both were men-of-letters well before they became anti-Stalinists. Orwell was a writer with vague socialist sympathies who was gradually drawn into left-wing partisan politics, centrally through his participation in the Spanish Civil War. Leys was an essentially apolitical scholar until the anti-culture Cultural Revolution impelled him to speak out. Both men experienced a deep revulsion at Stalinism as a negation of that which they most valued—intellectual honesty and artistic integrity.

The reaction of a critical intelligence to the endless cynical falsifications of official Stalinism was nicely captured by another humanistic man-of-letters, Albert Camus:

"Year by year, sometimes month by month, *Pravda* corrects itself, and rewritten editions of the official history books follow one another off the presses. Lenin is censored, Marx is not published. At this point comparison with religious obscurantism is no longer even fair. The Church never went so far as to decide that the divine manifestation was embodied in two, then in four, or in three, and then again in two, persons."

—*The Rebel* (1956)

Revulsion at Stalinism's assaults on the most elementary intellectual honesty can be the beginning of wisdom about



The Mao cult.

the USSR or People's China. But only the beginning. And a fixation with the quasi-religious obscurantism of official Stalinism can lead to false, even reactionary, conclusions.

A political outlook which views the basic conflict of our time in essentially idealist terms as one between totalitarian thought control and intellectual and cultural freedom must eventually reconcile itself to liberal capitalist-imperialist society. After all, petty-bourgeois writers and artists unquestionably have more artistic and ideological leeway in Jimmy Carter's America or Giscard d'Estaing's France than in Brezhnev's Russia or Deng's China.

Orwell and the Limits of Empiricism

The weakness and danger of an anti-Stalinism which is based primarily on rationalist hostility to ideological obscurantism is illustrated precisely in the case of George Orwell. In the context of the early Cold War, Orwell's obsessive fear of totalitarian thought control drove this left-socialist intellectual, and a genuine partisan of the truth, into a paranoid anti-communism. There was a certain (though by no means inevitable) logic in Orwell's progression from the friendly criticism of Stalinist dogma and rhetoric in *The Road to Wigan Pier* (1937) through the savage exposure of Stalinist counterrevolutionary perfidy in *Homage to Catalonia* (1938) to the hysterical anti-communism of 1984 (1948).

Seeking to counter the powerful anti-communist impact of 1984, Isaac Deutscher produced a brilliant criticism of Orwell, whom he had known person-

ally as a fellow anti-Stalinist leftist. Deutscher's comments on Orwell's narrow empiricism and fixation with official Stalinist dogma can also be applied to Leys:

"The Stalinist justifications and sophisms were both *beneath* and *above* Orwell's level of reasoning—they were beneath and above the common sense and the stubborn empiricism of Billy Brown of London Town, with whom Orwell identified himself even at his most rebellious or revolutionary moments....

"To analyze a complicated social background, to try and unravel tangles of political motives, calculations, fears and suspicions, and to discern the compulsion of circumstances behind their action was beyond him. Generalizations about social forces, social trends, and historic inevitabilities made him bristle with suspicion. Yet, without some such generalizations, properly and sparingly used, no realistic answer could be given to the question which preoccupied Orwell. His gaze was fixed on the trees, or rather a single tree, in front of him, and he was almost blind to the wood." [emphasis in original]

—"1984"—The Mysticism of Cruelty," in *Heretics and Renegades and Other Essays* (1969)

Bourgeois ideology is essentially fatalistic. Inequality and oppression are held to be inherent in the human condition. When the U.S. Congress cut off funds for abortions for poor women, Jimmy Carter commented, "Life is unfair"—the bourgeois ideological outlook in a nutshell. Stalinist ideology, by contrast, is a bureaucratic-nationalistic deformation of a genuinely revolutionary doctrine, Marxism, which holds out the promise of liberation from social oppression. The Soviet and Chinese bureaucracies' mystifications about "socialism in one country," "cultural revolutions" and "great leaps forward" are designed in large measure to gull popular aspirations for a classless, egalitarian society. The Stalinist bureaucracies exploit and abuse the socialist aspirations of the working masses; the bourgeoisie denies and ridicules them.

Bourgeois pessimism can sometimes allow a more truthful picture of current political reality than the wooden formulas of official Stalinism, a species of bureaucratic pollyannaism. However, the idea that poverty amidst wealth, racist and nationalist oppression and war are an inevitable part of human society is a far greater lie than the self-serving myth of "socialism in one country."

Humanistic anti-Stalinism—the ideology which Orwell (in his later years) upheld far more systematically than does Leys—is similarly a pessimistic view. When Leys muses, "That it should be possible to 'fool all of the people all

of the time' will be a surprise only for those who do not know the real nature of the totalitarian phenomenon," he is flirting with an Orwellian construct of totalitarian super-efficiency which was precisely the ostensible justification for Cold War anti-Stalinism: the totalitarian apparatus is seen as being so effective in its combination of "thought-control" and repression that social struggle becomes impossible. The decisive refutation of this view will be found not in the realm of ideology but in life, when the working class of the deformed workers states forges a revolutionary leadership and wrests political power from the brittle bureaucratic caste which has usurped the rights of the working masses.

Forward to the Chinese Political Revolution!

From the standpoint of the revolutionary Marxism of today, Trotskyism, *Chinese Shadows* and *The Chairman's New Clothes* constitute a bridge which goes two ways. The force and integrity of Leys' exposés of Mao's China may well shock some Maoists and New Left radicals into re-examining their political conceptions. Such a re-examination could lead to a break with Stalinism in the direction of Trotskyism, which stands for workers democracy and internationalism.

On the other hand, Leys' brilliant debunking of Maoist "socialism" can also provide an ideological framework for piecemeal and impressionistic deradicalization of the leftists of the 1960's and a reconciliation to their own bourgeois societies. Leys' exposures could feed into a cynical "god that failed" attitude for that generation of young radicals who identified with the Chinese Cultural Revolution—a sort of intellectual rationale covering the great shock and disorientation which they must have felt at seeing the "socialist brothers" of Vietnam and China locked in mortal combat only weeks ago.

The ability to see through the mythologizing, falsifications and stupidities of Stalinism will lead to revolutionary conclusions only if it is understood that even the mind-deadening gibberish of Mao-Thought is a parasitic and hypocritical deformation of a genuine *social revolution*, one which marked a great historic step for mankind. Revulsion with Maoism should lead to commitment to defend and extend the conquests of the Chinese revolution by overthrowing the bureaucracy and establishing workers and peasants *soviets* as the first steps to building a truly socialist world society. ■

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Minorities Under Attack at UICC

Down with the Selective Index!

CHICAGO, March 30—More than 200 students besieged a meeting of the University of Illinois Chicago Circle (UICC) campus administration's Council on Student Recruiting, Admissions and Retention (CSRAR) today. Pounding on doors and windows and demanding to be allowed into the meeting, the angry students prevented CSRAR from approving its racist, class-biased plan to purge UICC of "severely underprepared" students who allegedly "do not make satisfactory progress towards a degree."

The CSRAR is the offspring of the committee which drew up the infamous Selective Index two years ago—an admissions scheme designed to penalize the graduates of Chicago's decrepit and notoriously segregated school system. If fully implemented, the Selective Index (now in effect in the business and art

schools) would have cut freshman enrollment by over 40 percent, and the CSRAR has made it clear that the next "index" will be just as bad.

The UICC administration has also approved a tuition hike this month and recently fired three staff members in the Educational Assistants Program (EAP—a remedial service). This all-round ferocious attack on poor and minority students has sparked widespread outrage. However the Student Coalition to Stop the Selective Index has tried to limit the protests to what it considers acceptable. The Council, which is politically supported by the nationalist Union of Puerto Rican Students, the Black Student Organization for Communication and the Maoist Revolutionary Student Brigade, sought to ban all slogans at the demonstration except for the ones that they had approved.

The Coalition's attempt at censorship failed miserably as the largely black and Latin demonstrators enthusiastically picked up the Spartacus Youth League's chants of "What Do We Want? Free Education! What Do We Get? Discrimination!" and our call for "Open Admissions." SYL leaflets and signs (including "Smash the Selective Index! No Cuts in Remedial Programs! For Open Admissions!") were well received despite Coalition-members' threats to exclude us. One goon from the Coalition leadership even tried to attack an SYL leafleter! But when campus and Chicago police prevented the militant demonstrators from entering the CSRAR meeting, hundreds of students again violated the Coalition's "ban" by taking up another SYL chant: "Cops Off Campus!"

This demonstration was a small but

real vindication of the SYL's consistent fight for united militant action against the Selective Index. Ever since the Index was first announced in the spring of 1977 the SYL has become known at UICC for its advocacy of unity between students, campus workers and faculty to smash the Index and to halt continuing cutbacks and layoffs. As the SYL leaflet distributed at today's demonstration put it:

"What is urgently needed is a broad united front where all organizations supporting commonly agreed upon slogans would be free to raise their own politics and criticisms. Such a united front could organize militant demonstrations and actions for the rights of all students, faculty and campus workers. SMASH THE CSRAR AND SELECTIVE INDEX! No Layoffs, Rehire the EAP Staffers! For Open Admissions, No Tuition, With a Living Stipend! Defeat Administration Attacks!"

UFW...

(continued from page 12)

different ideas.... We don't want you dividing the people."

The farm workers desperately need to oust Chavez with his turn-the-other-cheek program. The UFW needs a class-struggle leadership that is not afraid to defend the picket lines and to shut down production.

At this critical juncture in the strike, when Chavez is seeking to gut the struggle by pushing another impotent consumer boycott as a replacement for militant action, the California labor movement must come to the aid of the farm workers. The Teamsters, who carry the bulk of the produce and have organized many of the warehouses, are on strike right now. A combined offensive by the powerful Teamsters and the UFW, along with cannery workers, retail clerks and others who handle UFW produce could ensure a victory for the farm workers in short order. Viva la Huelga! Victory to the UFW!

Scabs Out of the Fields! Defend the Picket Lines! Don't Handle Scab Produce! For Labor Solidarity with the Farm Workers! ■

Iran...

(continued from page 3)

the Maoists' left—they at least called for a boycott of the "plebiscite"!

The supposed party of Iranian Trotskyism, the Hezb-e Kargarane-Socialist (Socialist Workers Party [SWP]), has transported all of the revolting parliamentary cretinism of its American namesake to the stormy terrain of Iranian politics. They could apparently "campaign to expose Khomeini's plebiscite," but they were too small "to mount a campaign for a boycott of the referendum" (*Intercontinental Press/Imprecor*, 2 April). In other words, they hoped to avoid the whole question!

It is the Fedayee guerrillas who have emerged as the major opponents of the

new regime based on their armed defense of the women's protests, the Kurds and the Turkomans and their call for a boycott of the referendum. But these Guevarist Stalinists balk at organizing for a proletarian revolution against the rule of the mullahs. As one leader explained, "We think this government is conservative and can't meet the needs of our revolution.... [T]hey are a nationalist government. We don't fight with the nationalist government" (*Wall Street Journal*, 23 March).

The Fedayeen justify this suicidal "critical support" of the mullahs by claiming that Khomeini represents the "radical petty bourgeoisie" with whom the proletariat must ally against the imperialists. But the mullahs represent *social reaction*, not the "radical petty bourgeoisie"! While revolutionaries will militarily defend certain bourgeois-nationalist measures against imperialism (e.g., the 1952 nationalization of the

Iranian oil fields) and will bloc with even the worst feudal reactionaries against imperialist military intervention, there can be no question of *political* support to petty-bourgeois or bourgeois nationalists (let alone clerical reactionaries). It is only the struggle for the *political independence* of the working class that can mobilize the proletariat in its own historic interests and at the same time break the hold of the bourgeoisie over the middle classes.

It is the Trotskyist program of permanent revolution that alone can end once and for all the oppression and exploitation of the Iranian masses by the Persian ruling class and their imperialist masters. The only guarantee of women's rights, the rights of national self-determination and of land to the tiller is the smashing of Iranian capitalism through proletarian revolution. Down with Khomeini! For Workers Revolution in Iran! ■

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SYL Debates Chavez Supporters

Support the United Farm Workers Strike!

SANTA CRUZ, March 31—The two-and-a-half month old militant United Farm Workers (UFW) strike begun in California's Imperial Valley has now spread to the key Salinas Valley, where harvesting of 75 percent of the nation's spring-summer lettuce crop is due to begin. Despite grower/cop thuggery which has already claimed the life of one union member, the UFW rank and file have continued to mobilize hundreds of striking workers in roving picket patrols. Twice they have shut down *all* the UFW fields in the Imperial Valley in spite of the official union policy of striking only one-third of the 28 UFW-organized farms (see *Young Spartacus* No. 71, March 1979, for a major article that includes eyewitness accounts of the pickets' effectiveness).

The fighting spirit of the farm workers has alarmed agribusiness. A full page ad in the *New York Times* (30 March) by the "Committee for Fair Negotiations Between Growers and Workers" (i.e., the growers) clamored for California governor Jerry Brown to send in the National Guard to smash the strike:

"... Cesar Chavez' so-called peaceful pickets turn into marauding bands of armed rioters, attacking people, private property and law enforcement officers with rocks and clubs...."

"Three separate times, after major episodes of violence and mass rioting—with the Imperial County Sheriff outnumbered 100 to one—we asked you to mobilize the National Guard."

Engaged in the longest strike in the UFW's history and directly challenging Carter's seven percent wage limit, the farm workers are fighting tooth and nail for their union against a vicious cabal of racist growers, cops and courts. The Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League (SL/SYL) has been the *only* organization on the left to wage an aggressive campaign in support of the embattled farm workers. On the picket lines, in rallies and in public forums on campuses throughout California, the SYL has raised the call for labor solidarity to win the UFW strike.



Striking farm workers stop scabs, confront cops at Holtville in California's Imperial Valley.

The at best perfunctory treatment of the farm workers' militant strike by the ostensible left is nothing short of despicable. During the late 1960's and early 1970's Chavez and the UFW were the darlings of New Leftists who vowed by the thousands to never let a grape or a leaf of non-UFW lettuce pass their lips. But today it's the militancy of the striking workers—who have gone far beyond Chavez' pacifism and timid pressuring of the Democrats—that they can't swallow.

A well-attended March 9 SYL forum on the strike at the University of California at Santa Cruz attracted four people who identified themselves as UFW activists from Salinas, an agribusiness center 30 miles from the campus community. Their intervention provoked a lengthy and lively debate during the discussion. The debate showed significant differences among the four. Two of the older UFW people defended Chavez, and might well have been official union spokesmen. But one

of the younger UFW members present solidarized in part with the SYL speaker's criticism of the Farm Workers' bureaucracy.

In her initial presentation comrade Julia Maura of the SYL gave a vivid eyewitness account of the strike. She also criticized the obvious passivity and misleadership of Chavez while she pointed to the strategy a class-struggle leadership would use: mass picketing in the fields, a state-wide farm workers' strike, union defense guards against increasing Ku Klux Klan threats, organizing the non-union farm workers on both sides of the border and a call for other unions to refuse to handle (hot-cargo) scab goods.

One of the older UFWers present thought that the problems with the strike were the fault of the union members, rather than due to the policies of Chavez:

"I take the blame. I don't blame Cesar. We the farm workers, when we build up the union, when we do something wrong, I go to jail, I appear in court. But do I blame Cesar? Cesar didn't do it. I did it."

An SYLer responded that the rank and file isn't to blame and that in fact:

"The farm workers down in Imperial Valley are doing something *right!* They are shutting down the entire crop. They are doing something which, if the leadership fought for it in the union, the strike could be over now, it could be won. It's not the farm workers' fault that the strike hasn't been won—it is because there is a fundamentally flawed strategy being put forward by Chavez. Shutting down production is not what Chavez is about. Chavez is saying that the workers should rely on the ALRA [the anti-labor Agricultural Labor Reform Act which outlaws mass picketing, hot-cargoing and strikes for union recognition], they should vote for Jerry Brown.... We say these are a *substitute* for militant action. And if the policies of the UFW are not changed around, this will lead to a weakening of the union. And that's something we don't want to see."

One of the younger UFW members expressed his frustration with spontane-

ous rank-and-file militancy that wasn't backed up by union policy:

"In 1970, when the strike hit Salinas... there were a lot of us that had a lot of militancy. And a lot of us ended up in the hospital with busted heads. We ended up in jail, we ended up gassed. The Monterey County Sheriffs Department are pigs.... We didn't have one damn weapon. One year before that I had been in the military, drafted to the Marine Corps. To have had an M-16, and to be able to use it and then to come into the fields and be out on strike and not have a goddamn thing to defend yourself against the police is nothing but stupidity...."

The SYL pointed out that it was precisely Chavez' policies which left militants like him defenseless before the growers' attacks:

"Chavez supported Carter. Carter has set the seven percent wage limit that the farm workers are striking against right now. Chavez supported Brown. Brown created the ALRB. And who is the enemy of the farm workers? Brown, the ALRB and the California Highway Patrol which Brown called into the fields! So what we're saying is this: to really win a militant labor struggle you have to go beyond the bounds the bureaucrats tell you. And it means breaking with the Democratic Party. It means building a workers party.... "It's a simple fact that in 1972 the UFW had many more contracts than it does now. So what accounts for it? Of course the growers are out to destroy the UFW, but Chavez does not have a strategy to defend the union. And that's what we're talking about."

It is precisely because farm workers are open to class-struggle politics (the young farm worker declared that "I have very much the same criticisms that I've heard here tonight") that the UFW bureaucrats try to isolate the farm workers from the SL/SYL. When one naive student Chavez supporter tried to bait the SYL for "reading books" instead of going into the fields and "educating the workers" an older UFWer gave Chavez' line:

"We don't want you out there with your leaflets and newspapers. You have

ILWU Militants Back UFW

The following motion was submitted to the March 9 meeting of the Executive Board of International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union Local 10 by class-struggle militants Howard Keylor and Stan Gow:

"WHEREAS: The United Farm Workers Union is engaged in a bitter strike against lettuce growers in an attempt to increase their wages 40 percent over the present \$3.70 per hour; and

"WHEREAS: This attempt to smash President Carter's 7 percent wage guidelines is in the interest of all labor; and

"WHEREAS: Thousands of

strikebreakers including the racist Ku Klux Klan are being used to cripple the strike;

"THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED: 1. No ILWU Local will handle any scab lettuce for the duration of the strike. 2. Locals are urged to send members to the strike area to assist the UFW in combating scabs and strikebreakers."

The motion was passed after ILWU bureaucrats weakened it by substituting the following for Resolved number 1: "We give full support to the UFW and will take the necessary steps to take whatever action is requested of us by the UFW to help them win their strike."