

Keep it Solid to Win!

NYC Press Strike Solid

For a Union Daily Newspaper!

NEW YORK Now into its fourth week, the New York newspaper strike remains solid as the city faces the most important labor battle seen here in years. The solidarity shown on the pressmen's picket lines by the rest of the newspaper unions has greatly strengthened the resolve of the strikers and thrown a monkey wrench into the publishers' plans to run a *Washington Post*-style scab operation. That the bosses are hurting there is no doubt; shutting down the daily papers in the financial capital of the world's largest imperialist power is not just any strike. The battle is crucial to the entire New York City labor movement and the printing trades as a whole; unlike so many recent strike situations in the industry and city, the union solidarity and militant determination of the strikers in this case could be crucial ingredients for a stunning victory over the publishers. But this will not come by simply waiting for the bosses to capitulate. They already provoked the present strike by imposing job-slashing work rules, then locking out the other unions when the deliverers backed the pressmen.

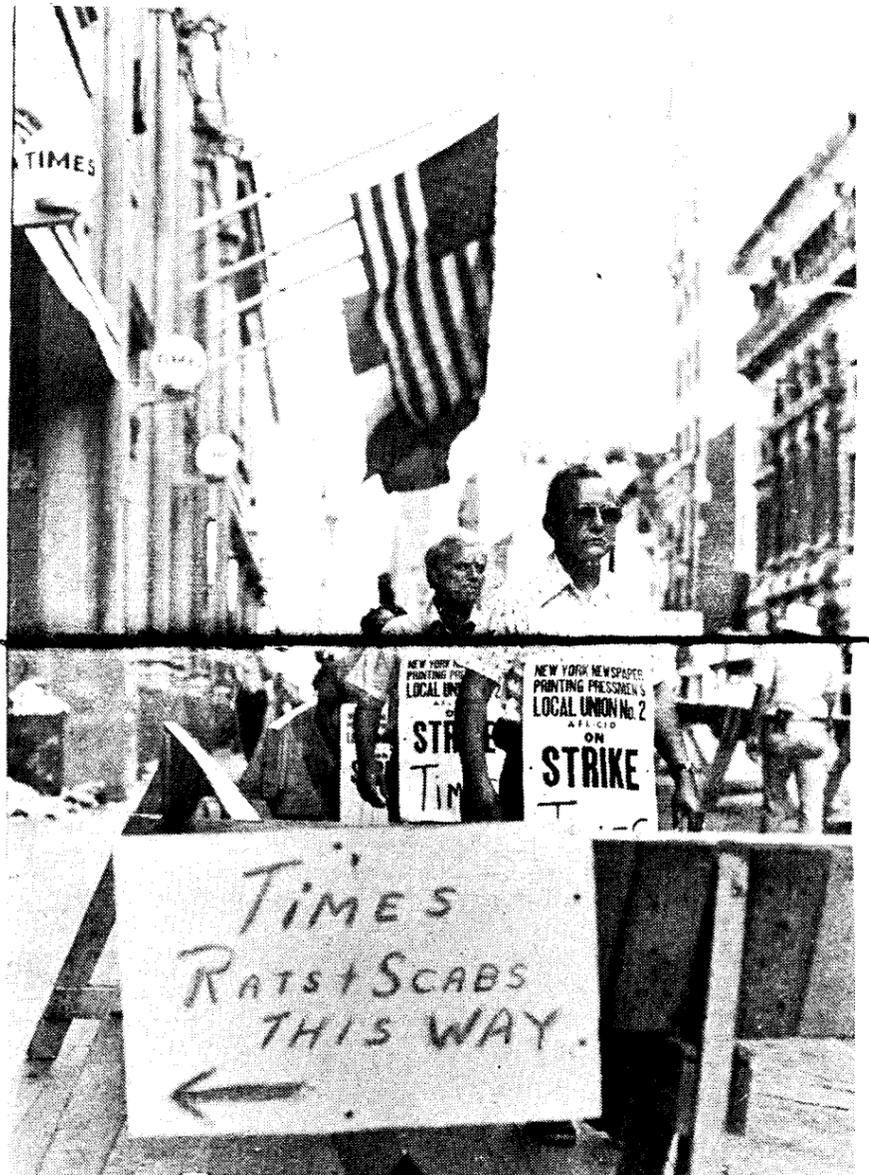
The outcome of the strike is intimately bound up with the overall near-desperate situation of the New York printing trades industry plagued by runaway shops, narrow craft unionism and a recent history of the various crafts crossing each other's picket lines. And while the union ranks have shown a real enthusiasm to struggle, at present the situation is locked into a bureaucratic framework by a union leadership which only knows how to negotiate its private deals with the publishers and operates with a defeatist go-it-alone mentality. To break the situation open the pressmen must take the strike beyond the traditional limits of craft unionism and mobilize the rest of NYC labor behind the fight. Certainly the bosses are united—the publishers' announced plan for a joint

scab paper is only the latest dangerous indication.

The strike against the *New York Times*, the *New York Post* and the *Daily News* is the latest battle in a long war waged by newspaper publishers against the printing trades unions. The bitter 1975-76 *Washington Post* strike not only broke the pressmen's union there but strengthened the newspaper bosses' nationwide union-busting campaign. Similarly the outcome of the present strike, in the center of the printing industry and militant stronghold of the printing unions, may well determine their future for many years to come. Both sides are currently dug in for a long siege with the knowledge that two major New York City newspaper strikes in recent memory, the 1962 printers walkout and the 1966 Guild strike at the *World-Journal Tribune* each lasted well over 100 days.

Moreover, the strike will have a crucial effect on all New York labor, which *must* take an active interest in this battle... or it will greatly regret it. For years the unionized printing and garment trades were the city's industrial backbone. Today, the local garment trades have been gutted, displaced by imports produced under virtual slave labor conditions in Taiwan, Hong Kong and South Korea and by runaways to the low-wage, non-union south. The bulk of the industry's workers remaining in New York are now among the lowest paid in the city. As with garment, the printing unions here are necessarily threatened because they too have long existed as an island of higher paid labor in a sea of lower wage scales. In recent years there has been a proliferation of runaway print shops, particularly to New Jersey, Long Island and the surrounding regions. There, even when organized into unions, workers get paid at a fraction of NYC union rates and with greatly reduced manning scales.

Essentially because of the difficulty of prompt delivery from outlying regions of the massive quantities of papers necessary to service New York on a daily basis, the publishers of the large metropolitan dailies have found it difficult to move their



WV Photo

Pressmen shut down New York Times editorial offices.

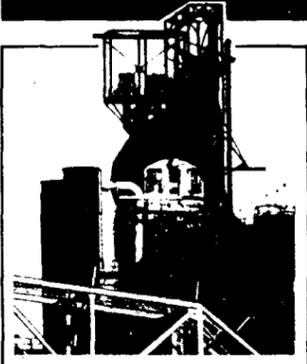
massive operations outside the city. The *Times*, *Post*, and *News* are, in fact, the last major stronghold of the printing unions in New York. The publishers' strategy in the current battle is straightforward: level the city union scales to the lower standards of surrounding areas. If they win, it will represent a further sharp blow to the New York labor movement. A successfully waged strike, on the other hand,

not only can preserve present gains for the unions, but also lay the basis for organizing New York's largely non-union cold-type commercial shops, upgrading union standards in outlying areas and reversing the exodus of union jobs that has contributed to the impoverishment of the New York City population, much of which is black and Spanish-speaking.

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USWA: Fight for Right to Strike!



Avenge Letelier—Smash Chile Terror Regime!

Can't Fight ENA With Sadlowski/McBride

USWA Convention: Fight for the Right to Strike!

The issue posed pointblank at the 19th Constitutional Convention of the United Steelworkers of America (USWA), scheduled to begin September 18 in Atlantic City, is the need to dump the pro-company policies that make it impossible for the union to defend itself against the escalating attacks mounted by the bosses. These defeatist policies are shared by *both* wings of the USWA bureaucracy, not only the staid conservatives around McBride but also the self-proclaimed "mavericks" of the Sadlowski-Balanoff camp. Steel worker militants must organize to throw out *all* these competing labor fakers, for without such a struggle they cannot forge the militant leadership necessary to put an end to unemployment, speed-up, unsafe working conditions and the rest of the ills which are their lot under the present exploitative system.

It is only a few months since the coal miners ended their militant, historic 110-day strike. The determined miners, maintaining their roving picket lines in the face of scabberding by the cops and National Guard as well as the reactionary Carter government's attempt to invoke Taft-Hartley, succeeded in beating back a considerable number of the take-away demands of the coal barons, who count in their ranks the major steel companies. If the miners were unable to win a real victory, it was only because their cowardly leadership kept giving away at the bargaining table what the miners were winning on the picket line.

In the face of this militant example, the USWA leaders have forced steel workers to endure layoffs, plant closings and cuts in real wages without even attempting to fight. It has been almost two decades now since the USWA waged a serious national strike. With over a million members, making them the largest industrial union in the AFL-CIO, and occupying a strategic sector of the economy, the Steelworkers have the

power to bring the giant trusts to their knees.

Yet, instead of leading the battle against the companies, USWA president Lloyd McBride and his predecessor, I.W. Abel, have been the foremost advocates of the companies' "right" to make profits. Every major policy pursued by the USWA International over the past decade—from the joint union-management productivity committees, to the no-strike Experimental Negotiating Agreement (ENA), to support for protectionist legislation designed to keep out foreign steel imports—has been motivated by claiming that propping up the sagging competitive position of the declining American steel trusts would guarantee the jobs and working conditions of steel workers.

Yet, what have all McBride's guarantees of labor peace, his collaboration with the companies in speedup and automation schemes, his willingness to pit American against European and Japanese workers in a dog-eat-dog struggle for jobs, produced for USWA members? The long-developing crisis of the U.S. steel industry, basically a product of its outmoded plants and aging equipment losing markets to more modern and efficient foreign competitors in a shrinking world market, has not been solved. When the effects of that shaky position first peaked in the summer of 1977, upwards of 65,000 steel jobs were cut to bolster the bosses' profits.

Today, even with a temporary upsurge in domestic steel production and the mills operating at 90 percent capacity, some 5,000 workers remain fired at Youngstown Sheet and Tube's Campbell Works, as are thousands of others at Bethlehem's facilities in Johnstown and Lackawanna and other plants that were partially or wholly shut down in the past year. Speedup and automa-



Lloyd McBride

WV Photo



Ed Sadlowski

WV Photo

tion have meant more steel produced with nearly 200,000 fewer workers than just 15 years ago; pay packets have shrunk drastically under double-digit inflation. And the USWA leadership's refusal to fight has only emboldened the bosses, who have forced long strikes at companies like Anaconda, Latrobe and Pullman by their demands for outright takeaways of such hard-won union gains as established pay and pension rates and existing seniority provisions. This is only a harbinger of what is in store for workers in basic steel.

For the Right to Strike—Defend Picket Lines!

While the International openly endorses the no-strike pledge, the Ed Sadlowski/Jim Balanoff wing of the USWA bureaucracy which controls powerful District 31 (Chicago-Gary) has consistently capitulated to McBride. While giving lip service in the past to the right to strike, they have demonstratively flunked every real test. During Sadlowski's presidential campaign, he stated that he would honor the ENA contract—and so he did! When the basic steel agreement expired in August 1977, the Sadlowski opposition did nothing. The new contract was shoved down steelworkers' throats with only a peep of protest from Sadlowski at the basic steel conference but with no call for strike action. Then, when the iron miners struck over issues including wages, threatening to explode ENA, Sadlowski & Co.—no less than McBride—refused to call for the strike's extension to basic steel. And when the massive mill closings came later, both wings of the USWA bureaucracy refused to call for strikes against the bosses, instead limiting themselves to whimpering appeals to the capitalist government.

Now the Sadlowski/Balanoff gang has all but abandoned even their paper opposition to ENA, claiming that ENA is here to stay until at least 1983. They are instead attempting to line up local union presidents on the single issue of the membership's right to ratify contracts. Certainly, militants favor this demand. But, under ENA, if there is no contract settlement, the contested issues go to compulsory arbitration—which is always stacked in favor of the companies. Without the right to strike—and a leadership determined to exercise it—

the right to ratify doesn't count for much. The coal miners went on to win a contract better than the ones they were initially offered not because they had the right to vote on them, but because they backed their demands with a militant strike. On the other hand, New York City transit workers voted down contract offers several times this year, but without a leadership—or even an opposition—that demanded strike action, they ended up saddled with the city's initial offer. Delegates to the convention must demand not only membership ratification of contracts but: render the ENA null and void—eliminate the no-strike clauses and compulsory arbitration of grievances—full right to strike by the locals without prior approval of the International!

The acid test for anyone who claims to support the right to strike is defense of picket lines. The opposition bureaucrats, as well as the McBride machine, have consistently flunked this test. Last June at the giant Inland steel plant outside Chicago striking bricklayers threw up picket lines. Any union leadership worth its salt would have mobilized steel workers in support of the bricklayers. But USWA Local 1010 president Bill Andrews, a central figure in the "right to ratify" bloc, along with the rest of the local leadership, issued a statement asserting that they were supporting the International's policy that the USWA would *not* defend members disciplined for observing the picket lines. When Local 1010 members who respected the picket lines anyway protested this scabberding policy, they were ruled out of order both at a Local 1010 meeting, and at a subsequent District 31 conference (by Balanoff himself)!

Subsequently, militants at Inland put forward a convention resolution demanding that the union sanction respect for picket lines. Although this was voted down with the active aid of the Local 1010 bureaucracy, the resolution should be acted on by the convention:

"Resolved, that the 19th USWA Constitutional Convention

"1) Condemns the policy of crossing another union's picket lines under any circumstances, and instructs all USWA members to honor all such picket lines.
"2) Commits the resources of the International to carry out this policy

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Sadlowski Opportunists Fall Out

Two years ago John Chico was elected president of U.S. Steel Southworks Local 65 in Chicago. At the time Chico, supported not only by Ed Sadlowski but also by numerous pseudo-socialists in the Southworks plant, defeated Frank Mirocha, a supporter of I.W. Abel.

Recently, with U.S. Steel threatening to shut down the Southworks mill, Chico has moved rapidly to the right, anxious to demonstrate to the company how "responsible" the union is. Chico's bureaucratic management of Local 65, including refusal to permit membership ratification of the local contract and his sponsorship of a gag rule requiring all resolutions put forward at local meetings to be screened beforehand by the local executive board, have increasingly embarrassed his erstwhile supporters on the left.

The simmering antagonisms erupted recently in an open split. The Chico slate for convention delegates was challenged by one put forward by Steelworkers Organized for Solid-

arity (SOS), led by a couple of the local's grievors and at one time or another including supporters of such reformist groups as the Socialist Workers Party, Communist Party and Youth Against War and Fascism (YAWF). With no programmatic differences of substance separating the competing slates, the clique character and unprincipled politics lying behind the split were underscored by the fact that SOS ran in the election in a bloc with the Christian Democratic Organization, whose key leaders supported right-winger Mirocha in 1976!

Voting in his home local in balloting for election tellers, Ed Sadlowski supported the Chico slate. Well aware that the incumbent leadership slate of Chico would outpoll their SOS opponents, Sadlowski simply dumped the phony leftists who have been swearing by this Arnold Miller of the USWA for years!

Meanwhile, the Breakout group,
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No Arbitration—Strike Now!

Postal Workers Cancel Sellout Contract

With an eleventh-hour sleight-of-hand maneuver, the Carter administration managed once again to avert a threatened nationwide postal strike on August 28. Just hours before the National Association of Letter Carriers (NALC) had scheduled a walkout, United States Postal Service (USPS) chief William Bolger backed off from his consistent refusal to renegotiate the contract which had been rejected in mail balloting by the Letter Carriers, the American Postal Workers Union (APWU) and the Mailhandlers Division of the Laborer's Union. In order to head off militant action, Bolger agreed to a proposal from Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service director Wayne Horowitz for a 15-day period of renewed talks under the supervision of federally appointed mediator James Healy. If no agreement is reached by September 16, Healy will arbitrate any remaining items and declare a binding solution.

For postal workers, the renewed "negotiations" are a transparent sham. In the first place, if the government negotiators are unable to piece off postal union bureaucrats with either a reshuffling of the miserly 19.5 percent wage increase over three years already offered or a few additional pennies per hour, the compulsory arbitration that federal law mandates and that Bolger insisted on is still the final step in the process. Second, the talks are restricted, at the government's insistence, to only two issues, wages and the no-layoff clause that the government had already agreed to. The back-breaking speedup which has cut 100,000 postal jobs in the last decade; the forced overtime; the sharp deterioration in working conditions and safety standards; the USPS' "open shop" policy and undermining of union standards through the increasing use of "casuals" and "flexies"; also fringe benefits and the firing of over 200 postal workers who struck the Bulk Mail Centers (BMC) at Jersey City and Richmond, California -- none of these critical issues are up for discussion.

Though postal union leaders called off their unions' scheduled strikes in exchange for such absurd terms, widespread anger in the postal workers' ranks -- against both their own leaders and the government's contemptuous offers -- could still blow the deal wide open. While the government can rely on the contemptible cowardice of the union tops, these officials have next to no authority left with their memberships.

At the mid-August convention of the 300,000-member APWU, the largest of the three postal unions involved in joint bargaining with the government, union president Emmett Andrews was prevented for over an hour from delivering his opening address by hundreds of angry delegates who booed and shouted their disapproval as they demonstrated up and down the aisles. Placards denouncing the "disgraceful contract" and "gutless officials" abounded. By a five-to-one margin the delegates voted to recommend rejection of the contract. Andrews blustered and continued to predict ratification, but when the mail ballots were counted on August 25 the vote was 94,000 to 78,000 against the pact.

The same scenario had been played out earlier in the Letter Carriers. Even after he was booed and jeered at the NALC convention in Chicago at the end of July, where the delegates voted



Sombrotto (center) with New York delegates at NALC convention in Chicago.

overwhelmingly to reject the contract proposal. Letter Carriers president Joe Vacca asserted that he would be vindicated by the mail ballots. Instead, the NALC membership voted 78,000 to 58,000 for rejection. The relatively small Mailhandlers union, with 40,000 members and an arch-conservative leadership, was widely expected to be the one union sure to approve the contract. Yet its members also voted to reject, completing the clean sweep.

Unfortunately, the deep discontent of the postal workers has been thwarted not only by their top union officials but also by slick opportunists posing as militants, epitomized by the leaders of the New York Letter Carriers and APWU, Vince Sombrotto and Moe Biller. Realizing that the ranks would not swallow the miserable contract terms announced last July 21, Sombrotto and Biller saw a chance to feather their own bureaucratic nests by denouncing the national negotiators and calling for "renegotiations." Meanwhile they avoided a clash with the government by keeping the lid on strike action. Recalling the 1970 postal strike, spearheaded by the New York unions, postal workers all over the country waited to see what New York would do. But instead of spreading the strike, Biller and Sombrotto let the militants who had gone out at the strategic BMCs in California and New Jersey be beaten into the ground by a combination of mass firings and court injunctions.

Now that the renegotiation they demanded has begun, Biller and Sombrotto are bleating again. Protesting the limited scope of the new negotiations Sombrotto labeled them a "scam" while Biller has reportedly been discussing the "possibility" of strike action with other APWU leaders should the current talks result in arbitration. While the Communist Party and the Socialist Workers Party, the two largest groups of the American "left," breathlessly repeat

every new utterance of Biller and Sombrotto without a word of criticism, the Spartacist League has repeatedly warned postal workers not to place their trust in the feeble protestations or stalling tactics of these fakers.

The APWU has recently ballyhooed the traditional labor slogan "No contract no work." With the official rejection of the tentative agreement by all three unions, there is now no contract. Postal workers must counter the temporizing of their leaders with the demand for an immediate strike! Joint mass meetings of the unions should be held in every city; strike committees should be elected and picket duty assigned. If, as is not unlikely, individual locals walk out, postal militants must insure that these strikes are not left to be isolated and crushed. Shut down the Post Office nationwide!

Challenge to Carter

The still unfolding crisis over the postal contract has presented a major challenge to the Carter administration, becoming a real government vs. labor showdown. With plunging popularity polls Carter is anxious to prove that he can do something right. And after the militant coal miners waged a 110-day strike, laughed off his Taft-Hartley injunction and won a 37 percent wage increase at a time when the government was stressing wage "constraints," the postal workers looked easy to get.

The postal workers are, after all, divided up into different unions and, with the dramatic exception of the 1970 strike, lack traditions of militant struggle. According to federal law they do not have the right to strike, and the government has amassed an extensive array of strikebreaking weapons against them, ranging from court injunctions and firings to the contingency plan "Operation Graphic Hand," which calls for 100,000 troops to be deployed to man the post offices.

Carter's game plan, however, fell victim to labor's reaction against the stepped-up big-business offensive. As a rash of public employee strikes swept the country, the postal workers balked at a proposed settlement that contained only about half the wage increases most other unions were winning. Even the crusty conservative labor officialdom is disenchanted with the preacher from Plains. The UAW's Doug Fraser walked off the Labor-Management advisory group chaired by former Labor Secretary John Dunlop, protesting the capitalists' "one-sided class war," and AFL-CIO chief George Meany put the last nails in the coffin of the postal settlement when he declared during the balloting that the contract was "inadequate" and that he expected it to be rejected. When Carter reacted hysterically (a top White House aide said the president was "as mad as I've ever seen him") and NALC president Vacca groused that "Mr. Meany might help us after he destroyed us," Meany quickly pulled in his horns. He praised the farcical renegotiation as "in the true tradition of collective bargaining and trade unionism" and denied any plans for launching a "new labor party." But the postal workers had already voted down the tentative agreement.

While labor's leading hacks tried to back off from a sharp break with Carter over the postal contract, much of the rest of the labor movement realized that the postal workers were taking on the government's wage-"restraint" policy on behalf of all unions. Should the postal workers break through the bureaucratic arrangements of their leaders and the government to launch a national strike, that sympathy must be translated into concrete action, including a general strike should the federal government attempt to use troops against the postal workers. In addition, what started out as an attempt to ramrod an inferior contract down the throats of the postal workers should become a turning point for the labor movement to repudiate the attacks of the Democrats and Republicans and the treachery of their own union leaders. The unions should draw the necessary political conclusion from the mounting capitalist offensive against all workers and launch a workers party to oust the capitalists and form a workers government. ■

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Cleveland Mayor Squeaks By in Recall

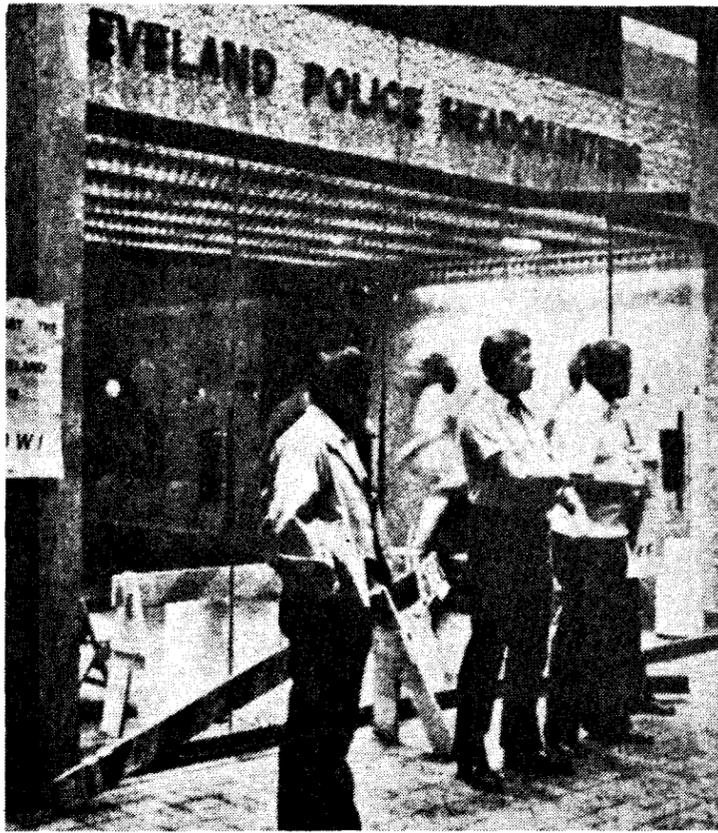
CLEVELAND On August 13, 31-year-old Dennis Kucinich, the enfant terrible of Cleveland City Hall, faced the electorate after just nine months in office in the city's first-ever mayoral recall election. Both the mayor and his adversaries, organized as the Recall Committee to Save Cleveland, portrayed the contest as critical to the survival of the city. Kucinich's TV spots showed hungry "special interest" groups carving up a City Hall-shaped cake while pro-recall ads featured a weeping Terminal Tower—the city's aged symbol in Public Square—distraught over the demise of Cleveland under Kucinich. When the dust settled the self-proclaimed "people's mayor" had won by 236 votes (1.2 of 1 percent), a margin narrower even than in the cliff-hanging November election which put him in office.

Though Kucinich hailed the vote as "a victory for the poor and working people who knew they had a government they could call their own," and the recallers proclaimed their "moral triumph" which nearly toppled the mayor, neither side in fact offered any solutions for the mass of the population of this racially polarized city deep in the throes of capitalist urban decay. In this often vicious mud-slinging battle between contending reactionary bourgeois politicians, Marxists did not take sides. And on the day of the balloting, most voters stayed home. The turnout among registered voters in predominantly white wards was 48 percent and just over one third voted in black districts.

A Tale of Two Cities

As in virtually every major American city, the race question permeates Cleveland city politics. The sharp racial polarization is geographically demarcated with the Cuyahoga River the dividing line between blacks on the East Side and whites on the West Side of town. For more than two years the prospect of court-ordered school busing haunted city politicians. Both sides in the recall battle assiduously stumped for black votes but neither the mayor nor the Recall Committee ever raised busing as an issue. The recallers accurately branded as racist Kucinich's distribution of different campaign materials to black and white neighborhoods. On the East Side Kucinich leaflets lamented the "insufficient" police presence in the ghettos, while West Side flyers attacked black City Council president George Forbes, a bitter foe of the mayor. The anti-Kucinich forces, however, did not criticize the mayor's anti-busing stance because that would instantly alienate most of the West Side voters who provided 85 percent of the signatures on the original recall petitions.

With both sides ignoring the most explosive issue facing the city—school integration—the recall contest was nothing but a cynical dogfight over patronage and other spoils of elected office. When 12 of 13 black city councilmen, the local black newspaper and a number of black ministers came out for recall, Kucinich responded by breaking ground on an East Side sewer project, touring the ghettos and digging up a group of black churchmen who supported the administration. Despite his demagogic claims to represent all the "little people," most black voters had no stomach for the mayor who in 1973 campaigned for a West Side city council seat by labeling his rivals as pawns of George Forbes and the next year "accused" his opponent of supporting a



Nehez/Cleveland Press

Left, cops strike against mayor; far right, Kucinich.

Martin Luther King national holiday. With little enthusiasm for a bloc with the unsavory crowd which opposed Kucinich most blacks abstained on August 13.

Having disposed of the busing issue by tacit mutual agreement with the Recall Committee (see accompanying article) the mayor still had to contend with a nest of political enemies. As a city councilman, Kucinich broke party ranks in 1971 to support Republican Ralph Perk over Democratic incumbent Carl Stokes, the nation's first black big city mayor. That act earned Kucinich the enmity of both black voters and the Democratic machine. In 1977 after defeating Perk, Kucinich squeaked past Ed Seighan, the Democratic Party's nominee, by 2,900 votes in the runoff.

Kucinich has not brought about any significant reforms (not even the new dog catchers he once promised pedestrians) which might have established a base among the working and middle classes. In February he pledged, "There will be no tax increase, while all city assets are retained," but in mid-July he proposed the sale of nearly \$10 million in city land and recently recommended an increase in property taxes to the highest level in Cleveland's history. Furthermore, the mayor's (empty) rhetorical salvos against big business "crooks" have won him no friends among the city's bourgeoisie.

This summer the chickens came home to roost. Both daily newspapers came out for the recall and while Kucinich starred on the local Bowling for Dollars TV show, 645 Democratic precinct leaders voted overwhelmingly for his ouster. Twenty-four of 33 councilmen were against him, as was the school board president. The Ohio Conference of Teamsters and the executive committee of the Cleveland AFL-CIO took the same position. Among major labor organizations only the UAW supported the mayor, kicking in a substantial \$25,000 contribution.

"Arrest Us If You Can!"

Undoubtedly Kucinich's biggest mistake was in squaring off with the cops. In an Akron speech the mayor unaccountably (though accurately) characterized police generally as arro-

gant and corrupt, and the reason why "the Mafia is alive and well in most of our big cities." This landed him a \$5.1 million slander suit and the hostility of the Cleveland department. The recall itself was sparked by his dismissal of Richard Hongisto, the liberal ex-sheriff from San Francisco and the ninth Cleveland police chief in 15 years. (Once the darling of pseudo-socialists in the Bay Area, Hongisto is now supervising the New York state prisons, including Attica. See "'People's Mayor' Axes 'People's Cop,'" *Young Spartacus* No. 64, May 1978.) Then on July 13 the city police went on "strike."

The cop "strike" posed a paramilitary challenge to the fetters of civilian control and constituted an immediate threat to blacks and working people. The 19-hour "job action" was the response of the Cleveland Police Patrolmen's Association (CPPA) to the firing of 13 cops who refused to walk solo beats in the crime-ridden Cuyahoga Metropolitan Housing Authority (CMHA) projects. For CMHA duty the cops demanded the use of patrol cars which carry shotguns, rather than motorscooters which do not. Even before the CPPA's "strike" vote, city union leaders voiced their support; Teamster and sanitation unions ordered their members to respect the strike-breakers' "strike."

Equipped with a temporary restraining order, a cocky mayor took to the streets where he learned something known by millions of blacks from daily experience: the police make their own laws. Kucinich told reporters he "saw policemen roaming in packs, drunk and stopping traffic." Firecrackers exploded around him and at an East Side station "pickets" dared him to get out of his car. Everywhere Kucinich was taunted and cursed. City "Safety Director" James Barrett got the same treatment. "Arrest us if you're so brave," one cop challenged his boss.

With his authority in shambles Kucinich asked Ohio governor James Rhodes for 500 National Guardsmen and state troopers to maintain order. Rhodes, who sent murderous troops to Kent State in 1970, would not lift a finger against the cops. The White House told Kucinich that federal troops



Nighswander/Time

could not go in before the National Guard. Meanwhile, panicky store owners deluged private security agencies with pleas for protection. One rent-a-cop chief warned that "shooting is the last resort... but there will be no broken windows for the downtown merchants."

By the next afternoon, CPPA head William McNea rightly claimed "a victory for the police" and exultant cops whooped it up at the Justice Center. The firings were reduced to suspensions with pay. No fines were levied and the original dispute was sent to arbitration. In this case, the cops' "grievance" was the allegedly insufficient manpower (and firepower) to guarantee the execution of their dirty work with impunity.

Workers must have no illusions in the mayor's claim to defense of democracy against police "anarchy." Kucinich argued that the police *already* had a sufficient force to maintain capitalist law and order among the ghetto poor. "When a policeman has a gun, that's his company," he told CMHA residents. Likewise, militants would oppose any call for deployment of National Guardsmen or federal troops, who like the private cops would terrorize black neighborhoods, not smash the police. But class-conscious unionists must bitterly fight any expression of support for the cops by the labor bureaucrats. Cops are not workers but hired goons and hitmen for the bosses. A victory for their "strike" would be a blow against the entire labor movement, as the cops assert their bonapartist appetites for freedom from civilian control.

Dial 7 for Civil Disorder

Kucinich may be able to patch things up with his enemies, but it will take more than the grits-and-catfish "summit" breakfast with George Forbes to save a city on the verge of going under.

Already, substantial service cutbacks have resulted from a court order requiring payment of a \$12 million debt or foreclosure on city assets by a local utility. After busing was postponed, the state, stipulating program and staff reductions, coughed up a \$20 million loan for the public schools. None of it was for teachers, however, who are preparing to strike after enduring 300

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Teamster Striker Murdered—Stop the Scabbing!

Shut Down California Supermarket Chains Statewide!

In what has become one of the most bitter major strikes in recent years to hit northern California, a Teamster warehouse picket, 25-year-old Randy Hill, was brutally run down and killed by a scab at a struck grocery distribution center in Vacaville on August 21.

Even according to the scabberding police, the scab, Glenn A. Sobolik, "was driving on the left side of the road at relatively high speed with his lights off..." (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 23 August). When another Teamster picket, Robert Lovingier, went to Hill's aid, Lovingier was struck by a second car driven by another scab. Hill was killed, while Lovingier suffered a broken leg and other injuries.

Needless to say, if a scab had been killed, the police would have arrested everyone in sight on charges of murder. But given the bosses' "justice," the murderer Sobolik was released on \$3,000 bail and charged with the lesser *misdemeanor* offense of "reckless driving and manslaughter." The second scab driver got off scot-free with no charges.

This cold-blooded murder emphasizes the bosses' viciousness in the six-week-old strike of Teamster warehousemen and drivers against the four major supermarket chains in northern California—Safeway, Lucky's, Alpha Beta and Ralph's (plus the Lucky-owned Gemco stores). Since the defeat of the 1976 San Francisco city workers strike, the bosses in the Bay Area, long a union stronghold, have been waging their part of the general capitalist offensive against labor with a particular ferocity—resulting in the death of an International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) striker in August 1976 in the defeated Handyman strike, and now another picket killed. The employers have ruthlessly revived anti-union tactics of the 1930's, while the cowardly labor bureaucrats have retreated, pleading impotently with their so-called "friends of labor" in the Democratic Party, who have stood solidly with the capitalists and ordered their police forces into the fray against the unions. The fact that the Food Employers Council (FEC) has now chosen to square off so boldly with the International Brotherhood of Teamsters (IBT), the single most powerful union in the country, is an ominous sign—and the outcome will clearly shape the 1979 ILWU/IBT warehouse negotiations as well as the Teamster master freight contract negotiations.

The FEC deliberately escalated the confrontation on August 9 by initiating a *lockout* against the 3,500 Teamsters affected by the contract bargaining—a union-busting tactic not seen in major negotiations here for many years. In July the only Teamster unit on strike had been maverick Local 315, whose 1,100 members struck the Safeway distribution center in Richmond a week after its contract expired on July 11. With Safeway reportedly receiving large subsidies (up to \$1 million per week) from the employers' association, it launched a massive scabberding operation. Since Local 315's independent contract has a reputation as a pacesetter in the area's food distribution industry, the strike quickly turned into a test case for the industrywide negotiations between the FEC and the Western Conference of Teamsters. The bosses made a



Teamsters picket Safeway chain in Richmond, California.

WV Photo

series of sweeping take-away demands in the area of sick leave, holiday pay, pensions and seniority and insisted on outright abolition of the union hiring hall.

The striking members of Local 315 have also been fighting a vicious speedup campaign launched by Safeway some time ago. The scheme uses computers and motion picture studies of jobs to set "standards," increasing production by as much as 50 percent. For example, the scheme allows workers only 4.8 minutes per day to go to the bathroom!

The strikers report that hundreds of off-duty cops, private guards and even military police have been riding shotgun on scab trucks and escorting scabs into the distribution warehouses. Some of the scabs have reportedly been black youth channeled into scabbing by the federal CETA jobs program. Meanwhile, a local judge has issued an injunction against mass picketing, the FEC has brazenly printed full-page ads calling on consumers to "shop where the pickets are" and Safeway has started to openly advertise for scab drivers at \$10.10 per hour.

Predictably the tremendous potential power of the Teamsters union has been bottled up by the sellout artists of the Western Conference bureaucracy headed by William Grami. Grami's last claim to fame was leading Teamster goons against farm workers in 1973, when the IBT stole contracts from the United Farm Workers. At first Grami tried to isolate the Local 315 strike, denouncing it as a "wildcat" and refusing to call out the other locals whose contracts had also expired. But in San Jose, Alpha Beta Local 287 wildcatted, leading the FEC to lock out workers at Lucky's August 9. This forced Grami's hand, and the International had little choice but to sanction the fait accompli and make the strike official throughout northern California. The official sanction meant that 30,000 other union members would be encouraged to respect the Teamster lines—Retail Clerks, Butcher Workmen and other miscellaneous unions.

But Grami & Co. did everything to undermine class solidarity. When 50,000 retail clerks in southern Califor-

nia struck the supermarket chains on August 20 for their own contracts—a perfect opportunity to link up the unions in a solid statewide strike—the official IBT policy was to observe the Retail Clerks picket lines only at the supermarket stores but not at the distribution centers. Even at the stores, union drivers reportedly allowed scab managers to unload the trucks. (The Southern California strike was reportedly "settled" on August 25.) Predictably, the Retail Clerks bureaucracy has responded with similar treachery. On September 1, Local 588 (Sacramento area) announced it would start sending its members back to work across IBT picket lines on September 3. Union militants must answer this with an elementary union lesson: a picket line means "Don't cross!"

Perhaps the most enraging maneuver by Grami to date was his attempt to herd the ranks back to work right after the murder of Randy Hill. With much fanfare, Grami and the FEC, with the "help" of a federal mediator, jointly announced a "tentative settlement" on August 22—which amounted to nothing but going back to work while the issues would be settled by an arbitrator! The agreement would have provided "amnesty" not only for the strikers but also to "company people charged with misconduct"! Angry IBT members responded by picketing the negotiation site in Burlingame on August 23, while another angry demonstration of teamsters took place at the Lucky's headquarters in Dublin, where no IBT officials dared show their faces. Rank-and-file sentiment was so heated that the eight local union presidents did not even try putting the arbitration deal to a vote, but rejected it out of hand.

Grami & Co. have been preaching non-violence and dangerous legalist substitutes for the mass picketing and defiance of court injunctions necessary to win the strike. At the mass memorial meeting for Randy Hill on August 27, IBT officials tried to argue against further demonstrations. Jack Goldberger, president of the 40,000-member Teamsters Joint Council No. 7, called instead for an idiotic law whereby any "unskilled cop be required to put up a bond"—as if to encourage use of "professional" cop strikebreakers! IBT

first International vice president George Mock urged that "the best way to pay our respects is to go home and pray"!

A joint meeting on August 25 of IBT leaders and other union leaders—including ILWU president Jimmy Herman, San Francisco Central Labor Council chief Jack Crowley and others—produced nothing but more pitiful pleas for legislation to restrict "the use of armed guards and professional scabs in labor disputes." (The Communist Party's *People's World* of 2 September labeled this reformist confab a "historical meeting.") It is absolutely clear that these labor traitors have so tied themselves to the capitalist politicians and government that the only "strategy" they can conceive of is calling on the government whose job it is to police picket lines, escort scabs and arrest militants to change its class character. The council of cardinals will elect a rabbi to the papacy before the capitalist government will cease backing the employers in battles with labor. And for the labor fakers' treachery the workers are paying in blood.

The intransigence of the employers and the determination of the ranks is however making it difficult for the bureaucrats to sell out this strike. On September 6, the refusal of the FEC negotiators to budge from their take-away demands caused the Teamster leaders to break off negotiations and threaten to spread picketing to Southern California. Striking Teamsters must not settle for mere bluster but demand that the grocery chains be shut down, state-wide now!

One natural ally of the embattled Teamsters should be the ILWU, which jointly bargains with the Teamsters in the warehouse division. In fact, a Local 315 strike leader did approach the ILWU Local 6 Stewards Council on August 3 and received support from members of the Militant Caucus, a class-struggle opposition group in the ILWU. According to the latest "Warehouse Militant" Militant Caucus members presented a motion calling on the ILWU to honor the Local 315 picket lines, collaborate in strike activities and "refuse to ship any goods to stores or warehouses normally supplied by Local

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Carter Pushes for "Human Rights" Junta

U.S. Indictments Cover Up CIA/FBI Links

On the fifth anniversary of the bloody coup which placed it in power, the terror regime of Chilean dictator General Augusto Pinochet is anything but stable. Last week it again declared a state of siege, the "legal" proviso for the arbitrary military rule under which the tormented country has suffered ever since that fateful September 11 in 1973. Only last spring the state of siege had been "lifted" (without changing the savage realities of life under the generals one iota), in order to satisfy Washington's clamor for cleaning up the junta's image. Now it is back—so much for the "human rights" facelift.

With the White House decision to pursue the investigation into the assassination of former Chilean diplomat and cabinet minister Orlando Letelier, Pinochet's days are clearly numbered. From the beginning all leads pointed to the black hand of the DINA, the tyrant's secret police, but at first Pinochet was protected by the complicity of U.S. imperialism's own hit men. Now that Jimmy Carter has decided to wash his hands of the butcher of Santiago, however, the rats are abandoning Pinochet's sinking ship. Even pro-fascist generals are suddenly discovering democratic convictions.

The hated Pinochet could well end up sharing the fate of Rafael Trujillo, the murderous "Benefactor" of Santo Domingo who was unceremoniously tossed to the jackals when the U.S. had no further use for him. But if it is Washington that pulls the trigger, and not a popular uprising of the Chilean masses which deposes the *prócer* (patriotic leader), he will simply be replaced with another jackbooted oppressor. The CIA gains, the workers lose.

Already the imperialists are congratulating themselves over last month's federal grand jury indictments of five Cuban exiles, three top Chilean military intelligence men and an American fascist killer. The *Washington Post* (3 August) praised the prosecutor and FBI agent on the case as "international symbols of the dogged persistence of U.S. authorities to solve the Letelier murder case." The London *Economist* (26 August) added its stamp of approval: "With the recent indictments, no one can call [Washington] sluggardly in pursuing Mr Letelier's killers." And while the bourgeois press crowed, liberals in Congress denounced Chilean death squads and (briefly) threatened an arms boycott of the junta. All were relieved to forget that the U.S. was in large part responsible for unleashing the hangmen and torturers in the first place.

Those who seek to avenge the vile murder of Orlando Letelier must understand that they cannot look to the "justice" of imperialist "democracy." For "reasons of state," the real authors of the crime will go free, whether or not the actual trigger men have to do some time. And deals are already being made to let the small-fry fascists and gusano murderers who carried out the bombing receive minimal sentences. Meanwhile the FBI and CIA—which knew in advance that a plot was afoot and did nothing to stop it!—pose as the heroes who tracked down the culprits.

Santiago/Miami/Langley

A former foreign and defense minister in Salvador Allende's Unidad Popular (UP) government, as well as one-time ambassador to the U.S., Orlando Letelier was a prominent link between the Chilean exile movement and influential imperialist liberals. So when he and his aide Ronni Moffitt were killed

AVENGE LETELIER—



SMASH CHILE TERROR REGIME!

on 21 September 1976 in a bomb blast which demolished his car seconds after the two had driven past the Chilean embassy in Washington, the finger of guilt pointed straight at Pinochet and his DINA. But for months the Justice Department investigation into the murder languished, mired in a welter of false leads, procrastination and deliberate bungling, until the Carter administration did a turnaround in its policy toward Latin American dictatorships.

Once Washington decided it actually wanted to find Letelier's killers, the "methodical" pace quickly accelerated. Federal prosecutor Eugene Propper, now being portrayed as a single-minded assassin hunter, gave up trying to blame the murder on jealous lovers and the left and soon discovered involvement by anti-Castro Cuban exiles. The key break came with the identification and subsequent extradition of U.S. citizen Michael Vernon Townley, a long-time resident of Chile who was the key DINA operative in the Letelier plot (see "Pinochet's the One!" *WV* No. 202, 21 April 1978).

Townley, an explosives expert with plenty to hide, sang like a bird to cop a plea. His evidence is detailed and damning. The 15-page indictment implicates as the principals in the plot Pinochet's right-hand man and former DINA head, General Juan Manuel Contreras; DINA operations director Lt. Colonel Pedro Espinoza; DINA operative Captain Armando Fernández, who entered the U.S. with Townley under false diplomatic passports to set up the assassination. In addition, the grand jury charged five Cuban counterrevolutionaries, members of a CIA-

trained gusano terror squad operating out of Miami and New Jersey. Among them are Guillermo and Ignacio Novo, Bay of Pigs veterans who have been under constant FBI surveillance since their 1964 bazooka attack on the UN when Che Guevara was speaking there.

The list of participants is lengthy, the connection to the junta and even Pinochet's intimate circle is explicit, and the three DINA officials named were arrested in Chile. All that is necessary, say the self-laudatory liberals, is to let justice take its course. Hardly. The DINA officials are only under "house arrest," and unlikely to be extradited without the prior ouster of Pinochet. And Townley, as the *Washington Post* dryly observed, has been treated more like a star witness than a murder suspect, *even though he admits planting the bomb which blew Orlando Letelier and Ronni Moffitt to smithereens*. Townley is only being charged with "conspiracy to murder," and in exchange for pleading guilty to this single charge the government and judge have promised a three-to-ten year sentence with parole to be recommended after 40 months!

In Washington this unsavory killer is being referred to as Pinochet's John Dean, the man who "blew the whistle" on the DINA. Dean was hardly a model of moral rectitude, but even he looks clean compared to Michael Townley. Both Townley and his Chilean wife were active members of Patria y Libertad (Fatherland and Liberty), a fascist organization whose symbol was a scorpion, when it was receiving extensive aid from the CIA to finance sabotage and disruption against the

Allende regime. He first came to public attention in 1973, when he was part of a bomb mission that killed a night watchman in the city of Concepción, Chile. In addition to offering his services to the DINA, Townley aided the FBI in finding an ex-CIA gusano at the time of Henry Kissinger's visit to Santiago in May 1976.

In earlier articles (see "The Long Arm of the DINA," *WV* No. 149, 18 March 1977) we documented how the brothers Novo have been under FBI surveillance for years; how agents had tailed the Cuban hit men to their initial meeting with Fernández and Townley at the Miami English Lobster Club; that the FBI even stumbled into the June 1976 meeting in a Santo Domingo hotel where the assassination plans were discussed by CORO (the Cuban counterrevolutionary organization headed by Orlando Bosch), along with plans to blow up a Cuban airliner (which later took 73 lives). We reported how the FBI dragged its heels in the investigation: for instance repeated leaks of the same "new" evidence of a "Santiago/Miami connection," the details of which were in the hands of the Justice Department only days after the murder had taken place.

This evidence has now been further corroborated by reporters Ernest Volkman and John Cummings in their July 1978 *Penthouse* article, "The Assassination of Orlando Letelier." They also provide some insight into why it took the "plodding, yet innovative" investigators to come to the obvious conclusion that Pinochet's secret police were behind the plot. Refusing to follow the trail to the DINA, the FBI first directed its agents to investigate Isabel Letelier and any other woman who knew Orlando Letelier to determine if there could be a "vengeful woman angle." Then they were told to pursue ex-boyfriends of Ronni Moffitt on the chance that she was the real target—the attacker presumably being an *insanely* jealous former lover who also happened to be an expert with C-4 plastique explosives. Finally they were told to pursue the theory that the assassination was the work of leftists who thought Letelier had betrayed them. It was not until Gerald Ford left office that the FBI began to investigate whether the bombing murder was a rightist attack!

Carter Wants a "Human Rights" Junta

The day after the grand jury indictments were handed down, the U.S. House of Representatives was in an uproar over the tinpot Latin American dictator who had the gall to execute his opponents on Yankee soil. In a grand gesture of "human rights" indignation the House voted to scold Pinochet by halting a shipment of military goods to Chile pending extradition of the DINA officials. However, by August 3 the good Congressmen had reversed themselves, under pressure from the Carter administration which conveyed its concern that "justice" would be undercut if the indictments were seen as a politically inspired maneuver designed to topple the Santiago regime.

Of course, it is just that. Indeed, informed sources note that the investigation was given a sharp boost late last winter by the personal interest of Rosalynn Carter, after she returned from a Latin American tour smarting at criticism for hobnobbing only with the dictators. During its first year in office the Democratic administration had simply pressured its Latin American dictator-allies for a few cosmetic reforms (renaming the DINA, sham "amnesty" in Chile, phony elections here and there). State Department Latin American chief Terrence Todman praised the Pinochet regime for its "advances" in the field of human rights. But the contradiction between the concentration camp realities and Carter's moralistic rhetoric was too visible, particularly at the gathering of OAS

despots in Washington to witness the signing of a new Panama Canal treaty last September.

Late last year Washington did an about-face in its Latin American policy. Todman was shipped off to Madrid and replaced with a "human rights" liberal; Washington's previous unconditional support to Nicaraguan strongman Somoza was canceled, and the green light was given to the Letelier investigation. By spring of this year Washington was abuzz with rumors that the U.S. was ready to sanction an internal coup within the Chilean junta. The well informed British publication, *Latin America Political Report* (17 March), wrote:

"Accusations by the Patria y Libertad leader, Pablo Rodríguez, in *Qué Pasa* [a pro-government Chilean publication] last week that the latest moves in the Letelier case were part of a CIA plot to destabilize the government were not as paranoid as they sounded. But President Augusto Pinochet has brought the wrath of the United States administration down on his head by his own intransigence."

The shift in U.S. policy immediately began to put pressure on the Pinochet regime from within the military. Last March at a meeting of the Council of

traveled to Washington on false diplomatic passports.

For Workers Revolution to Smash the Junta!

No matter who gets the nod from Washington, neither the U.S. nor Chilean bourgeois opponents of Pinochet are about to "unleash democracy" in Santiago. The U.S. is clearly pushing for a reformed military option, a junta with a "human rights" face, perhaps with the adornment of Christian Democratic ex-president Eduardo Frei. Similarly, next door in Argentina the State Department has been trying to strengthen the hand of junta leader Videla, the "moderate" mass murderer, rather than opposing the military regime as such. And in this attempt to pull U.S. imperialism's chestnuts out of the fire, they can count on the cooperation of virtually the entire Chilean left, from the Communist and Socialist Parties (now negotiating loudly with the Christian Democrats) to the MIR. But if Washington gets its way and there is nothing but reshuffling of the generals, it is the workers and poor of Chile who will pay the price.

Ironically, five years ago these same groups were adamantly insisting that



Cambio 16

The Chilean army. Will they goose-step to the tune of Jimmy Carter's "human rights" campaign?

Generals of the army, 13 voted to demand the president's immediate resignation (against 17 who wanted to give him several more months). Another development was the appointment of General Herman Brady as presidential counselor in charge of coordination with the armed forces. Brady is closely identified with the Pentagon and is seen, according to the *Latin America Political Report*, as "the most favoured candidate [to replace Pinochet]... a 'clean' substitute, with no record of involvement in the repression or the secret police."

Until he was abruptly dismissed by Pinochet in mid-July, another front runner had been air force General Gustavo Leigh, a member of the junta who had been busily building up "democratic" credentials after breaking with his old cronies in Patria y Libertad. Leigh's dismissal provoked the mass resignation of 19 of 21 generals in the air force in solidarity with their chief. While this removed a thorn in Pinochet's side (Leigh had been publicly sniping at the junta chief for months), the ostentatious display of solidarity indicated that unity is far from absolute within the Chilean armed forces.

The discontent within the junta (including Admiral Merino, another Pentagon supporter) is closely connected to increasingly oppositional noises coming from the Christian Democrats (whose election campaigns in 1964 and 1970 were heavily financed by the CIA, as were its subversive activities against Allende). And when the Letelier case "broke" this spring, the influential *El Mercurio*, which had received heavy CIA subsidies in the past, published photos leading to the identification of Townley as one of the DINA agents who

the Pinochet coup was 100 percent "Made in U.S.A." At the time they were seeking to hide their own complicity in supporting the bourgeois Allende coalition, seeking alliances with the pro-coup Christian Democrats and fostering illusions in the "constitutionalist" officers such as Pinochet. Today these "realistic" reformists fall into line as soon as the White House snaps its fingers, on the hopes that "democratic" Uncle Sam will win the struggle for them. So to these pseudo-Marxists imperialism is just a dirty word, or at most a foreign policy.

And what is this beacon of "human rights" in the Americas? It is the same Yankee imperialism which provided the money and arms to assassinate General René Schneider in 1970 in the hopes of provoking an army coup to prevent Allende from coming to power. The same power which financed the Patria y Libertad fascists. The same regime which organized the hoarding of food, runs on the banks, a crippling truck owners "strike" and the counterrevolutionary housewives' pots-and-pans demonstrations to "destabilize" the elected UP government and "make the economy scream." The same reactionary gendarme which collaborated every step of the way with Pinochet's 1973 coup. This is who calls the shots for the Chilean Christian Democrats, and whom the reformist left now relies on.

While the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence uncovered mountains of evidence of U.S.-financed and instigated subversion in Chile, the cover-up of American involvement still goes on. On 10 August the *Washington Post* reported that in the interest of U.S. "national security" three out of six charges against

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NYC Press Strike...

(continued from page 1)

Certainly the bourgeoisie understands the broad implications the strike has for all NYC labor. Terrified that the kind of class-struggle tactics and labor solidarity which won the Guild (journalists) strike at the *Daily News* two months ago would become the norm and spread to the rest of city labor, Governor Hugh Carey rushed out with a statement August 16 warning the printing unions not to upset the city's precarious fiscal balance. Carey's attempt to blame the unions for management's lockout infuriated the labor movement and caused the governor to make an embarrassing retraction/denial the very next day.

The New York Publishers Association—currently headed by the sinister, deeply anti-labor *Post* publisher, Australian press lord Rupert Murdoch—deliberately forced the 9 August strike and never had any intention of negotiating seriously. The pressmen and all other craft unionists except the printers of Local 6 of the International Typographical Union (ITU) have been working without a contract since March 30. The publishers had planned in advance to provoke a strike in August when advertising revenue is at its lowest ebb. They announced that new work rules *cutting manning scales in half* would be posted on August 8 in the pressrooms of the three major dailies. The deadline was extended by 24 hours after federal mediator Kenneth Moffett arrived, but the Publishers Association refused even to consider a last minute union counterproposal. Instead, in a direct slap in the face to the unions, the publishers not only posted the new work rules but held a press conference to announce their action *while the unions were still sitting at the bargaining table waiting for the publishers' return!* Pressmen immediately set up picket lines at the *News* building and the battle was on.

In the last decade or so the printing trades unions' traditions of solidarity have broken down as one after another the craft unions crossed each other's picket lines. In contrast, the present strike stands out for its unaccustomed unity. From the beginning the Newspaper Guild and seven other craft unions in the Allied Printing Trades have been honoring the pressmen's lines. This heartening development is the direct outgrowth of the electrifying Newspaper Guild strike against the *Daily News* earlier in the summer. When the Guild went out June 14 against the *News* management's outrageous "giveback" demands, it sent shock waves of enthusiasm across the printing trades. Spontaneously, thousands of workers arrived on the picket lines to back up the Guild and "persuade" the drivers not to cross. After two nights of confrontations with cops and scabs, after two *News* trucks were burned, the strikers succeeded in shutting down the *News*' scab edition and defeated the bosses' attempt to cripple the Guild.

The present strike is riding high off that experience. Specifically, the Guild strike frustrated the publishers' attempt to set up a *Washington Post* situation in which they hoped to continue publishing by inducing other printing tradesmen and Guild members to cross the pressmen's lines. Since the walkout began the pressmen's strike has expanded into a general printing trades action as four other unions—the Paper Handlers, Machinists, Mechanics and the Newspaper Guild—have officially declared strikes against one or more of the papers over their own grievances.

Automation and Speedup

The publishers' goal in forcing this strike is to drastically slash the ratio of men to press plates. The present standards were, in fact, established as

the outcome of a defeated pressmen's strike in 1923. But although printing presses now operate at much higher speeds than they did 55 years ago, the number of men needed to run them has not changed substantially. What the publishers want is nothing but a massive speedup and work-intensification drive. The city papers, especially the money-losing afternoon *Post*, yearn to cut labor costs by achieving the lower manning ratios enjoyed by the publishers of their Long Island and Westchester County suburban competitors. Although publishers' newcomer spokesman Murdoch repeatedly denied that they had in mind to fire half the pressmen, he gave the game away in a televised interview when he declared that the publishers "cannot go on forever employing two people for every job."

For many years automation has laid the basis, both here and abroad, for the decimation of the printing trades unions. The introduction of advanced offset printing processes and computerized photographic typesetting technology made thousands of skilled workers superfluous. The ITU, especially, was hard hit by automation and has largely been driven out of small-scale printing shops. While union typographers survive at most big-city dailies, their numbers continue to dwindle.

In 1974 "Big 6," once the militant center of the ITU, signed an eleven-year contract guaranteeing lifetime job security for 1,800 of its members. But this was at the cost of giving the *Times* and the *News* a free hand to automate at will, insuring that by the time the agreement expires the union will be but a shell of its former self. Now the publishers hold a gun to the head of Big 6, trying to turn it into a union of strikebreakers by threatening to cancel the contract and so forth. This is how the publishers induced ITU to cross the Guild's lines at the *News* last June and to abstain from open support to the pressmen in the current strike.

Automation has been used by the monopoly publishers to rip the guts out of the ITU as well as most of the other printing trades unions on the composition side. But the pressrooms have been quite a different matter. It is generally conceded that the pressmen have the hardest, dirtiest and most dangerous work in the newspaper industry. Noise levels are deafening—a dozen Con-cordes could fly through the room and nobody would notice. Inhaling ink and poisonous fumes with every breath, the pressmen work in conditions that flagrantly violate government health and safety standards. Strikers told *WV* reporters that the *Daily News*, for instance, has defied Federal orders for years as well as refusing court-authorized union inspection teams access to the pressrooms.

Unlike the rest of the crafts, the pressmen's skilled work has remained virtually unchanged over the years. Automation alone was not enough to defeat them, and thus they have borne the brunt of the publishers' union-busting attacks in recent years. In strikes from Los Angeles to Kansas City to Miami, pressmen have seen their unions smashed and been forced to leave town to seek work or have been forced out of the industry entirely. Although the pressmen were willing to fight hard at the *Washington Post*, they had no strategy to win the active support of the rest of the unions or to unite the populace around them. That long fought battle was broken by massive scabbing, including the use of live-in strikebreakers imported from a Publishers Association training facility in Oklahoma City. In the aftermath, the defeated *Post* pressmen were blackballed from employment in their trade. Thirteen of their number went to jail or paid court-ordered fines on frameup charges.

The solid support at the New York pressmen's lines to date is a far cry from the massive scabbing at the *Washington*

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Kenyan Dissident Jailed for Anti-Kenyatta Novel

Free Ngugi!

In the opening scene of *Petals of Blood*, Ngugi wa Thiong'o's critically acclaimed novel—an indictment of post-independence Kenya—a trade-union radical is awakened from a "fast sleep":

"He heard a knock at the door. He leapt out of bed in his pyjamas. He found a heavily armed police contingent at the door. An officer in khaki clothes stepped forward.

"What is the matter?"

"You are wanted at the police station."

"What for?"

"Routine questioning."

"Can't it wait until tomorrow?"

"I'm afraid not."

Just how close to reality this scene was became clear when the author was himself arrested last December 31. In the middle of the night 12 uniformed cops carted off Ngugi, Kenya's most celebrated author and head of the Literature Department of Nairobi University. Under Kenya's all-purpose repressive law for the "Preservation of Public Security" he was held incommunicado, and according to Amnesty International he remains imprisoned (or worse) with *not a single charge made against him!*

The unofficial charges and the real reasons for Ngugi's victimization are well known. The arresting cops spent an hour examining his library, then seized about 100 books as "evidence" (*New York Times Book Review*, 19 February). For Ngugi's "crime" is his anti-government thought and the talented literary expression of these views to an expanding and appreciative international audience. He had become a literary dissident against the neo-colonialist rule of Jomo Kenyatta. And that government which has for years been the showpiece of African liberalism demonstrated what will happen to malcontent intellectuals who expose the emptiness of Kenyatta's slogan *harambee* (roughly translated, let's all pull together).

In the past Ngugi was not considered a threat. His fiction was set in colonial Kenya, before and during the Mau Mau revolt of the early 1950's. Since Kenyatta became a popular hero when the British jailed him as a Mau Mau leader, and as this period has now become part of the nationalist regime's official

mythology, the novelist's sympathies for the rebels were "safe." But Ngugi maintained those sympathies and with them a capacity to tell the truth about social conditions in independent Kenya, in Kenyatta's country. This has made him a dangerous man.

Petals of Blood, soon to be published in the U.S., has occupied Ngugi's creative energy for the past six years. The novel looks at the effects of independence from the viewpoint of the Kenyan masses and finds that things have not changed all that much. The shantytown misery of the average man and woman continues to exist beside the conspicuous riches of the ruling class. But now the oppressors more often than not have black faces. The simple moral/political universe of his earlier works, in which the villains were the European colonialists, has given way under the impact of the new reality of Kenya.

Petals of Blood reserves its most potent venom for the new black rulers with their flashy cars and harems. Tied financially to British and U.S. imperialism, their position rests on the ruthless exploitation of the worker and peasant masses who brought them to power. The shantytowns have grown larger. The villagers are driven from the land and into jobless poverty, prostitution, alcoholism and despair. The land is still owned by a privileged few, like the Kenyatta family—now one of the largest landowners.

In the novel the Trans-Africa Road has transformed Ngugi's fictional village of Ilmorog; but Karega, the trade-union organizer hero, says of such changes:

"Within only ten years—how time galloped, he thought—Ilmorog peasants had been displaced from the land: some had joined the army of workers, others were semi-workers with one foot in a plot of land and one foot in a factory, while others became petty traders in hovels and shanties they did not even own, along the Trans-Africa road, or criminals and prostitutes...."

Ngugi does not claim to be a Marxist, but the growth of political awareness in his characters is measured in the recognition that the struggle of the masses does not end with *uhuru* (independence). His hero builds a union

among the brewery workers of Ilmorog and leads a strike of "the children of the New Road" against the African bosses. He thinks of his own history along with the history of Kenya:

"The trouble with our trade unions is that too often they are led by businessmen...employers. How can an employer lead that which is fighting against employers? You cannot serve the interests of capital and labour at the same time. You cannot serve two opposed masters...one master loses... in this case labour... the work... the heat... crumbs from the table... I left... I walked from Mombasa... on foot... looked for jobs amongst agricultural plantation workers... But I could never stay more than two months... slaves... slavery... they are paid one hundred shillings a month... and for that they sell their whole family labour... man, wife and children... living in one hut... condemned to picking sisal and tea-leaves and coffee... Many times I would sit and think: we people... we built Kenya. Before 1895 it was Arab slavers disrupting our agriculture. After 1895 it was the European colonist; first stealing our land, then our labour and our own wealth in the way of taxation... so we built Kenya, and what were we getting out of the Kenya we had built on our sweat?" [ellipses in original]

Such thoughts, even placed in the mouths of fictional characters, are perilous in Kenya. Further, Ngugi has written a play in the tribal language of the Kikuyu, the largest and politically dominant tribe in Kenya. He said he wrote it so "my mother could understand it." But with the theme of hungry peasants and workers struggling against their neo-colonial exploiters, it was clear that Ngugi was aiming for a wider audience.

The Public Security Law under which Ngugi was arrested was often used against Kenyatta's opponents. The legal rights and conditions for political prisoners are worse than those for common criminals: no visits, no books, no letters, no writing and perhaps torture. But Ngugi can regard himself lucky that he has not already been murdered. When the president unleashed a wave of arrests of parliamentary opponents after the 1975 elections, he used a graphic analogy: "People appear to have forgotten," he said, "that

the hawk is always in the sky and ready to swoop on the chickens."

It is not likely that Ngugi forgot the hawk. He no doubt understood there were grave risks in attempting to puncture the wall of silence surrounding the decaying despotic regime. It was the truth about *uhuru* that Kenyatta hoped to silence with the imprisonment of this courageous novelist.

Kenyatta's successors may attempt to gain credibility by undoing the worst



Ngugi wa Thiong'o

Hill and Co.

excesses of the Kenyatta years. But Ngugi will remain a threat to them as well, for they too will be part of the tribalist cliques fronting for imperialist exploitation that *Petals of Blood* so sharply exposes. They too will try to suppress their critics with imprisonment or death. But it won't work. The utter failure of black nationalist rule to relieve the misery of the African masses cannot be hidden, and the rise of an independent workers movement cannot forever be prevented through demagoguery and repression. The international workers movement and all champions of democratic rights must come to the defense of Ngugi and others persecuted for telling the truth. Free Ngugi!

Telegrams of protest can be sent to: Acting President Daniel arap Moi, P.O. Box 30520, Nairobi, Kenya. ■

Kenyatta...

(continued from page 12)

modernize the country by attracting Western businesses, encouraging white settlers to go into industry, etc. The skyscrapers have soared in downtown Nairobi, and Kenya boasts an annual increase in its gross domestic product of 6.6 percent. Every month 700 new cars are imported for the new black commercial and governmental elite which jams the streets of Nairobi.

But in stark contrast to the tourist hotels and state office buildings, Nairobi also contains the shanty towns of the poverty-stricken workers and the unemployed. Six years ago the International Labor Office estimated that the unemployed and working poor made up 20 percent of the city. Even the World Bank has complained about what it terms "shortcomings in distribution and employment." It is not surprising that Nairobi has become an armed camp, due to the dramatic escalation of violent crimes.

Kenya's lumpenproletarians were only imitating the example of their rulers, among whom the Kenyatta

"royal family" has played a spectacular role. Together with his fourth wife, Mama Ngina, Kenyatta controlled the Nairobi gambling casino, coffee and sisal plantations, office buildings, manufacturing firms and tourist resorts. Mama Ngina is reputedly the leading trader in ivory exports, which threaten to decimate Kenya's elephant herds. Kenyatta's sister, the mayor of Nairobi, is reportedly also involved in the ivory smuggling. Acting as classical upstart despots, the Kenyattas simply deported businessmen seeking to obtain payment of large outstanding bills owed them by the family.

But in addition to corruption, Kenyatta's other concern was far more sinister: "For a country with Kenya's well-earned [!] reputation for democratic orderliness," wrote the *Toronto Globe and Mail* (23 May 1975), "the mortality rate among politicians is striking. Mysterious car accidents, killing of MPs and party politicians have been numerous." In 1969 the flamboyant CIA-backed trade-union leader Tom M'boya was slain. M'boya was from the minority Luo tribe. In 1966 Oginga Odinga, a Luo opposition leader alternately courted by the Chinese and Soviets, was forced into

retirement, and subsequently his aide Pio Pinto, an Indian, was shot.

In 1975 J.M. Kariuki, a wealthy Kikuyu and Kenyatta's most powerful competitor within the clique-ridden ruling party, was kidnapped from the Nairobi Hilton Hotel and murdered. Kariuki had been the major parliamentary critic of the ivory contraband and had introduced a bill limiting the size of landholdings. A parliamentary inquiry accused the commander of the General Services Unit (GSU) of complicity in the murder. The GSU is a military force drawn from the same sub-group of the Kikuyus as Kenyatta and acted as his Praetorian Guard counterbalancing the regular army, which is primarily composed of members of the small Kamba tribe.

Kariuki was a Mau Mau veteran, and at his burial another former rebel leader and now MP, Waruru Kanja, proclaimed: "We are ruled by gangsters. We know of these dirty plans by a certain clique. But we shall not yield an inch. We shall die one by one telling the truth just as Mr. Kariuki has and be thrown into Ngong Hills for hyenas to eat."

The following two years saw the arrest of five MPs, while oppositionists were warned that "to imagine, devise or

intend the death or deposition of the president" was a capital offense. More recently Ngugi wa Thiong'o, a well-known novelist, was arrested for writing *Petals of Blood*, which severely criticizes the Kenyatta regime. Less well-known is Kenyatta's suppression of students and workers strikes in 1974. That year the University of Nairobi, Kenyatta University College and the East African Railway Training School were shut down in a protest over school conditions while railway and bank workers went on strike for higher wages. In response Kenyatta imposed an indefinite ban on all strikes.

The Fruits of Tribalism

Despite Nairobi's skyscrapers and foreign cars tribes remain the dominant form of social organization. The tribalism and political murder in Kenyatta's Kenya differ from Idi Amin's blood-soaked Uganda only in scale. Ethnic divisions in these artificial states inherited from colonialism have not been overcome by a revolutionary social overturn and genuine economic development. Rather, the old tribalism is strengthened by the contending bourgeois cliques

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Steel...

(continued from page 2)

and defend any steel workers victimized for refusing to cross a picket line."

For Union Democracy—No Government Intervention in Internal Union Affairs!

The opposition bureaucrats are accusing McBride of planning to replace referendum election of International officers by their election at conventions. It is certainly true that at present the McBride bureaucrats would prefer election of officers at conventions, where the presence of several hundred appointed staff men, and numerous delegates with proxy votes in addition to their own, works in favor of the International. For their part, Sadlowski & Co. support referendum elections simply because they think it presently affords them a better chance of being elected.

In fact, the present membership referendum is hardly the most democratic method of electing International officers. Such a procedure, in which individual candidates confront an atomized membership, leaves sections of the geographically dispersed membership inaccessible to all but the most powerful machines and tends to de-emphasize the crucial question of the candidates's program in favor of publicity throw-aways. Militants should fight for annual, democratically elected and conducted conventions, at which officers would be elected on the basis of the positions they took on the concrete issues debated by the delegates. Such a procedure, which in fact existed in the early years of the United Auto Workers, provides a basis for real political struggle at conventions at which opposing caucuses can compete for the support of delegates, and that is why it is anathema to both the McBride and Sadlowski bureaucrats. Of course, in the present context, to vote for a McBride proposal for election of officers at undemocratically run conventions would represent no extension of union democracy; militants would be forced to abstain on such a resolution.

The slogan of "union democracy" has traditionally been used by opposition bureaucrats as a cheap ploy to unseat the incumbents without changing any real policies. After all, who ever ran for union office claiming to oppose democracy? Abel shouted "union democracy" in his campaign to oust McDonald. Now Sadlowski & Co. use the same vapid slogans against Abel's successor McBride. But in reality, neither wing of the USWA bureaucracy has any right to claim the mantle of workers democracy, whose very existence demands the independence of the trade unions from the capitalist government. Sadlowski has consistently sought to get the federal government to supervise, re-run and inspect union elections, using the reactionary Landrum-Griffin Act. The USWA International recently retaliated, suing Sadlowski for accepting financial support from wealthy liberals and corporate foundations. The capital-

ist government intervenes in unions not to guarantee "democracy" but to strait-jacket union militancy, as can easily be seen in the case of the Mine Workers, and to assert and reinforce its "right" to run the internal affairs of the unions. Placed in power by the Labor Department, the Mine Workers' Arnold Miller quickly showed his loyalty to his patrons in the government, breaking wildcats, attempting to enforce anti-strike injunctions and during the recent contract struggle functioning literally as a stooge for Jimmy Carter. Steel worker militants must demand that the government keep its hands off the union!

For a Workers Party to Fight for a Workers Government

At a time when arch-conservative AFL-CIO head George Meany has become increasingly critical of Carter, USWA delegates should be outraged that the Democratic president has been invited to address the Steelworkers convention. Carter's hardlining in the postal negotiations, his threat to use federal troops against striking postal workers, following his attempt to invoke Taft-Hartley against the coal miners, only underscore the viciously anti-labor character of the Democratic Party. Delegates must repudiate both capitalist parties and instead call for building a workers party based on the unions.

Both McBride and Sadlowski endorsed Carter in the last elections. And both wings of the USWA bureaucracy falsely look to the Democratic Party and the capitalist state to bail out workers from the crisis in steel—McBride through his advocacy of protectionist legislation, Sadlowski/Balanoff primarily through their impotent appeals to Carter to force the steel trusts to become more "competitive" by lowering prices and accepting cuts in profits. The steel crisis, fueled by the declining competitiveness of the domestic industry, will only intensify as the economy turns downward. The American steel bosses can restore higher profit levels only at the expense of steel workers, through more speedup, plant closings and cuts in wages and pensions, or by exporting the crisis abroad by restricting foreign imports, thereby precipitating trade wars and threatening a new world war. In supporting the capitalist parties and their system of cut-throat competition and inevitable depressions, both the McBrides and Sadlowskis betray the interests of the working class. Only by smashing capitalism and replacing it with a workers government, which would run the steel industry as part of a planned, centralized economy, will the genuine needs of steel workers and all other workers be met, putting an end to unemployment, inflation and war.

Militant Campaigns for Convention Delegate

In sharp contrast to the dead-end varieties of pro-capitalist unionism endorsed by both wings of the USWA bureaucracy, at least one candidate for convention delegate ran on a class-struggle program. Sam Hunt, of U.S. Steel Local 1104 in Lorain, Ohio, while not elected, received a substantial 15 percent of the vote in his first bid for delegate. Hunt, who is respected for his adamant refusal to cross picket lines, ran on a program and established record of principled opposition to both the Abel/McBride and Sadlowski/Balanoff bureaucrats, as well as their local apologists.

Opposing the bureaucracy's protectionism, which only pits U.S. against foreign workers, Hunt called for creating more jobs at company expense through a shorter workweek at no cut in pay. And while both McBride and Sadlowski/Balanoff are preparing to shelve the strike issue at the convention, Hunt submitted a resolution calling for an end to ENA and all no-strike clauses in the contract and preparation for an

industrywide strike for jobs for all. Instead of the bureaucracy's whimpering to the government over plant closings, Hunt demanded a labor mobilization, plant occupations and nationalization to reopen all shut steel plants.

Hunt also blasted the "affirmative action" Consent Decree, which has been essentially endorsed by both factions of the USWA bureaucracy. He condemned it for allowing the government to meddle in union affairs and rewrite the contract, while at the same time preserving the heart of the discriminatory departmental seniority system through which blacks and other minorities are maintained in the dirtiest, lowest paying jobs. Against this racist, union-busting scheme, Hunt called for USWA action to establish full plantwide seniority, union control of hiring and upgrading on a first-come, first-served basis, ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment, maternity leave at full pay and 24-hour childcare centers financed by the companies. Hunt also demanded that the USWA fight for integrated housing and education and mobilize labor/black defense guards to crush the Nazis, Klan and other scum who seek to organize racist terror campaigns.

Hunt referred to his consistent record of seeking to get the union to take up fighting policies. In contrast, he noted that the fake-militant Rank and File Committee (RAFC), affiliated to the National Steelworker Rank and File Committee which is politically supported by the reformist Communist Party, has time after time allied itself with the bureaucracy to derail and sabotage militant action and labor solidarity. Hunt pointed, for example, to the RAFC and bureaucrats' joint opposition to his call on the USWA to hot-cargo scab coal and organize a one-day work stoppage to protest Taft-Hartley during the miners strike. Hunt pointed out in a August 13 leaflet that RAFC, which also supported Democratic Party politicians and endorsed court suits against the union, repudiated militant struggles because "they are too busy tailoring their program to fit the likes of Arnold Miller and Sadlowski/Balanoff."

The USWA can become a union that genuinely fights for the interests of the rank and file. But it will not be done by the Sadlowskis and Balanoffs, any more than by the Lloyd McBrides. Only when steel workers are won to a program of class struggle and rid themselves of the pro-capitalist, scabherding labor fakers of all stripes, can the USWA be transformed into a militant, class-struggle union. ■

Fall-Out...

(continued from page 2)

politically supported by the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP), suddenly denounced both the Chico and SOS slates. Despairing of winning any support for its policies inside the union (its convention candidates finished last), Breakout announced plans to help organize an impotent demonstration outside the upcoming USWA convention, claiming that the convention will be a "stacked deck" and that "our main force will clearly be on the outside." Of course, what these patently dishonest opportunists failed to mention is that in the past they have supported and built illusions in the traitors like Sadlowski, Balanoff and Chico who will be inside the convention!

Militants should draw the lessons from the fiasco of Sadlowski-ism in Local 65. The bureaucratic and class-collaborationist Chico regime is exactly what Sadlowski in power would be. By continuing to back Sadlowski the pseudo-socialists reveal the emptiness of their revolutionary pretensions: varying shades of red rhetoric on the outside but one and the same brand of cringing reformism in the unions. ■

Cleveland Recall...

(continued from page 4)

layoffs, months of payless paydays and two years without a raise.

In sheer magnitude, Cleveland's fiscal crisis is not as great as New York City's 1975 collapse (although a Kucinich leaflet echoed Abe Beame's swan song and begged voters to "Give him time to finish the job"). However, the consequences for the working people will be no less disastrous. The imperialist bourgeoisie is ultimately unwilling to let the world headquarters of its financial and corporate empire go down the tubes. But Cleveland is a different matter. The golden age of John D. Rockefeller, Andrew Carnegie and Mark Hanna is a faint memory. Standard Oil's cancellation of plans for a long-awaited office tower in decrepit Public Square was merely another nail in the coffin. Every year 25,000 more leave the city than come in. U-Haul firms have to import empty vehicles to keep pace with the exodus. Endless editorial reminders of the excellent orchestra and museum will not stem the tide. The city's own bourgeoisie has itself despaired. "Leadership in Cleveland," the *New York Times* recently noted, "has left for the suburbs entirely."

For the working class the decay has been evident for decades, as Cleveland has lost over half its jobs in heavy industry since the 1950's. For blacks it is worse. Last year teenage unemployment in the Glenville ghetto area was 40 percent. And the bourgeoisie knows well that Glenville could explode again as it did in 1968: code 7 on city bus radios is for "civil disorder." As in many another decaying metropolis the general hopelessness spawns racist reaction and even fascism among poor whites, with blacks the inevitable target. For months the swastika-adorned office of the United White People's Party has stood unmolested on the near West Side. The home of NAACP president Austin Cooper was recently fired upon by night riders—one week after delivery of a Ku Klux Klan letter naming Cooper as the tenth on a list of those to be hanged.

"Left" Idiocy in the Recall Dogfight

Kucinich's slimy career as an ambitious racist con man, cynically claiming to support the little guy, typifies the record of most American politicians. Had he been removed from office under the current relationship of class forces, it would have been primarily for firing Hongisto and for insufficient respect for the Democratic Party establishment—hardly crimes in the eyes of the working class. Supporting the recall only meant spreading illusions in the Forbes wing of the party.

However, faced with a choice between two anti-black, anti-working-class forces, the reformist left took opposite sides. The Socialist Workers Party's *Militant* (11 August) admitted that "replacing him [Kucinich] with another Republican or Democrat won't solve anything" but nevertheless backed the Democratic machine's recall effort. The Communist Party (CP) supported the "anti-monopoly mayor," even implying that Kucinich supports busing. The CP's *Daily World* (5 August) hoped that widespread "disgust and disaffection" with the bourgeois political parties would lead to a new formation consisting of Kucinich, the UAW Democratic Committee members and "other independent progressives."

Under militant leadership, the labor movement would draw the conclusions from the obvious dead end of bourgeois politics and struggle for the construction of a workers party which would fight for a workers government. The parties of capitalism offer nothing but continued unemployment, exploitation and racial oppression. ■

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NYC Press Strike...

(continued from page 7)

Post. People were scandalized when *News* columnist Jimmy Breslin crossed the lines—instantly he was labeled “Son of Scab.” Altogether there have been only a handful of these scum. At the *Times* building the strikers keep a camera on hand to photograph the scabs after Guild representatives, standing by, identify them. At the same time the publishers continue to hold out in the hope that, as the strike enters its second month, they can undermine the present unity and persuade one or more of the craft unions to return to work. As a minimal step the unions must insist that no one go back to work until the demands of all the striking unions are satisfactorily resolved. Such a policy, combined with an aggressive strike strategy that would put the unions on the offensive against the publishers, provides the key to maintaining the labor solidarity crucial to winning this strike.

The Parasite Papers

Since the strike removed the three dailies from NYC newsstands, several small-time publishers with ambitions to make a quick buck have moved to satisfy New Yorkers' craving for news with tabloid-size “interim” papers. The three biggest—*City News*, *Daily Press* and the *Metro* function roughly as satellite operations of the *Times*, *News* and *Post*, respectively. Printed in the suburbs at what passes there for “union scale,” and written by Guild reporters and staff writers, the new rags got off the ground when the struck publishers turned over distribution networks and advertising lists for the use of the new dailies. *Post* publisher Rupert Murdoch reportedly bought up the first 150,000 copies of *Metro* for his Queens subscribers who might otherwise be lost to the *Long Island Newsday*.

These “interim” papers, these parasites, exist primarily to provide a cushion for the publishers by getting the advertisers off their backs. Also, by at least minimally quenching the NYC population's thirst for news, they take off a lot of the social pressure for a quick settlement. Thus these parasitic rags are intended by the publishers to be—and are inherently—strikebreaking newspapers. While most of the new dailies insist they will close down after the strike, rumors are flying that, if the situation drags on, Murdoch may simply fold the failing *Post* and run with the cheaper new paper. For the publishers, the parasitic “interim” papers are a partial and highly unsatisfactory stop-gap solution. Before the strike solidarity prevented it, the newspaper bosses were preparing to run a major *Washington Post*-style scabherding operation out of the struck plants. At *WV* press time it was reported that the publishers may now be preparing to try such an action again; they are apparently negotiating to put out a joint major Manhattan-based scab daily.

It is clear why the publishers are backing the “interim” papers; what may not be immediately obvious is why the printing union bureaucracy cooperates in letting these parasitic rags come out. Just like the ITU, which chose not to fight but to gut the union in exchange for lifetime job security, the Pressmen's bureaucracy is mainly concerned with keeping the strike within the limits of narrow craft unionism. Accepting the bureaucratic separation of the craft divisions, they find the parasitic press a convenient way to piece off reporters, mailers and drivers and to keep them from scabbing on the strike. Given the obvious demand for news the bureaucrats also try to get off the hook and allow the “interim” papers to come out in order to avoid becoming the target of popular anger over the lack of papers. This unholy alliance, where inherently strike-

breaking newspapers are put out for the mutual convenience of bosses and reformist union leaders who both want to make the situation less explosive, can be likened to a popular front. And like a political popular front, the ultimate effect and purpose is to prevent the workers from engaging in militant struggle against their exploiters. In this case, the “interim” papers serve to *lengthen* the strike, removing social pressure for a quick settlement, and to *isolate* the strikers.

Of course the printing trades bureaucracy will argue that there is no alternative—that if they shut down the parasitic press the Guild will go back to work, the deliverers will scab and the pressmen will be alone. Is there really no alternative to allowing these papers to come out until management can induce one or another union to go back just like at the *Washington Post*? Is there really no alternative to sitting back and waiting



Newspaper Guild pickets outside the Daily News building in June. WV Photo

while the *Metro* grows up to take the place of the *Post* or the sinister Murdoch gets his big-time scab operation running? This is what will happen without a strategy to appeal to the interests of all sections of the working class.

There *are* alternatives—concrete steps which could break the pressmen and other striking unions out of the present dead-end configuration and put the bosses on the run. What they require is a militant struggle which does not accept the narrow limits of craft unionism. For example, look how the present situation would be unlocked if the striking unions were to launch a fight for a *labor daily* in New York City. In the 1926 British general strike the striking unions successfully maintained popular support for their struggle and countered the government's union-busting daily rag by putting out a large-scale strike daily. In the present situation, particularly with the publishers now threatening to put out an undisguised scab paper, the proposal for a labor daily becomes more important than ever.

New Yorkers are clamoring for their newspapers? The labor movement can give them a high quality daily, not a glorified TV guide/shoppers throwaway, and one which tells the true story about the strike. Is there a danger of Newspaper Guild scabbing? The unions will hire them, at full NYC scale! Are New Jersey pressmen putting out the bosses' parasitic papers at less than NYC rates? Let the union daily newspaper be printed by the *same* workers, not at Jersey rates, at full New York City scale! Instead of pitting NYC against Jersey workers, establish the principle that any newspaper coming into New York City is printed at NYC wage scales! Such a program would reveal the interim papers as scab operations and lay the basis for New York and New Jersey workers to line up at the Holland Tunnel and stop the scab bundles as they come through!

Not just the printing trades workers, but *all* of NYC labor must be lined up behind a labor daily—for the whole labor movement has a burning interest in winning this strike. So far the Central

Labor Council has given the pressmen only the most token support, just as they do with any other strike. The Labor Council hasn't waged a struggle in decades; they long ago abandoned the traditional Labor Day parades. But what a powerful show of support it could have been to have a million workers marching in the streets, all with the first copy of *New York's Labor Paper* in their hand!

Another important aspect to the union paper would be the principle of *no capitalist advertising*. Our allies are not Murdoch and the department stores, but the workers of New York City, Cast A&S and Macy's into the outer darkness, then let them go and scream at the publishers. The union paper can have the sports-page, pictures of the Pope and Jackie Kennedy, whatever, but no capitalist advertising. To help the Central Labor Council finance the paper let the pension funds liquidate some of the Big MAC bonds back into wages for the Guild

an infamous autocrat and the ruling clique of the world's most populous deformed workers state is not a new development. Ever since Mao began courting the “King of Kings” in 1973, Iran has occupied an important place in Peking's heart. Dispensing with its usual aesopian language, Peking bluntly called upon the Shah to build a veritable military juggernaut to confront the USSR and to police the Persian Gulf, particularly Oman, where guerrilla forces (formerly supported by Peking) were threatening a medieval sultanate. For example, the official Peking news agency Hsinhua in its Tokyo-edition *Daily News Release* of 17-18 June 1973 put it bluntly:

“[Iran] has to strengthen its defenses in view of the prevailing situation in the region. It is necessary and understandable for Iran to take measures to strengthen her defenses for safeguarding her security, independence and sovereignty.... We hope and are convinced that your country, under the leadership of His Imperial Majesty the Shahanshah, will build herself into a prosperous and powerful country.”

quoted in *China's Alliance with U.S. Imperialism* (Spartacus Youth League Pamphlet)

Peking has had nothing but praise for “His Imperial Majesty the Shahanshah” as the Iranian army bombed everything that moved across the interior of Oman and SAVAK rounded up everyone in Iran suspected of being opposed to the regime. Contrary to the delusions of a number of now homeless Maoists these crimes are not peculiar to the palace coup which brought Hua and Teng to power. Support to the Shah, to the Chilean junta, to Ceylonese counter-revolution, to NATO all occurred while Chiang Ching stalked the Forbidden City. The roots of Chinese betrayals lie in the extreme (and in this case anti-Soviet) nationalism that is endemic to Stalinist bureaucratic rule.

Yugoslav Socialism

The itinerary of Hua's recent travels clearly reveals the anti-Soviet monomania which dominates all Chinese diplomatic maneuvers. For, apart from Iran, the other two countries on Hua's tour were precisely those European deformed workers states which have historically been thorns in the side of the Kremlin—Yugoslavia and Romania.

Romania, a Warsaw Pact member, has always been circumspect in its “independence.” Hence, Romanian president Nicolae Ceausescu was reportedly careful to obtain Brezhnev's approval before inviting Hua and took additional care to guarantee that nothing too provocative was uttered during the latter's stay. But Hua operated with far less constraints in Belgrade. Clearly feeling an anti-Soviet kinship with Tito, Hua praised Yugoslavia (on the tenth anniversary of the Soviet attack on Czechoslovakia) for its struggle to “repel any enemy that would dare mount an invasion.”

Such affection is not without its ironies. Titoism was for many years the cardinal heresy in Maoist dogma. Mao supported Tito's expulsion from the Cominform and described Titoism as “dangerous revisionism.” During the initial period of the Sino-Soviet schism Tito acted as a surrogate target for Chinese polemics against Khrushchev.

But the Serbo-Croatian “counterrevolution” appears to have gone the way of the “Gang of Four.” Thus, recently printed editions of a 1962 speech by Mao which contained an attack on Tito no longer brand Yugoslavia as a “bourgeois country”; and in the last year forty Chinese delegations have been sent to study Yugoslav so-called “workers self-management.”

State-to-State

Yet tactful incursions onto the Soviet Union's East European turf are small change in the worldly schemes of the Heavenly Palace. For the essence of Chinese foreign policy is to cement an anti-Soviet alliance with teeth, the sort

writers and union printers!

A New York City labor daily can be the mechanism to break through the bosses/bureaucrats' unholy alliance and broaden the terms of the strike so that a victory for the printers is a victory for New York City labor. In making a direct appeal to the interest of the suburban printing workers it lays the basis for a fight for a hard, uniform, high printers wage rate in America.

The printing and newspaper industries should be covered by a strong industrial union. As it is, the publishers adroitly play one union off against another, using the advances of technology not to improve working conditions but to introduce speedup and break the several craft labor organizations, increasing the already despotic powers of the publishers over their employees. New York is the stronghold of the printing trades unions, and the present strike represents a key opportunity to put a halt to the alarming decline of these unions by building on the already present inter-union solidarity. But to do so requires a bold policy which can speak to the interests and felt needs of the entire printing trades, the rest of the labor movement and the working people of New York. Having stood idly by as the public employees unions were straitjacketed by Big MAC, and viewing the steady drain of jobs from New York, the labor movement has a vital interest in seeing the present newspaper strike *broadened* so that it can *beat* the publishers' union-busting offensive. Keep the newspaper strike front solid—for a labor daily in New York! ■

Hua/Shah...

(continued from page 12)

partially inspired by a sinister meddling by Moscow and warned against “superpower intervention in the affairs of other countries.”

The Hua-Shah Pact

The spectacle of an alliance between

of teeth possessed by imperialism and its lackeys.

Within the last year China has signed a "Peace and Friendship" treaty with Japan that contained an anti-"hegemony" (the polite term for "social imperialism") clause, sent foreign minister Huang Hua weapons-shopping to NATO, established diplomatic relations with the feudal sheikdom of Oman, made overtures to Saudi Arabia and Kuwait and sent advisers to train the forces of the Zairean despot Mobutu Sese Seko.

While hard-core Maoists will protest that these are merely "state-to-state" relations which do not diminish the revolutionary luster of China's policies, they are probably the only people in the world who continue to believe this. For wherever there are anti-Soviet points to be scored—in Chile, Pakistan, Angola or Zaire—China has been quick to abet imperialist reaction.

"Human Rights"

The linchpin of current Chinese policies and the development which has provided most of the openings to the neocolonialist tyrants of the "non-aligned" countries and to the weapons markets of NATO is the alliance between China and U.S. imperialism itself. Last spring the Carter administration decided to play the "China card" in its anti-Soviet "human rights" campaign. As a demonstration of his intentions, Carter dispatched his two most crazed hawks, Zbigniew Brzezinski and Sam Huntington, to China last May. In Peking Brzezinski allayed Chinese uneasiness about SALT while Huntington described his to-date secret magnum opus, Presidential Review Memorandum-10, to an attentive Teng. The atmosphere was so cordial that at the Great Wall of China, Brzezinski was heard to quip, "The last one to the top gets to fight the Russians in Ethiopia."

The fruits of this friendship were soon forthcoming. Shortly after the Brzezinski trip, the heads of NASA, the National Science Foundation and the National Institute of Health visited Peking. At the same time, Carter convinced Japan to sign its treaty with China and announced that he would not oppose weapons sales to Peking.

It has since become obligatory for every anti-Soviet heavy to play the "China card." Close on Brzezinski's heels was Eugene V. Rostow, founder of the anti-Communist Committee on the Present Danger. At the recent Western European Union meeting, right-wing British Tories led the fight to approve military aid to Peking. Carter has arranged a fall visit to China by his most versatile warmonger, Peking favorite James Schlesinger. And Ronald Reagan, himself, is toying with the idea of a pilgrimage.

Russian Roulette

Despite the admiration of Western journalists for the diplomatic shrewdness of Teng and Hua, Peking is playing a very dangerous game. Aside from the atrocious and concrete aid given to reactionary tyrants, aid which weakens the working class internationally, Chinese foreign policy threatens the existence of the Chinese deformed workers state itself.

For the guns with which Peking wishes to ally and strengthen—those of NATO, CENTO and U.S. imperialism—are just as surely directed at Peking as at the Soviet heartland. Imperialism's overriding hostility toward the Soviet Union derives from a recognition that it is by far the most powerful of the states that have broken from the world capitalist system. In the final analysis, it is only the existence of the militarily powerful USSR which protects the social revolution that occurred in China in 1949. Should the present anti-Soviet fantasies of the Maoist bureaucracy ever be realized, China too will be restored to a state of colonial subjugation even worse than

under Chiang Kai-shek. And the triumphant imperialists will certainly exterminate the leaders of the Chinese bureaucracy to whom they now bestow diplomatic courtesies. This might be considered poetic justice, but it will be scant retribution for the most terrible of counterrevolutionary betrayals. ■

Letelier...

(continued from page 7)

ITT executive Edward Gerrity are being dropped. Gerrity was indicted for perjury in denying his company's role in trying to buy the 1970 Chilean elections. In fact, the rest of the charges may be dropped as well in order to protect government secrets; a Justice Department spokesman noted that "cases like this are under constant review."

From the moment of Letelier's assassination we insisted on the guilt of Pinochet's DINA. And it's nice that a little justice is finally being done. But we warned against any reliance on the obviously complicit U.S. imperialist state:

"We demand that the assassins of Orlando Letelier be arrested and prosecuted, but we express our utter lack of confidence in the U.S. bourgeoisie to do so! We denounce as well the complicity of the American government in this vile assassination. How is it possible that Pinochet's hit men are able to carry out their murderous work in the streets of Washington with impunity? The answer is all too obvious.

"The world working class must raise a mighty cry of protest against the brutal murder of Orlando Letelier. Not a penny of aid to the Junta! Hot cargo Chilean goods! The assassination of Orlando Letelier will be avenged through proletarian revolution to smash the blood-soaked Pinochet dictatorship!

"Pinochet Asesino! Orlando Letelier Murdered," *WV* No. 126, 24 September 1976

Those who looked to the "democratic" imperialists to topple the Pinochet regime gave a shout of joy when on August 2 the U.S. House of Representatives voted to embargo arms to Chile. But only a day later their shouts were silenced as the fickle liberals backtracked on orders from Carter. This should be a lesson in the futility of relying on the class enemy to defend the oppressed and exploited. In contrast the Spartacist tendency points to the action of the San Francisco dock workers who last June pointed the way forward for proletarian solidarity with the Chilean masses by hot-cargoing bomb parts to the bloody junta (see "ILWU Stops Bombs to Chile," *WV* No. 210, 30 June 1978). It is through genuinely internationalist actions such as this, and through the forging of a revolutionary Trotskyist vanguard party in Chile itself—in bitter struggle against the Stalinist and social-democratic reformists who paved the way to the bloody September 11 debacle—that the Chilean workers will rise again.

Avenge Orlando Letelier! Not a "Human Rights" Junta "Made in U.S.A." but Workers Revolution to Smash the Chilean Terror Regime! ■

Kenyatta...

(continued from page 8)

within the Kenyan African Nationalist Union (KANU), the ruling party. The tribal chief's fly whisk is taken up in the service of the pin-striped suit.

Nowhere is this more clearly seen than in the struggle to succeed Kenyatta. Almost all of the contenders, members of Kenyatta's inner circle, come from the Kiambu district, as did Kenyatta. They all attended the Alliance High School in the town of Kikuyu and then Fort Hare University in South Africa. This Kikuyu inner circle has divided into factions, each seeking to get its candidate elected at the KANU party congress. On the conservative side is Charles Njonjo, the long-time attorney general, who recently called for an end

to the black African states' boycott of South Africa. Verbally more radical is the foreign minister Munyua Waiyaki, who postures as an "anti-imperialist" before the UN and Organization of African Unity.

In this situation, the interim president, Daniel arap Moi, from the tiny Kalenjin tribe, can only be the client of one of the Kikuyu factions (he is currently backed by Njonjo). The Kamba, small but powerful in the army, remain an unknown factor. It is worth noting that in Uganda, Amin's rule is based on a small Nilotic tribe which has virtually monopolized the army and had to viciously oppress the other, larger tribes to remain in power.

But it is not surprising that KANU, which was touted as the great unifier of the Kenyan peoples, is in reality a factional cockpit for the Kikuyu elite. Mzee, the "Grand Old Man" of Kenya, rose to the presidency as a Kikuyu tribalist. From the start he defended even the most retrograde and barbaric practices of the Kikuyu heritage. Thus in a famous anthropological study, *Facing Mount Kenya*, he defended the brutal practice of clitoridectomy (*ina*) performed on young girls at the age of puberty, on the grounds that it was a mechanism for tribal solidarity.

The basic forces are the same, whether in the 47 military-ruled states of black Africa, the few remaining islands of phony "African socialism" or this "showcase" of liberal neo-colonialist rule. At most a thin veneer of western culture and capitalist economy is laid over traditional social structures. An Oxford-educated elite may be at home in the capitals of Europe, but as soon as any serious social unrest breaks out, the underlying tribalism and other indices of backwardness are quickly bared. This is not merely a holdover from the past: imperialism actually intensified and formalized ethnic rivalries with its divide-and-rule policies. Today the same patterns are fostered by the requirements of maintaining a political base in an environment of massive poverty.

In the epoch of the great bourgeois revolutions, the destruction of feudal barriers led to (and was the result of) a powerful development of productive forces. But in the period of imperialist

decay, the ruling class necessarily maintains institutions of economic and social backwardness out of fear of the consequences of an uprising by the oppressed masses. The national independence which Kenyatta helped attain is a historic advance over colonialist rule fundamentally because it is now the domestic tyrant and not the foreign invader which confronts the Kenyan masses. The task before the African workers and peasants is to overthrow all the neo-colonialist frontmen, from the bloody-handed "Marxist" sergeants and the "African socialists" to the tribalist demagogues. ■

Teamster Strike...

(continued from page 5)

315." But with the help of Joe Lindsay, a well-known supporter of the Communist Party, this necessary motion was defeated in favor of the bureaucracy's deliberately vague position for "full support." To date, the official ILWU position has been to refuse to handle scab goods only where there is an IBT picket physically present—knowing full well that Grami & Co. are trying to restrict Teamster pickets to only a few locations. Thus so far ILWU solidarity actions have been limited to honoring actual IBT picket lines, such as at the Safeway facilities in San Francisco, Sacramento and San Leandro, while ILWU members are ordered by their leaders to load and unload scab trucks elsewhere.

So far, there has not emerged in the striking Teamster locals a leadership capable of clearly counterposing itself to and defeating Grami & Co. Local 315, with an elected strike committee and an active membership, has displayed resourceful militancy. But to get strike sanction from Joint Council No. 7, the Local gave over its power of attorney in bargaining over wages and grievance procedures to the bureaucratically dominated Council. It now faces the distinct possibility of either a horrible sellout or isolation should the other Teamster locals return to work under terms dictated by the Council.

The small Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU) group—whose main activity is filing court suits against the corrupt IBT leadership—now finds their black-robed allies in the forefront of the assault on their union. Though a TDU leaflet dated 27 August calls for mass picketing, there is no mention of the need for elected strike committees to translate this call into action and counter the IBT tops' sabotage of the strikers. The flip side of the TDU's continual reliance on the bosses' government to oust the Teamster misleaders is their inability to mobilize *within* the union against that same leadership in order to win a sharp class battle.

Ultimately, the bosses' mounting offensive can be repulsed only by a new class-struggle leadership in the Teamsters as well as the rest of the labor movement, committed to intransigent struggle against the employers, a break with the capitalist politicians and the fight for a workers party and workers government. The Trotskyists who led the 1934 Minneapolis general strike and who spearheaded the over-the-road organizing campaigns which established the Teamsters as a powerful industrial union were such leaders. Their rank-and-file support was so strong that it took government-ordered jailings in witchhunting frame up trials to remove them. Constructing such a leadership in the union is long overdue and must go hand-in-hand with the urgent and immediate tasks necessary to win the present fight of the northern California Teamsters: Elect strike committees—Mobilize mass picketing! Stop the scabs! Smash the injunctions! Call on labor to hot cargo struck goods! Jail the murderer of Randy Hill! Victory to the Teamster strike! ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

The Career of a Pan-Africanist Hero

Kenyatta: From Mau Mau Detainee to Imperialist Darling

In the early morning hours of August 22, Kenya's president Jomo Kenyatta died peacefully in his sleep while still in office, an uncommon end to the career of an African nationalist leader. In death as in life the legend of Kenyatta showed its power as thousands of mourners fought to view his body as it lay in state. The body of Mzee (the Old Man) was clad in a pin-striped suit, but the hands clutched the fly whisk of a tribal chief and an ivory-handled walking stick. The latter, Kenyatta's trademarks when alive, symbolized the fact that his rule was based on the Kikuyu tribe: the Saville Row suit was a mark of his accommodation to the British Empire after the achievement of *uhuru* ("freedom") for Kenya.

The throngs of foreign reporters arriving at Nairobi airport plunged into forecasts of the succession struggle which is expected to take place. For years the Western press has hailed Kenya as a model of political stability and economic growth. But upon Kenyatta's death it suddenly remembered the misery of the landless and unemployed, the corruption and political murders and the monopoly of wealth and power held by a clique of Kikuyu politicians. The Kenyan bourgeoisie and its imperialist backers wondered if the lid could be kept on without Kenyatta's incantations of *harambee* ("let us all work together").

Kenya had been held up as the model for a solution to the guerrilla war raging in Rhodesia. Kenyatta provided an

excellent example of a former "terrorist" turned "responsible statesman." Furthermore, if Kenya (with the aid of British funds) could gradually buy out the white settlers' holdings, then perhaps a similar arrangement could be made with the Rhodesian *colons*. But if the Kenyan masses, no longer mesmerized by the figure of Kenyatta, revolt against the accumulation of land, wealth and power in the hands of the Kikuyu elite, or if factional/tribal strife erupts, it could increase the panic sentiment among Rhodesian white settlers.

The Road to Uhuru

Kenyatta's legend began with his record of opposition to British colonialism, dating back to the 1920's, when he became the spokesman of the East African Association and then the Kikuyu Central Association, fighting for the restoration of the tribe's land. It was fed by nine years of British imprisonment and the hope that he was the man who could unify Kenya's feuding tribes.

But Kenyatta was also a "grand old man" of Pan Africanism. Like so many future Pan-Africanist leaders he briefly collaborated with such Soviet-backed groups as the League Against Imperialism. Together with George Padmore, C.L.R. James, W.E.B. DuBois and Kwame Nkrumah, he was a leading participant in the Sixth Pan-Africanist Congress in 1945. Thus, when he was imprisoned a few years later, there was a



Jomo Kenyatta

Eisenstaedt/Time

protest on his behalf across the continent.

Kenyatta's rise to fame must also be seen in the context of the post-World War II anti-British revolt, unique in Africa in its intensity. Groups of Kikuyu

tribesmen, bound together by oaths (not necessarily the fanatical religious cults painted by British propaganda), became the vehicle for nationalist sentiment and for mass resistance to the eviction of squatters from the white farms. Together with militant, underground trade unions, the oathing groups bypassed the moderate Kenyan African Union (KAU). In an attempt to control the movement, Kenyatta, then a KAU leader, was forced to step up his militant rhetoric.

Incidents of civil disobedience and sabotage against the white settlers mounted. The storm broke after attacks on pro-British black leaders. Kenyatta and others were arrested as the secret leaders of a "Mau Mau" conspiracy. While Kenyatta was imprisoned at hard labor as the result of this frame-up, the Land Freedom Army began its unevenly matched guerrilla war against the British.

Tens of thousands of Kikuyus were herded into concentration camps, and suspected "Mau Mau" members were brutally tortured. Although the rebels were ultimately defeated, they had demonstrated to declining British imperialism that it had to withdraw, however slowly, from direct rule over Kenya. When Kenyatta was released from detention in 1961, he had become the symbol of the independence struggle.

Behind the Democratic Facade

Once in power, Kenyatta sought to
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As Iran Despot Slaughters Hundreds

Chairman Hua Embraces Butcher Shah

As the blood of hundreds of anti-Shah demonstrators continued to flow in the streets of Iran, Chinese Communist Party chairman Hua Kuo-feng last week stood at the Shahyad monument to Persian kings and was presented with a golden key to Teheran by the murderous butcher Shah Reza Pahlavi.

Coming at the beginning of a three-day first-ever visit to Iran by Hua, this sickening gesture of friendship was symbolic of the profound and cynical contempt that the Stalinist bureaucracy ruling China has for the struggle against the police-state terror and autocratic rule of the Shah. Little does it matter to Hua & Co. that thousands upon thousands of the Shah's opponents are

languishing in dungeons and subjected to the most hideous tortures. What counts is that the Iranian despot is an enemy of so-called "Soviet social-imperialism"—and therefore a friend of the Peking cabal.

Thus, like the Ceylonese JVP, stabbed in the back by Mao in 1971, Iranian leftists who turned to Peking as a result of their betrayal by Moscow are witnessing their mentors embrace sadistic assassins. The reality behind the "Three Worlds"—"Two Lines"—"Social Imperialism" doubletalk spouted by Mao's heirs is starkly revealed to be naked support for anti-communist reaction.

Since January the Peacock Throne

has been beset by a tidal wave of anti-Shah protests by forces ranging from leftist students to fanatical religious obscurantists. The result has been the most significant buffeting of the Shah's rule in well over a decade. Not only the Pahlavis but also American imperialism is deeply concerned about the growing unrest in Iran. Despite its massive weapons buildup, the Pahlavi autocracy remains brittle. Consequently, the United States reportedly has decided that should the Iranian army and SAVAK prove incapable of effectively dealing with the Shah's opponents, it will act. At the special direction of defense secretary Harold Brown a 100,000-man American mobile unit is

being trained for that eventuality.

But U.S. capitalists are not the only people who feel a stake in the maintenance of one of the most despotic dictatorships on the face of the earth. After the protests in Teheran resumed on August 10, Hua announced that his stay in Iran would be extended to three days (although he decided to remain within the safe confines of the imperial palace and sent vice premier Chi Teng-kuen out to gawk at the royal jewels in his stead). That this was intended as a gesture of support to the Shah should be obvious. At a banquet given on the first day of his visit Hua clearly implied that the Shah's problems were at least

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