

THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY/PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

U.S.: Hands off Iranian revolution!

On New Years Eve one year ago, President Carter attended a lavish banquet at the palace of the shah.

Toasting his royal host, Carter spoke glowingly of "the respect, admiration and love of your people for you."

Iran is an "island of stability" in a turbulent part of the world, Carter said.

On New Years 1979—as millions of Iranian workers, peasants, and students brought the bloody tyrant to his knees—not even a shame-

An editorial

less liar such as Carter could repeat such claims.

But the government of the rich that Carter heads is not resigned to living with the powerful revolution now gaining speed in Iran. As strikes and demonstrations continue to challenge imperialist domination and monarchical rule in Iran, the danger of direct U.S. military intervention there is growing. This is doubly true as the conflagration in Iran ignites struggles among the oppressed from Turkey to Pakistan.

U.S. aggression in Iran also poses a threat to the Soviet Union. By doing so, Carter could plunge the world toward nuclear war.

American workers and all human rights supporters in this country must let Carter know that we will tolerate no interference whatsoever in the affairs of the Iranian people.

Warning signals have increased over the past few weeks:

- On December 29 Carter ordered the U.S. aircraft carrier *Constellation* to head toward the South China sea. There, equipped with some ninety jet fighters and accompanied by several navy destroyers, it is to be on alert to move into the Persian Gulf south of Iran.

Press accounts report discussions in Washington over whether entry into the Persian



Militant/Joe Gustafsen

Gulf right now could fuel rather than intimidate the anti-shah opposition. But Carter could give the order at any time.

- The big-business-owned press has helped Carter stir up a scare campaign about alleged dangers to the estimated 35,000 Americans who remain in Iran. "Humanitarian evacuations" have previously served as cover for imperialist invasions of Zaïre, the Dominican Republic, and the Congo—to cite just three examples.

- The Pentagon and CIA have also expressed concern about "sensitive" U.S.-

supplied military equipment falling into the hands of Iranian oppositionists and the Soviet Union. This, too, could be a pretext for intervention.

Fifteen years ago it would have been much easier for Washington to decide how best to protect its interests in Iran. In Korea, in Guatemala, in Lebanon, in the Dominican Republic—the U.S. government simply sent in troops. The shah himself came to power in a 1953 CIA-organized coup.

But then came Vietnam. And the anti-

Continued on next page

Carter denies asylum to Hector Marroquin

Emergency campaign needed to protest deportation threat



Militant/Della Rossi

HECTOR MARROQUIN

...hands off Iranian revolution!

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Vietnam War movement.

Pointing to this dilemma, *Newsweek* quotes the comment of an unnamed Washington "insider" about U.S. Ambassador to Iran William Sullivan. Sullivan was the U.S. envoy to Laos during the early years of the Vietnam War. "The old Bill Sullivan would be calling air strikes down on [Iran's] universities," the Washington source said. "He's not doing that now."

Drew Middleton, top military analyst for the *New York Times*, asked December 30: "Would a more impressive American show of force be tolerated by a public opinion still bearing the psychological scars of Vietnam?"

Middleton thought not.

Washington fears the revival of an antiwar movement in this country, especially as the American working class stirs under the combined blows of the capitalist austerity drive and the impact of social struggles of the 1960s and 1970s.

Carter knows that helping to salvage the regime of a brutal and discredited monarch is not likely to arouse much sympathy among the American people.

That's why the government and the capitalist press are churning out stories they hope can turn this sentiment around.

Washington warns about Soviet military intervention. This charge is especially cynical, since its "evidence" consists of articles in the Soviet press pointing to *real* U.S. military moves.

The U.S. rulers also slander the Iranian opposition as anti-Semitic. The only "proof" here is that the Iranian masses solidarize with the Palestinian fight against the Zionist-imposed settler-state in their homeland.

And the press continues to falsely portray the Iranian revolt as a frenzied religious movement to roll Iran back to the middle ages.

None of these lies have taken root among the American people.

That is a hopeful sign for the Iranian masses in their fight for democracy and human rights against a tyrant who has kept them enslaved to imperialist banks and corporations.

The Iranian people know that Washington is their deadly enemy. "U.S. imperialism pull out of Iran!" and "The American king should be hanged" have been major themes in all the demonstrations this fall.

Many Iranians also suspect that the new government the capitalists are trying to impose to replace the military regime is also subservient to Washington and Wall Street. "Death to Shapur Bakhtiar, henchman of American imperialism!" was chanted at a recent protest. Bakhtiar is the man picked by the shah to head the new regime.

Washington fears the democratic aspirations of the Iranian masses, because those hopes challenge the oppression and poverty off which U.S. corporate interests grow fat.

The imperialists can't afford to lose domination over Iran's rich oil fields, for example. The Iranian people have made clear that they won't allow that oil to provide the Zionist oppressors of the Palestinians with some three-quarters of their oil supplies, or the South African racists with nearly all their petroleum.

But it is only the very rich in this country who benefit from the repressive policies of the shah. The Democratic and Republican politicians who make up the government serve this handful.

The rest of us—the American working people and our allies—will gain from a victory by the Iranian people. We and they have a common enemy—the U.S. ruling class, which is on a drive to lower our living standards and trim our democratic rights.

We have to be alert to any U.S. moves against the Iranian revolution, and ready to do what is needed to oppose them.

Helping to explain the truth about the events in Iran is one of the most important things we can do right now.

There is a need for public meetings in this country to get out the facts and spotlight the importance of what is happening in Iran.

And that educational task is what the *Militant* has already been doing for months, and will be doing more of.

The *Militant* has answered the lies of the Carter administration and capitalist press point by point.

The *Militant* has provided extensive news coverage of events in Iran, often based on firsthand accounts from inside that country.

The *Militant* has carried interviews with



participants in the strikes and demonstrations.

And the *Militant* has analyzed the upsurge from a revolutionary socialist perspective and explained the views and political program of Iranian Trotskyists.

Our readers can play an important role in aiding the Iranian people in standing up against the shah without fear of U.S. troops, bombers, and gunboats.

Join with members of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance around the country in getting out the *Militant* as widely as possible on the job, on campus, and in Black and Chicano communities during the decisive weeks that lie ahead for the Iranian revolution.

Contact the socialist headquarters nearest you listed on page 27.

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U.S. & China

Thirty years after victory of the Chinese revolution, the U.S. government has finally been forced to recognize China. **Page 17.**

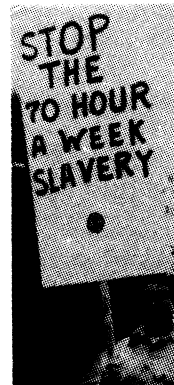


Teamster talks

With a March 31 contract deadline, Carter and trucking bosses are taking aim at the nation's largest union. **Pages 14-15.**

Setback for Eritrean liberation

Military defeats of Eritrean freedom fighters are a major blow to their struggle and to the Ethiopian revolution as well. **Page 10.**



The Militant

Editor: MARY-ALICE WATERS
Managing Editor: STEVE CLARK
Business Manager: ANDREA BARON

Editorial Staff: Peter Archer, Nancy Cole, David Frankel, Osborne Hart, Cindy Jaquith, Shelley Kramer, Ivan Licho, Omari Musa, Harry Ring, Dick Roberts, Andy Rose, Priscilla Schenk, Arnold Weissberg, Matilde Zimmermann.

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Shah's regime crumbles as revolution deepens

By Fred Feldman

With striking oil workers in the lead, the Iranian masses are scoring major gains in their struggle to topple the brutal regime that has oppressed them for decades. In a stirring demonstration of their power, about 67,000 workers who pump, refine, and ship Iranian oil—together with striking shopkeepers and workers in the railroads, airlines, post offices, banks, and electric company—have forced the shah's military government to submit its resignation.

"The army threat to dismiss striking workers failed to intimidate them," reported Youssef Ibrahim in the December 31 *New York Times*. "Round-ups of strike leaders only widened discontent. Pay raises of 60 to 100 percent failed to mollify workers. The navy's efforts to apply its technical expertise in the oil fields failed. Agreements struck with workers in the morning came unglued in the evening. New demands, all of them political, were made daily. . . .

"For the past three months, only the foreigners, many of them American, kept some of Iran's oil flowing with the help of skeleton staffs."

However, the anti-imperialist militancy of the oil workers and their co-fighters throughout Iran stymied such scabbing efforts. Many U.S. citizens employed by the oil industry have now left Iran, and more are planning to leave. "Iran's remaining oil production began to collapse," Ibrahim concluded, "and by the end of last week it was for all purposes nil."

The regime has been forced to halt oil exports and to import oil products for domestic use. "Tehran remains shut tight with only food stores and pharmacies open and some food items running short. Motorists are waiting in gasoline lines for hours, an average of



Oil workers staging sitdown at Abadan. Their three-month strike has brought Pahlavi dynasty to its knees.

24 hours before they reach the pump."

Mass demonstrations demanding an end to the monarchy and imperialist domination continue in every part of Iran. In Tehran, the December 27 *Washington Post* reported, "Mobs of mostly young protesters set up burning barricades across a number of streets. . . . The crowds gathered around the barricades and chanted slogans against Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi until troops arrived to disperse them."

Meanwhile the military rulers covered themselves with fresh coats of blood. Hundreds were murdered in Mashad when troops fired on crowds of demonstrators protesting an earlier massacre. The struggle in Mashad reached a high pitch.

According to the January 1 *Washington Post*, demonstrators seized most police stations in the city and burned an army commissary after distributing its contents to the people in the streets. The *Post* reported that the army pulled off the streets following protests against the bloodshed.

The January 3 *New York Post* reported how Mashad's working people dealt justice to the shah's U.S.—trained assassins and torturers: "In 'people's courts' set up in revolutionary style, the opponents sentenced at least four security officers to death, killed them and strung up their bodies on trees. . . ."

The refusal of Iran's workers, farmers, and small traders to be cowed by massacres is spurring unrest among rank-and-file soldiers. Hundreds desert their posts each day.

The January 1 *Time* reported an incident in the northern city of Tabriz: "As the chanting marchers approached, one soldier said he was going to join them. He was immediately shot by one of his comrades, who in turn was attacked by the angry crowd.

"The soldier who had fired was saved by the quick intervention of a colonel, who took off his own pistol and offered it to the demonstrators, shouting, 'We are the same people. Why do we kill each other?' After that, most of his soldiers stacked their arms in a truck and joined the marchers."

On December 31, U.S. Ambassador William Sullivan urged that dependents of Americans servicing the shah's regime leave Iran. Expressing the growing belief in imperialist circles that the shah couldn't crush the upsurge, one diplomat commented, "We don't expect things to improve any time soon."

The real meaning of the deepening Iranian revolution was summed up by Mohammed Rustamzadeh, a shepherd from the town of Baghefaiz: "The poor people are taking advantage of the trouble to get their own rights."

The growing self-confidence of the working people and the crumbling of the shah's regime sparked new maneuvers aimed at dampening the mass movement. The shah appointed a new civilian prime minister, while trying to assure his generals a free hand in efforts to drown the struggle in blood. On December 30 he chose a former oppositionist, Shahpur Bakhtiar, to head a "civilian government."

Bakhtiar's appointment was a transparent attempt to disguise the old regime. Bakhtiar accepted office from the shah, submitted his cabinet for the shah's approval, promised to preserve the monarchy, and refused to lift martial law.

In hopes of inducing opposition leaders to participate in his government, Bakhtiar promised that the shah would leave the country temporarily for medical treatment. This was immediately denied by other officials, who insisted the shah would remain in

charge. The shah himself, looking ashen and demoralized, told reporters January 1 that he would like to take a vacation "if the situation permits."

These contradictory claims reflect the desperate floundering and internal divisions of a disintegrating tyranny. Bakhtiar's deference to the shah exposes his recent promise to arrest and execute the worst criminals of previous governments. The Iranian people know that the worst of these criminals is Shah Reza Pahlavi himself. And the punishment they have proposed is hardly a "vacation."

The fear that haunts Bakhtiar, the generals, and their American backers is that the shah's departure might lift the lid on the growing discontent of rank-and-file soldiers.

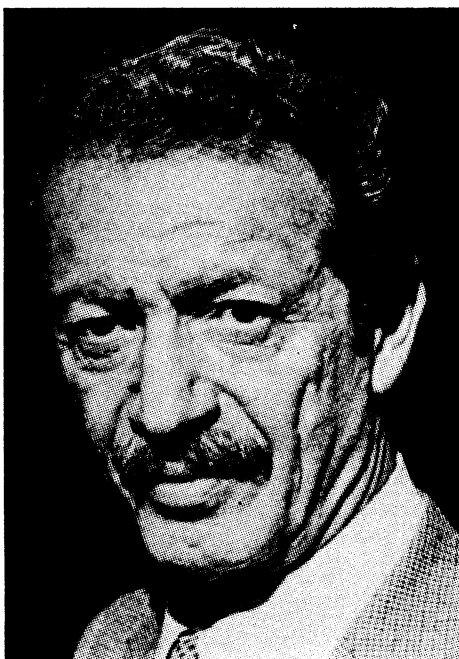
"The generals have both national and professional interests in trying to keep the Shah in the country," wrote Nicholas Gage in the January 3 *New York Times*. "They fear that his departure may shatter discipline in the armed forces, particularly in the lower ranks, and break the military will to continue resisting the demonstrators."

Efforts to save the monarchy—and to prevent the inspiration its downfall would provide to the masses, who have sacrificed so much for this goal—are not making headway.

Bakhtiar's oppositionist pretensions were punctured when even the procapitalist National Front—which has thus far disassociated itself from him—expelled him from its ranks.

Despite the pressure exerted by Bakhtiar and other procapitalist oppositionists on the oil workers to resume work, production remains paralyzed.

Stormy protests continued, including a demonstration of 100,000 in the wine-marketing center of Rizaiyeh. And in many cities, demonstrators have taken up a new chant: "Death to Shahpur Bakhtiar, henchman of American imperialism."



Shahpur Bakhtiar, shah's choice for prime minister.

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NEXT WEEK

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Capitalists oppose popular sovereignty

Why Iran needs a constituent assembly

By David Frankel

For weeks the shah of Iran has been desperately hunting for bourgeois opposition figures willing to help save his tottering monarchy. U.S. officials admitted December 15 that they were involved in secret negotiations for the formation of a new government under the shah.

Finally, on December 29, the Iranian people got a taste of the type of "reforms" the shah and his imperialist supporters are willing to concede.

Shahpur Bakhtiar, a former leader of the procapitalist National Front, announced that he would try to form a new government. Under Bakhtiar's plan, the shah would remain on his bloodstained throne, the shah would retain control of the armed forces, the shah would have to approve the composition of the new cabinet, and martial law would be lifted gradually "as order is restored"—that is, if the government is able to smash the mass movement for democratic rights.

Not surprisingly, Bakhtiar's miserable sell-out has been resoundingly rejected by the Iranian people, who are continuing their strikes and demonstrations against the dictatorship.

Meanwhile, the shah and his advisers continue to search among a handful of political and religious figures, generals, and top officials for an agreement that would bypass the Iranian masses.

Against such schemes, Iranian Trotskyists organized in the Sattar League propose the election of a constituent assembly by the Iranian people.

Why a constituent assembly?

The proposal for a constituent assembly is directed first of all against the continuation of the shah's rule. It gives a specific alternative to the dictatorship—the election by free and universal suffrage of a representative body that could debate the alternatives before the country and decide on them.

Just the call for such a reasonable and democratic alternative puts tremendous pressure on the shah's regime and helps to undercut maneuvers behind the back of the masses aimed at perpetuating the monarchy.

At the same time, the demand for a constituent assembly is also aimed at defending the interests of the working class, the poor peasants, the small shopkeepers, and the rest of Iran's toiling people who are exploited by world imperialism and the capitalist class.

Election of a constituent assembly would counter attempts by the capitalists to impose a government of their own on the Iranian people once the shah falls. Leaders of the National Front have announced that they are ready to form such a government if the shah goes. According to their scenario, the Iranian people would be presented with an accomplished fact, which they would be called upon to ratify in some type of plebiscite or referendum.

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

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

Democratic demand

Historically, the demand for a constituent assembly was first raised during the antifeudal revolutions that gave rise to modern capitalism.

During the French Revolution of 1789-94, for example, the constituent assembly passed the famous Declara-



Anti-shah protest in Tehran. Constituent assembly would put decision-making power in hands of masses.

tion of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen. It abolished the old feudal rights and privileges and gave the peasants title to the land.

Today the demand for a constituent assembly is a demand for the most complete freedom of expression. It calls for the broadest possible debate. It insists that the masses should decide for themselves the basis of a new order.

It is no accident that the shah, his imperialist backers in Washington, and the bourgeois opposition figures in Iran are all opposed to the demand for a constituent assembly. They are well aware that the whole point of a capitalist government is to keep the fundamental decisions *out* of the hands of the masses, not to put the decision-making power *into* their hands.

For these reasons, the proposal for a constituent assembly is a key demand today for advancing the socialist revolution in Iran.

Tasks of assembly

The masses need the fullest democratic rights so that they can organize and fight for their class interests most effectively against their exploiters. Revolutionists raise side by side with the demand for a constituent assembly the social tasks that such a body must deal with. These include dismantling the monarchy and all its institutions, uprooting imperialist domination, emancipation of the peasantry, establishment of the right of oppressed nationalities to self-determination, and the liberation of women.

No capitalist government can ac-

complish these tasks, because they require the systematic mobilization of the toilers and the abolition of the class privilege and stratification that bourgeois society rests on.

Only a workers and farmers government, based on the organized power of the oppressed and exploited, is capable of fulfilling the needs of the Iranian people through the socialist reorganization of society.

Of course, it is possible that if a constituent assembly were formed, it would have a reformist majority who would seek to ally with the capitalists and oppose the establishment of a workers and farmers government. But that is not a problem arising from the form of a democratic constituent assembly.

This becomes clear if we recall that in February 1917, workers councils (soviets) existed in Russia and held power there. But the reformist majority in these soviets turned the power over to a capitalist provisional government. The revolutionists were able to lead the soviets to power in November 1917 only after they had successfully won the masses politically.

The fight for a constituent assembly and the debate within such a body is one of the most important ways in which revolutionary socialists can win the majority of the Iranian people to the idea that a workers and farmers government is necessary.

In his writings on China, Leon Trotsky singled out the importance of the constituent assembly especially in regard to the peasantry. Trotsky explained:

"The essence of the question lies in the fact that the peasant mass, aroused to historical life, is not at all inclined to place confidence in advance in a leadership coming from the cities, even if it is proletarian; . . . this mass seeks a simple political formula that would express *directly* its own political strength, that is, the predominance of numbers."

Role of soviets

It is by seeing in practice the workings of a constituent assembly that the masses can best be convinced that under capitalism even the most complete formal democracy is inadequate. The workers and poor peasants need a government that represents their *class* interests. They need a truly democratic government based on mass workers, peasants, and soldiers councils—a government that excludes the capitalists.

In Iran today, such councils do not yet exist. But the fight for a constituent assembly—either while the shah is still on his throne, or else following his fall—is one of the central ways in which they can be formed.

The complementary character of the demand for a constituent assembly and the development of soviets was thoroughly explained by Trotsky in his article "The Slogan of a National Assembly in China," written in 1930.

"Even if there were soviets in China—which is not the case—this in itself would not be a reason to abandon the slogan of a national assembly," Trotsky noted.

"The majority in the soviets might be—and in the beginning would certainly be—in the hands of the conciliatory and centrist parties and organizations. We would be interested in exposing them in the open forum of the national assembly. In this way, the majority would be won over to our side more quickly and more certainly."

Experience of Bolsheviks

Recalling the experience of the Russian revolution of 1917, Trotsky says that following the fall of the tsar, "the Cadets [the main capitalist party] used every legal trick to drag out the convening of the Constituent Assembly in the hope that the revolutionary wave would subside. The Mensheviks and the Social Revolutionaries took their cue from the Cadets.

"If the Mensheviks and the Social Revolutionaries had had a little more revolutionary drive, they could have convened the Constituent Assembly in a few weeks. Would we Bolsheviks have participated in the elections and the assembly itself? Undoubtedly, for it was *we who demanded all this time the speediest convening of the Constituent Assembly*. . . .

"If the Constituent Assembly had been convened let us say in April 1917, then all the social questions would have confronted it. The propertied classes would have been compelled to show their cards; the treacherous role of the conciliators would have become apparent. The Bolshevik faction in the Constituent Assembly would have won the greatest popularity and this would have helped to elect a Bolshevik majority in the soviets.

"Under these circumstances the Constituent Assembly would have lasted not one day but possibly several months. This would have enriched the political experience of the working masses and, rather than retard the proletarian revolution, would have accelerated it."

As things actually turned out, it was the Bolsheviks who convened the constituent assembly after the workers and peasants soviets had already taken power. Since the assembly had been elected during an earlier period of the revolution, its majority no longer reflected the attitudes or ideas of the

Continued on page 6

Iranian revolution shakes Middle East

By David Frankel

From Israel to South Africa—both of which depend on Iranian oil—to Turkey, Pakistan, and Saudi Arabia, governments are feeling the shock waves of the Iranian revolution.

"The entire structure of U.S. influence in the strategic, oil-rich Persian Gulf teeters on the edge of collapse," Dennis Mullin declared in the January 8 issue of *U.S. News & World Report*.

Frustration among top U.S. policymakers and their fear that the revolution in Iran may spread has resulted in new attempts to prepare American public opinion for the use of U.S. military forces in the Arab-Persian Gulf area.

The Carter administration's decision to move the aircraft carrier *Constellation* closer to the Gulf waters was the most overt threat, but it has been by no means the only one.

Arabian workers watch

Probably the most vulnerable U.S.-backed regime in the Arab-Persian Gulf area is Saudi Arabia. One of the few remaining absolute monarchies in the world, the Saudi regime presides over a country where the apparent stability is only a mask for social contradictions that are similar in many ways to those that have exploded in Iran.

Certainly the Arabian workers are closely following the struggle of their brothers and sisters on the other side of the Gulf. Since most of the striking oil workers in Iran are part of that country's Arab minority, language is no barrier.

"Saudi Arabia's in many ways medieval society would seem to be even more ripe for disruptive change than Iran," the editors of the *Christian Science Monitor* worried December 29.

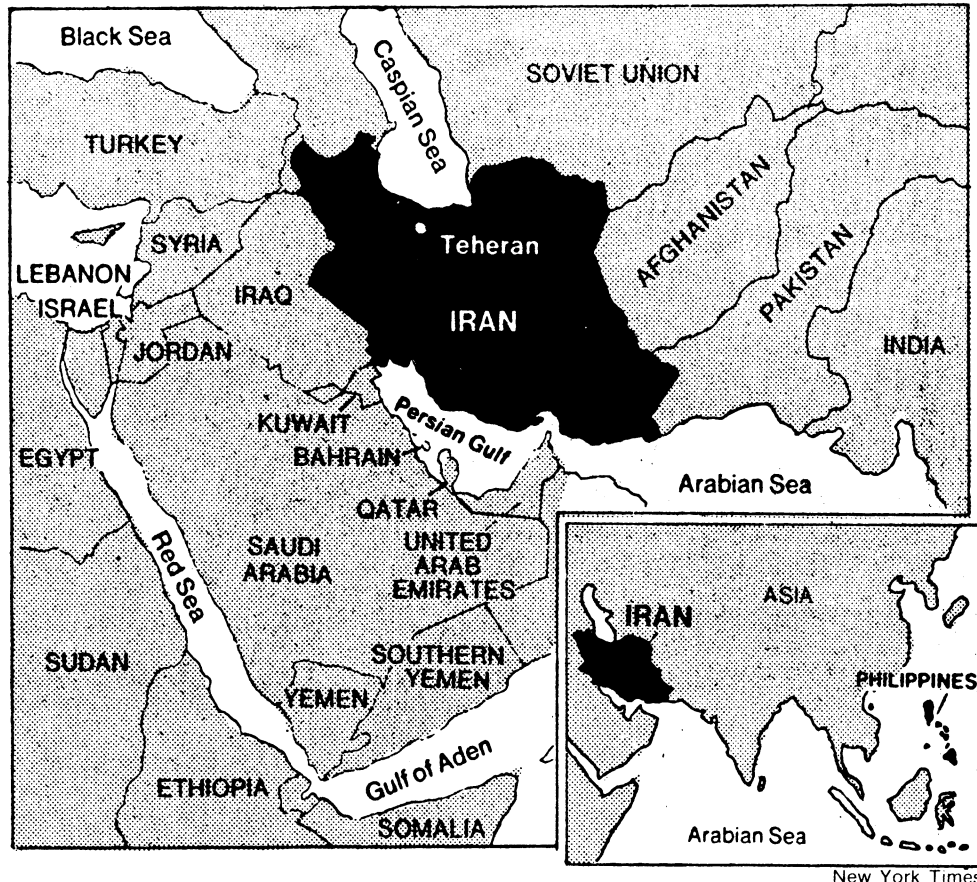
Britain's best-known financial weekly, the *Economist*, proposed its solution in its December 16-22 lead editorial:

"The worse the Shah fares, paradoxically, the easier it might be for an American administration to persuade congress that the small, mostly British, presence on the western bank of the Gulf needs to be made larger by Americans. And the easier too it should be for America and its allies to be absolutely clear, in what they think and what they say, that Saudi Arabia is vital to the west."

Kurds inspired

Further to the north, the upheaval in Iran has helped to further destabilize the situation in Turkey, where the world economic crisis has already had a big impact. Right-wing terrorists, afraid that the events in Iran would help to inspire the masses, launched a massacre against Shi'ite Muslims in Kahraman Maras on December 22. (In Iran, Shi'ite religious leaders played an important role in the rebellion against the shah.)

In Turkey, as in Lebanon, there is a tendency for political divisions to follow religious lines. But one of the main



underlying factors in the Turkish situation is the existence of a large Kurdish minority. Estimates of the number of Kurds in Turkey run as high as 8 million—20 percent of the population—and most of them are Shi'ites.

The Kurds are an oppressed nationality with a history of struggle for their independence. Kurdish rebellions in Turkey occurred in 1925-26, 1930, and 1937. It is illegal in Turkey to publish anything in Kurdish or teach Kurdish in schools. The mere singing of a Kurdish folk song and the possession of a record of such a song were used as the basis for a prosecution in August 1971.

A large Kurdish minority, which suffers similar national oppression, also exists in Iran. The Turkish regime, motivated partly by fear that huge anti-shah demonstrations in Kurdish cities such as Mashad would inspire the Kurds in Turkey, used the opportunity presented by the Kahraman Maras massacre to impose martial law in thirteen provinces.

Newsweek reported in its January 8 issue that "in several Kurdish provinces on the Turkish frontier, tribesmen ransacked banks and government buses in what some saw as a portent of incipient Kurdish revolt."

The Iraqi regime is also watching the events in Iran with unease. The Baghdad government was able to crush a fourteen-year-long Kurdish rebellion in 1975 only because it enlisted the aid of the shah.

Meanwhile, on Iran's eastern border, the Pakistani regime is worried that strong separatist sentiment among the Baluchi tribes in Iran will strike a sympathetic chord among Baluchis in Pakistan.

"According to Administration officials," Richard Burt reported in the January 1 *New York Times*, "the tendency to respond to the Iranian upheaval as a potential tinderbox for much deeper regional crisis has been bolstered in recent days by the outbreak of sectarian violence in Turkey."

Zbigniew Brzezinski, Carter's national security adviser, recently declared that "the arc of instability along the Indian Ocean has the potential for being as deep a crisis as in Western Europe in the late 1940s."

Pentagon analysts, Burt explained, are urging that Washington respond to the crisis through "a larger military role for American armed forces in the region, including an increase in the naval presence and the design of special ground and air forces for combat in the area."

A similar point was made by Joseph Harsch in the January 2 *Christian Science Monitor*. Harsch argued that to preserve U.S. domination in the Middle East "may require more direct and positive action than Washington has been willing to contemplate since its intervention in Vietnam ended in ignominy."

White House officials, Burt reports, now regret that they did not give more open backing to the Somali regime during its attack on the Ethiopian revolution in 1977 and 1978. They feel that such a stance would have put them in a better position to intervene today. (See story on page 10.)

Until now, the political legacy of the Vietnam War and the massive size and power of the upheaval in Iran have prevented any military adventures by the Carter administration. But this can change, especially if the Iranian revolution begins to spread to Saudi Arabia.

According to Burt, "some Defense Department analysts contend that Israel, with its highly proficient armed forces, has taken on much greater strategic importance" in light of the Iranian revolution.

Counterrevolutionary outpost

Before his rude awakening, the shah had proclaimed his regime would act as a military bulwark against revolution in the Gulf area. But a semicolonial country such as Iran, despite its huge U.S.-supplied arsenal, did not have the social stability to act as a pillar of support for imperialist interests.

The same problem strictly limits the degree to which Washington can rely on the Egyptian and Saudi Arabian regimes.

Israel, however, is a different matter. It is subsidized by American imperialism, not exploited by it. Its history as a colonial-settler state and the imperialist structure of its economy make it a reliable counterrevolutionary outpost in the Middle East.

The Israeli role in this regard explains the hostility of the Iranian masses toward the Zionist state. Workers at Tehran's Mehrabad Airport, for example, refused to service either Israeli or American planes. Israeli offices in Tehran have become targets for demonstrators, along with American and British installations.

Moscow sits on fence

Meanwhile, U.S. officials have tried to justify their threats of military intervention by claiming that Moscow is meddling in Iran. But even the *New York Times* bureau chief in Moscow, David Shipler, had to admit in a January 1 dispatch that "Soviet press commentary has avoided taking sides or calling for the Shah's abdication."

While noting criticisms of the shah in the Soviet press, Shipler reported that the Kremlin "has not started the kind of attack on the Shah that might be expected if it wished his downfall."

"The Soviet Union's relations with the Shah have been good through the years. . . . The stability of his regime and its relative military neutrality have been welcomed by the Russians, who are thought to be apprehensive about disruptions that could propel Iran in unpredictable directions."

Of course, a revolutionary government in Moscow would be campaigning against the shah's regime and doing everything in its power to help the Iranian people in their struggle. In doing that, it would also be acting in its own defense, since any U.S. bases or U.S. military presence in Iran would ultimately be directed against the Soviet Union.

But in this case, the immediate enemy that Carter would like to unleash the Pentagon against is not Moscow. It is the Iranian people, and the masses in other Mideastern countries who might be inspired to rise up against their oppression.

U.S. unionists appeal for Iranian oil workers

The Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran (CAIFI) has issued an appeal on behalf of striking Iranian oil workers.

"We sincerely believe that the strike of Iranian oil workers is toward the restoration of human rights in Iran. We protest any reprisals against them, and we are in full support of the oil workers' right to organize and defend their lives in face of the Iranian military government's attacks," the appeal declares. A copy has been sent to the Iranian

Mission to the United Nations.

Signers of the appeal were several officials and members of District Council 1707 of the American Federation of State County, and Municipal Employees, including Philip Blanchard, editor; Bettye Roberts, president of 1707's Community and Social Agency Employees Union; and Richard Morton, executive director of that union. Also signing was Enio Carrion, president of United Furniture Workers of America Local 140.

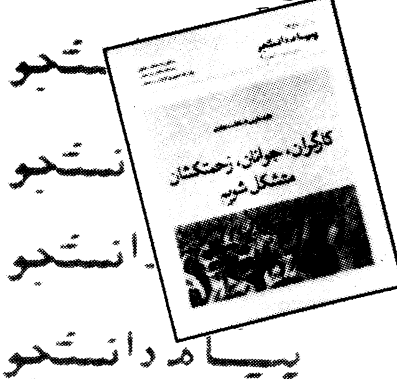
Payam Daneshjoo

Weekly publication of Iranian revolutionary socialists

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پیام دانشجو



پیام دانشجو را آبنه شوید

پیام دانشجو، هر هفته آخرین اخبار وقایع ایران و جهان را در اختیار خوانندگان خود می‌گذارد. برای کسب آخرین اخبار و تحلیل در باره طغیان انقلابی مردم ایران برای برانداختن سباص سلطنت پهلوی، پیام دانشجو هفتگی را آبنه شوید.

برای قبول اشتراك به آدرس زیر با ما تماس بگیرید:

6 ماهه پست هوایی ۱۲ دلار
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بهای اشتراك

Payam Daneshjoo G.P.O. BOX 1266 BROOKLYN, N.Y. 11201 USA

Anti-shah protesters clubbed and tear gassed by L.A. cops

By Laurel Kelly

LOS ANGELES—Police officers, sheriff's deputies, and security guards brutally attacked about 2,000 anti-shah demonstrators with tear gas, fire hoses, riot batons, and speeding police cars during a protest January 2 at the Beverly Hills home of the shah's sister, Princess Sham. The shah's mother, who fled Iran last weekend, is also staying there.

At least thirty-five people were treated for serious injuries ranging from head lacerations to broken legs at nearby hospitals. Despite police claims that demonstrators were "very violent," no police injuries were reported.

Protesting the cop attack, Mina Azad, a spokesperson for the Iranian Students Association, told reporters "the demonstration was planned to be peaceful."

This correspondent spoke with young Iranian parents who fled the tear-gas attack with their small children. They explained that the demonstration was called to protest the warm welcome extended by the U.S. government to the shah's family and to urge Americans to support Iran's struggle for democracy and independence.

One of the chants frequently heard as the Iranian students and their supporters marched through downtown Beverly Hills earlier in the day was "Iran the next Vietnam—U.S. get out of Iran!"

The police attack began at the Pahlavi mansion's gates. Media reports assert that a few protesters began throwing dirt clods, sticks, and rocks at police and security officers standing behind the gates. The cops responded by "throwing back everything the demonstrators threw and tear gas as well," according to the local CBS affiliate. Small brush fires broke out, some caused by tear-gas grenades hurled by cops and others by the protesters' burning placards.

A sheriff's inspector admitted that "at least a couple of shots were fired" but denied any knowledge of who fired



Police car hurls demonstrator into air. Dozens were injured as Los Angeles cops brutalized opponents of U.S. aid to shah.

them. But news photos showed security guards aiming guns at demonstrators, and the January 3 *New York Times* reported that city cops also drew guns.

The police admitted they had "floored the accelerators" of their cars, claiming this was necessary to make their way through the crowd. Many demonstrators were hit by speeding police cars. One suffered two broken legs.

The *Los Angeles Times* reported

January 3 that seven Iranian students were arrested, two for suspicion of arson, two for suspicion of assault with a deadly weapon on a police officer, and three for interfering with a police officer.

These students have since been interviewed by Immigration and Naturalization Service authorities regarding their status in this country. If convicted, according to INS officer Omar Sewall, they may face deportation to Iran.

Bay Area hears Iranian speakers

By Mark Harris

SAN FRANCISCO—A panel discussion on "Iran at the Crossroads: Can The Shah Survive?" brought 140 people to San Francisco State University recently to hear Shalal Agheai of the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran (CAIFI); and Ahmed Razm from *Payam Daneshjoo*, a Persian-language socialist weekly.

The Organization of Arab Students, Young Socialist Alliance, Pan-African Student Union, and Union for Radical Political Economics brought statements of solidarity to the meeting.

The campus meeting concluded a successful tour of the Bay Area for the two Iranians. Militant forums in San Francisco and in the East Bay drew about 100 people each. A forum was also held in San Jose.

Agheai discussed the oppression of women and the national minorities in Iran and the fraud of the shah's "liberalization" program. She stressed that the campaign by Carter and the capi-

talist media to portray the shah as a "modernizer" is designed to whip up support for a possible U.S. intervention in Iran.

Agheai called on all Americans to join with the Iranian people in demanding an end to the military government, freedom for all political prisoners, and for the United States to get out of Iran.

Outlining the economic crisis that underlies the current mass upsurge, Ahmed Razm explained *Payam Daneshjoo's* demands for the overthrow of the monarchy, the convocation of a constituent assembly, and the creation of a workers and farmers government. He emphasized the Iranian workers' role in leading the struggle for even the most elementary democratic rights.

Razm noted that the task of breaking the imperialist stranglehold on Iran will require forging a revolutionary political leadership of the Iranian working class.

A significant aspect of the tour was

the absence of any attempt at disruption by factions of the Iranian Students Association. Last October fifty members of the ISA unsuccessfully stormed a CAIFI meeting in Berkeley.

A "Statement Against Violence in the Movement for Human Rights in Iran," defending CAIFI's democratic right to hold a meeting without disruption, was signed by more than twenty campus and community organizations and individuals. The statement was printed in the San Francisco State campus paper and widely circulated there.

The campus YSA chapter urged the ISA to participate in the recent CAIFI meeting. The YSA pointed out the need to prevent U.S. military intervention in Iran and stressed the importance of all groups setting aside other differences to work toward that goal. The ISA declined the offer, but several ISA members and other Iranian students did attend.

during their earlier fight for the convocation of the assembly.

Of course, what is important in the experience of the Bolsheviks is not that it may be repeated in the same form in Iran. For instance, it is possible in Iran that a constituent assembly could be convoked before any soviets exist and that soviets could grow up later in the fight over what policies the assembly should implement.

What is important is that the Bolsheviks understood the demand for the

freest and most thoroughgoing democracy was part and parcel of the socialist revolution and that such demands would help propel the revolution forward.

That is the case in Iran today.

That is why the shah, Carter, and the bourgeois opposition figures all oppose the convocation of a constituent assembly.

And that is why Iranian revolutionary socialists are the most militant fighters for a constituent assembly.

House committee rebuts gov't on King's murder

By Harry Ring

For years the government has tried to shake the deep public conviction that official cover-ups were involved in the assassinations of Martin Luther King and John F. Kennedy.

Now the House Select Committee on Assassinations has conceded that "probably" neither the King nor the Kennedy assassin acted alone. All previous government investigations have insisted there was "no evidence" of conspiracies.

In the Kennedy case, the committee reported December 30 that a police tape pointed to the "high probability" of a second gunman. That tape had been shrugged aside by the Warren Commission, which was intent on confirming the government's no-conspiracy thesis.

In the King assassination, the committee acknowledged "a likelihood" that a conspiracy was involved. This was based on suppressed FBI evidence that prosperous southern racists offered a "contract" for the murder of the civil rights leader.

The committee made other significant findings. Contrary to persistent government-inspired rumors, it found that on the basis of the evidence available to it the Cuban government "was not involved" in the Kennedy killing.

But, the committee added, available evidence "does not preclude the possibility" that Cuban exiles and members of organized crime syndicates were involved in the assassination.

While repeating long-standing governmental "assurances" that no federal police agency was involved in either killing, the House probers did note the ominous FBI vendetta against King.

Its report found that the FBI's "COINTELPRO campaign against Dr. King grossly abused and exceeded its legal authority and failed to consider the possibility that actions threatening bodily harm to Dr. King might be encouraged by the program."

Indeed.

The findings of the House committee are very significant. But they only scratch the surface and raise more questions.

If there were conspiracies, why did the government's supposedly exhaustive investigations years back fail to unearth the facts?

Why, in fact, hasn't the House committee itself released the facts it has that document the conspiracy charge?

When will the thousands of pages of FBI files on Martin Luther King—without deletions—be released to the American people?

And, what about secret files that agency also accumulated on another assassin victim and FBI target—Malcolm X?



Martin Luther King

...constituent assembly

Continued from page 4

masses. It opposed the revolution.

When the constituent assembly refused to support the democratic will of the masses as organized in the soviets, the revolutionary government dispersed it. The Bolsheviks were able to do this precisely because they had won the confidence of the masses

Unions challenge Carter wage guidelines

Oil workers' contract: first big test for '78 talks

By Nancy Cole

Contracts for 60,000 oil workers expire at midnight, January 7, providing the first major test of Carter's wage guidelines.

As the *Militant* goes to press, the oil refineries are refusing to budge from their patriotic defense of the phony "war on inflation." Gulf Oil Corporation, Texaco Inc., and Shell Oil Company have all offered wage and benefit packages of 7 percent the first year and 6 percent the second.

Alvin Grospiron, president of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers union (OCAW), says any such offer is unacceptable to his membership.

The last national strike by OCAW's oil bargaining unit was in 1969. "I don't think either the industry or the union thought there would be a strike this time," Grospiron says. "But the guideline now makes the possibility very real."

OCAW contract deadlines have been customarily postponed at the last minute by the union's bargaining committee. That may happen this year, but union members report that strike plans are in operation—picket majors have been elected and picket duty assigned.

The union's bargaining program calls for a "substantial, across-the-board, cents-per-hour" pay increase, an employer-paid uniform health-care plan with dental and prescription drug coverage and improved vacation time.

Although there is considerable support for a cost-of-living-adjustment clause among the ranks, the official union bargaining position is solely for a flat wage increase. The refineries, understandably, oppose a COLA.

"To keep its members abreast of inflation and provide a small increase in real wages," admits *Business Week*, "OCAW probably would have to win 10% to 11% per year in wages alone."



New Jersey chemical workers demand safe working conditions and decent pay

Without any COLA guarantee, considering the soaring rate of inflation, even this would probably mean a decrease in real wages for the oil workers.

Some 400 refineries producing gasoline and other petroleum products are involved in the negotiations. Each company bargains separately with the union, but one usually makes the basic offer, and then the negotiations center on that company.

Because the refineries are highly automated, in past strikes the companies have kept them running with supervisory and other nonunion personnel.

Nevertheless, the companies don't want a strike. The *New York Times* says one reason is because they "do not want disgruntled workers hanging around those costly buttons." The workers say the companies can't get along without the skilled maintenance the unionists provide.

Early last month Grospiron said, "I'm keeping a low profile. I haven't tried to antagonize the government or the industry."

Later he added, "A labor leader that just gives up will catch hell."

That is a lesson other labor officials are beginning to ponder as OCAW opens an explosive round of 1979 contract bargaining.

Cyanamid strikers: 'They thought we'd take it without a fight'

By Greg Hansen

BOUND BROOK, N.J.—According to New Jersey's corporations and politicians, Middlesex and Somerset counties have one of the highest cancer rates in the United States only because "God works in mysterious ways."

But death from cancer is not so mysterious to the 1,300 members of the International Chemical Workers Local 111. They have been out on strike against the American Cyanamid Company since December 3.

The union can document at least nine cases of cancer of the bladder directly caused by exposure to carcinogenic chemicals in the plant. It can also show that 48 percent of those who have worked in the plant for 20 years have lung abnormalities.

The strikers are demanding improved safety procedures, clear labeling of all chemicals as to the health hazard of contact, more regular medical checkups, and the right to know the results of those checkups.

One picket at the plant told the *Militant*: "I get a company checkup once every three years. They'll listen to my chest but then refuse to tell me a single thing about whether anything is wrong or not."

Another worker added, "All day long you work with dangerous chemicals. They won't kill you there on the spot, only you'll die of cancer 30 years later. Those people up in those offices have no idea what it's like to go to work every day in a place like this and not ever be told exactly what the risks are."

The second major issue of the strike is pay. Both President Carter and American Cyanamid insist that anything over a 7 percent wage increase is inflationary. But the workers of Local 111 say they didn't cause inflation and they shouldn't have to be the ones who pay the price of fighting it.

One of the pickets explained, "This company is so used to getting its way that they thought they could throw us a lousy 7 percent and we'd take it without a fight, just like we've been taking everything else they've thrown at us for the last ten years."

"Carter says we can only get 7 percent," said another striker. "but I'd like to see him try and support his family for even a week on the kind of money we make."

And one worker concluded, "I'm no socialist, but what Carter is forcing us to say is that the working people need to form a working people's party."

Va. shipyard workers prepare for strike

By Shelley Kramer

Workers at Virginia's Newport News Shipbuilding and Dry Dock Company—the country's largest shipyard—are preparing for what could well be one of the biggest strikes ever against a single southern employer.

The issue is union recognition. One year ago, on January 31, 1978, the shipyard workers voted to join the United Steelworkers. A majority of the 19,000 workers now belong to USWA Local 8888, the largest local in the entire union.

The victory in Newport News was inspiring for workers everywhere, but especially for those in the nonunion South.

For this reason the shipyard's owner, the Houston-based Tenneco conglomerate, has refused to recognize Local 8888. After failing to overturn the union vote in National Labor Relations Board hearings, Tenneco is appealing the election results through the courts.

The company has charged the union with "irregularities," including what it calls "racial appeals" to the heavily Black work force. A strike is "inevitable," says USWA District 35 Director Bruce Thrasher, unless Tenneco "sees its way clear to the bargaining table."

Tenneco, Virginia's biggest corporate employer, has good reason to



Newport News steelworkers celebrate organizing victory nearly one year ago

fear the USWA. With the cooperation of the Peninsula Shipbuilders Association (PSA)—basically a company union—Tenneco pulled in \$383 million in profits for 1976. It paid its shipyard workers \$2.59 below the average hourly earnings of workers in basic steel.

"Tenneco is trying to be the J.P. Stevens of the shipbuilding indus-

try," said Thrasher, citing the company's substandard wages, working conditions, and relentless anti-union drive.

"We've got damn near more people watching us than we do working," one shipbuilder added, describing the company harassment since the representation election.

Key to Tenneco's anti-union strategy

is stoking divisions within the work force. Its latest gambit—a last-ditch effort to rescue the PSA's do-nothing image—is a 6.5 percent wage increase that benefits only higher-paid workers. And to brighten the angry mood of its employees, free Laurel and Hardy movies are now shown during lunch.

But the membership of Local 8888 has not been taken in by these cosmetic changes. The shipyard workers are aware of what is at stake in their fight—for the Virginia Tidewater region, where shipyard earnings provide one-third of household income, and for working people throughout the open-shop South.

Following an overwhelming strike vote December 10, union committees have been established to distribute strike benefits and select picket captains. The final strike decision, however, must be approved by USWA President Lloyd McBride.

"I think it would look damned good if we went out on strike and won," said union International Representative Jack Hower.

A union victory in Newport News would indeed be inspiring for hundreds of thousands of unorganized workers in the South. The entire labor movement should prepare to close ranks behind Local 8888 to see their struggle to victory.

Defense launches emergency effort

Marroquin denied asylum

By Nancy Cole

The Carter administration has once again shown its contempt for human rights by slamming the door in the face of political exile Héctor Marroquin.

Despite a mountain of appeals from labor, Chicano, Black, women, and civil liberties figures, the Immigration and Naturalization Service has notified Marroquin that his application for political asylum in the United States is denied.

The INS is now moving to deport the young activist back to Mexico, an action that many familiar with the repression there agree may amount to a death sentence.

Supporters of Marroquin's right to asylum are launching an emergency campaign between now and the next step in the expulsion proceedings, an INS hearing in Texas to be held in late January or early February. At that time, Marroquin will resubmit his asylum request.

"After consultation with the U.S. Department of State," the INS wrote Marroquin in a letter dated December 21, "and review of the application and supporting documents presented before this office, it has been concluded that you have failed to establish that there is likelihood of your being persecuted in Mexico due to your political opinion, race, religion or membership in a particular social group. Your application for political asylum is therefore denied."

Even though the INS ruling is filled with an impressive 500 or so words, it makes no effort whatsoever to refute any of the admittedly "voluminous documentation" submitted in Marroquin's behalf.

Political activist

Marroquin is a socialist, a member of the U.S. Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. He has been active in this country in the labor movement and in the struggle of undocumented workers.

Before fleeing Mexico, he was a leader of the student movement and a participant in demonstrations against police repression.

He was hounded by the Mexican police and spied on by the FBI as part of its program to sabotage Mexican radical groups.

Yet, drones the INS, "no issue as to your political belief is raised by the Government of Mexico," only "that you may have committed serious non-political crime(s) . . ."

This, of course, is standard operating procedure—for repressive regimes such as Mexico, as well as for its more "open" neighbor, the United States.

In this country, the government tries to justify its harassment and disruption of dissident groups and individuals by claiming it is necessary to deter terrorist crimes.

In Mexico, authorities simply contend there is no political persecution, torture or "disappeared" persons—only common criminals, like Héctor Marroquin.

Each government backs up the other's lies.

The United States, after all, can't risk alienating its border friends in the Mexican regime by offering political asylum to those the regime persecutes. Such asylum is reserved only for those "fleeing U.S. enemies," such as Cuba and Vietnam.

Thus all those fighting for political rights in both Mexico and the United States will gain if the truth is made known and Marroquin wins political asylum.

State Dep't judges

At the same time that the INS turned a deaf ear to Marroquin's 300 pages of evidence, it readily accepted the State Department's judgment that Marroquin is guilty until proven innocent—back in Mexico.

Last June, the State Department informed the INS that the department's own report on human rights in Mexico had concluded "fair public trials in Mexico are the norm" and the Mexican government's position was "not to condone human rights violations."

Therefore, the State Department recommended expulsion for Marroquin.

The claims of the INS that "no issue

Help mobilize support

By Roger Rudenstein

The Héctor Marroquin Defense Committee has launched an emergency campaign to mobilize public support before his deportation hearing in early February.

Marroquin's supporters are being urged to contact the news media about the case, sign up new endorsers, flood the Immigration and Naturalization Service with letters and telegrams, and go on a crash campaign to raise funds for the national effort.

"The INS specifically took note of the support of 'socially prominent individuals and organizations' in its December 21 decision," says defense coordinator Jane Roland. "We must let the Carter administration know that it can no longer ignore these appeals."

More than \$15,000 will be needed in the next several weeks to expand national publicity and pay travel for

hearing witnesses.

"We plan to fly in witnesses from Mexico," explains Marroquin's attorney Margaret Winter, "to give eye-witness testimony about the truth of Marroquin's story on every count. We intend to have experts describe the brutal violations of human rights by the Mexican regime."

Plans are also underway to subpoena officials from the INS, State Department, FBI, and several Mexican police chiefs.

Letters and telegrams protesting the INS ruling and demanding political asylum for Marroquin should be sent to: Leonel Castillo, Director, Immigration and Naturalization Service, Washington, D.C. 20536.

Please send copies of any messages, as well as contributions, to the Héctor Marroquin Defense Committee, Box 843, Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003. Telephone: (212) 691-3587.

of political belief" is involved in Marroquin's case is contradicted by the Mexican government itself.

In September, in reaction to the growing revelations of brutal repression, Mexico enacted an "amnesty law" for certain political prisoners and exiles. Among those listed was Marroquin.

Despite the existence of the law, the political persecution continues, even against some of those supposedly amnestied (see accompanying story). If Marroquin were forced to return, his life would still be in danger.

While Marroquin's rights as an individual "without papers," as a socialist, and as a political activist are challenged in this deportation threat, so are the rights of all U.S. residents.

Recognition of the stakes in his fight is shown by the breadth of support his defense case has won.

At the July convention of the National Education Association, 8,000

delegates heard Marroquin defend his right to political asylum and then voted to support his case.

The extensive list of labor endorsers of his appeal include Patrick Gorman, chair of the board, Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen; Antonio Orendain, director, Texas Farm Workers Union; Charles Leonard, president, United Steelworkers Local 7097 in Pittsburgh; Walter Johnson, president, Department Store Employees Union in San Francisco; Pete Camarata, Teamsters for a Democratic Union; and Joseph Sperling, vice-president, New York's District Council 37, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees.

Union locals have approved resolutions of support, including Local 231 of the International Molders and Allied Workers Union and USWA Local 4208, both in Salt Lake City, and Local 535 of the Service Employees International Union in California.

Joins with exiles

During his national tours, Marroquin has crisscrossed the country, several times sharing the platform with others fighting for political asylum. They have included Ali Shokri, a former member of the Iranian Air Force, and José Medina, who was also forced to flee Mexico.

Marroquin's appeal has been endorsed by individual leaders of the NAACP, National Organization for Women, Amnesty International, campus MEChAs, National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression, American Civil Liberties Union, and many others.

Supporters include Angela Davis, Gloria Steinem, I.F. Stone, TV actor Ed Asner, Noam Chomsky, Simone de Beauvoir, and U.S. representatives John Conyers, Ronald Dellums, and Parren Mitchell.

Rosario Ibarra de Piedra—from the Mexican National Committee to Defend Political Prisoners, the Politically Persecuted, "Disappeared," and Exiled—toured the United States on Marroquin's behalf.

The October 15-30 issue of *Solidarity*, official newspaper of the United Auto Workers, carried a story on Marroquin. Its concluding paragraph, quoting cartoonist Jules Feiffer, is even more relevant today:

"Hector Marroquin apparently exists on the blind side of Jimmy Carter's selectively forthright stand on human rights. Our government's attempt to deport him . . . can only be halted by a loud, vigorous, and mounting protest."

'Victory for me will aid all political prisoners'

By Jane Roland

PITTSBURGH—"We dedicate ourselves tonight to force the U.S. government to give political asylum to Héctor Marroquin," declared Marroquin's attorney Margaret Winter to a rally of 600 here December 30.

The rally, held during the national convention of the Young Socialist Alliance, kicked off the special emergency campaign to block Marroquin's deportation to Mexico.

"Asilo político por Marroquin," rally participants chanted several times.

Frank Jacalone, national chairperson of the United States Student Association, spoke, pledging support for the emergency campaign. The USSA represents more than 3 million students on 350 campuses.

"I want to express my solidarity," Jacalone said, "between the student movement of the United States and the student movement of the world, as represented by Héctor Marroquin of Mexico. He added, "We must work to achieve a unity on issues like Héctor's case."

Marroquin told the rally that "Carter is not interested in protecting the lives and freedom of people. For Carter, 'protecting human rights' means keeping the shah's dictatorship in power.



Supporters cheered Marroquin at defense rally December 30 Militant/Diane Wang

"A victory for my case," he concluded "will not only be a victory for me, but it will be a victory for all political prisoners and the persecuted all over the world."

Other speakers at the rally represented victims of political repression inside and out of the United States. These included Catherine Raglin, mother of Stanton Story, a Black man falsely accused of murdering a cop; Ayanna Aziz of the Richard Hayes Coalition to Stop Killer Cops; and Khalil Azarani of the Commit-

tee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran.

Also pledging support were Mark Zola, a steelworker who recently ran as the Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Pennsylvania, and Agnes Chapa, organizer of the San Antonio YSA.

Leo Harris, an SWP member and Black activist, told of the vigorous defense effort that recently won his acquittal of frame-up charges in Miami, Florida.

The story behind Marroquin's exile

On September 18, 1977, twenty-four-year-old Héctor Marroquin was arrested by *la migra*.

Two days later the Immigration and Naturalization Service sentenced him to three months in jail for the crime of fleeing political persecution in Mexico.

His imprisonment ended, Marroquin became the most active participant in the campaign to win asylum for himself and to establish that right for others trying to escape political repression.

In his nationwide tours since then, Marroquin has told his story again and again at plant gates, union meetings, campus forums, and community gatherings.

In 1969, Marroquin took part in student protests at the University of Nuevo León in Monterrey, Mexico. They demanded student control and involved most of the students at the university.

Then in January 1972 he was witness to the brutal police murder of his roommate and close friend.

Marroquin became part of a student group that evolved into the Comité Estudiantil Revolucionario (CER—Revolutionary Student Committee). When the CER moved in a guerrillaist direction, Marroquin left it, remaining convinced that such a course was not the way to fight against the capitalist system.

Soon afterward, his picture appeared on the front pages of newspapers. He was accused of murder.

Later, posters and national magazines printed his picture, charging him with terrorist acts—bank robberies and murders. He was armed, the publications said, and extremely dangerous.

Realizing his life was in imminent danger, Marroquin fled across the border into Texas in April 1974.

He continued to read in the Mexi-

can papers that he was supposedly involved in new terrorist acts there, even that the police claimed to have wounded him.

Late in 1975 he first heard of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. He began attending socialist activities and then joined the SWP and YSA.

After that he was active in a defense campaign for Mario Cantú, a San Antonio Chicano on trial for helping undocumented immigrants. Then he took part in the defense effort for the Manzo Four, a similar case involving immigration counselors from Tucson, Arizona.

He also became involved in a Teamster organizing drive at the Coca-Cola bottling plant where he worked as a painter's helper. The union won by a big majority.

Throughout this time, Marroquin kept alive his hope of returning to Mexico and clearing himself of the

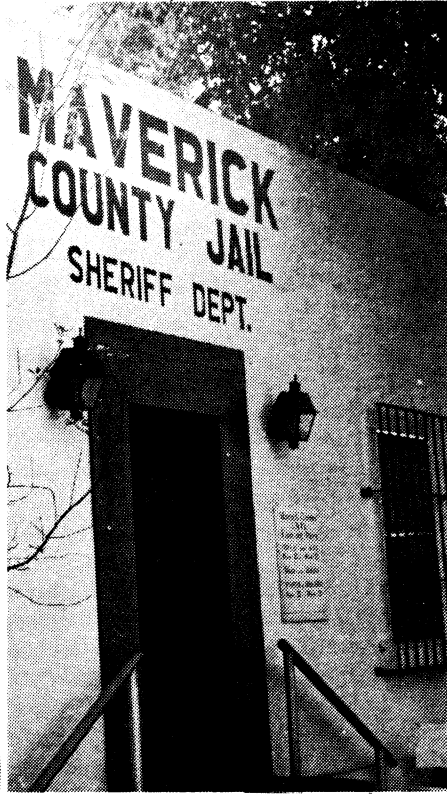
phony terrorist charges. He had arranged to meet with a lawyer in Mexico on the weekend of September 18, 1977. On his way back across the border, *la migra* questioned his papers and jailed him. His struggle for asylum began.

Marroquin is confident he can win. "I know that the American people are sick and tired of seeing their government give aid to the murderous regimes of Iran, Nicaragua, Chile, and Mexico. If we can get the truth out to the public, I know we can win people to our side."

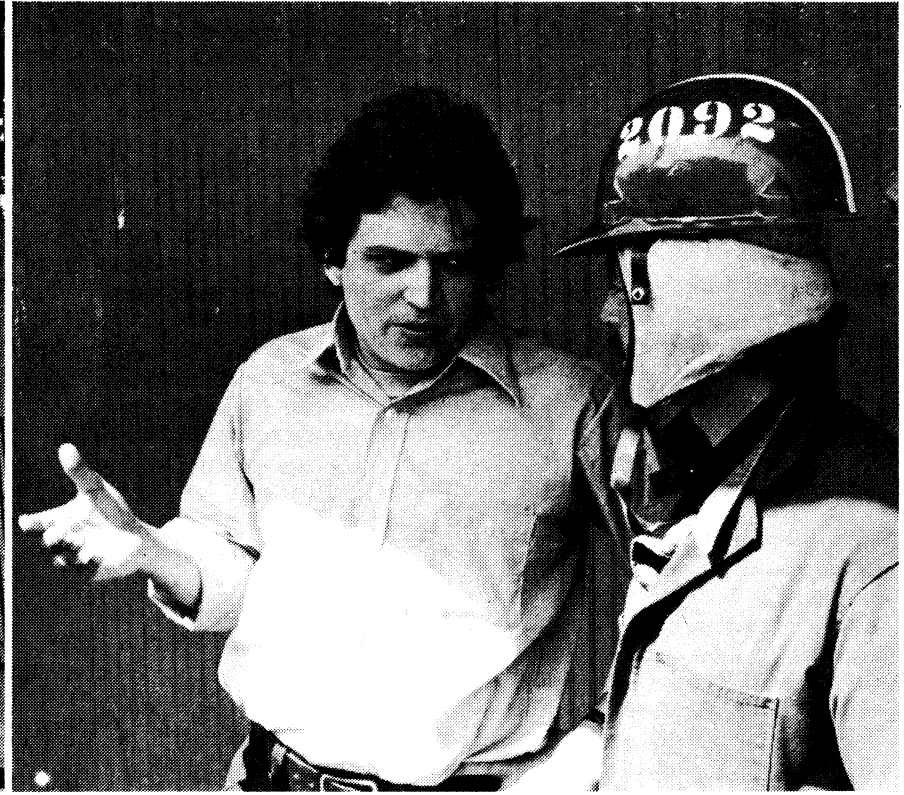
Copies of *My Story: The Struggle for Political Asylum in the U.S.* by Héctor Marroquin are available in both Spanish and English for 50 cents, 35 cents each on orders of ten or more. Please order from the Héctor Marroquin Defense Committee, Box 843, Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003. —N.C.



Militant/Margaret Winter



Militant/Rick Congress



Militant/Rich Robohm

Hector Marroquin. Three months in Maverick County Jail for the 'crime' of fleeing political persecution. Above, right, Marroquin explains his story to worker at Brooklyn Navy Yard.

New report documents repression in Mexico

By Jane Roland

A report released by three prestigious human rights groups last month directly refuted the U.S. government's claim that socialist Héctor Marroquin would face no persecution if he is deported to Mexico. The thoroughly documented report amounts to a scathing repudiation of the Carter administration's assertion that Marroquin is not entitled to political asylum in the United States because there is no political repression in Mexico.

At a New York news conference December 11, Robert Goldman, professor of law at American University, announced the findings of the Commission of Enquiry to Mexico. The fact-finding mission last spring was jointly sponsored by the International League for Human Rights, the Fédération Internationale des Droits de l'Homme, and the PAX ROMANA. All three groups have consultative status with the United Nations.

Goldman, together with Daniel Jacoby, a French lawyer, found "major and widespread abuses . . . with respect to dissidents of the regime."

According to Goldman, the repression in Mexico "indicates a problem with 'disappeared' persons which is probably second only to one of the most repressive regimes in the Western hemisphere, Argentina."

Interior Minister Jesus Reyes Heróles and Deputy Interior Minister Fernando Gutiérrez Barrios both denied that any civilians were held in military facilities. They insisted that

the "disappeared" political activists were people who had changed their names, gone underground, or voluntarily left the country. And they denied the existence of clandestine police groups, specifically the notorious *Brigada Blanca* (White Brigade).

Yet the commission's findings contradict everything the Mexican officials said. They also pull the rug from under the U.S. State Department's glowing description of human rights in Mexico. The Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) relied on the State Department's view as the basis for turning down Marroquin's request for political asylum.

The State Department recommended that Marroquin's request for asylum be rejected. ". . . in view of the Mexican Government's policy toward fair trials, its position not to condone human rights violations, expected publicity and knowledge by Mexican authorities of United States interest in this case, it appears likely that he [Marroquin] would receive a fair trial," the department said.

In their report, however, Goldman and Jacoby state, "We have absolute proof that a good number of the political prisoners whom we interviewed have been imprisoned without trial or sentence for periods substantially in excess of [the Mexican constitution's] time limit."

In another part of the findings, the commission members write, "With the exception of a group of prisoners from Guadalajara who admitted to us that

they had committed, in fact, illegal acts, the great majority of the other prisoners interviewed charge that they were tortured by Government agents into implicating themselves in criminal acts which they, in fact, did not commit."

"These prisoners state that, in most cases, they either were coerced into signing blank pieces of paper or statements already written by Government agents which confessed their 'culpable participation' in kidnappings, murders, robberies, and the like. The prisoners also advised us that these coerced confessions were, with few exceptions, the only proof adduced by the prosecutors to convict them. They have indicated, moreover, that their attempts to repudiate these confessions during their arraignments have been futile, thus nullifying their right to a fair trial. . ."

Goldman pointed to the plight of the Cortéz Gutiérrez family of Oaxaca as an example of the repression. Their home was raided and ransacked by government agents, who later claimed the family had staged the incident to embarrass and implicate the government.

Elisa Cortéz Gutiérrez has four sons who are imprisoned as political dissidents, and she has left Oaxaca because of threats to her life. Now she is living in hiding, unable even to visit her children.

The report includes a list of 301 "disappeared" people. And it concludes

that the existence of the *Brigada Blanca*—made up of members of the federal, state, and municipal police forces—is "a reasonably proven fact." The brigade is primarily responsible for kidnappings leading to "disappearances."

The commission reporters made it clear that the repressive conditions they documented are not merely abuses of the past, but continue today. In the first third of 1978, 896 challenges were filed by attorneys charging illegal torture and detention of their clients in the Federal District of Mexico alone.

The amnesty law passed in September has not in any way provided guarantees of human rights. "We continue to receive reports," Goldman said at the news conference, "that persons released by the amnesty have disappeared under mysterious circumstances and in other cases are known to have been murdered."

The Report of the Commission of Enquiry to Mexico backs up previous reports by Amnesty International on the widespread violation of human rights there. And it reinforces the extensive evidence collected by the Héctor Marroquin Defense Committee.

The commission's update on repression in Mexico spotlights again the life-and-death nature of Héctor Marroquin's fight for political asylum.

Copies of the report can be obtained from the International League for Human Rights, 236 East Forty-Sixth Street, New York, N.Y. 10017.

Blow to Ethiopian revolution

Eritrean liberation struggle suffers major

By David Frankel

After a bitter six-month offensive, Ethiopian troops captured the Eritrean city of Keren November 29. The fall of Keren, the last major city held by Eritrean liberation forces, was the latest in a series of setbacks for the Eritrean liberation fighters. They have now been forced back from much of the territory they previously controlled and have returned to reliance on small-scale guerrilla raids.

An appeal for supplies by the Eritrean Relief Association indicated the impact of the Ethiopian offensive on the Eritrean population.

"Heavy artillery and tanks shelling in very large numbers have inflicted heavy casualties and destruction of property," the association reported. "In large areas crops have been burnt to ashes. About 160 villages have suffered heavy damage and 40 of them have been completely ruined. 5,000 civilians are reported seriously wounded or dead, and 8,000 others require medical attention. In addition 100,000 people have been forced to abandon their homes and flee to safer areas in the north."

A statement by the Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF), one of the two major Eritrean liberation groups, named specific villages that had been wiped-out. The EPLF charged that the invading Ethiopian forces used napalm, cluster, and phosphorus bombs on both military and civilian targets.

'Air of freedom'

Meanwhile, the government-controlled Ethiopian press is crowing that "the second revolutionary army has enabled the broad masses of Eritrea to breathe the air of freedom," and that "artistic troupes have briefed the masses on the political bankruptcy of the separatist groups. . . ."

The fall of Keren, the Ethiopian government gloated, "amounts to the end of the 17-year-old secessionist dream in Eritrea."

With this statement the Ethiopian junta, which pretends to uphold revolutionary Marxism, acknowledged the continuity of its reactionary policy in Eritrea with the course pursued by Emperor Haile Selassie.

Eritrea is religiously, culturally, lin-

guistically, and ethnically distinct from the rest of the Ethiopian state. A former Italian colony, it was taken over by Britain during World War II and then joined to Ethiopia in 1952 as a federated area. This decision was made by the United Nations, not the Eritrean people.

Selassie formally annexed Eritrea ten years later over the protests of the people who lived there. As a result, the Eritreans resorted to armed struggle against the Ethiopian regime.

For thirteen years the Eritreans continued their struggle for self-determination. U.S. counterinsurgency teams and military aid failed to tip the balance in Selassie's favor. The stubborn resistance of the Eritrean people forced the aging tyrant to commit more and more troops and resources to the war.

Eventually, the war in Eritrea helped undermine the very foundations of the Ethiopian monarchy. It aggravated all the social tensions within Ethiopia. The mutiny of the beleaguered garrisons in Eritrea was one of the key factors in the revolution that finally toppled Selassie in 1974.

Eritrean gains

One of the demands raised by Selassie's own troops in Eritrea during the Ethiopian revolution was for the recognition of the right of the Eritrean people to self-determination. The Ethiopian troops had had enough of the dirty war against Eritrea.

But the military junta that replaced Selassie—known as the dergue—refused to acknowledge the right of the Eritreans to self-determination. Instead, it continued Selassie's war.

Nevertheless, the revolution in Ethiopia, which the Eritrean struggle had helped to bring about, now resulted in rapid gains for the liberation forces. By the beginning of 1978 the liberation fighters controlled 85 percent of the Eritrean countryside. Ethiopian garrisons were besieged in a few major cities, and the road between the Eritrean capital of Asmara and the major Red Sea port of Masawa was in rebel hands.

Over the past half-year, however, the Ethiopian regime regained the military initiative. This followed several earlier offensives that the Eritreans turned back.

In its statement on the recent Ethiopian invasion, the EPLF places heavy responsibility on the Kremlin for the recent reverses. The EPLF said that more than 200 Soviet military experts helped plan and supervise the offensive and that more than 1,000 Soviet troops participated, along with extensive Soviet military equipment.

The U.S. State Department, however, said November 30 that it had no evidence of direct Soviet military involvement.

Whatever the extent of direct Soviet military aid to the Ethiopian offensive, the Kremlin gave full and enthusiastic public support to the dergue's efforts to



Eritrean women march in Keren in November 1977. With the fall of Keren, Eritreans have vowed to resume guerrilla war.

crush the Eritrean struggle.

During Selassie's reign, Moscow had backed the Eritrean organizations. After establishing close ties with the dergue, however, the Soviet bureaucrats made a 180-degree turn. They denounced the Eritrean fighters as reactionary tools of imperialism.

Commenting on the dergue's "great successes," the November 30 issue of *Pravda*, the Soviet Communist Party daily, declared that "the liberation of Keren was another major victory over those who are plotting against the Ethiopian revolution."

Similarly, Tom Foley said in the December 30 issue of the American Communist Party's *Daily World* that the power of the Ethiopian revolution was shown when "the northern Red Sea province of Eritrea was completely liberated from the secessionist forces." Foley ranked this as one of the main progressive events of 1978.

The EPLF has called on "all peace, justice, and freedom-loving countries, organizations, and individuals to raise their voices in unison and condemn the barbarous crimes by the Soviet Union against the Eritrean people."

Blow to Ethiopian revolution

Although the military campaign against Eritrea—like the suppression of democratic rights throughout Ethiopia—has been carried out in the name of the Ethiopian revolution, the blows dealt to the aspirations of the Eritrean people will actually hurt the prospects for progress in Ethiopia itself.

This military and political setback for the Eritrean struggle—a struggle which helped spur the Ethiopian

revolution—strengthens all those forces within Ethiopia and within the dergue itself that are opposed to any extension of the gains won by the revolution.

The defeat will also inevitably strengthen the most conservative wing in the top leadership of the Eritrean organizations. It will increase the vulnerability of these leaders to pressures from imperialism and from reactionary Arab regimes such as Saudi Arabia, where they have been forced to turn for military assistance.

Certainly Washington has not made any mistake about the character of the Eritrean struggle. The vast Ethiopian operation against Eritrea has gone by with barely a whisper from the State Department.

This stands in sharp contrast to the reaction in Washington when Ethiopia, with the aid of Cuban troops, pushed back the invasion by the Somali regime in February and March 1978. The Carter administration even sent U.S. warships to the Red Sea during that confrontation.

Although capitalist propagandists have shed some crocodile tears over the Eritrean struggle and tried to score some points from the situation there, Washington continues to oppose an independent Eritrea as a threat to imperialist interests in the Horn of Africa.

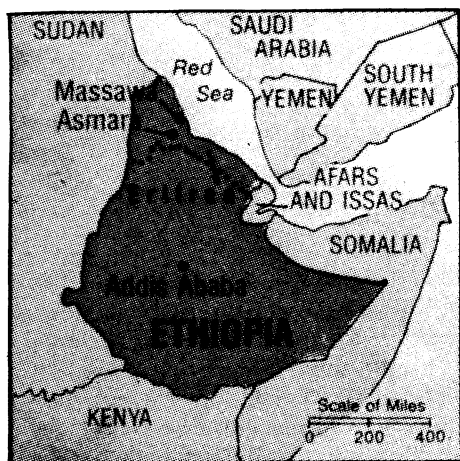
Cuba's role

One of the propaganda claims in the capitalist press has been that Cuban troops have been involved in the fighting in Eritrea. The Cubans themselves have denied this, and the State Department admitted November 30 that it had no information to indicate that the Cubans were directly involved in the fighting.

The difference between the political stance taken by Moscow and that taken by the Cubans in Eritrea has been striking. Instead of joining *Pravda* in hailing the Ethiopian advances in Eritrea, *Granma*, the newspaper of the Cuban Communist Party, has not said a word about them.

The refusal to commit troops and line up behind the dergue's propaganda campaign represents a political decision by the Cuban government to differentiate its policy toward Eritrea from that of the Ethiopian and Soviet governments.

In contrast, Cuba showed during the imperialist-inspired attack by Somalia last winter that it had both the political will and military power to intervene decisively when it saw that the



The Horn of Africa New York Times

New Somali moves in Ethiopia

By Steve Clark

The Somali government is stepping up military activity in the Ogaden.

Last winter, the Ethiopian government, aided by Cuban troops, defeated an imperialist-backed invasion of the Ogaden by the Somali army.

This renewed fighting coincides with press reports of growing White House opinion that the U.S. government should have acted more decisively to provide military help to the Somali invaders when they were

battling Cuban troops in 1978. According to *New York Times* correspondent Richard Burt, the rethinking is in response to current revolutionary events in Iran.

Writing in the January 1 *Times*, Burt reported that Carter administration officials now believe they were wrong to "adopt a low profile in the [Ogaden] conflict."

Given Washington's mounting woes in the Mideast and Persian Gulf area, the renewed Somali probes in the Ogaden are a danger signal that should be noted by oppo-

nents of imperialist moves against the Ethiopian revolution.

Reporting from Mogadishu, the capital of Somalia, John Darnton said in a December 21, 1978, *New York Times* dispatch that the Somali forces are "waging a growing campaign of hit-and-run attacks" and "have claimed a string of small-scale but significant military successes."

Throughout the invasion in 1977 and early 1978, Somali President Mohammed Siad Barre claimed that

Continued on page 19

setback

gains of the Ethiopian revolution were imperiled by reactionary invaders.

This decision to take a dramatically different stand toward Eritrea came despite immense pressure from the Kremlin—to whom the Cubans' stance is a political embarrassment—and from the dergue, which hoped to dress up its policy with the prestige of the Cuban Revolution.

It is worth noting in this regard that while the EPLF bitterly condemned Moscow's role in Eritrea, its statement said nothing about Cuba. This recognition of Cuba's differences over Eritrea with the Kremlin and the dergue seems to indicate a desire by Eritrean fighters to keep communications open with the Cuban revolutionary government.

At the same time, the Cuban government has not spoken out clearly in support of the right of the Eritreans to decide their own future, including their right to full independence.

Cuban statements have placed growing emphasis on the aid received by the Eritreans from reactionary Arab regimes, suggesting that this has changed the progressive character of the struggle there.

This error is closely tied to Havana's incorrect policy of giving almost unconditional public political support to Ethiopia's military rulers.

The Cuban position on Eritrea was summed up several months ago by Vice-president Carlos Rafael Rodriguez: "We helped the Eritreans in their fight for self-determination from the time of Haile Selassie onward. We feel there has to be some political solution to the Eritrean problem and there have to be talks between Eritreans and the central government."

This desire for a negotiated settlement fell on deaf ears in Addis Ababa and Moscow, where the decision to push for military victory had already been made.

The setback in Eritrea injures not only the Ethiopian revolution, which Cuba rallied to support during the Ogaden war, but also the Cuban revolution and the anti-imperialist aims it is pursuing in Africa. The negative consequences for Cuba will grow if it persists in this error of not supporting the Eritreans.

Struggle continues

Despite the confident assertions by the dergue, the Eritrean struggle will not disappear as a result of the recent military defeats.

"Our strategy is to retreat to the mountains, where we will begin again as we did three years ago," one EPLF leader explained.

The Eritrean people have fought for independence for seventeen years, and their will to rebel will not be crushed by the dergue's army. But the Ethiopian regime's reconsolidation of power over all major Eritrean cities marks a serious setback in that nation's just struggle for self-determination.

The Ethiopian Revolution

By Ernest Harsch
New from Pathfinder Press. 40 pages, \$85.

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YSA hits anti-Cuban bombings

By Matilde Zimmermann

Early in the morning of December 29 a terrorist bomb exploded at the New York City concert hall where popular musicians from Cuba had been performing a few hours before. Minutes before across town, an explosion had rocked the Cuban Mission to the United Nations.

The explosion at Lincoln Center forced the cancellation of additional performances by the Orquestra Aragon, Elena Burke, and Los Papines, scheduled for the evenings of December 29 and 30.

A group of counterrevolutionary Cubans calling itself Omega Seven claimed responsibility for both bombings. Omega Seven has also taken credit for previous anti-Cuban bombings in the New York-New Jersey area, including one last September at the Cuban Mission.

Terrorist outfits such as Omega Seven draw encouragement and cover from the anti-Cuba policy of the U.S. government.

In a protest telegram to President Carter a few days after the bombings,

the national convention of the Young Socialist Alliance pointed out that groups such as Omega Seven "were spawned, financed, armed and trained by the CIA and other government agencies."

"Your continuing military threats against the Cuban revolution," the YSA told Carter, "and your refusal to lift the economic blockade of Cuba have maintained the climate where these terrorists feel they can act with complete impunity."

Until recently the blockade denied Americans any opportunity to observe for themselves the cultural achievements of revolutionary Cuba. A U.S. tour by the Cuban National Ballet in the spring of 1978 convinced audiences and reviewers that Cuba has developed into a world leader in the field of ballet.

The three musical groups whose New York tour was cut short by the Lincoln Center explosion are among the most popular in Cuba. According to the *New York Times*, they got an "exceptionally warm" response at their performance

December 28.

The music of the Orquestra Aragon reflects the rich African heritage of Cuban culture. "Before the Cuban revolution," comments the *Times*, "this heritage was played down by the more polite Cuban ensembles, but nowadays it is widely accepted, and Orchestra Aragon's performance on Thursday night even included some African-style solo dancing by the group's cellist, Alejandro Tomás Valdés, who ceremoniously removed his shoes and socks halfway through his performance to let everyone know he was having a good time."

The *Times* reviewer describes another incident illustrating the relationship that began to develop between the Cuban musicians and their American audience. In what the reviewer calls a high point of the concert, two of the four brothers who make up the group Los Papines "walked out into the audience playing African gourd rattles and began tossing the rattles to various members of the audience, who shook them and tossed them back."

Louisville socialists seek U.S. probe into gas attack

By Arnold Weissberg

The Louisville Socialist Workers Party is demanding a thorough federal investigation into a gas-grenade attack on an SWP election campaign rally last November 4.

Jim Burfeind, SWP candidate for Congress in the fall election, announced at a December 22 press confer-

ence that the party has filed a complaint with the U.S. Justice Department.

Burfeind said he has been told by Assistant U.S. Attorney Scott Wendelsdorf that the FBI has been directed to look into possible federal violations. Burfeind said he and attorney Bill Allison had met with special FBI agents Smith and Boutwell to present some initial facts in the case.

Burfeind was a featured speaker at the November 4 rally, along with Liz Jayko, who announced her candidacy for governor of Kentucky that night. Under U.S. Code 245 it is a violation of federal law to interfere with the civil rights of a candidate for public office.

Throwing a gas grenade into a rally certainly constitutes interference!

In addition, Burfeind explained at the press conference that the CS gas grenade used in the attack was almost certainly stolen federal property. Burfeind also demanded that the Justice Department determine whether the attack was part of a conspiracy—a violation of U.S. Code 241, the "night riders" civil rights statute.

Meanwhile, Louisville police are refusing to pursue a serious investigation, using the outrageous excuse that the attack—which could have caused severe injuries—was merely a misdemeanor.

However, dozens of prominent individuals and groups, including the city's board of aldermen, have called on the police to carry out a complete investigation.

The attack on the SWP rally was one of a series of assaults by the ultraright and racists against fighters for social change in Louisville. The Ku Klux Klan has organized violent opposition to school busing, and Blacks moving into previously white neighborhoods have been subjected to physical attacks, harassment, and cross burning.

"We're going to continue to press this case," Burfeind said, "because these right-wing terrorists will only be emboldened to commit more acts of violence against the SWP, Blacks, and others if they go unpunished."

Kentucky steel local backs call for arrest

By Debby Tarnopol

LOUISVILLE, Ky.—United Steelworkers Local 1693, the largest USWA local in this area, voted December 17 to

send letters to the mayor, city police, and Jefferson County police demanding the arrest and prosecution of those responsible for the November 4 gas-grenade attack on a Socialist Workers Party election campaign rally here.

Local 1693 represents some 900 workers at the Henry Vogt Machine Company.

At the December 17 union meeting, Recording Secretary Chuck Thompson read a resolution submitted to the executive board by two local members. The resolution called on the local to send protest letters and urge the Louisville Central Labor Council to do the same.

The resolution pointed out that the attack on the SWP rally was part of a pattern of right-wing attacks that threatens the entire Louisville labor movement, as well as women's and civil rights groups. It cited a cross-burning at the home of a Black family November 22.

The union executive board, however, did not urge a vote for this resolution. Instead, it recommended that individual members write letters if they wanted to.

During the discussion, an amendment was placed on the floor that the local itself send protest letters. Supporters of the amendment explained that doing this would have a bigger impact on Louisville authorities than simply individual protests.

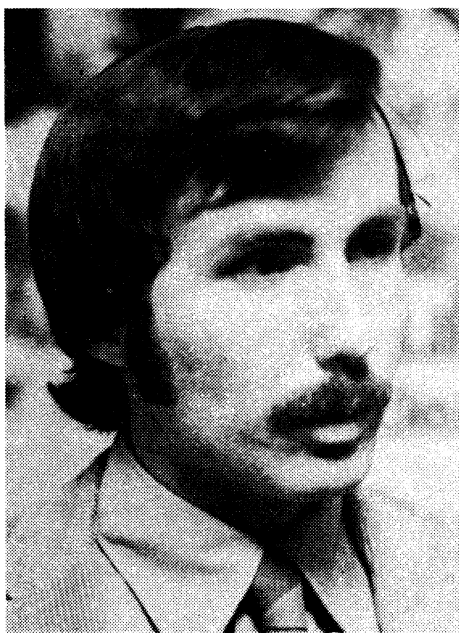
The amendment passed.

A resolution condemning the attack on the SWP rally has also been passed by International Association of Machinists Lodge 2409 at Louisville's huge Appliance Park General Electric plant. Jim Burfeind, a featured speaker at the November 4 SWP rally, is a member of the lodge.

However, a similar resolution was defeated December 10 at a meeting of the other union local at the Appliance Park plant—International Union of Electrical Workers Local 761. The local represents some 15,000 production workers there.

Mary Gutekanst, a local 761 member who chaired the November 4 SWP rally, introduced the resolution. The local executive board did not recommend approval, since, according to Recording Secretary Jim Kyser, the board decided "it was not subject matter for the union to deal with."

The resolution was defeated when Gutekanst introduced it at the local meeting. Supporters of the resolution in the local plan to raise the issue again at a future meeting.



Jim Burfeind and Liz Jayko were featured speakers at November 4 SWP election rally. They are demanding federal inquiry into gas-grenade attack on that event.

Railway machinists ratify new contract

By Doug Hord

Under pressure from the Carter administration, railway machinists recently ratified the industry's basic wage and benefits package.

In an earlier vote this fall the same package—providing for less than 12 percent annual wage and cost-of-living increases over thirty-nine months—was overwhelmingly defeated by the

Doug Hord is a member of International Association of Machinists Local 764.

International Association of Machinists. Union members blasted the contract for failing to catch up with, let alone surpass, the current rate of inflation.

What accounted for the reversal? Part of the reason was a promise by

the carriers to deliver back pay to January 1, 1978. (The other rail contracts only provide back pay to April 1, 1978.) Although this only adds 1.5 percent to the basic wage package, it added up to a \$700 payment during the recent Christmas season.

This concession may have tipped the scales in favor of ratification. But what turned the vote into a landslide was the defeatist attitude of the IAM leadership.

IAM general chairpeople, who toured the locals during the weeks of voting, argued that further negotiations under the Railway Labor Act would run the risk of coming under Carter's wage guidelines.

They pointed out that the contract as it stood was significantly better than the 21 percent Carter would allow. "Take what you can get, and be glad you got it," was essentially what they were saying.

It's one thing for Carter to threaten to intervene with his wage guidelines. But instead of turning tail and running, our union leadership should have explained that it's quite another thing for the president to *implement* his guidelines.

Rail workers know this. In discussions at union meetings many pointed to "what the miners did." By standing up to the government and reaching out for labor support they blocked the bosses' antiunion drive. With the necessary all-craft solidarity, rail unionists argued, we could beat back the Carter administration in the same way.

Instead of following the miners' example, however, the negotiating committee and general chairpeople argued that the 25,000 machinists would be isolated in a fight with the carriers, since the United Transportation Union, the Brotherhood of Mainte-

nance of Way Employees, and several smaller unions had already settled.

But this line of reasoning ignores two basic facts. The membership of the UTU and BMW did not have the right to vote on their contracts. If they did, they might have voted to reject along with the IAM.

Moreover, the 150,000-strong Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks has to date refused to agree to the carriers' package. BRAC is currently suing the National Mediation Board to declare negotiations at an impasse and thus free BRAC to begin the procedures that could lead to strike action.

If the IAM leadership had put pressure on the carriers for a better contract instead of pressuring us to accept an inadequate one, we could have joined with BRAC in a united contract fight. Last fall's four-day solidarity strike with BRAC workers on the Norfolk and Western line shows the kind of power we can command.

...Cleve.

Continued from back page

phia, the Mellon National Bank of Pittsburgh, and the Morgan Guaranty Trust of New York.

A portion of the electric power in the city is channeled through the city's Municipal Light Company. This facility, however, doesn't generate any power and hasn't for years. It merely buys power from CEI and other sources and distributes it.

Kucinich has long portrayed himself as the "savior" of the municipal light company, claiming that the city-owned facility kept CEI from raising its rates still higher. The banks have insisted that the city sell the company. CEI has offered to buy it and as part of the deal is trying to get the city to drop a big antitrust suit against the utility.

The issue is a bogus one, however. The utility rates are regulated by the state's Public Utilities Commission. The PUC will allow the rates to go as high as they think they can get away with—or lower them if they are forced to by mass pressure—whether Muni Light is run by the city or absorbed by CEI.

The city financial crisis is also being used to step up the attack on Black rights in Cleveland. Of course, as in any social crisis, the cutbacks and layoffs hit Blacks hardest. Blacks are in the worst jobs, with the least senior-

ity, and live in the neighborhoods where city services are already at their lowest level.

However, the rulers are using the current crisis to intensify racist opposition to school busing. The board of education has seized on the financial crunch as one more way of stalling off the long-overdue desegregation of city schools. The media have joined in whipping up hysteria about the "violence in the streets" that will supposedly erupt if busing is implemented with a reduced cop force.

Kucinich—a 'maverick'

Kucinich, who now calls himself an "independent Democrat," has long pretended to be a friend of labor and an enemy of the ruling rich. He has the backing of large sectors of the local trade-union officialdom, especially the United Auto Workers, Cleveland's largest union. Bob Weissman, former head of the UAW at the Chrysler plant here, is Kucinich's personnel director.

However, when the city unions were threatening work stoppages to protest the impending layoffs, Kucinich vowed to move immediately to obtain court injunctions against them. He declared that a walkout would lead to a cancellation by the city of all contracts with the unions, immediately ending dues checkoff and endangering the unions' recognition by the city as bargaining agents.

Instead of challenging the Demo-

cratic mayor and the forces he represents, the labor officials have continued on the disastrous, self-defeating course of conciliation, compromise, and concessions to Kucinich.

On December 28, a closed-door meeting called by the Cleveland AFL-CIO was held. The meeting, according to UPI, was attended by "forty community and business leaders" and "by representatives of three banks holding defaulted notes." Following this cozy get-together, Kucinich announced that he was canceling the layoff of 2,000 city workers scheduled for the first of the year.

"Kucinich warned, however," said the Cleveland *Plain Dealer*, "that the city's financial problems may force him to lay off 400 workers . . . and massive layoffs would be necessary if voters reject the 50 percent tax increase in the special elections. . . ."

Power of working class

What is conspicuously lacking in the perspective of the trade-union officialdom is any plan to rely on the power of Cleveland's working class to actively oppose the impending bank-sponsored catastrophe.

Between them the UAW and the United Steelworkers have hundreds of thousands of members and their families in the Cleveland metropolitan area.

These unions could lead a powerful

struggle against the banks and the corporations that rule Cleveland. Why should workers foot the tax bill at all? Multi-billion-dollar banks and huge corporations with gigantic plants are headquartered in this city. Cleveland has the second-largest Ford assembly plant in the world.

The wealth created by the workers in these plants is more than enough to put Cleveland on a firm financial footing.

In 1977, the ten largest industrial corporations headquartered in Cleveland had sales of \$17.5 billion. This is more than 1,000 times the \$15.5 million now needed to bail Cleveland out.

The workers who toil for these corporations produce the equivalent of Cleveland's debt *every three hours*. This wealth should be used to pay for the social services the residents of this city need.

If the books of the Cleveland banks—and of the city itself—were opened to review by committees representing the labor movement and community groups, they would undoubtedly reveal that these banks have already reaped gigantic profits from their stranglehold on the city.

This would provide compelling evidence that the remaining debts owed to these banks should be canceled and the money used instead to rebuild this city and provide a decent life for those who live here.

...Ntweng

Continued from back page

other words, working people are *already* paying more than the giant corporations. And now they want to make us pay even more!

"This is totally unjust. The capitalists have already taken their profits from the wealth we produce in their plants. Now they want us to pay the taxes. The Socialist Workers Party doesn't think workers should pay taxes. We think the capitalists should pay the taxes. They are the ones with all the money, not us."

Ntweng outlined four proposals he would like to see a conference of labor take up as an alternative to the swindles being proposed by the banks and the Democratic Party on the issue of public utilities.

"First," he explained, "such a conference would mount a campaign to compel the city government to use its powers to pry open the books of the utilities. Then we could see the truth about the giant profits the Cleveland Electric Illuminating Company is raking in.

"Second, the city should use the

tax money from the corporations to subsidize the cost of electricity for working people. Electricity rates are already far too high for us to pay.

"Third, such a conference could take steps to use labor's power on a statewide level to force the Public Utilities Commission of Ohio to lower electricity rates for residential use.

"Fourth, this conference could take initial steps toward launching a nationwide drive—led by the labor movement—for the nationalization of the entire energy industry. It could call for taking the so-called public utilities out of the hands of the rich and putting these great resources at the service of the working people of this country."

Ntweng said the attacks being carried out by the mayor and the city council in the service of the capitalist rulers cannot be met by action on the trade-union or community level alone.

"The central questions of the tax increase, the rates we pay for electricity, the cutbacks and layoffs, are all *political* questions," he explained. "To deal with them effectively, we

need our own political instruments. We need a party of labor, based on the trade-union movement.

"A conference of labor would have on its agenda the role the unions should play in the mayoral and city council elections next fall. We would

like to see the conference decide that labor should field its own slate of candidates in this election, to challenge the monopoly of the two capitalist parties, and to provide working people and the Black community a way out of this crisis." —D.R.

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Demand federal inquiry in Adams murder

By Anne Chase

SALT LAKE CITY—Socialists here are demanding that the U.S. Justice Department begin an immediate investigation into the murder last November of Tony Adams, a member of the Socialist Workers Party.

"We believe Tony Adams was killed because of his political views and activities," SWP spokesperson Clemens Bak explained in a statement released December 29.

Bak said that the federal government has a responsibility to investigate the murder under U.S. civil rights legislation, in particular under sections barring interference in election campaigns. Adams was chairperson of the Utah 1979 Socialist Workers Campaign Committee.

Bak also blasted Salt Lake cops for continuing to cover up the investigation.

The *Salt Lake Tribune* reported December 30 that according to Ronald Rencher, U.S. attorney for Utah, the socialists' demand for federal action had been referred by the Salt Lake office to the FBI and was also being forwarded to the department's civil rights division in Washington.

Despite promises by Salt Lake police of a full investigation into Adams's murder, the cops have so far carried out a cover-up. They have withheld evidence, given contradictory and false accounts to Adams's friends and family, and refused to release the results of the autopsy on Adams body. They say they have no suspects and claim to have no idea why Adams was killed.

Adams was murdered during the weekend of November 3. Only a few days before, he had been acquitted on frame-up charges of sexual solicitation resulting from a flagrant case of police entrapment. Cops often use entrapment to victimize political activists. In this particular case, they clearly sought to use the fact that Adams was



TONY ADAMS

gay. Adams was well known here as a socialist, Black liberation fighter, and gay rights activist.

A broad community delegation met with Salt Lake City Public Safety Commissioner Glen Greener December 14 to demand police action in the case. The delegation included leaders of the American Civil Liberties Union, NAACP, SWP, and gay rights activists.

Greener passed the buck, telling the delegation to take its concerns to Salt Lake City Police Chief Bud Willoughby.

Later that afternoon, accompanied by the media, the delegation did meet with Chief Willoughby. After earlier saying that fingerprints were found throughout Adams's apartment, police present at the meeting with Willoughby claimed there was no print sufficient to warrant sending it in for identification.

Earlier police had told SWP members there might be connections with a later murder. The delegation questioned Willoughby as to why a photograph of the suspect in the se-

cond murder had not been shown to Adams's family and political associates.

Willoughby responded that making the photo "too public" might scare the suspect.

To this date the police have not shown the photograph to Adams's friends and family—even though the suspect in question has been in custody for three weeks.

Shirley Pedler, executive director of the Salt Lake ACLU, asked Chief Willoughby about the entrapment of Adams before his murder. Despite the fact that the charges had been dismissed for lack of evidence, police still claimed Adams was involved in solicitation.

SWP representatives pointed to a recent visit to their headquarters by two undercover police agents. This is proof that the SWP and its members are subject to police investigation. And it shows why so many prominent people here insist that the cops' attempt to frame up Tony Adams was a result of his political activities.

In a later meeting, Willoughby even

made the ridiculous claim that even the spying on the SWP bookstore was not political. Maybe it was just a routine vice-squad check for pornography, the top cop suggested.

Following the meeting with Willoughby, one TV reporter took further initiative to press police about the investigation. When he arrived at police headquarters, police Lieutenant Glen Cahoon remarked, "So you're here to see about the queers."

The visit of the delegation to Greener and Willoughby received wide publicity in Salt Lake City.

In response, Salt Lake police have launched a slander campaign against Adams. They falsely charge that the sexual solicitation charges were made against Adams because he had written his phone number on public bathroom walls throughout Salt Lake. They say that Adams was personally involved with unstable and potentially violent individuals.

They have offered no evidence of either charge.

"These slanders are completely false," said Bak. "The police are trying to cover up their harassment of Tony Adams while he was alive and their failure to investigate his murder. They are trying to make it look as though he is responsible for his own death."

"We reject this," Bak said, "and plan to continue the effort to force out the truth about Tony's murder."

Several days after the meeting with Willoughby had received wide media coverage, one of the members of the delegation, Rev. Robert Waldrop of the Metropolitan Community Church, received a death threat. His church, active in the gay community, has been the target of threats and harassment over the past several months.

Adams's family, friends, and community leaders intend to pursue their demands for a full investigation by local and federal authorities.

Phila. city council blocks housing for Blacks

By Jon Hillson

PHILADELPHIA—Racist foes of equal housing issued a point-blank challenge to the U.S. government on December 21 when the Philadelphia City Council defied a federal court order to hire contractors for a long-delayed low-income housing unit.

The vote capped a riotous city council meeting jammed by white opponents of the Whitman Park townhouse plan. The housing unit was first proposed in 1956, gutted by Mayor Frank Rizzo in 1972, and re-ordered by federal district Judge Raymond Broderick in early 1976. In his order, Broderick found the city government

guilty of racist housing policies since 1937.

Shortly after Broderick's order, Rizzo boasted to a rally of supporters in the Whitman Park area that he'd fight the construction of the townhouses to the death. It was at that rally that the Democratic Party mayor launched a racist campaign to boost "white rights" against "minority privilege."

Today the area set aside for the housing construction is a vacant lot, strewn with garbage and broken bottles. Leaders of the campaign to keep Blacks out claimed, at the time of the Broderick order, they'd prefer rats to the townhouses.

The Whitman Park issue symbolizes the racist victimization of Philadelphia's Black community. It is a test of strength between that community and its allies and the entrenched power of the Democratic Party machine.

All eleven city councilors who voted to defy Broderick are Democrats.

Despite the defeat of Rizzo's attempt to amend the city charter to allow him to seek a third term, "Rizzoism," the racist policies of the Democratic Party, has hardly disappeared.

Both machine and antimachine Democrats are now in a scramble for the party's mayoral nod. But anti-Rizzo favorite William Green, the chief beneficiary of the mayor's charter defeat, has been virtually mute on Whitman Park.

Both the reactionary and the "reform" wings of the Democratic Party have been responsible for the twenty-two-year delay in building the townhouses. No Democratic candidate for

mayor can be relied upon to defeat racist opponents of the Whitman Park plan.

What is needed is a countermobiliza-

tion of the Black community, the labor movement, and other supporters of equal rights to demand the immediate construction of the townhouses.

'Build Whitman Park now!'

PHILADELPHIA—"I have a very simple position on Whitman Park," says Nora Danielson, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Philadelphia. "Build it right now by any means necessary. If that means throwing the city council majority in jail for contempt of court, I'm for it."

Danielson, twenty-eight, is a railroad worker and belongs to the Brotherhood of Railroad, Airline and Steamship Clerks. A member of the National Organization for Women, she helped organize NOW's national marches for the Equal Rights Amendment in Springfield, Illinois, in 1976 and in Washington, D.C., July 9.

"The city council's new move against the Whitman Park townhouses is just the latest of a decades-long attempt to deny Black residents of this city equal housing," she charges.

"Both the Democratic and the Republican parties have conspired in the racist campaign to block Whitman Park. No matter who those parties run in the upcoming mayoral campaign, workers in Philadelphia will have to rely on ourselves to push back racist opponents of the town-

house project and force the city to begin construction.

"We need a countermobilization of the Black community, the labor movement, and all other supporters of civil rights. We need picket lines, demonstrations, speak-outs, and other protests to let the Democrats who run this city know we are determined to see the Whitman Park townhouses built."



Militant/Frank Lord

NORA DANIELSON



Philadelphia Black community. Democrats have fought against equal housing for decades.

TEAMSTER CON

Carter and bosses taking a



By Shelley Kramer

"The stage is set for what appears to be the first big test of the President's wage standard," declares the *Wall Street Journal*.

That test is the Teamsters National Master Freight Agreement, which expires March 31. Contract talks began December 14.

The MFA covers some 400,000 over-the-road freight drivers, local cartage drivers, and dock workers. First nego-

tiated in 1964, the MFA represented a big victory in former Teamster President Jimmy Hoffa's long campaign to establish nationally uniform wages and working conditions for the trucking industry.

But the MFA has been steadily watered down with a variety of riders and supplements that union members are not allowed to vote on.

The contract, however, remains a pattern setter. That is why the bosses

and the Carter administration have singled out the Teamsters for special attack in the 1979 contract round.

If the nation's largest union takes a beating, they reason, they will have successfully breached the defenses of the entire labor movement.

Last year they pinned their hopes on dealing the United Mine Workers a decisive blow, but were forced to retreat by the miners' unprecedented 110-day strike.

Union ferment

This year the employers think they have Fitzsimmons in a bind. They're counting on Carter's wage guidelines, the threat of trucking deregulation, and the notorious corruption of Teamster officials to force a "giveback" settlement.

Last winter, big business mistook UMW President Arnold Miller's weakness for a lack of determination among the miners' ranks. So today, the trucking industry may be looking too much at Fitzsimmons, and too little at their real adversary—the nation's two million Teamster members.

Fitzsimmons is painfully aware of the ferment within his union. It has been signaled by the fighting spirit of California Teamsters in their 118-day strike against Bay Area grocery chains, the growth of dissident organizations like Teamsters for a Democratic Union and PROD, and the recent successes of opposition slates in key local elections.

Such pressures led Fitzsimmons to strike a militant pose back in March when the miners strike was just ending. "You think I'm going to the table for anything less?" he said of the miners' 30-percent-plus settlement. "Somebody's got to be crazy."

It sure looked like that "somebody" was Frank Fitzsimmons when he realized the dangerous consequences of his threat and immediately retracted it.

Then, in October, he flip-flopped on Carter's 7 percent wage guideline—first endorsing the plan and later taking his distance from it.

He has good reason to be so jumpy. The Chicago Truckers Union, which bargains with the Teamsters, has already announced it will accept nothing less than a 17 percent yearly package.

And Fitzsimmons' accountants have surely whispered in his ear that simply keeping the troubled Central States Pension Fund afloat will cost at least an additional eight dollars a week in employers' contributions.

Carrot and stick

To help Fitzsimmons save face, Carter announced pathetic modifications in his wage guidelines December 13, allowing an additional few tenths of a

percentage point. This was reportedly to maintain but not improve health and pension plans.

With this adjustment the administration is projecting a 7.3 percent Teamster settlement. But this comes nowhere near compensating for expected inflation or for the estimated costs of maintaining—let alone improving—Teamster benefits.

The accompanying talk of "creatively" moderating work rules to cut costs will force Fitzsimmons right up against his members' demands for improved health, safety, and working conditions.

If the carrot approach doesn't work, the government has been busily sharpening its stick to use against the Teamsters. It's "naïve to believe that the government can stand aside," Barry Bosworth, director of Carter's Council on Wage and Price Stability, told a meeting of trucking executives back in August.

By threatening that rate increases to cover wage increases will not be granted by the Interstate Commerce Commission, Bosworth supplied the bosses with additional ammunition to shoot down union demands.

Then there is the government's Labor-Management Advisory Committee for the trucking industry headed by former Labor Secretary John Dunlop. Here representatives of the bosses' negotiating arm, Trucking Management, Inc., get to "exert some adroit pressure" on Fitzsimmons, as *Business Week* put it.

"No public threats or loud jawboning," this business mouthpiece adds, just some friendly persuasion. Such as reminding the union president that the Labor Department has a suit pending against him and eighteen other trustees of the Central State Pension Fund.

'Respectability'

"He [Fitzsimmons] is desperate for respectability, and I'm not too proud to give him some if he helps me," Carter's inflation adviser Robert Strauss baldly stated.

This kind of trade-off—Teamsters rights for Fitzsimmons's skin—is undoubtedly what creates, according to Trucking Management Inc., chief Curtis Counts, a "positive collective bargaining climate" in the Dunlop committee.

Another club the government is wielding is the threat of industry deregulation. For forty-three years the ICC has regulated rates and rules for the big regular-route common carriers such as Roadway Express, Consolidated Freightways, and Yellow Freight. These companies, the most highly unionized sector of the industry, dominate the market and earn unusu-

Truckers voice demands

Teamsters want shorter hours, an end to forced overtime, and safe working conditions. Even union top Frank Fitzsimmons agrees that these are the Teamster membership's main contract concerns.

The government and trucking bosses love to complain about "overpaid" Teamsters. But they neglect to mention that over-the-road truckers drive a mandatory sixty to seventy hours a week *without overtime pay*.

Since the 1976 contract was agreed to, the employers have upped their productivity offensive by extending driving hours at the expense of truckers' health and safety.

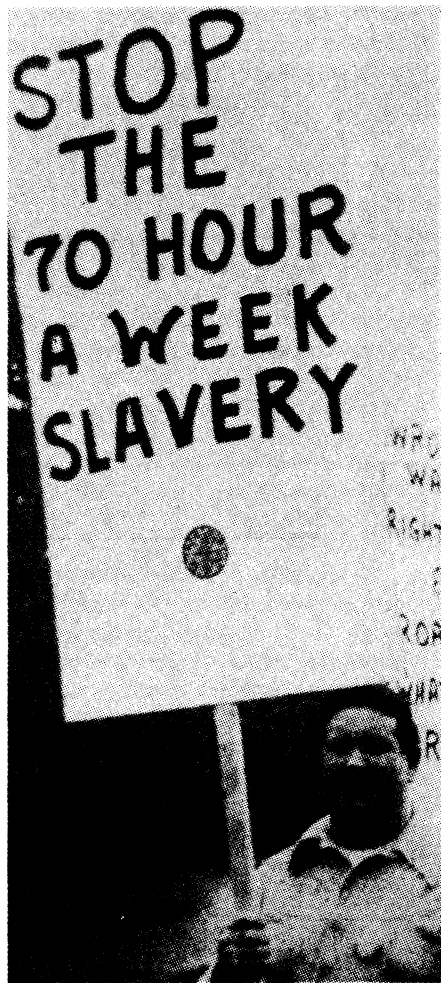
In 1977 alone, 799 drivers were killed in work-related accidents.

Two dissident Teamster groups, PROD and Teamsters for a Democratic Union, have joined together in the Majority Contract Coalition. They plan to circulate petitions and sponsor meetings to provide union members with an opportunity to voice their demands.

At the top of the coalition's list is the right to ratify—the right to read, discuss, and vote on the Master Freight Agreement and all of its thirty-two supplements. As it is now, union members rarely see their contract, they cannot vote on its supplements, and they cannot reject a settlement without a two-thirds vote.

A forty-hour week with no forced overtime and democratically elected union safety committees—as the miners have—are among the MCC's proposals for turning back the bosses' deadly productivity drive.

Teamsters are also following the miners' lead in demanding the right to strike over local grievances. In 1970 Fitzsimmons bargained away the "twenty-four-hour strike," a weapon union locals could use to break out of impasses in the grievance system.



Truckers protest at Roadway Express

The Teamsters grievance procedure is up front in protecting the bosses' interests. Union business agents are appointed, not elected. Employers are entitled to "grieve" for relief from their contracts.

Other Teamster demands include: increased pension benefits, unemployment pay and other protection for laid-off workers, an uncapped cost-of-living adjustment, and an end to productivity quotas.

—S.K.

TRACT TALKS

im at nation's biggest union



eamster President Frank Fitzsimmons caught between industry demands and mounting pressure within his nion's ranks.

designed to multiply their ranks and keep them out of the union.

The owner-operators are cheaper to employ because they supply their own rigs, pay for their upkeep, and pay their own benefits. Those who are covered by Teamster contracts—20,000 out of 100,000—work just as cheap, since Fitzsimmons has collaborated with the companies to keep down the rate percentage they earn.

Moreover, Teamster owner-operators are denied the right to vote on their contract, the Iron, Steel and Special Commodities supplement to the MFA.

These policies triggered the nationwide strike of steel haulers that began November 11. Once again Teamster officials distinguished themselves by scabbing on the strike, sending armed goons against strikers, and threatening reprisals against Teamsters who stayed out in solidarity with the steel haulers.

Rather than hold the line against local sweetheart deals that undermine the MFA, the Fitzsimmons gang provides these substandard contracts as gifts to business cronies. Their prime beneficiaries are fly-by-night leasing companies that change ownership overnight to avoid union restrictions.

"Same truck, same supervisor, everything was the same," one driver said when he awoke under new management one day. "The only thing different was that eight years of seniority benefits were wiped out. And my pay was cut."

Nowhere was the bureaucracy's no-win strategy clearer than in the recently defeated California Safeway strike. For 118 days nine Teamster locals fought to defend their working conditions, living standards, and union rights against the collective force of the Bay Area's market chains.

International officials at first refused to sanction the strike, then rescinded permission to spread picketing, and finally—after two false tries—rammed through a contract that fails to resolve a single disputed strike issue.

Needless to say, trucking bosses and the government were buoyed by the bureaucrats' betrayal. Inspired by Safeway's success the California Trucking Association plans to strike out on its own in negotiations. "Many of our people are saying, 'By golly, the food company people hung in there, took an eighteen-week strike in one of the union's strongholds. We ought to do the same thing. if we have to,'" explained association chief Tom Schumacker.

This hard-line approach is gaining adherents among the industry negotiators. "The trucking industry's new

negotiating body, Trucking Management Inc., hopefully will have the clout and guts to take on Mr. Fitzsimmons and not cave in and give away the company store as was done in 1976," wrote the editor of one industry journal.

But the tough customer in these negotiations isn't Mr. Fitzsimmons. It's the increasingly restive ranks of the Teamsters union.

Their demands—for the right to vote on the MFA and its supplements; for shorter hours, no forced overtime, and safer working conditions; for improved pay and benefits; and for the right to strike over local grievances—impose a counterpressure on the Fitzsimmons crew.

That's why Fitzsimmons is tacking and veering, one day spouting militant rhetoric, the next day begging for crumbs from Carter's table.

"I must look at reality and I must look at the realities of better than two million members of our union," he now says when asked whether the Teamsters will comply with Carter's guidelines. "I don't want to commit our

people; our people make the final determination—acceptance or rejection."

Follow the miners

What that "final determination" will be depends upon the ability of union members to do two things. First, to organize within the union for their demands, especially the right to ratify. While such a campaign would be centered in the freight division, demands for union democracy can tap widespread support throughout the union.

Second, Teamsters need to seek broad labor support for their cause. The government's guns are today trained against the Teamsters. But all working people can come to see their stake in the union's battle.

These steps can tighten the screws on Fitzsimmons and make it impossible for him to surrender to the bosses.

"Many people are beginning to realize that they can do something about this union," a West Virginia Teamster commented. "I've always said," this coal miner's son continued, "all the teamsters need is some of these coal miners' guts."

Lessons from Teamster history



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Farrell Dobbs

Let me say now, unless the International Union orders you not to go through picket lines, that clause must be set aside during the war.

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Farrell Dobbs

If you can't comply with our International orders, which are founded on necessity, AND ON ORDERS FROM OUR GOVERNMENT, then the best thing to do is to notify the International Union. Then we will protect ourselves. We know how!

Farrell Dobbs
International Union

By Farrell Dobbs

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They call it 'fighting inflation'

Gov't, bosses vs. job safety

The body count is growing in the Carter administration's "war on inflation," and all the casualties are workers.

By Arnold Weissberg

In 1977, on-the-job deaths rose 21 percent, to 4,760—and that's just in companies with more than eleven workers.

Every year, 100,000 people die from work-related diseases.

Every year, between 20 and 40 percent of all cancer is caused by on-the-job exposure.

And it's getting worse. New workplace carcinogens are discovered almost daily. The employers' crusade for "productivity" via speed-up and forced overtime puts workers' lives in ever greater jeopardy.

In the midst of this bloodshed, Carter, Congress, and the courts have embarked on a drive against workers' right to health and safety on the job. It's all under the guise of "fighting inflation."

Just as decent wages and living conditions for American workers and rights for Blacks and women have been declared "too expensive," so have the protective laws and regulations that govern job health and safety.

Ganging up

All the institutions of the bosses' government have ganged up on job safety in general and on the federal Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) in particular.

OSHA has been portrayed in the big-business press as a nightmare of bureaucratic red tape and inefficiency, as the enforcer of thousands of "ridiculous" and "costly" rules.

And government officials and politicians from both the Democratic and Republican parties have fallen in line.

•Last May, the Supreme Court ruled in the *Barlow* case that OSHA inspectors could be barred from workplaces if they didn't have a warrant. The decision supposedly upheld employers' "right to privacy," while it dumped workers' right to a safe workplace. The AFL-CIO cites the *Barlow* decision as a major reason for the increasing workplace deaths and injuries.

•An OSHA standard limiting workplace exposure to benzene, which causes leukemia, was struck down by a federal court in October. The court claimed that OSHA failed to show that "the benefits expected from the standards bear a reasonable relationship to the costs imposed by the standard." In plain English, profits come before workers' lives.

•At about the same time, the federal Regulatory Analysis Review Group attacked OSHA's proposed regulation of toxic substances as "inflexible" and warned that the cost was "potentially quite substantial."

•After months of White House stalling, OSHA proposals limiting exposure to cotton dust were about to be implemented, only to be indefinitely delayed by a federal court in October. At least 35,000 textile workers have the often-fatal brown lung disease, caused by breathing cotton dust.

•The Senate passed a bill that would have taken 9 million workers in 2.8 million workplaces out of OSHA's jurisdiction. The proposed legislation was touted as a "relief" for small businesses, but it covered 69 percent of all workplaces in private industry. The House and Senate were unable to agree on a compromise and the bill failed.

These concerted attacks on OSHA have taken their toll.

According to capitalist economics, health, safety, and environmental reg-



Tens of thousands of textile workers are exposed to lung-damaging cotton dust, but a federal court ruled controls 'too expensive.'

ulations are "inflationary" because they add to production costs without producing anything.

The dollar value of a worker's life in this scheme is about zero.

Employers, through their Democratic and Republican lawmaker friends, have already stacked the workers' compensation system in their favor. In most states, the company is immune from any damage lawsuits because of work-related injuries if it pays into the workers' compensation fund. These company payments into the fund are predictably small, as are the subsequent payments to the maimed and diseased.

And the added costs that might accrue to a company because of a bad safety record or hazardous materials can usually be avoided by covering up the facts.

The total financial burden of industrial slaughter is pushed onto the workers themselves. But since it involves costs to workers, not costs to big business, it doesn't figure into Carter's "war on inflation."

If Carter were really interested in fighting inflation and eliminating "waste" in federal spending, he would look to the \$126 billion military budget. This is the biggest single cause of inflation, pumping paper currency into the economy without supplying a single item that consumers can buy.

Instead, Carter has announced plans to increase military spending next year by 3 percent more than the rate of inflation.

Meanwhile the plans are to slash spending for social services and cut back on government regulation of health and safety.

"Regulation overkill chokes society," blares a *New York Post* headline. "Excessive and inefficient government regulation is having a significant toll on the American economy and on our society generally," the article claims.

Job safety is not only inflationary, the employers and their newspapers tell us, but downright un-American!

A concession

What is this OSHA that it is such a target of the so-called inflation fighters?

OSHA was a concession to growing worker anger over unsafe working conditions.

In 1968, after a West Virginia coal mine disaster that killed seventy-eight miners, every mine in the state was shut down by coal miners demanding some form of federal protection. A

vastly improved mine safety law followed.

Responding to the job safety demands of other workers, Congress passed the Occupational Safety and Health Act in 1970, which established OSHA.

But OSHA was never designed to be more than window dressing. Three years after it was set up it had a grand total of 500 inspectors—to check up on 4.1 million workplaces. And these inspectors were forbidden to take air samples, a job restricted by law to industrial hygienists. OSHA had fifty industrial hygienists in 1973.

The bosses have kept OSHA under fire from the very moment of its birth. Its budget has been kept to a bare minimum. This year, OSHA got \$136 million. Compare this figure to the 100-times-larger handout to the military corporations.

But OSHA is not even using the resources available to it. "Many serious hazards weren't being cited and probably weren't being corrected," said a General Accounting Office report released last May. "Citations for some serious hazards were withdrawn, sometimes without good cause," the report also said.

'Nitpicking' rules

OSHA chief Eula Bingham proudly announced in October that her agency would drop 928 "nitpicking" rules and regulations, a declaration that was widely hailed by OSHA's opponents.

Carter cited this in his anti-inflation speech later the same month as an example of how the federal government would do its part in the anti-inflation fight by eliminating "costly" rules and regulations.

"Cheered by an OSHA ruling," read a headline in the October 23 *Business Week*, an authoritative voice of the employing class.

Cheered! Who, workers? No, the plastics industry. It seems a new OSHA rule limiting worker exposure to acrylonitrile (AN), was, in *Business Week's* words, "more lenient than companies had feared." So lenient was the new standard, in fact, that most AN manufacturers already meet it, and the few that don't, have two years to toe the mark.

The fines OSHA hands out are ridiculously low. The average penalty in 1976 was \$37.26. For "serious" violations, the average was \$544.94, hardly enough to make any employer think twice about maintaining a hazardous operation.

Yet, inadequate as OSHA and other federal agencies—like the Mining Safety and Health Administration—are, regulation of workplace health and safety represented a gain for working people. These attacks on it should sound an alarm for unionists across the country.

What can working people do to protect their health and safety on the job? That will be the subject of a future article.

Just one of 35,000

"Like every morning I get up, I start coughing for about fifteen minutes," says Frank Brigman, who worked for forty-five years in a cotton mill.

Brigman has brown lung, which is caused by breathing cotton dust. He is one of 35,000 workers with the disease.

Some 150,000 others are believed susceptible to it.

"It just rattles, and I just cough the old junk up," Brigman says. "I can't sweep the floor without giving out."

But little matter are these 35,000 tortured lives to the White House "inflation fighters."

In 1975, the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union

sued the government to win regulations on cotton dust. But when the rules were finally to be implemented, at the end of May, Carter's economic advisers headed them off, having concluded they would cost industry too much.

Carter later backed down from this controversial stand, but the "revised" standards that emerged were considerably watered down.

Even they were too much for the textile giants. In October a willing federal judge indefinitely delayed the regulations.

Meanwhile thousands upon thousands of textile workers labor in factories unfettered by any "nitpicking" and "costly" cotton dust regulations.

—A.W.

World Outlook

News, analysis, and discussion of international political events

Recognition of China Victory for U.S., Chinese people

By Matilde Zimmermann

President Carter's announcement that Washington is finally extending diplomatic recognition to the People's Republic of China is an important victory for workers and the oppressed in China, the United States, and throughout the world.

As long as the U.S. rulers insisted that Chiang Kai-shek and his heirs were the legitimate government of China—and armed this gang to the teeth—they were signaling their determination to seize any opportunity to intervene militarily against the Chinese workers state.

Under the impact of events during the past decade, in particular its defeat in Vietnam, U.S. imperialism has been forced to give up this cold-war perspective for the foreseeable future. Recognition of China is a sign of the weakening of U.S. imperialism and the growing strength of revolutionary forces around the world.

American newspapers have devoted thousands of column inches to the new relationship between the United States and China. Missing from all this ink and newsprint is any serious attempt to explain why recognition was delayed for thirty years. The long refusal to recognize Peking is passed off as an inexplicable, perhaps somewhat naïve, reluctance by Washington to face up to reality.

The truth is that the United States did everything possible to block the victory of the Chinese revolution and then carried out an aggressive political, economic, and military campaign to overturn the revolution and reestablish capitalism in China.

Anti-China campaign

The Korean War in 1950 gave the imperialists the chance they were looking for. U.S.-led invaders, under the cover of a United Nations mandate, penetrated all the way to China's borders before being stopped and pushed back by Chinese troops. Washington had every intention of driving past Korea if possible into China itself. And the option of a nuclear strike against China was seriously weighed.

The U.S. government carried out an unrelenting anti-China campaign throughout the 1950s and early 1960s.

An economic blockade aimed at strangling the new, desperately poor workers state imposed severe hardships on the Chinese masses struggling to repair the damage done by imperialist invasion and capitalist rule.

A racist campaign was whipped up against the "yellow peril" and the "Chinese hordes."

Washington did everything possible to isolate Peking politically and strengthen the counterrevolutionary Kuomintang clique holed up on the island of Taiwan.

In 1958 the U.S. government came close to provoking nuclear war against China. Encouraged by Washington, Chiang Kai-shek moved troops onto the tiny islands of Quemoy and Matsu—just a few miles off the coast of China—and proceeded to blockade important mainland ports. The U.S. Seventh Fleet was moved into the area and seemed prepared to attack as soon as China began to defend its coastline against the blockade.

Washington retreated from the brink

of world war, but only to wait for a more plausible pretext for a military attack on China.

Vietnam War

It was the Vietnamese revolution that forced the United States to give up the short-term perspective of overthrowing the Chinese workers state.

Around 1968, bogged down in its efforts to crush the Vietnamese fighters and facing a growing antiwar movement at home, Washington began an attempt to tie the Moscow and Peking bureaucracies into a political deal that would isolate the Vietnamese revolution. Nixon's trips to Peking and Moscow in 1972—while American bombers were pulverizing Vietnam—were the culmination of this campaign.

But the Vietnamese fighters won, despite Mao's and Brezhnev's betrayals.

The Vietnamese victory and deep antiwar sentiment in the United States left Washington with a sharply diminished ability to intervene militarily against developing revolutions or established workers states anywhere in the world, including China. This weakened condition made it even more important for Washington to cement its détente relationship with the Chinese and Soviet Stalinists to ensure their cooperation in keeping the lid on other revolutionary struggles.

No surprise

So Carter's "surprise" announcement December 15 should have surprised no one.

Recognition of China was the logical next step in a process that has been under way for a decade and openly apparent since Nixon's Peking trip in 1972. The culmination was stalled by, among other things, the political problems posed by the Taiwan government.

The White House had until recently been reluctant to stir up a hornet's nest among staunch right-wing supporters of the Taiwanese regime in this country. So it had stopped short of full recognition, while taking many steps toward widened relations with the Chinese government.

It is probable that recent events in China encouraged the U.S. rulers to speed up the process. Big business increasingly begrudged any unnecessary obstacles to tapping the growing opportunities for lucrative trade and investment deals with the Chinese regime.

"Any nation of over 950 million people growing at the rate of 18 million individuals a year is a tremendous market," says Donald Regan, chairman of the top Wall Street brokerage house, Merrill Lynch and Company.

This starry-eyed eagerness was no doubt spurred by the Chinese government's signals last year that it wants greatly expanded economic contacts with imperialism—a policy most closely associated with Vice-premier Teng Hsiao-p'ing. During the first week of December, Peking announced that for the first time it would permit Western and Japanese firms to open offices in China; that it would gladly accept foreign loans and even foreign aid; and that it would sign contracts with capitalist firms on a profit-sharing basis and even give these firms long-term partial "ownership" in plants constructed in China.



People of Peking greet Red Army after fall of Chiang Kai-shek in 1949. United States refused to recognize Chinese workers state for thirty years.

The Chinese government has recently signed highly publicized deals with Coca-Cola, Hilton Hotels, and McDonalds. But China's real interest is in the advanced technology of heavy industry: computers, factory and mine construction, and offshore drilling equipment.

From Wall Street's standpoint, continued U.S. nonrecognition gave an annoying edge to its Western European and Japanese capitalist competitors in cashing in on the China bonanza. U.S.-China trade in 1978 was an estimated \$1.3 billion, triple the figure for 1977. But, as an article in the December 28 *Wall Street Journal* explained, "The U.S. remains far behind the China trade rush. So far, the overwhelming share of business has gone to Japan, which signed a \$20 billion long-term trade agreement with China this year. Western Europe—primarily West Germany, France and Great Britain—is in second place."

Given the intensifying interimperialist rivalry over a shrinking world market, big business in this country wants to make up for lost time in what it hopes will be an important new market and outlet for investment.

Selling out revolutions

The Chinese bureaucracy and all its factions—from that headed by Mao and the so-called gang of four, to that now led by Teng—have gone out of their way for more than a decade now to demonstrate their desire to come to

comfortable terms with imperialism.

In fact, this has been their aim from the beginning, although the active hostility of imperialism throughout the cold-war years prevented them from making much progress.

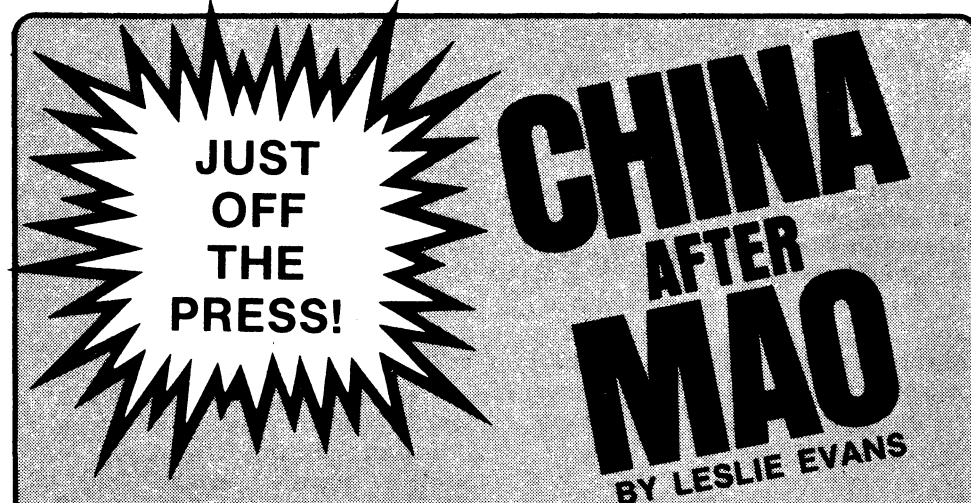
The Chinese bureaucracy is constantly looking for ways to assure capitalist governments that it is willing to do their bidding around the world in return for diplomatic deals and economic and technological aid.

Peking sees the establishment of formal ties with Washington totally within the framework of the Stalinist policy of socialism in one country. What the bureaucracy hopes to achieve is consolidation of its authoritarian rule and bountiful privileges.

The goal of Teng Hsiao-p'ing's diplomacy—like that of Mao before him—is preservation of the world status quo. This means active opposition to revolutionary upheavals in Iran, in southern Africa, in Sri Lanka. It leads to an open call for Washington to use its military might against revolutionary Cuba.

In exchange for this support to imperialism, the Chinese bureaucracy hopes to find a road to quick economic modernization. As a conservative clique fearful of the masses, the Stalinist regime rejects the only real road to economic development—through extension of the world revolution, especially to the advanced capitalist countries, and the establishment of worldwide

Continued on page 19



Wall posters in Peking are openly criticizing Mao Tsetung and many of Mao's most cherished policies are being reversed by his successors. *China After Mao* probes one of the most dramatic turnabouts of modern times—

- What were the real aims of the Cultural Revolution?
- Why did China's present rulers arrest Mao's closest associates after his death?
- Why have they repudiated the central campaigns of Maoism?
- What is the real state of human rights in China?
- What are the roots of today's "democracy movement"?

In answering these questions the author traces the factional conflicts within the Chinese Communist Party since the Cultural Revolution. He also examines the failure of the Maoist strategy of economic development and documents the beginnings of an opposition movement in defense of democratic rights. 194 pages, \$3.95

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Western Europe in 1978

Reformist parties face deepening trouble

By Gerry Foley

In 1976 and 1977, the key fact in West European politics was the success of the CP and SP leaders in holding back the mass radicalization provoked by the general economic crisis, and by the breakdown of the old forms of capitalist rule in Portugal, Spain, Greece, and Italy.

In 1978, the most important fact is that the SPs and CPs are starting to crack under the strain of trying to get their mass following to accept more and more unemployment, deepening cuts in buying power, a steady deterioration in social services and the quality of life, and growing insecurity in general.

Italy—CP pays a stiff price

The weakening hold of the reformist leaderships can be seen on the largest scale in Italy. In the first stage of the breakdown of capitalist stability, the CP began to move forward rapidly. In 1976, the capitalist press in the U.S., as well as in other leading imperialist countries, was filled with scare stories about increasing Communist influence in Italy.

It was feared that the combination of crises and scandals shaking the main bourgeois party, the Christian Democrats; declining living standards; and the CP's assiduously cultivated new democratic image would carry it to victory in the June 1976 elections.

The CP leaders, however, sought gains sufficient only to convince the Christian Democrats of the need to include them in the government. They were partially successful. Following the elections, the CP began to be brought into the ruling coalition *de facto*, although not yet formally.

The CP gave tacit support to the Andreotti government and tried to pretty up austerity as a means for "transforming society."

This policy almost immediately caused tensions in the Italian CP, which were reflected in the raising of alarm signals by the traditional "left" figures in the leadership. By December 1977, the austerity policy was being challenged openly by major forces in the labor movement. The steel workers demonstrated against it under the slogan "We have had enough."

Labor bureaucrats worried

By the end of 1978, the opposition to the CP's austerity line had become so strong that even those elements in the leadership that had identified themselves most enthusiastically with it, including CP Secretary Berlinguer, were feeling the need to start talking out of the left side of their mouths.

At the same time, the union bureaucrats' inability to hold back strikes, by public workers in particular, prompted the secretaries of the three main federations to raise a cry of alarm. Their joint statement said:

"The south is a powderkeg. The whole body of public workers, beginning with the hospital workers, has become uncontrollable. If the government does not do something, we are going to have to resort to a general strike."

The Italian CP also suffered electoral setbacks this year. Its percentage of the vote in the May 16 regional elections dropped sharply below the 1976 level, and the results of the June 11-12 referenda on a state financing of political parties and the Reale "antiterrorist" law showed that it was losing its grip on important sections of the electorate and its own traditional base of support.



Social Democratic and Communist parties are having a hard time restraining militancy of unionists like these FIAT workers.

The referendum on the new Spanish constitution held December 6, 1978, indicated that similar erosion in the credibility of the reformist parties has begun there. All the parliamentary parties campaigned for a "yes" vote on the constitution, one of the few that explicitly guarantees the "rights of business."

Nonetheless, about a third of the Spanish electorate abstained. Moreover, in the Basque country, which was in the forefront of the struggle against Franco and remains the vanguard of the fight against his heirs, a substantial majority either abstained or voted "no."

The Basque fighters have been, and are still, the main inspiration to revolutionary-minded youth and workers throughout Spain. No bourgeois government in Madrid can hope to consolidate "stability" as long as the Basque people continue to mobilize in the struggle for their national rights.

The Basque vote was a particularly sharp rebuff to the Socialist Party of Felipe González, which had emerged from the first parliamentary elections as the strongest by far of the reformist parties in the electoral arena. On the basis of the June 1977 elections, the SP could claim to have the largest following of any single party in the Basque country, where the CP's long record of betrayal of the national struggle had reduced it to a marginal position.

Now, the SP's ability to deliver sufficient Basque support for any government in Madrid, even one in which it participates or plays the leading role, has been placed in doubt. Thus, its usefulness as a government party has already been undermined, even before it has gotten close to gaining governmental positions.

Betrayal of national rights

This rebuff to the SP leadership came at a critical time. Since the June 1977 elections, it has been trying to prove to the Spanish capitalists that it could offer an acceptable alternative to Premier Adolfo Suárez and his bourgeois coalition. It has been rapidly dumping its left rhetoric and purging radicals from the party and the organizations it controls, including the General Union of Workers (UGT).

The SP has also been backpedaling on its promises of self-government for the oppressed nationalities. The new constitution that it supported upholds the traditional Spanish state as the "indivisible fatherland of all Spaniards."

There is a historical precedent for the fading of the SP in the Basque country. At the beginning of the 1930s, it was the strongest party there. But within a few years, as a result of its failure to support the national aspirations of the Basque people—which reflected the party's subordination to the Spanish bourgeoisie—it had been pushed to the sidelines by nationalist forces. Today, this process is likely to move more rapidly.

Moreover, the Spanish SP leaders can see how quickly their sister party in Portugal became discredited by trying to run a government for the bourgeoisie. Now this declining party has been cast aside by the Portuguese capitalists and is being plunged into a deep crisis.

In fact, after staging purge upon purge of those in the party who balked at each succeeding move to the right, the Portuguese SP tops are now being compelled to experiment with making a left turn.

For example, the SP leaders made some efforts to recover a radical image among the landless laborers in Alentejo before the November local elections. But they had already driven out of the party practically everyone who had any credibility. So, the SP vote was cut in half.

France—Union of Left splits

In France, the SP and CP tried to avoid becoming caught in the same vise by throwing away their chance for victory in the March legislative elections.

At the opening of the electoral campaign, after every indicator had pointed to a left victory for months and the workers had suspended their struggles in expectation that they would soon have a government of their own, the CP and SP contrived to split the Union of the Left.

Despite the CP and SP's pledges that they would continue to defend bourgeois interests in government, the

French capitalists were not prepared to accept a Union of the Left cabinet. They saw clearly that in the existing conditions, such a government would not be useful as a means of controlling the struggles of the masses but rather would have the effect of unleashing them. They made their attitude clear in the capital flight that was gaining momentum in the months before the elections.

This pressure prompted the bourgeois component of the Union of the Left, the Left Radicals, to touch off a crisis in the alliance. In fact, the SP and CP were more than happy to break up the bloc. The attitude of the bourgeoisie had made it clear to them that the time was not ripe for a class-collaborationist government. Furthermore, they feared having to take governmental responsibility at a time of rising unemployment and declining living standards.

Backstabbing contest

In this situation, the CP and the SP jockeyed to try to shift the blame on each other and gain points with the workers at each other's expense. This is not the first example of such a backstabbing contest by the rival class collaborationist parties, in which the main sufferer has been the workers themselves.

The French CP had a particularly acute problem. The new radicalization, which crystallized around the perspective of a left government, had gone mainly to swell the sails of the SP. It threatened to put the CP in the position of being a minority party in the working class for the first time since World War II.

All the big European CPs face the problem of being bypassed by newly radicalizing layers. Their following is mainly a historical one, which they have not won and held by their actual politics. It was consolidated in the period of the fight against fascism and the cold war, on the basis of the impression that the CPs were the main enemy of capitalism.

However, the newly radicalized layers have a better idea of what Stalinism represents, and are repelled by it. Thus they tend to seek other alternatives on the left. This problem has

forced the big CPs to make their so-called Eurocommunist turn, that is, to try to disassociate themselves from Stalinist dictatorship and present themselves as democratic and pluralist parties open to new ideas.

At one point, the possibility that mass workers parties offering a perspective of socialism with democracy could come to power in a number of major European countries prompted a worried editorial in the *New York Times*. On July 1, 1977, the *Times* editors warned that such a development could precipitate mass uprisings against the ruling Stalinist bureaucracies and "destabilize" the entire continent.

Crisis of Eurocommunism

In 1978, in contrast, another voice of U.S. capitalism, *Business Week*, published an article in its November 13 issue crowing over the fact that the luster of Eurocommunism was fading. But this magazine, written for businessmen, revealed its shortsightedness even from the standpoint of capitalist interests.

The West European workers are no less interested in socialism with democracy or any less determined to fight for it. In fact throughout 1978 in nearly all the West European countries, the radicalization deepened. Even a growing section of the SP and CP ranks realize that their leadership has been sabotaging their struggle. They are beginning to think about what kind of leadership they need. And this in itself puts pressure on the existing leaderships and makes it more difficult to do what the capitalists expect of them.

The French CP and SP leaders did not get away with scuttling the chance of a left victory in March. Their moves touched off a profound crisis in their parties, one that is particularly deep in the CP.

The crumbling credibility of the mass workers parties has given rise to a certain cynicism about politics and a certain demoralization. But it has also started a process of reflection that can lead to removing the roadblock to the struggle for socialism represented by the reformist leaderships.

Ironically, in view of the fears about the "Mediterranean belt" in 1974-76, the growing rejection of class collaboration by the masses was expressed most dramatically in 1978 in a Scandinavian country—Denmark. Toward the end of 1978, tens of thousands demonstrated against the Danish SP forming a coalition with a bourgeois party. Moreover, a network of organizations began to form in the factories as an alternative leadership.

Even in what has been considered the most stable of the Western European countries—Austria—the conti-

nent's strongest Social Democratic party suffered an unexpected defeat in a referendum on the issue of nuclear power. An overconfident SP leadership had thrown its full weight behind defending nuclear power plants as essential for solving the country's economic problems.

In Sweden, two years ago, the SP lost the elections, mainly on the issue of nuclear power. This fall, the bourgeois government that replaced it fell on the same issue.

In 1978, the struggle against nuclear power plants emerged clearly as a mass movement throughout Western Europe. This is an indication of the fact that class-collaborationist workers parties trying to administer capitalism face new problems, in addition to the well-known ones created by economic downturns.

More and more the question is being posed of the way capitalist society is organized and of the way its priorities are determined. This is a problem especially for the SPs in the relatively prosperous countries of northern Europe.

German steel strike

In West Germany itself, economically by far the strongest capitalist country in the area, growing unemployment has forced conservative union and SP leaders to go along with a demand challenging the basic laws of capitalism.

Tens of thousands of German steelworkers went on strike in November for a thirty-five-hour workweek with no cut in pay in order to expand the number of jobs. This example is spreading already to other north European countries.

Moreover, at the same time that labor militancy is on the rise in West Germany, SP national and local government leaders are finding it expedient to try at least to moderate the witch-hunting "antiradical" regulations imposed earlier in this decade.

These repressive regulations were imposed at a time when the West German authorities were able to convince most of the public that those opposing the established order from the left were extremists or terrorists. The decrees are more and more clearly untenable in a society where a mass opposition movement has developed on the issue of nuclear power and in which labor militancy has begun to appear on a large scale.

Almost everywhere in Western Europe over the past year, there was more and more rapid erosion of the bases of capitalist political and economic stability. And the class-collaborationist workers parties were less and less in position to prop the sagging systems up.

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

...Somalia

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no government troops were involved in the offensive and that all the fighting was conducted by guerrillas indigenous to the Ogaden. That claim was subsequently dropped.

But Siad Barre is again disclaiming direct participation in the recent attacks. According to Darnton, however, "Western sources dispute this and believe that, at the very least, the Government has permitted army officers from the Ogaden region to go 'on leave' to join the fighting there."

As in the past, the Somali government-backed forces are not just fighting in those parts of the Ogaden that are populated by a majority of Somalis.

After reporting statements by the Western Somali Liberation Front, Darnton continues: "Mohammed Ali Rube, the secretary general of the Somali Abo Liberation Front, a related group that carries on the war in the three southern Ethiopian provinces of Sidamo, Bale and Arusi, said his troops had free rein outside the major towns and garrisons."

The vast majority of the people living in these provinces are Sidamos and Oromos, not Somalis—a fact that belies Siad Barre's claim that what is involved is a war of national liberation by the oppressed Somali people. Actually, the Somali government's military activity in the Ogaden is an imperialist-

backed maneuver aimed at the Ethiopian revolution.

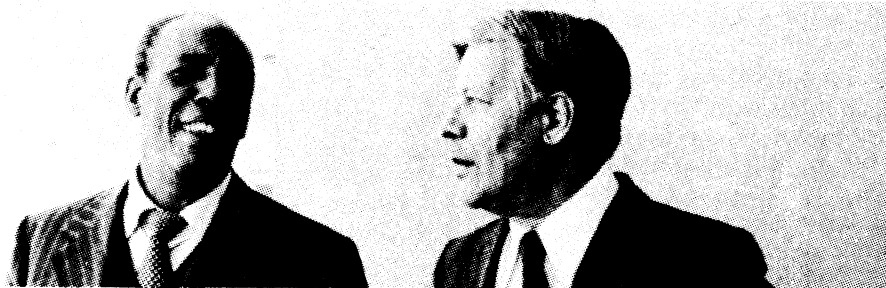
Darnton's dispatch from Mogadishu also provided new information indicating that some Somali government troops last year opposed Siad Barre's invasion.

"As an added twist to the already complicated situation in the Horn of Africa," writes Darnton, "Ethiopia is training a large band of Somali dissidents who presumably want to overthrow President Mohammed Siad Barre. The group, from a clan in central Somalia, is headed by a commander who defected after a coup attempt failed in April. He is now fighting against the Somalis in the Ogaden."

This information takes on added interest in light of Fidel Castro's account last March of Cuba's role in the Ogaden War. Castro had appealed to those inside Somalia who opposed Siad Barre's policy of using Somali troops to serve imperialist aims in the Horn of Africa.

Addressing himself to the ranks of Siad Barre's army, Castro said: "The people of Somalia have great merits and virtues. As *Granma* explained, Somalia's soldiers aren't cowardly. It is fair and right to say this. They were tough and showed real fighting spirit."

"... There are progressive and left-wing forces in Somalia," Castro said, "and we shall see what happens in coming weeks. Of course, this is a matter that concerns only the people of Somalia, not any of us or any other country."



Somalian dictator Siad Barre meets West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt. West Germany aided Barre's regime during its war in Ethiopia.

...China

Continued from page 17

economic planning and cooperation.

There are powerful revolutionary forces stirring in the world today—including in the United States. But Teng's orientation is not to the masses in the streets and oil fields of Iran, or to American coal miners, auto workers, Blacks, Chicanos, and women. Teng feels more at home with capitalist politicians like the shah and Carter, and with the corporation lawyers who negotiate for Coca-Cola and Pan American World Airways.

Peking does not look to the deepening class struggle in Japan, Western Europe, or Latin America for revolutionary victories that would genuinely advance the Chinese revolution.

The Chinese workers state has a right to seek diplomatic ties, trade, and economic assistance from capitalist governments. But its current rulers rely on such deals at the expense of the world revolution.

When Teng comes to the United States January 29, he will not stay in Harlem as Fidel Castro did when he came to New York in 1960. He will not talk to miners in West Virginia or auto workers in Detroit. And he certainly won't call for cutting the Pentagon's war budget to provide more funds for needed social programs.

What he will do is pose for plenty of pictures with Jimmy Carter, the two leaders smiling their agreement on the

need to strengthen NATO's nuclear strike force against Soviet "hegemonism."

A popular move

U.S. recognition of China should meet with a favorable response from the American people—and from the people of China. Recognition is a matter of simple justice. Working people in both countries will benefit from any increased cultural exchanges and trade ties.

According to the *New York Times* of December 19, a poll conducted after Carter's announcement indicated that "a sizable majority opposes further arms sales to the Chinese Nationalists."

This is a good time to demand that the United States immediately extend diplomatic recognition to Cuba and Vietnam and lift its economic blockade.

For twenty years Washington has been trying by political, economic, and military means to overthrow the Cuban revolution.

The U.S. government continues to lead an economic and political drive to isolate Vietnam and punish the Vietnamese for their heroic fight for liberation.

Campaigning for the recognition of Cuba and Vietnam is an appropriate way to celebrate the victory of Washington being forced to acknowledge the overturn of capitalism in China, three decades after the fact.



Spanish Social Democrat Felipe González (left) and Portuguese Social Democrat Mario Soares. Their support to capitalist austerity has eroded their authority with workers.

1978: a bad year for the dollar

By Jon Britton

Recurrent crises of the dollar dominated world economic news in 1978. At the beginning of the year, again in April, and then in August, the Carter administration acted to halt an ever-steepening decline of the once mighty greenback in world money markets.

The measures announced turned out to be mere palliatives, however, until the beginnings of a genuine financial panic in late October forced Carter to approve more drastic actions, signaling a real shift in U.S. economic policy.

The growing tendency of international banks and multinational corporations, and even some governments, to dump dollars reflects the deepening contradictions of the world capitalist economy and the inability of even the most powerful imperialist power to overcome them. World overproduction and chronic unemployment exist side by side with soaring prices. Huge trade surpluses in Japan and West Germany have grown up alongside an even bigger U.S. trade deficit.

Competition intensifies

Competition between giant monopoly concerns and among industrialized and industrializing capitalist countries continues to intensify, leading to more calls for protectionist trade barriers and new efforts to "restructure" profit-threatened industries.

Most important from a political standpoint, the fall of the one international currency and the measures being taken to contain it signal a new and more severe wave of government-imposed austerity around the world.

In the United States, President Carter has escalated his drive to cut back social spending at the federal level. Here is how the November 27 issue of *Newsweek* described his intentions:

As a first step, Carter now hopes to amputate at least \$15 billion from the 1980 budget and \$5 billion from the budget for the remainder of the 1979 fiscal year. Eizenstat and other counselors have warned against the political dangers of slicing too deeply into social programs. But the evidence suggests that Carter intends to outdo even the Republicans in wielding his ax, winding up with a budget deficit as low as \$28 billion, \$11 billion less than the deficit for 1979. "A deficit that small based on spending cuts would be a really remarkable achievement," says American Enterprise Institute economist Rudolf Penner, a con-

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BELGIEN			

Foreign exchange board in Frankfurt. Value of dollar plummeted late in 1978, and more inflation is in store for 1979.

servative who served as an economic aide to Gerald Ford. "I mean *really* impressive." [Beginning emphasis added.]

No military cutbacks

According to Hedrick Smith, writing in the November 19 *New York Times*, the cuts will affect "existing programs in health, education, urban aid, environmental protection and job programs."

Carter does not intend to cut military spending. On the contrary, it is slated to rise substantially:

The President still plans to make good on a vow to NATO to boost U.S. military spending by 3 per cent above next year's inflation rate. The Pentagon also hopes to wangle \$200 million in a supplemental appropriation for fiscal 1979 to push development of the mobile M-X missiles. . . . [*Newsweek*, November 27.]

The sharply escalated drive for austerity comes on top of Carter's propaganda blitz to get the labor movement to go along with a "voluntary" limit of 7% on increases in wages and fringe benefits combined.

But even according to the government's own statistics, the rate of inflation reached 10% in October. So what

Carter is trying to impose are actual cuts in real wages.

The new offensive also comes on top of Carter's campaign to eliminate supposedly "unnecessary" health, safety, and environmental regulations that are cutting into capitalist profits.

Many workers who voted for Carter must be asking themselves the question: How is it that a Democratic president who ran for office on a platform of less guns and more butter, and of rapid economic growth to provide jobs for all, is now carrying out the exact opposite program?

The renewed decline of the once "as good as gold" dollar provides an initial answer. After all, it is in the name of "saving" the dollar and combating inflation that Carter is asking the American people to make sacrifices.

Overproduction

To understand why the dollar has once again hit the skids requires an awareness of a more basic problem—namely growing overproduction (not in relation to human needs but to profit requirements), which has affected virtually all capitalist countries, although unevenly.

Generalized overproduction periodically hits unplanned, profit-oriented economies and the world capitalist economy as a whole. It initially takes the form of intensified competition, financial turmoil, soaring interest rates, and monetary crises, which herald the approach of an open overproduction crisis.

Such a crisis is invariably triggered by "tight money" in one form or another and is marked by excessive inventories of goods relative to sales and a sharp falling off of production as capitalists lay off workers and cut costs to the bone to try and avoid bankruptcy.

The U.S. economy is still in the pre-crisis stage of overproduction, and the same holds true for the world capitalist economy as a whole.

For the United States, the "healthy phase" of recovery from the 1974-75 slump came to an end in late 1976. That was when the dollar, after strongly rallying for a year and a half, began once again to depreciate relative to gold, the money commodity.

Since then the economic expansion has been artificially sustained by means of heavy government deficit spending and the easy credit policies of the U.S. central bank. In fact, Carter's budget deficits and the general expansion of credit have been unprecedented for a period when U.S. imperialism was not engaged in a war.

When Carter came into office in January 1977, the "financially prudent" course would have been to tighten fiscal and monetary policy and to carry through on his promise to reduce the military budget. Instead he proposed a series of tax cuts along with added government expenditures.

Inflationary policy

The tax cuts were aimed at keeping the economy expanding at a brisk pace. The increased spending had the same purpose and also reflected Carter's decision to go along with the Pentagon's requests for substantially increased arms outlays.

There were compelling reasons for Carter's attempt to imitate John F. Kennedy's effort in the early 1960s to "get the country moving again," among them the following:

Carter and the Democratic Party (the main vehicle of capitalist rule in the United States since the 1930s) did not want to jeopardize their coalition with the class-collaborationist misleaders of labor, Blacks, and other oppressed groups by sharply cutting back social spending and presiding over a new slump.

The ruling class as a whole was anxious to stop the erosion of U.S. imperialism's power and influence following its defeat in Vietnam. The rulers decided that on the military front this called for beefing up United States forces in Europe, including equipping them with the fiendish neutron bomb; developing the capacity to wage "limited nuclear war"; and taking advantage of the newest space-age technology to attain a first-strike capability against the Soviet Union—all extremely expensive undertakings.

There were undoubtedly other international considerations behind Carter's expansionist course. The United States was seen as the main "locomotive" in the economic recovery worldwide. And continued recovery was seen as important in view of the political instability in Europe, partially arising out of the 1974-75 economic crisis, and in view of the massive debts that had been built up by many semicolonial countries.

By April of 1977, however, the dollar had depreciated more than 30% against gold compared to the previous August. This meant that prices would soon be soaring once again, and Carter

decided to drop most of his tax-cut proposals.

The government, it turned out, also underspent its budget in 1977 by some \$11 billion.

Nevertheless, the budget deficit hit \$45 billion in fiscal year 1977. And because of the underlying economic weakness, it had to be partially financed with dollars created out of thin air by the U.S. central bank.

This inflationary policy did in fact help to keep the U.S.—and the world—economy expanding, but at the cost of a further weakening of the dollar both in relation to gold and to currencies of countries such as Japan and West Germany, whose governments chose to follow “more prudent” financial policies.

Bluffs and half measures

The Carter administration held tenaciously to its expansionist course this past year in face of a weakening dollar. For many months, it prevented a major flight from the greenback through a series of largely symbolic actions that aimed to give the *impression* that Washington was shifting to a restrictive fiscal and monetary policy, without actually constituting such a shift.

One measure that did represent a real shift toward fiscal tightening—the big increase in Social Security payroll taxes that Carter signed into law last December—was not to take effect until 1979 and moreover was partially neutralized by a new tax cut passed this year.

This did not mean that the U.S. government had become indifferent to the dollar's fate. Top officials were perfectly aware that an all-out flight from the dollar, which finances 75% of world trade, would bring on an economic crisis of catastrophic proportions.

But the administration calculated that it could continue its expansionist policy at home, and help keep the world capitalist economy afloat, without triggering such a crisis.

What Carter expected

Carter and his advisers expected that a modest decline of the dollar in relation to stronger foreign currencies would be at least partially self-correcting. That is, they hoped lowered exchange rates for the dollar would cut U.S. export prices in terms of the yen and mark, lead to an increase in foreign sales by U.S. corporations, and slice the massive U.S. trade deficit, thereby stabilizing the dollar at a new, if lower, level of equilibrium.

At the same time, Washington was



Carter has sought to bolster value of dollar by selling gold.



While Carter pushes for more military spending, basic social services such as garbage collection and street cleaning are being cut to the bone.

pressing governments with relatively strong currencies to stimulate their economies so as to increase further their imports of American goods, in turn propping the dollar. The administration no doubt calculated that a modest decline of the dollar would not be bad in this regard either, since the resulting increased competition from cheapened U.S. exports would put added pressure on these governments to “reflate.”

Thus, for a time in mid-1977 Treasury Secretary Michael Blumenthal openly “talked down” the value of the dollar. He quickly shut up, though, when toward the end of the year the U.S. currency began to nosedive.

Prime Minister Fukuda of Japan and Chancellor Helmut Schmidt of West Germany were ultimately “convinced” to adopt strongly inflationary policies.

Moreover, there were signs by mid-year that the massive U.S. trade deficit was beginning to shrink and that Japan's huge trade surplus would begin coming down also.

Financial panic

Still, the prospect of these apparently favorable changes did not prevent a near-panic on world money markets in August and the beginnings of a full-blown financial panic in October. Toward the end of October U.S. currency was falling a dizzying 1% to 2% *per day* against major foreign currencies. The dollar price of gold was jumping \$5, \$6, and even \$7 a day. And the stock market went into a deepening decline that saw the Dow industrial average fall 105 points in twelve trading days.

The rush to get out of dollars was accelerated by moves of the Common Market governments to try once again to create a zone of monetary stability by setting up a fixed-exchange-rate system. (A similar attempt in the early 1970s failed owing to divergent domestic economic trends and political pressures.) If successful, even for a time, such a monetary union would make the weaker European currencies more attractive in relation to the dollar, since they would then be closely tied to the relatively stable West German mark.

The wholesale dumping of dollars and dollar-denominated stocks and bonds was a clear sign that the bluffs and half measures employed by Carter to stabilize the dollar, while economic pump-priming continued, were insufficient. The financiers were now insisting that these policies give way to credit-restricting “tight money” and sharply reduced government deficits.

On November 1, Carter responded by announcing a new package of measures, which had been secretly put together following the near panic in August. These included a full 1% rise in the Federal Reserve's discount rate, the interest charged on loans to member

banks; an increase of \$3 billion in the amount that banks are required to keep in reserve against certain large deposits, cutting into their ability to lend; an expansion of the Federal Reserve's “swap” lines of credit with foreign central banks; and a redoubling of the monthly auction of Fort Knox gold, which had begun in May, to 1.5 million ounces.

Taken by themselves, these measures by no means prove that a basic change of course is occurring. But if Carter doesn't follow through with such a change, he will likely be faced soon with another, even bigger and more panic-stricken, flight out of the dollar.

A shift in policy

Indeed the initial evidence is that such a policy change is under way. The dollar has rallied strongly on world money markets since Carter's announcement, gaining 16% in relation to the Swiss franc, 13% against the Japanese yen, 10% against the West German mark, and 7% against the British pound as of December 1. The dollar price of gold dropped more than 20%.

These gains partially reflect aggressive buying of dollars by the Federal Reserve in the currency markets, using borrowed foreign currencies. And they reflect the increased gold sales. In view of the fact that an estimated 500 billion U.S. dollars are on deposit abroad and could potentially be dumped on the market, it is unlikely that the government would be committing these resources to propping up the U.S. currency without at the same time initiating a real tightening on the monetary and fiscal front.

Carter's latest moves to slash social spending are persuasive evidence that precisely that is in the works.

The ruling class has actually been laying the groundwork for more severe austerity for a long time. Throughout most of the 1970s—and stepped up significantly this year—assorted mouthpieces for big business have carried on a campaign aimed at convincing the American people to lower their expectations in regard to jobs, wages, working conditions, the environment, and government services.

Through California's Proposition 13 and other similar referendums, right-wing forces have mobilized to divert widespread anger over high taxes into support for reactionary swindles that state and local governments have then used as an excuse to cut back or put a lid on social spending.

Weaker upturn

If Carter follows through with his plans, the change in fiscal and monetary policy would parallel a similar shift carried out by the Nixon administration in 1973, also forced by growing world overproduction.

This time, however, the underlying economy is weaker and therefore the

federal budget is much deeper in the red, both in absolute numbers and as a proportion of the country's total output of goods and services.

This goes a long way to explain why Democrat Carter is now attempting to actually cut back social spending while under Republicans Nixon and Ford it continued to expand.

An additional explanation is that, just as in Europe the Social Democrats and Stalinists have been assigned by the ruling class to take the lead, in the United States it is the Democratic Party that has been given the main role in imposing austerity on working people. The editors of the *New York Times* put it this way:

As a Democrat, the President is well placed to reach [a social] compact. Just as Richard Nixon could more safely lead conservatives to China and into arms deals with the Russians, Mr. Carter can better persuade the poor and working-class constituents of his party to lower their expectations of Government. [November 19.]

However, one section of his “constituents,” the coal miners, did not take kindly to Carter's attempt earlier this year to break their strike and force them to “give back” major gains won in earlier struggles. In fact the miners went on to win a victory.

A similar pattern could be repeated on a much bigger scale as Carter drives ahead with his new austerity offensive. The U.S. rulers are well aware of this possibility and they are deeply worried.

It has been reported, for example, that James McIntyre, the budget director, is trying to get Carter to scale back somewhat the 3% increase in military spending projected for next year so as to make the cutbacks in social spending more “politically saleable.”

The editors of the *New York Times* are concerned that Carter's cuts may appear too much like decrees coming down from on high, rather than products of a “broad consensus” reached through “informed debate.” Here is how they conclude their editorial:

If the nation has not yet learned enough economics to know exactly *what* must be done, we have surely learned from the debacles of Mr. Johnson's Vietnam, Mr. Nixon's [wage-and-price] controls and Mr. Ford's recession the political significance of *how* things are done. A President saying “I have decided” decides nothing for this huge society. A prescription of pain is not usually heeded until the patient accepts the diagnosis.

More ‘slumpflation’

The dollar crisis and Carter's response to it presage a new round of worldwide “slumpflation” in which millions may be laid off while the cost of living continues to soar.

While a modest boom could get under way in Europe and Japan as a result of increased government deficit spending, it is not likely to last long in the face of a stagnating or slumping U.S. economy. As it is, chronic joblessness and excess capacity plague such major industries as steel, textiles, and shipbuilding. Any substantial drop in exports of steel and other products to the big U.S. market will worsen the situation.

Even the new, more technologically advanced sectors such as computers and aerospace, which are supposed to be gradually replacing the older industries, gradually replacing the older industries, will be hit hard by a U.S. slowdown.

In addition, there has been rapid growth of the money supplies of Japan and West Germany as Tokyo and Bonn have attempted to slow the dollar's decline by buying up the U.S. currency with newly created yen and marks. According to the December 6 *Wall Street Journal*, such purchases by

Continued on next page

Statement of Fourth International

For solidarity with struggle in Nicaragua!

[The following statement was issued by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*.]

The events of the last few months in Nicaragua represent a new stage in the decay of the Somoza dictatorship. They indicate a sharpening of the crisis of the dictatorships imposed on Latin America by imperialism and the native ruling classes.

The tyranny of the Somoza family, installed more than forty years ago and maintained by the most barbaric violence, was deeply shaken at the beginning of 1978 by powerful mass mobilizations. These mobilizations came in response to the murder of Pedro Joaquín Chamorro, a spokesman for the moderate bourgeois opposition.

Since then, street demonstrations, strikes by students and workers, and semispontaneous urban uprisings have multiplied in all Nicaraguan cities, as well as in large rural areas.

This is the context in which the military offensive of the FSLN (Sandinista National Liberation Front) took place in September. The FSLN is now the main military and political force fighting the regime. This offensive was aimed at taking several cities, and at liberating a politically and militarily important area of the country, near the Costa Rican border, in order to install a provisional government that would be recognized and supported by many Latin American governments.

None of these objectives were attained. At the cost of a real massacre, Somoza's army was able to stifle, one by one, the uprisings marking the high points of this offensive. The systematic shelling and machine-gunning of civilian populations left 5,000 to 10,000 dead and more than 50,000 wounded.

After Brazil, Uruguay, Chile, and Argentina, this savage brutality from a dying dictatorship shows what degree of barbarity capitalist rule can reach in its declining phase. It also shows that the campaign around human rights and democracy being carried out by the imperialist powers is hypocritical and a hoax. The U.S. government did nothing to stop the massacres. To the contrary, lacking an immediate alternative that would be in keeping with its interests, it did not hesitate to openly maintain support to those carrying out the massacre.

At that cost, all that the Somoza tyranny has won is a short breathing spell. It is more isolated and hated than ever, and the heavy silence that hangs over the Nicaraguan people is an omen of new explosions to come. There are already growing indications of this.

The struggle against the Nicaraguan dictatorship, and solidarity with the Nicaraguan people, are already mobilizing broad sectors of the masses in Costa Rica, Central America, Mexico, and Venezu-



SOMOZA: more hated than ever

ela. At this crucial and dramatic moment for the people of Nicaragua, the Fourth International calls for the mobilization of a powerful international movement in solidarity with the Nicaraguan people, its organizations, and the FSLN, which is the main target of repression. The crimes of Somoza and his mercenaries must be exposed and condemned. All the accomplices of the dictatorship—first and foremost the government of the United States—must be exposed and condemned.

We must do everything in our power to halt the massacre and tear the arrested militants away from their executioners, by demanding their immediate release.

The collapse of the Somoza regime threatens to shake Nicaraguan society and the capitalist state to its roots, by opening the way for the immense, uncontrollable force that the masses' social aspirations represent. Demands for democratic rights, land, jobs, education, decent housing, minimal public services, and genuine national independence

are at the root of the events in Nicaragua. Capitalist rule and subordination to imperialism are incompatible with satisfying these demands.

The masses cannot expect any sector of the ruling classes, the "liberal" or "national" bourgeoisie, to restore their democratic rights and fulfill their economic demands, despite whatever efforts may be undertaken by some sectors of imperialism, the Latin American bourgeoisie, and the Nicaraguan ruling classes to find an alternative to the Somoza dictatorship.

It is the worker and peasant masses, all the exploited layers of the population, who, mobilized and organized within the mass movement's own structures, and acting in a unified and concerted manner—a necessity dramatically confirmed by the defeat of the September uprisings—will overturn the dictatorship in a full-scale battle against the entire ruling class and its system.

Therefore, the fact that the FSLN, in carrying out its struggle against Somoza—a struggle that we unconditionally support—has established alliances with major sectors of the bourgeoisie, even asking them to join in a provisional government, represents a grave danger to the Nicaraguan revolution and to the FSLN itself.

It is up to revolutionary Marxists to make every effort to destroy the obstacles that mask the class character of the popular struggle against the tyranny of the Somoza family. To struggle to overturn the Somoza dictatorship is to struggle for the dissolution of the National Guard and of all the repressive bodies of the regime. It is to struggle for the emergence of people's militias capable of standing up to imperialist military maneuvers. It is to struggle for the release of all political prisoners, for the full exercise of democratic, political, and trade-union rights and freedoms. It is to struggle:

1. For the nationalization of all the Somoza family's holdings and the big imperialist and nationally owned enterprises.
2. For a full, genuine agrarian reform.
3. For breaking all the political, economic, and military pacts with imperialism.
4. For free elections and for a sovereign, popularly elected constituent assembly, in opposition to all formulas for a provisional government that are supposed to replace Somoza, without the masses having been consulted.
5. For a workers and peasants government representing the interests of the oppressed.

Down with the Somoza dictatorship!

Imperialism out of Nicaragua and all of Latin America!

Freedom for the Nicaraguan people!

For a workers and peasants government!

...economy

Continued from preceding page

"major central banks" amounted to some \$85 billion (gross) in the first three quarters of 1978 alone.

The huge deficits now being incurred by these governments are also tending to balloon their money supplies.

As a result, while monetary growth in the United States has fluctuated around 8% since late 1976, West German monetary growth has zoomed to 12.1% and Japan's to 11.6%. And that means that prices in these countries, which have been relatively steady, will very likely be shooting up in the period ahead, eventually pressuring these governments also to step on the monetary and fiscal brakes.

Most affected of all as the giant U.S. market and then the world market shrinks will be those countries such as Zaïre, Peru, and Egypt that owe bil-

lions to the imperialist banks and that have already been forced to slash living standards to qualify for new loans.

Even the planned economies of the workers states will not escape unscathed, for they must export in order to buy imported goods and to pay off the billions they have borrowed from Western banks.

Nor will New York City, Rome, Tokyo, and other cities already teetering on the financial brink be spared.

As the world slides into a new crisis of overproduction, the capitalist governments will, as Carter is already doing, step up their efforts to get working people to bear the main cost—through mass layoffs, accelerating inflation, and cutbacks in social spending.

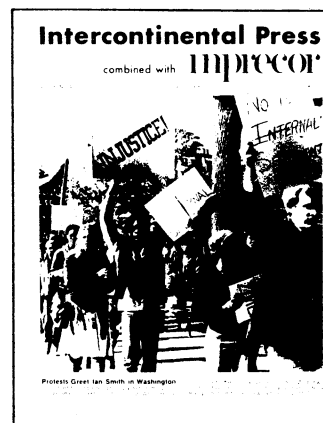
But as the coal miners and railroad workers in the United States, the Ford auto workers in Britain, and now the steelworkers in West Germany and the oil workers in Iran have clearly demonstrated, working people are in no mood to just sit back and let that happen.

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'An inspiration and an example'

Revolutionists around world hail Militant

In celebration of our fiftieth anniversary (1928-1978), the 'Militant' received greetings from revolutionary socialists around the world. Many are affiliated with the Fourth International, the world party of socialist revolution, founded in 1938 by Leon Trotsky and supporters of his ideas around the world.

Below are the messages received by the 'Militant.'

United Secretariat of the Fourth International.

The United Secretariat of the Fourth International warmly salutes the fiftieth anniversary of the *Militant*. The birth and continuity of the *Militant* represents half a century of relentless effort, often under the most difficult conditions, to maintain and develop the tradition of revolutionary Marxism in the United States.

Born out of the first struggle of the Left Opposition against Stalinist reaction in the first workers state in the world, and as an instrument and champion of the most exemplary struggles of the American proletariat in the 1930s, the contribution of the *Militant* to the discussion on the organization and orientation of the Trotskyist movement on the eve of the Second World War was considerable.

Later, its struggle against the reactionary hysteria of McCarthyism, its principled support to the rebirth of the Black movement, its decisive role in the organization of the powerful movement against U.S. imperialism in Vietnam, its concrete internationalism, and its support to the new struggles of the American working class have given it an experience and weight over the years that has built up its audience first of all in the United States, but also internationally.

This fiftieth anniversary comes at a time of new progress for the *Militant*, made possible by the solid tradition it

Next week: final score

In our next issue we will give the final results of our drive to raise \$75,000 for the 'Militant.' The fund campaign marked the fiftieth anniversary of our founding.

And coming issues will feature additional statements of greetings and support to the paper offered on the occasion of our fiftieth birthday.

has accrued in the past. A growing number of American workers consider the *Militant* as their newspaper and as an arm of their struggle. This will be a crucial factor for all those in the United States and in the world who are struggling against imperialist domination and capitalist exploitation.

Long live the *Militant*!

Pierre Frank.

Veteran leader of the Fourth International and current member of its United Secretariat; longtime leader of the French Trotskyist movement.

I join with all those who will be celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of the *Militant*. At present I am probably one of the few persons who have known it from birth, at a time when there were very few of us in the Communist parties around the world who supported the Left Opposition in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in its struggle against the rising bureaucracy.

Since then, how many struggles, how many difficult stages, how many turns and metamorphoses have been made necessary by events! But the fundamental objective has stayed the



Peruvian workers and students march behind banner of Fourth International in welcome-home demonstration for Hugo Blanco (inset).

same—the worldwide victory of socialism.

I am certain that the *Militant* will continue to make its contribution with the same perseverance to our common fight.

Hugo Blanco.

Peruvian Trotskyist leader and member of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International.

Greetings to the *Militant* on its fiftieth anniversary. There is much to be said about the *Militant*, but I will try to be brief.

The regularity of a newspaper is very important for the revolutionary press. The greatest example of this in the entire world Trotskyist movement is the *Militant*, which has been able to appear regularly for so many years.

Another thing that I want to point out, something personal, is that the *Militant* has meant a great deal to me.

When I was in prison, just because I wanted to find out what was going on around the world, I was obliged to learn English (to read it, that is, not to speak it). The *Militant* was one of the ways that I learned English correctly and educated myself politically. Because political education takes place not only through theory, but also through confronting the daily class struggle.

And receiving the *Militant* every week showed me the methods used by the comrades in the United States, long-time Trotskyists, in carrying out their day-to-day struggles.

I want to mention only two examples: the way you approached the struggle of the oppressed nationalities, which is an issue that we also have in our country, with which we have been helped a great deal by all of your experience. Also important was how to approach the question of women's liberation. These are two examples of how we have educated ourselves through the *Militant*.

The way to function in united, non-exclusionary fronts is another one of the lessons that I have drawn. There are many others I could list, but I think a few examples are enough.

So I hope that the *Militant* will continue to advance in its work. It is a great joy to me to see how this newspaper grows fatter, since when I first became acquainted with it, it had very few pages. And I hope it will continue to be a tool in the class struggle in your country and an educational tool for the Trotskyists of the entire world.

Harry Wicks.

Veteran British Trotskyist leader.

It is with great pleasure that I pen these few lines to greet the fiftieth

anniversary of the *Militant*. Such a passage of time, yet it brings to me the happiest memories of your paper and organisation over those years. The *Militant* was the foremost contributor to bringing the fight of the Russian Left Opposition on to the international plane.

At that moment when the Russian Opposition was being exiled to the Arctic waste and all around seemed as dark as night for Leon Trotsky, the first issue of the *Militant* appeared. From that moment onwards, English-speaking revolutionists were able to read and study the great controversy that had occupied the Russian party since the death of Lenin. The Stalinist censorship was effectively broken.

Those early pioneers of American Trotskyism were profound internationalists. The *Militant* was sent round the world. That policy paid dividends. It was the *Militant* readers who came together forty-seven years ago who formed the first organised British Trotskyist group.

American Trotskyism brought to the Left Opposition not only a valuable paper, but also a proletarian cadre. An experienced leadership that had fought for the decisions of the early Comintern congresses was of great value in the fight against Stalinism on an international scale.

You have a rich heritage. Cherish the memory of the great contribution which your early leaders paid to world Trotskyism.

Socialist Action League.

New Zealand section of the Fourth International.

Your fifty years of publication are an inspiration and an example to revolutionists all round the world. Our movement arose out of the anti-Vietnam War movement of the late 1960s. It has met the political challenges of the rise of women's liberation; the reemergence of the Maori movement with its parallels to the struggles of Blacks, Chicanos, and Native Americans; and now a deepening radicalization of working people.

From the beginning we have learned from the *Militant*, and in many ways modelled our own newspaper, *Socialist Action*, on it. We know that we will continue to learn from each other's experiences.

Socialist Workers Party.

Australian section of the Fourth International.

We send our warmest revolutionary greetings to the *Militant* on the occasion of its fiftieth anniversary. It has been an outstanding achievement to maintain a paper of such high stand-

ards consistently defending the rights of the working class and its allies.

As well as the invaluable role the *Militant* has played in educating generations of the revolutionary vanguard in America, it has had a significant influence on the development of the revolutionary movement here in Australia.

In the 1930s a copy of the *Militant* was brought to Australia by an American sailor. It was the initial vehicle via which the ideas of Trotsky and the Left Opposition found their way to this country. These ideas won over some militants in the Australian Communist Party, and they formed an organisation that became the Australian section of the Fourth International. Unfortunately, the group disintegrated after a majority of its members left the Fourth International in the mid-1960s.

However, the *Militant* again played a valuable role a few years later in educating a new layer of militants that emerged from the movement against the Vietnam War and helped convince them of the necessity of building a new revolutionary socialist party in Australia.

That party today—the Socialist Workers Party, Australian section of the Fourth International—still looks to the *Militant* to assist it with educating its cadre.

We pay tribute to the *Militant* for the help it has given to the world Trotskyist movement, and we wish it every success for the future.

Revolutionary Workers League/Ligue Ouvrière Revolutionnaire.

Canadian section of the Fourth International.

In 1928 James Cannon from the United States and Maurice Spector from Canada smuggled Trotsky's program out of the USSR and launched the North American Trotskyist movement. The first issue of the *Militant* reported Spector's expulsion from the Communist Party of Canada—for refusing to endorse Cannon's expulsion in the U.S.!

From then until 1934, when the Canadian Trotskyists were able to launch a regular newspaper of their own, Spector served as an associate editor of the *Militant*. Your paper was quite literally our paper.

So your anniversary is our anniversary as well.

The *Militant* for five decades has been an inspiration and an example to revolutionary socialists the world over, and we in Canada are no exception. We know that you will continue your heroic tradition in all the struggles to come.

Quote unquote

"Nobody here has any interest in slamming the gate on safety, health, or environmental regulations. But in almost every case where a rule is proposed, we find more attention needs to be paid to finding less costly ways to achieve the goals."

—Thomas Hopkins, an official with the White House's Council on Wage and Price Stability.

'POLICE STATE' IN GALLO ELECTIONS

The results of a 1975 union representation election at the giant E&J Gallo winery in California have been thrown out by a hearing officer for the state Agricultural Labor Relations Board. He charged that the company had used "police state" tactics against the United Farm Workers union before the election.

The election results were also distorted because the voted of striking UFW members were challenged and not counted.

In the election, the Teamsters received 223 votes, the UFW 131, and 195 votes, mostly from strikers, were challenged.

The ALRB officer found that Gallo had threatened UFW organizers with arrest and had granted privileges to the Teamsters that were denied the UFW.

However, the officer rejected the UFW's request that it be recognized as the bargaining agent for the Gallo workers, who are currently unrepresented.

The fight to unionize Gallo has been going on since 1973.

The full ALRB is expected to make a final ruling later this month. However, Gallo, the Teamsters union, and the UFW all have the right to appeal.

BETHLEHEM SAFETY VIOLATIONS UPHELD

All but one of twenty-seven safety violations charged against Bethlehem Steel's Sparrows Point coke-making plant were upheld by a Maryland state hearing officer December 9. Bethlehem was charged with exposing workers to the coke ovens' cancer-causing fumes.

Unless it chooses to appeal, Bethlehem will now have to pay for eight "serious" violations for which the company was cited last January. The fine? A fat \$600 per "serious" violation.

Five workers were killed at Sparrows Point in 1978.

SCHOOL FOR CHILDREN OF THE UNDOCUMENTED

In the wake of a Texas Supreme Court ruling that children of undocumented workers

do not have the right to a free public education, a coalition of four Houston Catholic schools has opened a school expressly for such children. Called Guadalupe Aztlan, the school will provide bilingual instruction.

The school is supported by the Houston-area Catholic Diocese, several religious orders, and community people.

The school's founders say they believe it is the right of every boy and girl to receive an education.

State and local cops lined up at the back of the campus auditorium as Windham College President Stanley Zielinski informed the student body December 13 that the Vermont school was broke and was shutting its doors. To jeers from the audience, Zielinski told the students they had three days to vacate the premises.

The students are not entitled to tuition refunds, Zielinski said. Windham's creditors have first crack at whatever assets remain.

"When the money goes out faster than it comes in, there is nothing we can do," Zielinski said.

Ellsberg gets suspended sentence

Daniel Ellsberg and nine codefendants were sentenced to six months' unsupervised pro-

bation December 29 for their part in a protest earlier in the year at the Rocky Flats, Colorado, nuclear weapons plant. Nine of the defendants will appeal.

'A VICTORY FOR WORKERS' SAFETY?'

The Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) announced December 20 it would eliminate 2,400 standards for workplace fire safety. New regulations would be so minimal that many employers would not even have to keep fire extinguishers on hand.

Instead, employers will be permitted to set up their own fire safety rules, an approach long sought by big business.

OSHA's move was hailed by the U.S. Chamber of Commerce and by President Carter, who said it was "a victory in the battle against inflation, a victory for workers' safety, and a victory for lean, effective, streamlined government."

SWP VOTE TOTALS

Alice Conner, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate from New Jersey, received 2,384 votes in last November's election, equal to 0.1 percent of the total votes.

THE MILITANT: EXHIBIT A

A local newspaper has tried to brew a scandal over fifty high school students who rode a school bus to an anti-arms race protest in Anaheim, California, in November. The students were from an alternative

tee. Stan DeBoer told the crowd, "[Foley] said, 'I don't know if you're going to accomplish anything by coming to Washington and camping out there like a bunch of Indians.' I guess he never heard of Custer."

According to the *Kansas City Star*, the marchers gave the loudest and longest applause to a group of women who piloted tractors into Topeka for the protest.

KKK BEATS BLACK MINISTER

A Black preacher who had publicly denounced the frame-up rape conviction of a Black youth was kidnapped and whipped by Ku Klux Klan members in Cullman, Alabama, December 15.

Manuel Whitfield, the preacher, had spoken on the county courthouse steps against the conviction and thirty-year sentence handed down to Tommy Lee Hines. Police forced a "confession" out of Hines, who is severely retarded.

The KKK tried to create a racist hysteria before and during the trial. On October 2, the day the trial opened, armed Klansmen blocked a march by Blacks. State police arrested the marchers, who included Dr. Joseph Lowery, head of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

Admitting that his group had attacked Manuel Whitfield, KKK spokesperson Bill McGocklin said, "Maybe he'll think twice before he returns to Cullman."

ARMY DEFOLIANT VICTIM DIES

Paul Reutershan, a twenty-eight-year-old Vietnam veteran, died December 14 of cancer. Reutershan had charged before his death that the cancer was caused by prolonged exposure to Agent Orange, a chemical defoliant used by the U.S. Army in Vietnam.

Agent Orange is powerful enough to fell a 150-foot tree in two days. Reutershan, a helicopter crew member, was regularly forced to fly through clouds of Agent Orange.

The U.S. dropped 10 million gallons of Agent Orange on Vietnam.

Laura Tashieko, Reutershan's fiancée, said he was in so much pain just before he died he could barely breathe. "He just said, 'We've got to stop. We're poisoning the earth,'" she said.

Farmers rally in Kansas



NEW YORK

NYC: UPPER WEST SIDE
PIONEERS IN THE BIRTH-CONTROL AND ABORTION RIGHTS MOVEMENTS.
Speaker, Dianne Feeley, Socialist Workers Party. Slide show. Fri., Jan. 12, 8 p.m. 786 Amsterdam Ave. Donation: \$2. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 663-3000.

MINNESOTA

IRON RANGE
HOW THE TRADE UNIONS WERE BUILT. Speaker, Harry DeBoer, participant in the historic 1934 Minneapolis Teamster strike. Fri., Jan. 17, 7:30 p.m. Carpenter's Hall, 307 1st St. N., Virginia. Donation: \$1.50. Aup: Iron Range Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (218) 749-6327.

MICHIGAN

DETROIT
U.S. OUT OF SOUTH AFRICA! Film: The Last Grave at Dimbaza. Speakers: Sidney Hunter, United Steelworkers Local 2341, Socialist Workers Party; Bob Warner, Washtenaw County Coalition Against Apartheid. Fri., Jan. 7, 7 p.m. 6404 Woodward. Donation: \$1. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (313) 875-5322.



OUT NOW!

A Participant's Account of the American Movement Against the Vietnam War
by Fred Halstead

The first comprehensive history of the antiwar movement is now available! Fred Halstead traces the movement from its roots in the early ban-the-bomb movement, through the huge demonstrations of 1969-71, to the end of the war in 1975.

Halstead, a longtime socialist and trade unionist, was a leading figure in the antiwar movement. In addition to his own experience, Halstead draws on extensive correspondence, minutes, and documents of antiwar committees and coalitions. A thirty-two-page photo section is included.

A Monad Press book, 789 pages, \$8.95 paperback.

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014. Please include \$.75 for postage and handling.

What's Going On

'Steel Labor' on Weber case

The December 1978 issue of *Steel Labor*, newspaper of the United Steelworkers union, reports on the union's response to the "reverse discrimination" suit filed by Brian Weber. Weber's suit charges that an affirmative-action plan negotiated by the union and Kaiser Aluminum "discriminates" against whites because half the places in an apprenticeship program are reserved for Blacks, other minorities, and women.

Weber's arguments have been upheld by two federal courts. The *Steel Labor* article describes a petition the union filed with the U.S. Supreme Court, urging it to hear the case. The court subsequently decided to do

so.

According to *Steel Labor*: "The USWA's petition urges that the law be construed in a way which would not undermine collective bargaining agreements. The petition notes that through adoption of the affirmative action program in 1974, the USWA secured for all production workers at the Gramercy plant a benefit it had sought but been unable to attain in the past—new training programs enabling them to become qualified for craft vacancies. Prior to that time, none of those workers—whether white or black—had any hopes of becoming craftsmen unless they already had some experience in such fields."

800 HIT BORDER FENCE

Three hundred people marched December 9 in El Paso, Texas, while another 500 took to the streets in Juarez, Mexico, to protect Carter administration plans to build a twelve-foot-high fence along the border between the two cities.

The fence—aimed at Mexican immigrant workers—is designed to seriously injure anyone trying to climb it.

The protests were sponsored by a coalition of eighteen Chicano and Mexican organizations.

LESBIAN MOTHER DENIED CUSTODY

Kathryn Stover, a nurse and lesbian, was denied custody of her two children in a Denver court hearing December 20. She had separated from her husband earlier in the year.

"I wouldn't have asked for custody if I didn't love my children," Stover said. Custody rights for the eight-year-old boy and six-year-old girl were awarded to Stover's husband.

Judge Roger Cisneros claimed Stover's sexual preference played no part in his decision.

Nuke protesters convicted

Eleven members of the War Resisters League were convicted December 13 of refusing to leave the White House lawn. The eleven had unfurled a banner there on Labor Day calling for an end to the arms race and to nuclear power.

"What we had been talking about was the noise of war and that armaments are building up, and we step on the grass and that becomes a terrible thing," commented author Grace Paley, one of the eleven.

Each defendant faces a possible six months in jail



Militant/Lou Howart

GRACE PALEY

and a \$100 fine. Sentencing is scheduled for February 12.

RCMP The Real Subversives

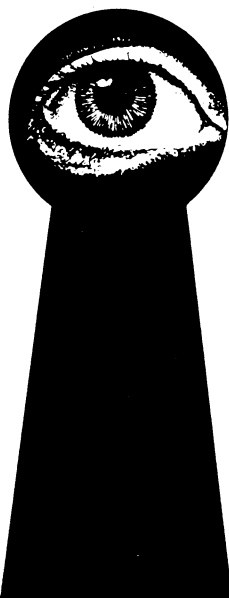
by Richard Fidler

There are striking similarities between the illegal harassment by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police and the FBI's Counterintelligence Program activities in the U.S. *RCMP: The Real Subversives* exposes the hidden role of Canada's political police and has valuable lessons for defenders of democratic rights everywhere.

The Mounties' victims are shown to be Quebec nationalists, trade unionists, Native militants, the New Democratic Party, farmers organizations, socialists, and other political dissidents.

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The Great Society

Harry Ring



Retreads and residuals—Reporters asked why Jimmy Stewart decided to do commercials for Firestone, whose steel-belted radials are involved in the biggest product recall ever. His PR firm explained he was a classmate of one of the Firestones and was familiar with the family's many charitable deeds. Including the reported \$1 million he'll gross on the contract?

Medical bargain—William Westmoreland, one of the spacier gung-ho generals in Vietnam, recently advised a gathering of Miami doctors that the war produced advances in medicine "that saved far more lives than were lost." Which is pretty good, considering that an estimated 1.6 million people were killed, including 57,000 Americans.

Truth in advertising—The federal Consumer Protection Bureau asserted that to promote truth in advertising, it will look into such governmental claims as "on time" mail delivery and the joys of serving in the U.S. Army. Which would be good for openers. Then they could get to the one about the government representing "all the people."

Making do—Charles Warren, a Los Angeles politician who is now chairman of the federal Council on Environmental Quality, notes the high cost of living in Washington. Commenting on his \$57,000 annual wage, he said, "That's a nice salary, but I could live as well in California on \$40,000."

Shah thing—"Our human rights policy... is the soul of our foreign policy."—President Carter.

Judge nixes ape suit—A federal judge rejected a suit against the Smithsonian Institution in which the claimants asserted that a slated exhibit on evolution must also include biblical antievolutionary material. We assume this means planetariums cannot be required to distribute material from the Flat Earth Society.

Immaculate presentation—A postal clerk in Garden City, Kansas, reported that three patrons brought back stamps depicting a naked baby Jesus. In exchange for the "indecent" stamps, they accepted ones bearing Xmas reindeer. Not noticing, apparently, that the reindeer was also bare.

Capitalism Fouls Things Up

Arnold Weissberg

Color, cancer, and cash

Nitrites are in the news again, as the federal government debates whether to ban them from food.

Cured meat—pastrami, salami, hot dogs—is a \$12 billion a year industry, so it's no wonder the food barons aren't eager to admit that nitrites, one of their big money-making additives, can cause cancer.

To hear the food industry tell it, nitrites are the greatest thing since whipped cream.

Not only are nitrites the last and best line of defense against the deadly botulism bacteria, the industry says, but they give smoked food the bright red color and the flavor we consumers demand.

Nitrites are dangerous because they can combine in the body with a group of common substances called amines to form a series of compounds called nitrosamines. "Nitrosamines are among the most potent carcinogens we know and are certainly the most widely acting group of carcinogens," say Dr. William Lijinsky, a leading expert on the matter.

The industry, however, says the danger is minimal and outweighed by all the terrific advantages.

On closer examination, though, the advantages disappear.

Start with food color. While it may be true that we're used to bright-colored hot dogs and a red tint to our salami, probably very few of us care about the color so much as to run an increased cancer risk. In any case, we shouldn't be subjected to nitrites because the industry says it knows what we want.

What about flavor? Here, again, we've gotten used to certain tastes. We're told over and over they are the "right" or "real" tastes. But a vast array of substitutes are available.

And finally, the last refuge of the meat packers: botulism.

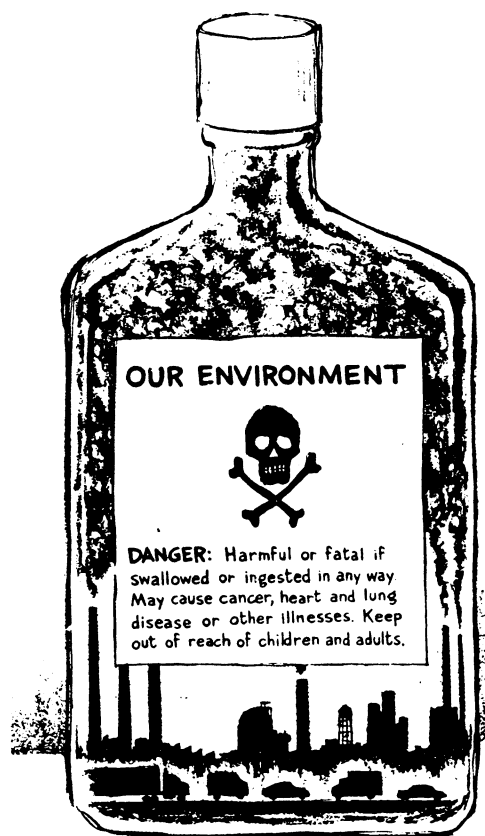
While nitrite is effective in preventing the growth of botulism, it isn't the only

way. Botulism growth can be prevented by sufficient heating before packing, freezing, or high-temperature cooking at home.

Two states and Canada bar the use of nitrites in smoked fish as a substitute for proper processing.

The industry has admitted that botulism can be eliminated if food is processed properly. But, they argue, many plants don't have the proper equipment for proper food processing. So nitrites, they claim, must be permitted as a substitute!

Put simply, the industry is willing to let us risk cancer so it won't have to spend the money to do a safe packing job.



Engelhardt

'Proletariat was protagonist'

"We are great in poverty, we are oppressed and weighed down with labors beyond our strength; we are insulted, we are not recognized as human beings, we are treated like slaves who must suffer their lot in silence. . . .

"Despotism and arbitrary rule are strangling us, and we are suffocating. . . .

"The limit of our patience has been reached; the terrible moment has come for us when it is better to die than to continue suffering intolerable torment."

Iran? January 1979?

No. Russia. January 9, 1905.

That was the infamous day—Bloody Sunday—when Tsar Nicholas ordered the slaughter of thousands of peaceful demonstrators. Striking Petersburg workers and their supporters had marched to the imperial palace to present the petition quoted from above.

The marchers asked for a general amnesty, heated factories, political freedom, separation of church and state, the eight-hour day, a fair wage, and land reform.

Above all they wanted a freely elected constituent assembly based on universal and equal suffrage.

" . . . If you fail to hear our plea, we shall die here, in this square in front of your palace," said the petition.

That was the only part of the petition the tsar had any intention of fulfilling.

Today, more than seven decades later, another butcherous emperor—the shah, the Persian word for tsar—has tried to stamp out a massive social upheaval in Iran by sending thousands to their graves. But these bloodbaths have only steeled the Iranian people in their determination to overthrow the hated monarch.

So it was in Russia in the winter of 1905.

" . . . The most profound and significant effect of the January massacre was upon the Russian proletariat," wrote Leon Trotsky in his book *1905*. Trotsky was a participant in the revolutionary events of that year.

"A tremendous wave of strikes swept the country from end to end, convulsing the entire body of the nation. . . . The proletarian masses stirred to the very core of their being. . . . For almost two months, without any plan, in many cases without advancing any claims, stopping and starting, obedient only to the instinct of solidarity, the strike ruled the land."

In Iran, too, it has been the strikes by airline workers, bank employees, teachers, electrical workers—and above all by the workers in Iran's rich oil fields—that have taken the monarchy to the ropes.

In Russia, the revolutionary upsurge reached its peak in the three months beginning with the Red October of 1905.

By the year's end, however, the tsar's forces had defeated the striking workers in several bloody and decisive confronta-

tions. Resistance continued over the next two years. But this first chapter of the Russian revolution had been closed.

Nonetheless, during the turbulent fall of 1905 the Russian workers had formed mass revolutionary councils—called soviets—in Petersburg and across Russia. These democratic organizations gave the oppressed their initial experience with the political tool that twelve years later would allow them to wrest power from the tsar, the landlords, and the capitalist exploiters once and for all.

Looking back on the role of Bloody Sunday in sparking these events, Trotsky—president of the Petersburg soviet—wrote, "After January 9 the revolution showed that it controlled the consciousness of the working masses."

The Bloody Sunday march had been led by a minor religious figure, Father Gapon. This fact misled some observers at the time into belittling the profound revolutionary significance of the events that day.

But Trotsky replied, "Gapon's priestly robe was only a prop in that drama; the protagonist was the proletariat."

"The proletariat began with a strike, united itself, advanced political demands, came out into the streets, drew to itself the enthusiastic sympathy of the entire population, clashed with the troops and set off the Russian revolution."

"Gapon did not create the revolutionary energy of the workers of St. Petersburg; he merely released it, to his own surprise."

This provides food for thought today for those confused by the capitalist media's attempt to portray the upsurge in Iran as a backward-looking movement, since some of its most prominent spokespersons are Islamic religious figures.

The truth about the revolutionary significance of that upheaval has been told in the pages of this newspaper each week over the past four months.

But as the crisis climaxes for the bloody monarch who titled himself the shadow of god, a bit of the real situation has crept into even the *New York Times*.

"Oil workers severed the lifeline of the nation," read a headline New Year's Eve.

—Steve Clark



Trotsky in 1905

Greetings to Militant

It is a special pleasure for me to join with you in celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of the *Militant*, for my own association with the *Militant* has covered the entire half-century of the paper's existence.

This association began when the first issues of the *Militant* reached me by mail in a land far from here. They carried installments of a famous political treatise entitled "Criticism of the Draft Program of the Communist International," written by Trotsky for the Russian Opposition. This was really the founding document or charter of the movement that became the International Left Opposition, and ultimately, the Fourth International.

The criticism analyzed in detail, with Marxist precision and concreteness, the proposed Comintern program with its egregious departures from class-revolutionary politics that Stalin and his cohorts were intent on foisting on the world communist movement and that had already led to a revolutionary defeat in Germany and a veritable catastrophe in China.

The *Militant* was born in a period of revolutionary ebb. Its supreme merit is that it swam against a powerful tide of reaction to keep alive the revolutionary Marxist tradition. It was a vital factor in the preservation of an essential historical link by means of which the past informs and educates the present.

In bringing the opposition document to public view, when Stalin and his gang were trying to bury it, the *Militant* performed a pioneer service of inestimable value. This remarkable document dispersed the fog of Stalinist opportunism and betrayal and restored faith in revolutionary principle among those who were already questioning the Kremlin-dictated line. It was in this way the *Militant* was instrumental in helping assemble the first cadres of the Fourth International.

Trotsky, let me recall, had an especially warm spot for

the *Militant* and referred to the paper frequently. He had a deep appreciation of the *Militant's* role in the restoration of a great revolutionary movement corrupted and derailed by the Soviet bureaucracy and its reactionary minions abroad. But he also had an eye for perfectability and urged that the *Militant* strive to become a worker's paper, rather than a paper for workers. I think the *Militant* has moved perceptibly closer to this goal in recent years.

During most of the half-century of the *Militant's* life, my association with the paper was that of a reader. But over the years I was also an occasional contributor to its columns and for a period, toward the end of World War II, was a staff writer, also editor. On the writing staff during my editorial stint were such stalwarts of our movement as the late Art Preis, Joseph Hansen, Evelyn Reed, the late John G. Wright, Tom Kerry, and George Novack, who succeeded me on the editor's desk. But let me not forget also the late Laura Gray, our incomparable cartoonist. She was so gentle, yet her caricatures were rapier-sharp and enlivened every issue of the paper.

Then as now, the devoted labors of competent comrades reflected in the quality of the *Militant*. Despite the marvels of electronics, the printed word remains an indispensable vehicle for the dissemination of ideas and therefore essential to revolutionary activity. In make-up and typography, today's *Militant* bears little resemblance to those early issues that came to me in 1928. But the basic political line is unchanged. Not many judgments survive the passage of time. But I like to think that those coming after us will agree with me in adjudging the *Militant* a paragon of revolutionary journalism.

So, hail to the *Militant* as it lights the path to the socialist future.

Frank Graves
Los Angeles, California

Cuba, Soviet on Iran

In your November 24 issue you had articles concerning the opposite positions taken by the Soviet Union and Cuba on Iran. You analyzed these positions by quoting newspapers issued by the countries.

With all regard, I do not believe that it is possible to make an accurate analysis by this method. Instead, one should look at the economic relationship between the Soviet Union and Cuba and from there on analyze their political positions on Iran, and generally on the liberation struggles around the world.

First of all, how dependent is Cuba on the Soviet Union? Does this hinder Cuba's own positions and actions? What

are Moscow's interests in Iran? What are Cuba's interests?

These questions have to be answered before one can consider that the articles in their newspapers actually reflect their positions. After all, what is said is not necessarily what is done. And before we can rely on the truth of these papers, we should analyze the basis of their positions, their economic relationships.

In any case, keep up the good work.

A.A. Koskinas
Storrs, Connecticut

More on revolutions

In his December *International Socialist Review* article, "Stalinism in the

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Learning About Socialism

Is Sweden socialist?

In discussions about socialism, workers frequently ask whether Sweden or Britain represents a form of socialism.

To answer this question, it is necessary to understand what Marxists mean by socialism. First, socialism is impossible without the shift of political power from the bosses to the workers. In the words of the *Communist Manifesto*, "the first step in the revolution by the working class, is to raise the proletariat to the position of ruling class, to win the battle of democracy."

The *Manifesto* goes on to explain, "The proletariat will use its political supremacy to wrest, by degrees, all capital from the bourgeoisie, to centralize all instruments of production in the hands of the State, i.e., of the proletariat organized as the ruling class; and to increase the total of productive forces as rapidly as possible."

Socialism is therefore a gigantic producers cooperative that embraces the bulk of the economy. Once the economy is put into the hands of the working class, production will be carried out according to a general plan. The plan will make it possible to eliminate the business cycle with its recurrent recessions and depressions, eliminate unemployment, and accelerate the automation of industry—thereby eliminating the need for backbreaking work. Finally, it will eliminate the scourge of war—by doing away with cutthroat economic competition.

To answer whether Sweden, Britain, or other West European countries are socialist it is necessary to determine what steps, if any, they have taken in the general direction laid out above.

First, has there been a shift of political power from the bosses to the working class?

In Sweden, Britain, and other West European states, mass parties of the working class, calling themselves, "Social Democrats," "Labor," "Socialist," or "Communist" do exist.

In Sweden, Social Democrats ran the government for forty years. In Britain the Labour Party has held office periodically since World War II and does so currently.

However it is not sufficient to elect a labor party to office. In order to carry out the reorganization of the economy and society as a whole, it is necessary to dismantle the entire apparatus of capitalist rule.

Unfortunately neither the British Labour Party nor the Swedish Social Democrats have taken a single step in this direction. The capitalist army and officer corps, state bureaucracy, prisons, judiciary, police, and secret police remain intact in these countries.

As a result, the labor governments in Western Europe carry out policies that are in the interests not of the working people but of the bosses.

These capitalist "labor" governments have granted certain concessions to the working class, mostly in the field of social insurance. Some important gains have been made,

especially in medical care.

In addition the state owns certain branches of industry. However, state ownership is limited and confined mostly to unprofitable branches of industry. In Sweden the state sector embraces less than 10 percent of industry.

Most important of all, since the state remains a capitalist state, ownership of industry does not mean collective ownership by the working class but ownership by the capitalist class. Workers do not control conditions on the job or make the basic decisions about production. At most, state ownership of this type makes the transfer to collective workers ownership easier when a genuine workers government does come to power.

Therefore, the gains the working class has won in countries such as Sweden and Britain are gains within the limits of capitalist society. Like all concessions wrung from the bosses, they are constantly under attack. This is particularly true in the current period of reduced economic growth and looming global economic crisis.

Both Britain and Sweden were deeply affected by the world economic crisis that began in 1974. Workers in both countries have been hit by inflation and unemployment as the capitalists have moved to roll back previous gains.

For these reasons Marxists do not consider Sweden or Britain to be socialist countries but rather to be monopoly capitalist societies where the working class has won certain concessions from its masters. The transition to socialism in Sweden and Britain has yet to begin.—William Gottlieb

Unions," Milt Alvin mentions the German revolution of 1923 and the Chinese revolution of 1925-27. As both of these important revolutions are not too well known to the general public, I would like to suggest that the *Militant* have a feature article on them.

A reader
New York, New York

Series on Marxism

I have just finished reading the resolution "Socialist Democracy and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat," adopted by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International.

The resolution is published in booklet form entitled *Socialist Democracy*.

This brilliant work deserves the widest possible circulation, and I suggest that the *Militant* publish it in serial form for the education of your readers.

Have you considered publishing in serial form the many great classical works of Marxism?

I believe many of your readers would find such a series invaluable and highly educational.

M.R.
New York, New York

Gay rights in Cuba

Although clarity and urgency lie behind the editorial, "Growing Opposition to U.S. Blockade of Cuba," in the December *International Socialist Review*, there is a touch of imprecision. This is the sentence including "... the Cuban revolution ... has always defended the most basic human rights of the poor and oppressed." The human rights of gays in Cuba have not and are not today recognized by their government.

I feel such imprecision disarms those learning the necessity of defending the Cuban revolution against its imperialist maligners. There is no need to overstate Cuba's record on human rights, part of its revolutionary heritage, nor to ignore the battle to extend the revolution to guarantee the rights of all.

Gays compose a segment of those who must be won to defend the Cuban revolution and will be examining the *Militant* for its accuracy on this question.

S.S.
Washington, D.C.

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if you prefer that your initials be used rather than your full name.

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Banks blackmail Cleveland workers

By Dick Roberts

CLEVELAND—Layoffs of city workers, cutbacks in social services, and higher taxes on working people. That is what the rulers of this city propose as the solution to the municipal financial crisis here.

Democratic Mayor Dennis Kucinich and the Democratic-dominated city council are implementing the program of the bankers who hold the workers of this city in bondage.

Central to the bankers' plan is a 50 percent increase in the city's flat-rate income tax—from 1 percent to 1.5 percent. The tax increase will be on the ballot in a city referendum to be held February 27.

Kucinich is campaigning hard for the increase. "I'm not talking about a tax increase which will be used to provide all kinds of new services," he said. "I'm talking about a tax increase which will be needed to save our city. Unless this tax increase is approved by the people . . . I will be forced to cut services to such a drastic level that everyone living and working in Cleveland will suffer."

If workers turn thumbs down on the tax increase, however, there is a good chance it will be put through anyway. "By legislative action, the city's income tax could be raised to 1½ percent without voter approval," noted the *Wall Street Journal* on December 14. What the banks and the Democratic

Party want, however, is the cover of a "popular mandate."

Despite the blackmail from the bankers and capitalist politicians, there is strong resistance to the idea of higher taxes. On January 3 Socialist Workers Party mayoral candidate Thabo Ntweng announced his campaign, urging a massive "no" vote on the tax referendum (see story below).

First default since 1930s

Just after midnight on December 16, the city of Cleveland officially defaulted on \$15.5 million worth of loans from the city's banks. This was the first default of a major American city since the Great Depression.

The banks immediately retaliated locally and nationally. Moody's Investor Service in New York lowered Cleveland bond ratings to equal the level it gave New York City bonds at the depth of that city's 1975 financial crisis. This made it virtually impossible for Cleveland to obtain funds in national money markets.

In Cleveland, the bankers moved into the forefront of the political scene. Led by the powerful Cleveland Trust Company, the banks demanded that the city fire thousands of workers and drastically raise income taxes.

The banks insisted that they be paid for all loans made in the past and demanded a guarantee that future loans be paid off at a healthy profit. If

that means firing workers and slashing city services, that is none of their concern.

That is the banks' message, and the capitalist politicians who rule Cleveland are dutifully dancing to their tune.

In addition to the income tax hike, Kucinich's program includes a commitment to use income tax receipts directly to repay the loans to the banks, and a \$90 million bond issue next spring. The \$90 million in bonds, which will be offered at a very attractive 10 percent interest, will lead to higher property-tax rates for city residents.

Following the default last month, Kucinich said that 3,500—more than a third—of the city's work force would be laid off. In further negotiations with the banks and the city council, these massive layoffs were postponed pending the outcome of the tax referendum.

Muny Light hoax

A second measure on the ballot in the special February election will be a vote on whether or not the city should sell the Municipal Light Company. All the city's electricity is generated by the Cleveland Electric Illuminating Company. CEI is a big, privately owned, "blue chip" utility, whose shares are held by a number of eastern banks, including the Girard Trust of Philadelphia.

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DEMOCRATIC MAYOR KUCINICH: dancing to bankers' tune.

'We need a conference of labor'

Socialist announces mayoral campaign

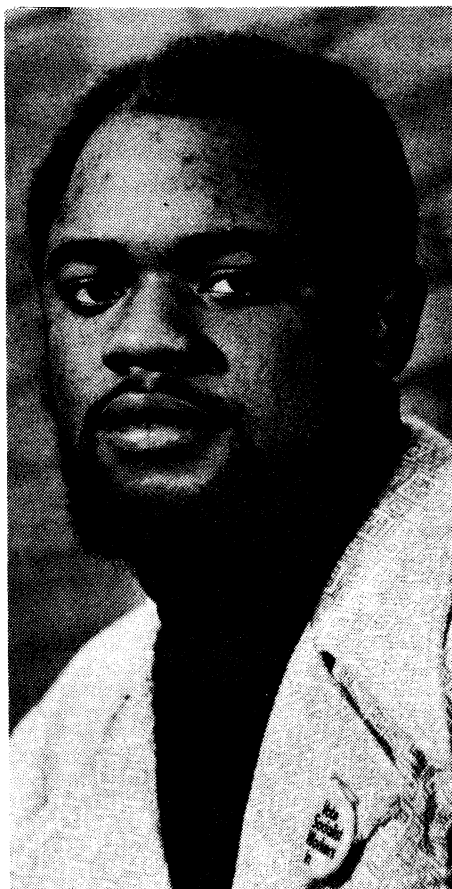
CLEVELAND—"The labor movement of Cleveland should immediately call an emergency conference of unions and community groups to discuss a way out of the catastrophe facing working people here," declared Thabo Ntweng at a news conference at the Plaza Hotel here January 3.

Ntweng, a Black auto worker, announced his candidacy for mayor on the Socialist Workers Party ticket. The election will be held in November.

Fred Halstead, one of the chief organizers of the antiwar movement, a veteran trade unionist, and the SWP's candidate for president in 1968, was at the news conference to emphasize the nationwide importance of the Cleveland mayoral race.

"Before this crisis goes any further," Ntweng said, "workers must get together and chart an alternative course to the disastrous program being rammed down our throats by Kucinich, the city council, and the banks. To begin with, we've got to get the truth into the hands of the working people."

"We need to fight to open the books of the banks, the corporations, and city hall itself so we can lay bare the truth about the real profits,



SOCIALIST NTWENG: 'We workers shouldn't pay any taxes. Banks and corporations should.'

tax dodges, kickbacks, and graft that exist in this town."

The thirty-one-year-old socialist is a press operator at the United Screw and Bolt Corporation, which manufactures parts for Ford. He is a member of United Auto Workers Local 217 and has been active in struggles of the Black community against racism and segregation.

"The city financial crisis is being used as one more weapon to delay school desegregation and to deepen the attacks on the Black community," Ntweng declared. He pointed out that the board of education urged that busing be delayed if cops are laid off. "The Socialist Workers Party says desegregate now! Get those buses rolling!"

Ntweng blasted the officials of the labor movement for spending their time in secret meetings with the bankers. "We don't need to sit down with the bankers. We need to sit down with the rest of the labor movement, and with our allies in the Black community, to map out a course of action to resolve this crisis," he said.

"To answer the attacks on our rights and standard of living, working people need to mobilize our power. A broadly representative

emergency conference of unions, Black community groups, and others would be a tremendous step toward organizing such a mobilization.

"Such a conference would give a voice to the majority of the people in this city. It would challenge the right of the handful of ruling rich, and their hired representatives to decide social, economic, and political issues that bear directly on our lives."

Ntweng pointed to some of the demands that would be raised in such a conference:

- Tax corporate profits, not working people!

- Halt the layoffs and cutbacks!

- Desegregate the schools now!

- An immediate moratorium on payments to the banks until their books, and those of the city treasury, are opened. Committees of unionists and community groups should inspect these books."

Ntweng pointed out that a conference of labor would act to mobilize a vote against Kucinich's proposed income-tax hike. "The total amount paid to the city in personal income taxes in 1977 was \$62 million. At the same time, the corporations paid only \$58 million in city taxes. In

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