

# THE MILITANT

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

## STOP THE GAS SWINDLE

No secrecy- Open the books of the oil trust  
Put energy industry under public ownership

President Carter says the energy crisis is "the moral equivalent of war."

That's the way the oil trust sees it—as a war against American working people. The gasoline crisis now gripping the country is the latest offensive in that war.

The rip-off at the gas pump has outraged workers. That anger has even forced some sections of the government to lift a bit of the curtain on what's going on:

- Sen. Thomas Eagleton (D-Mo.) said May 15 that sixteen major oil companies had made profits on domesti-

But Carter insists that working people are to blame for the crisis and that the only thing to be done is to give the oil giants the profits they are demanding. Workers should "use less and pay more."

Complaining May 15 that "the American people refuse to face the inevitable prospect of fuel shortages," Carter even had the nerve to scold us for "frivolity."

Working people in California, who have had an extra day of waiting in gas lines tacked onto their weekly schedules, aren't frivolous, they're angry. People who can't get to recreational areas on their few days off, who are told to sit at home without an air conditioner in summer or heat in the winter aren't feeling frivolous either.

During the winter of 1977, when the country was hit by a sudden shortage of natural gas, Carter also urged the American people to "sacrifice," "waste less energy,"

*Continued on next page*



### An editorial

cally produced crude oil ranging from 144 percent to 389 percent of the cost of production.

- The Federal Trade Commission admits it has evidence that oil companies have not made full use of available supplies of crude oil and that "the current gasoline shortage may be contrived."

## SALT II TREATY

Carter talks peace to cover arms buildup

## Rhodesia sanctions

The overwhelming majority of the U.S. Senate approved a proposal May 15 to lift economic sanctions against Rhodesia (Zimbabwe). Under the "sense of Congress" amendment the sanctions would end fourteen days after the June 1 inauguration of the government of Bishop Abel Muzorewa and Ian Smith.

The Senate move is aimed at legitimizing the April elections in Rhodesia and the new government there.

But the elections were a fraud.

They were set up under a constitution ratified by white voters only. A hundred thousand troops were mobilized to ensure a high turnout. Whites will control 28 percent of parliament, the army, police, civil service, judiciary—and of course, the economy.

That's not Black majority rule.

On the contrary. The Muzorewa-Smith government has been established in hopes of containing the deepening struggle for real Black majority rule.

American labor has no interest in supporting the moves of the U.S. capitalist rulers and their politicians in Africa.

Working people's interest lies with the aspirations of the Black majority in Rhodesia and the rest of southern Africa fighting for its freedom.

## ...gas swindle

*Continued from page 1*

and turn down our thermostats. He blamed the shortage on our failure "to take energy conservation seriously."

But it turned out there was plenty of natural gas—once the corporations got their price.

Is it any wonder that the American people don't believe Carter and are convinced the gas shortage has been contrived by the energy monopolies?

Despite the refusal of the government to act, the measures needed to meet this crisis are simple.

The first thing we need to do is to find out

the truth about what is happening.

How much oil and gas are really in the ground?

How much oil and gas are in the pipelines or storage tanks right now?

What is the real capacity of oil refineries already in operation?

What are the real profits the industry is making?

Instead of challenging Exxon, Mobil, and the other energy giants, the government is protecting their secrets and covering up their massive frauds against working people.

The labor movement should demand that the books of the energy corporations be opened to public scrutiny.

Labor should call on the government to take the industry out of the hands of the Rockefellers, Gettys, DuPonts, and other private owners and place it under public ownership.

The gas shortage is brought to us by the same system of private profit and public misery that brought the skyrocketing meat prices in the spring of 1973; the gas lines in the winter of 1973-74; the natural-gas shortage in January and February 1977; and most recently, the nuclear nightmare at Three Mile Island.

Shortages, breakdowns, and catastrophes are becoming more and more a part of the American Way of Life.

Now the giant oil companies are again holding working people for ransom. They will stop at nothing in their blind drive for profit. Taking the industry out of private hands has become a matter of life and death for the American people.

In demanding that the government nationalize the energy industry, labor can place no confidence in Carter or any government bureaucrat to administer it in accord with our needs.

The fight for public ownership should include putting the energy industry under the management of an independent board directly elected by and responsible to the American people.

Workers in the energy industry itself would

police the functioning of such a board, making sure that it operates in the open and makes all the facts about the industry known. It is these workers, after all, who are in the best position to know when refining capacity isn't being used, when storage tanks are overflowing, and when pumping rates are being kept down.

Workers on the job are already discussing the issue of nationalization of the energy industry. They are looking to their unions to take a stand, to take the lead in this fight for the interests of the working masses.

The labor movement can campaign first of all to get out the truth about what is going on to the American people. It can organize discussions in union locals. It can publish literature, set up speaking tours, organize picket lines, and help build demonstrations.

Such a campaign will be opposed by the Democratic and Republican parties, which are owned from top to bottom by the oil barons. The unions will find it necessary to confront these capitalist politicians in the political arena as well—by running independent labor candidates.

If the union movement stands up to the oil trust and fights the energy blackmail, it will inspire millions both inside and outside of the labor movement. If it utilizes the full power of labor—by forming a party of the working class based on the unions—it can take another giant step in the fight for a society based on human needs, not profits.

## UAW backs N.J. gas protest

Region 9 of the United Auto Workers union has called on all its locals to participate in a May 21 demonstration against oil company profits and decontrol of oil prices. The protest will take place at 3:30 p.m. at the Exxon refinery in Linden, New Jersey, Route 1 and Park Place.

Region 9 encompasses UAW locals in New Jersey, New York, and eastern Pennsylvania. The May 21 action has been called by some twenty labor and community groups.

# Militant Highlights This Week

- 4 Calif. workers vs. gas crisis
- 7 Labor & war drive
- 8 Sales drive over top
- 9 Antinuclear speeches
- 11 Anti-apartheid pressure
- 13 Farmers & gas crisis
- 14 Calif: 'No nukes'

19 In Review

20 In Brief

What's Going On

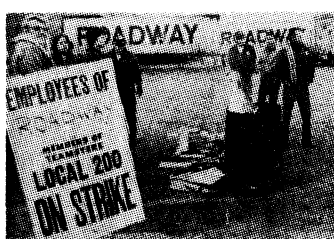
21 The Great Society Union Talk

22 Our Revolutionary Heritage Letters

23 Learning About Socialism If You Like This Paper. . .

### WORLD OUTLOOK

- 15 Black liberation in S. Af.
- 16 Soviet dissidents
- 17 Colombian workers protest
- 18 Brazil May Day protests



## Unions vs. wage guidelines

This week we begin a series of articles on Carter's strategy in the 1979 contract talks. **Page 12.**

## Ky. campaign against right-wing attacks

Protests demand U.S. Attorney General Griffin Bell reopen investigation of assaults on Louisville Socialist Workers Party. **Page 10.**



## No draft!

Young Socialist Alliance blasts moves to restore military conscription. **Page 9.**



## Newport News Steelworkers

Despite continuing harassment by Tenneco, Virginia unionists are organizing inside the yard. **Page 5.**



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# Who's to blame for gas crisis?

## Profit-hungry oil companies hold workers hostage

By David Frankel

California has been hit worst. Workers who spend eight or ten hours a day on the job are now having to spend the equivalent of an extra workday each week just waiting for gas.

But American working people as a whole are the target in the current gas crisis, and we will all feel the bite. Long lines for gas have already begun to appear in many parts of the country.

Throughout the country working people are being forced to cancel weekend outings and revise their vacation plans.

Meanwhile, prices at the gas pump continue to go up. "There'll be plenty of gas when the price goes up high enough to suit," noted John Carr, the operator of a Gulf station in Birmingham, Alabama.

### 'A slight recession'

At a meeting of top business executives and government officials May 13, Federal Reserve Board Chairman G. William Miller cited the gas shortages as a factor that will have a "negative impact on the economy and increase the risk of recession."

This means that working people will not only get it in the neck at the gas pump, but we can also expect to pay by being laid off our jobs.

Not everybody is upset by this, however.

According to a report in the May 14 *Wall Street Journal*, "Top executives attending the Business Council meeting reacted calmly to the prediction of a recession."

Clifton Garvin, chairman of Exxon, told the *Journal*: "The consensus was that this (a slight recession) is what we need, and it isn't all that bad."

Exxon's Garvin and Mobil Oil's Rawleigh Warner, Jr., insisted that gas shortages are likely to continue throughout the year. Presumably, their profits will too. (First-quarter profits were up 37 percent for Exxon and 81 percent for Mobil over last year.)

### Good reason for skepticism

According to a recent CBS-*New York Times* poll, 69 percent of the American people are convinced that the energy crisis has been engineered by the oil companies. A May 4 Associated Press-NBC survey found that 54 percent believe the shortage is a hoax.

"The public blindly refuses to believe that the crisis is anything more than an industry plot," *Newsweek* fumed in its May 21 issue.



Los Angeles gas line. American people believe shortage was engineered by oil companies.

There are good reasons for the skeptical response of the American people. Between 1974, when world oil prices quadrupled, and the beginning of this year, further price increases were well below the rate of inflation because there was a worldwide oversupply of oil.

"Today," reported a January 18, 1978, *New York Times* article, "there is anything but a shortage as the rush of new oil from Alaska, the North Sea and Mexico reaches world markets. Although experts expect the present glut to end soon, they believe that a comfortable margin of production capacity will remain for the foreseeable future."

On April 3, 1978, *New York Times* correspondent Steven Rattner reported that "less than a year after its opening, the trans-Alaskan pipeline has produced a vast oversupply of oil on the West Coast."

Companies working the North Slope wells com-

plained of low profits and "of the general state of the world oil business: frequent oversupply encouraged by the higher prices of the last four years with little prospect of shortage into the next decade."

Dr. Arnold Safer of the Irving Trust Company said in November 1978 that "by the end of this year OPEC [the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries] will have excess capacity of 12 million barrels daily, some 25 percent of world consumption."

Where, then, did the sudden shortage come from?

"There is simply no satisfactory explanation for it," says Jack Blum of the Independent Gasoline Marketers Association.

At least, there is no satisfactory explanation from the oil companies, the government, or the big-business media. All we get from them is lies.

### Are workers to blame?

The capitalist media has tried to blame the crisis on either the Iranian revolution, the OPEC countries, or the American working class, which is pilloried for using too much gas.

*Time* magazine sprang to the defense of the energy monopolies in its May 7 issue with a cover-story assuring readers that the companies are neither hoarding supplies nor raking in "excessive profits."

"Snapping and snarling at the industry benefit nobody—except the OPEC producers, who exploit the divisions within importing nations," *Time* declared.

While calling for national unity against the OPEC countries, however, the ruling class and its hirelings are doing their best to pit American workers against each other. Thus, drivers in California are being told that there isn't enough gasoline because it is necessary to refine heating oil for northern cities.

At the same time, a front-page article in the May 15 *New York Post* claimed that "the Carter administration, fearful of a backlash from gas-hungry drivers around the country, has postponed the date by which oil companies must have adequate heating oil supplies on hand for next winter."

We are told we must choose between gas and heating oil—a point that fits in with the general propaganda theme that American workers are living too well.

"Small but irritating shortages of gasoline," the editors of the *Washington Post* declared May 9, are

**Continued on next page**

## Refinery workers: 'So much oil, it spills'

By Suzanne Haig

Oil workers are particularly inclined to be skeptical about the gas shortage. They see what's going on from behind the scenes.

Debby Leonard works at the Arco refinery, the second largest in Houston. She says everyone at her plant—and even the foremen—knows the crisis is phony.

"On the one hand, you've got the two main gasoline refinery units operating at reduced rates. The heaters are not fired up, so you can tell the units are not running to par. On the other hand, the company is renting tanks all over the area to store their excess crude oil.

"They're stockpiling it, and this excess causes a lot of problems and miscalculations. The tanks

of oil we work with are filled higher than usual. When we try to change the oil from one to another, oil spills all over. Because they're so full, the oil comes from the tanks fast, and if you don't catch it there's quite a mess."

The oil workers are particularly angry about the fantastic profits that Arco is making. In the first quarter of this year, profits were up 61 percent. Yet the oil workers were among the first ones this year to be stuck with the 7 percent wage guideline. They didn't even receive a cost-of-living allowance.

A common complaint at the refinery is, "Oil workers can't afford our own products."

In Houston, stations are beginning to close early and the smaller ones stay closed. Further-

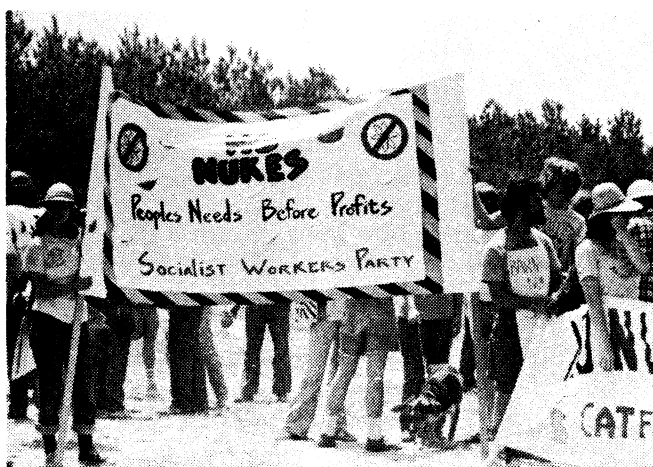
more, prices have gone up. "A couple of months ago," Leonard said, "we were paying in the low fifties for a gallon of regular—one of the lowest rates in the country. Now we're up to seventy-five to eighty cents a gallon. And we know we'll be paying even more in the future, when decontrol comes through."

People where Leonard works are fed up with Arco's so-called civic action program. Arco pressures workers to go to Austin along with management to lobby for decontrol. Few are taken in by this, but it still raises a lot of anger.

"The oil industry runs the government. The union needs to start counteracting this stuff," workers have told Leonard.

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# ...who's to blame for the gas crisis?

Continued from preceding page

"a good thing," "a useful warning."

Although the *Post* claims that the shortages "originated in the shutdown of Iranian oil fields at the end of last year," it takes the opportunity to complain about "the character of California life—a life that requires cars and a people who, even more than most of their countrymen, are unaccustomed to the idea of shortages of any commodity."

The *Christian Science Monitor*, while stressing the need for "a spirit of restraint and neighborly concern," also takes a swipe at Californians who "have cavalierly boosted their consumption by more than 7 percent. . . ."

But the gas shortage is not limited to California, although it was first evidenced there. Moreover, blaming the gas crisis on working people who have no other way to get to their jobs except by driving is like blaming food shortages on the fact that people eat. The problem is not that people use gas, but that the need is not being met.

## An OPEC plot?

Despite the attempts in the big-business media to blame the shortage on OPEC, there is not a shred of proof for this claim. On the contrary, the OPEC countries increased production during the Iranian revolution to make up for the cutoff of Iranian oil.

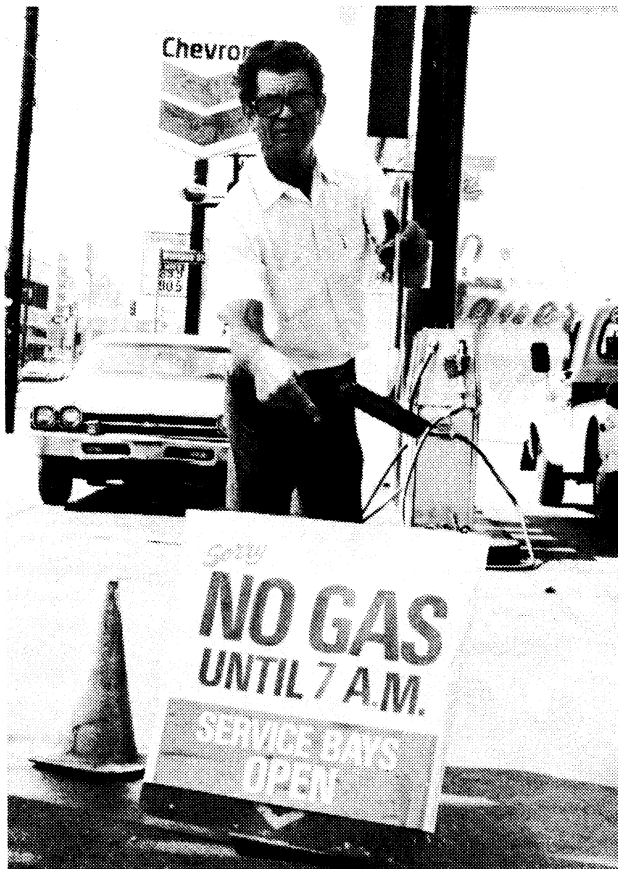
Although the Saudi Arabian government recently ordered production restored to its former level, that decision won't effect oil supplies in the United States for months. In any case, such Saudi decisions are made in close collusion with the U.S. corporations that control the refining, transport, and marketing of Saudi oil.

What about the impact of reduced production in Iran?

Before the revolution Iran was producing about 2 million more barrels per day than it does now. But the difference does not explain the shortage here in the United States.

To begin with, other countries, such as Japan and West Germany, were far more dependent on Iranian oil. Why have they had no crisis?

U.S. oil companies are now buying oil from Iran. Gulf, for example, reports that it is buying 160,000 barrels a day from the Iranian government.



Militant/Della Rossa

But even if the entire 900,000 barrels per day that was imported from Iran before the revolution was cut off, it could have been made up from other sources.

The Alaska pipeline, to give one example, is currently carrying about 1.2 million barrels of oil a day. An article on the West Coast oil glut in the July 4, 1978, *New York Times* reported that the pipeline "can be adapted to carry up to 2 million barrels a day."

However, the oil companies are interested in maximizing profits, not supplies. They have refused to build refineries in California capable of handling even the amount of Alaskan oil currently coming into the state.

At the same time, existing refineries in California have been operating at only 80 percent of capacity throughout the gas shortage, partly because the energy monopolies have refused to modify them to handle high-sulfur crude oil.

## Behind the shortage

Nor is the example of California an exception. The Federal Trade Commission, responding to the outrage among the American people, reported May 15 that it has been investigating since March to see "whether the 'Iranian shortfall' was being used . . . as an excuse for recently decreased allocations of gasoline. . . ."

Noting in a letter to Rep. Benjamin Rosenthal (D.-N.Y.) that "the current gasoline shortage may be contrived," the FTC explained: "The bureau's concern results from reported figures in revealing that in the first quarter of 1979 there was a reduction in gasoline production by domestic refineries that significantly exceeded the reduction in crude oil imports to the United States."

There is no mystery about what is going on. The oil companies want more money. They are waiting for decontrol of domestic oil prices before expanding production of crude oil in the United States. They are insisting on decontrol of gasoline prices before they will invest in the refineries necessary to provide enough gasoline.

And to maximize the pressure, they are refusing to run the refineries they do have at full capacity.

No less an advocate of the oil companies than the *Wall Street Journal* reports May 16 that "California itself has about 65,500 oil wells. But about 23,000 of them are closed down."

According to the *Journal*, profits for the energy monopoly are so intolerably low that "if a well is sanded in or a pump breaks down, it's often not worthwhile to put the well back in operation. The California independents estimate that 15,000 of the closed down wells could be quickly redrilled or fixed if only the DOE [Department of Energy] went away and let the price mechanism work."

R.W. Baldwin of Gulf Oil made the same point in less polite language: "If we're not willing to pay for it, we have the beautiful possibility of living like California—doing without."

# Calif. workers speak out against shortages

By Suzanne Haig

One area particularly hard hit by the gas crisis is San Jose, California. This is a big industrial center, with auto plants, electronic assembly plants, warehousing, paper manufacturing, light steel, machine shops, and aerospace industries.

George Johnson, who works at a large General Motors assembly plant in Fremont, told the *Militant* that "the gas shortage is a direct attack on working people."

"People who work here or in the Ford assembly plant in nearby Milpitas live all over the Bay Area," he said. "Some live as far distant as Salinas, some fifty to sixty miles away."

Johnson says that workers have to plan their whole week around when and how they are going to get gas. "Stations are not open at night so you have to get gas before you go to work and its pretty hard

when you're working ten hours or so a day.

"Lines are often four blocks long, so a lot of us come in an hour or so late. We have to. If we don't get gas that day, we end up missing the entire next day's work because of the odd/even system. The foreman doesn't say anything though—he doesn't dare to."

At the GM plant, Johnson says, "Everyone I've talked to tells me this is a rip-off. Workers talk about nationalizing the oil industry."

Johnson works in the cab shop where they make truck bodies. "I've seen comments written on the backs of trucks about the gas shortage and especially about Chevron and Exxon."

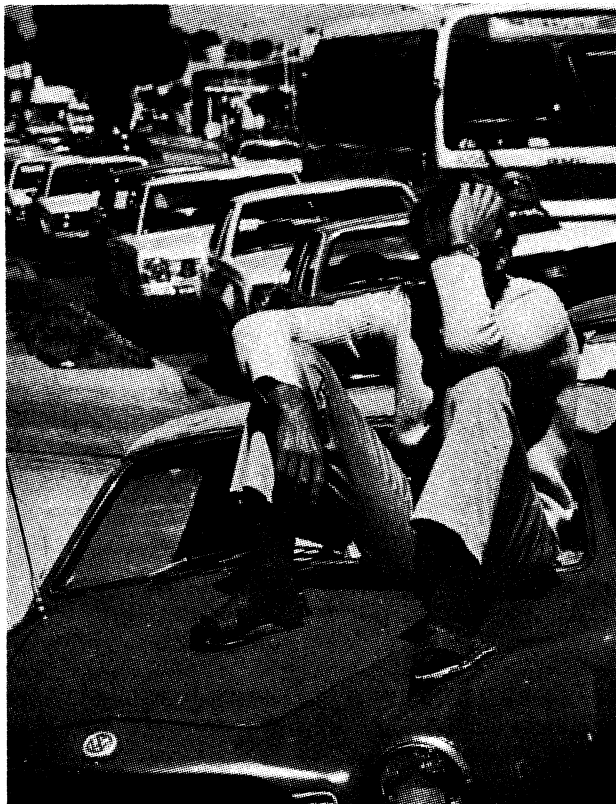
The bitterness is summed up by Johnson's relief man, a young worker who told him, "They must think we are really stupid and will stand for this forever."

Two articles recently appeared side by side in the *San Jose Mercury*. One was entitled "Refining Running at 80% Capacity." The other read "Texaco reports 81% profit rise in the first quarter." Workers walked around Johnson's plant with the paper open to the two articles, pointing them out to each other.

A lot of people are talking about the current shortage, with the one in 1974 in mind. They remember pictures of tankers filled with crude oil that the companies were holding back until prices went up.

"We know they're holding back," Johnson said. "A foreman told us that his brother works at a refinery that's not refining crude oil until the price goes up."

\* \* \*  
In a special column of the *San Francisco Chronicle*  
Continued on page 13



## 'I'd like to see oil industry nationalized'

By Della Rossa

LOS ANGELES—"Open the gas company books and check their profits. The gas shortage is a hoax. They're taking advantage of us, and I'm mad!"

This is what retired teacher Martha Heap told the *Militant* as she waited in line for gas May 10. Lines of motorists sometimes stretched five blocks on this second day of sales based on odd- or even-numbered license plates.

"Carter is trying to convince us there is a shortage," Heap continued, "but this overnight shortage is suspicious. Other states have gas."

Like many of the other motorists I spoke with, Heap was for public ownership of the gas industry. But, she was quick to add, the government can't be trusted to run the industry in the interest of working people either.

"The trouble with capitalism is that there is no democracy," she said.

Next in line was a young woman who leases commercial property. "This thing is caused by

big business," she said. "The gas companies are crooked. They make money, and we are vulnerable. We're caught in a trap."

"There is no real shortage," Connie Rosen, a secretary at California State, told the *Militant*. "The gas companies just want more money. Open their books? Terrific! But we already know they're making something like 300 percent profit. We should do something drastic, like nationalize oil."

At a "cut rate" station down the block I spoke to a young woman who said: "One dollar a gallon is not enough for them; they want more. The government is getting its figures from the oil companies, and I can't say that impresses me with confidence in the system."

"It's imperative that we open the books of the oil companies," said Jeremy Finch as he filled his tank. "This situation is incredible. It makes Boss Tweed look like Florence Nightingale. I'd like to see the oil industry nationalized. They're too secretive."



# Tenneco escalates harassment

## Va. Steelworkers step up shipyard organizing

By Jon Hillson

NEWPORT NEWS, Va.—The democratic rights of shipyard workers here received another blow May 10. Tenneco announced that day it would appeal the ruling of a National Labor Relations Board judge who has recommended that the company recognize the United Steelworkers Local 8888. The Steelworkers returned to work April 23, suspending their eighty-three-day strike for recognition.

"We now find that Newport News Shipbuilding is more interested in delays than they are in showing any responsibility toward their employees in the communities," said USWA District 35 Director Bruce Thrasher.

Delaying and stalling through NLRB and court appeals has been Tenneco's game from the start (see box). This has been mixed with a good dose of intimidation and harassment of union supporters—practices management is stepping up inside the yard in hopes of breaking the Steelworkers' spirit.

A majority of the 156 workers suspended for strike "misconduct," including Local 8888 President Wayne Crosby and Treasurer Kelly Coleman, are now back on the job—but it may only be temporary. Their fate depends on the outcome of company "investigations." Some ten workers have already been fired.

Local 8888, in conjunction with the newly established USWA sub-district office here, has already sent more than 300 unfair-labor-practice complaints against Tenneco to the NLRB. Without union representation on the job, filing NLRB charges is the only avenue open for workers to press their grievances.

### Victimizations

Tenneco—notorious for its flouting of safety regulations—is using trumped-up health and safety violations to fire Steelworkers.

One woman faces almost certain discharge for being unable, for medical reasons, to perform a certain job—a job she was exempted from before the strike.

Another woman Steelworker is in a similar situation because management



Militant/Jon Hillson

**Steelworkers picket Newport News Shipbuilding. Now back at work, union activists are gaining new support among shipyard workers.**

insists she can no longer wear the same medically necessary shaded lenses she wore before the strike.

When Tenneco can't come up with new work rules to root out unionists, they try to split their ranks. Along racial lines, for instance. One worker described such an incident. (Because of the victimizations, the *Militant* is not using the names of those workers interviewed.)

Three Steelworkers, two Black women and one white woman, were assigned to new jobs on a ship. The Black women were stationed in the blazing sun; the white woman was put in a shaded area. "But they hung together," the 8888 member told the *Militant*.

This kind of harassment is combined with intimidation.

"Plainclothes" company cops stroll through the yard, trying to break up groups of Steelworkers. Some of the cops wear hidden tape recorders; their bulge is impossible to conceal. Some of the scabs also sport small tape recorders.

The walls of shipyard personnel offices inside the yard are decorated with pictures of cops beating strikers during Bloody Monday, the April 16 police riot in Newport News.

"They think showing us these pictures will intimidate us," one Steelworker told the *Militant*. "They can show us all the pictures they want. It won't do a bit of good."

Outside the yard the 7-11 store, near the Fiftieth Street gate, has become the scene of lunch-hour rap sessions with Sub-district Director Jack Hower. "Five or six police squad cars will drive up to the 7-11 and break things up," one Steelworker said.

### Bribes

Management offers its scabs various bribes to keep them outside the union.

Unlike the Steelworkers, scabs are getting raises.

Unlike the Steelworkers, scabs are allowed to use their vacation time.

Unlike the Steelworkers, scabs are assigned easier jobs.

But some of those workers who went back to their jobs before the union suspended its strike are having second thoughts. "They're beginning to understand," said one union member, "that it means something to put your name on a union card."

And some workers hired by Tenneco during the strike are learning from conditions inside the yard why unions are necessary. Local 8888 is busy signing up these workers.

"Some of our people," said one Steelworker, "were just so angry at the scabs, they wouldn't talk to them when we came back in. But that's not how to do it, and that's changing."

"We have to listen to them. We have to answer their questions. We came back in here to reorganize and regroup. That's what we have to do on a one-to-one basis and we're doing it."

This worker explained how he had collected the names of ten nonunion workers and their wives. Now he plans to arrange a meeting for them with a union leader to explain what the Steelworkers are all about.

There is sentiment among 8888 members to resume their strike for recognition. District Director Thrasher had said this was a possibility if Tenneco were to appeal the federal judge's May 4 decision. Now that it has, Thrasher says the union "is assessing" what to do.

Several shipyard workers told the *Militant* that more time, preparation, and organization are needed before a decision to strike again would make sense.

### Union meeting

"What we need is a union meeting more than anything else," one worker said.

Because of the way in which work is spread out inside the yard, it is hard for workers from department to depart-

ment and even within departments to keep up with what is going on.

Workers in the shipyard's brass foundry have developed a way, as one foundry worker put it, "to keep unified."

Every lunchtime they slap long boards over two sawhorses to create a big table. Sometimes as many as thirty-five workers sit around the table at lunch, "talking union."

A small group of non-Steelworkers

*Send messages of solidarity and financial contributions to Steelworkers Local 8888's Suspended Strike Headquarters, Bank of Newport News Building, Third Floor, 3301 Washington Avenue, Newport News, Virginia 23607. For information call (804) 247-5291 or (804) 599-0480.*

has been watching the unionists' discussion.

Every day that group moves a little bit closer, and one or two of the bolder ones move within earshot.

"They are checking us out," a Local 8888 member said. "And more than a few are beginning to like what they see."

"Tenneco knows every trick in the book," one Steelworker told the *Militant*. "We can't put off organizing. We can't wait until tomorrow to start talking, or wait for someone to tell us what to do. There's a lot that the union can do outside the yard, but what counts is what happens inside the yard."

## Inco strikers reject offer

On Saturday, May 12, Canadian Steelworkers at Inco's nickel mines in Sudbury, Ontario, voted to continue their eight-month strike.

Members of Local 6500 voted 5,463 to 4,058 to reject a proposed three-year contract settlement. Some 11,500 mining and smelter workers belong to the Sudbury local.

While the tentative settlement included wage and cost-of-living increases, workers did not consider the concessions adequate. Not in the face of soaring inflation—or after

eight months on the picket line.

The union's bargaining committee recommended approval of the pact. But union stewards by an overwhelming 100 to 2 voted for rejection. Moreover, Wives Supporting the Strike, the most active strike support group, voiced its opposition to the settlement.

Messages of solidarity and requests for speakers can be sent to Local 6500 at 92 Froot Road, Sudbury, Ontario T3C 4Z4, Canada, or call (705) 675-3381.

## The legal stall

On May 4 National Labor Relations Board Judge Melvin Welles ruled for the Steelworkers. Less than a week later Tenneco vowed to appeal his decision to the full NLRB and up to the Supreme Court if necessary. Such has been the "justice" meted out to shipyard workers since they voted in their majority for the Steelworkers January 31, 1978.

- In October 1978, following a nine-month investigation, the NLRB certified USWA Local 8888. Tenneco appealed to the Fourth U.S. Circuit Court charging union voting fraud.

- In March the court ordered yet another NLRB investigation into the possibility of "chain voting" in the 1978 election victory. Tenneco claimed it would abide by the court's decision.

- An NLRB panel heard weeks of testimony from Tenneco witnesses on this trumped-up charge. Welles concluded that the likelihood of "chain voting" was "virtually nonexistent."

Now Tenneco will pass the ball back to the courts. A Supreme Court appeal could stall union recognition for years.

In the meantime, Tenneco the lawbreaker goes free. Free to harass, intimidate, and fire members of Local 8888.

—J.H.

## U.S. nuclear arsenal will grow

# SALT II accord: no step toward peace

By David Frankel

According to its supporters, the SALT II arms treaty announced May 9 is a step toward peace.

"It will restrain the nuclear arms race. It will lessen the likelihood of a nuclear war," Secretary of State Cyrus Vance declared.

Rejection of the treaty, President Carter warned, "would be a massive, destructive blow to world peace."

But the truth is that the Pentagon's nuclear arsenal will be *expanded* under the proposed treaty. The SALT II accords are merely a cover-up for the actual preparations for war being carried out by Carter.

As was the case in the furor over the Panama Canal treaty in 1977, the ruling class has set up a phony debate designed to shift the basic framework of political discussion to the right.

On one side are the "hawks" who complain that SALT II will hamper the expansion of the U.S. nuclear arsenal. On the other side are the "doves" who insist that SALT II should be approved because it will do nothing to interfere with the Pentagon's arms buildup.

"What, if anything, in the SALT II treaty, do its critics consider an obstacle or even a drag on the American arms buildup they advocate?" asked the pro-SALT editors of the *New York Times* May 11.

Working people do not have the slightest interest in taking sides in this rigged debate. We should oppose the SALT II accord and label it for what it is—part of the political cover for the expansion of the U.S. ruling class's military machine.

### SALT I to SALT II

Since the SALT I treaty was concluded in 1972, nuclear arsenals in both the Soviet Union and the United States have roughly doubled. According to a March 5 speech by Sen. Mark Hatfield (R-Ore.), the number of Soviet warheads increased from 2,100 to 4,000, while the number of nuclear warheads in the Pentagon's arsenal went from 4,600 to 9,000.

The same process will occur under the SALT II accord. Reports in the capitalist media have carefully focused on the treaty provisions dealing with the number of *missile launchers*. Even looked at from this angle, the number of U.S. launchers actually deployed will *increase* from 2,058 to 2,250.

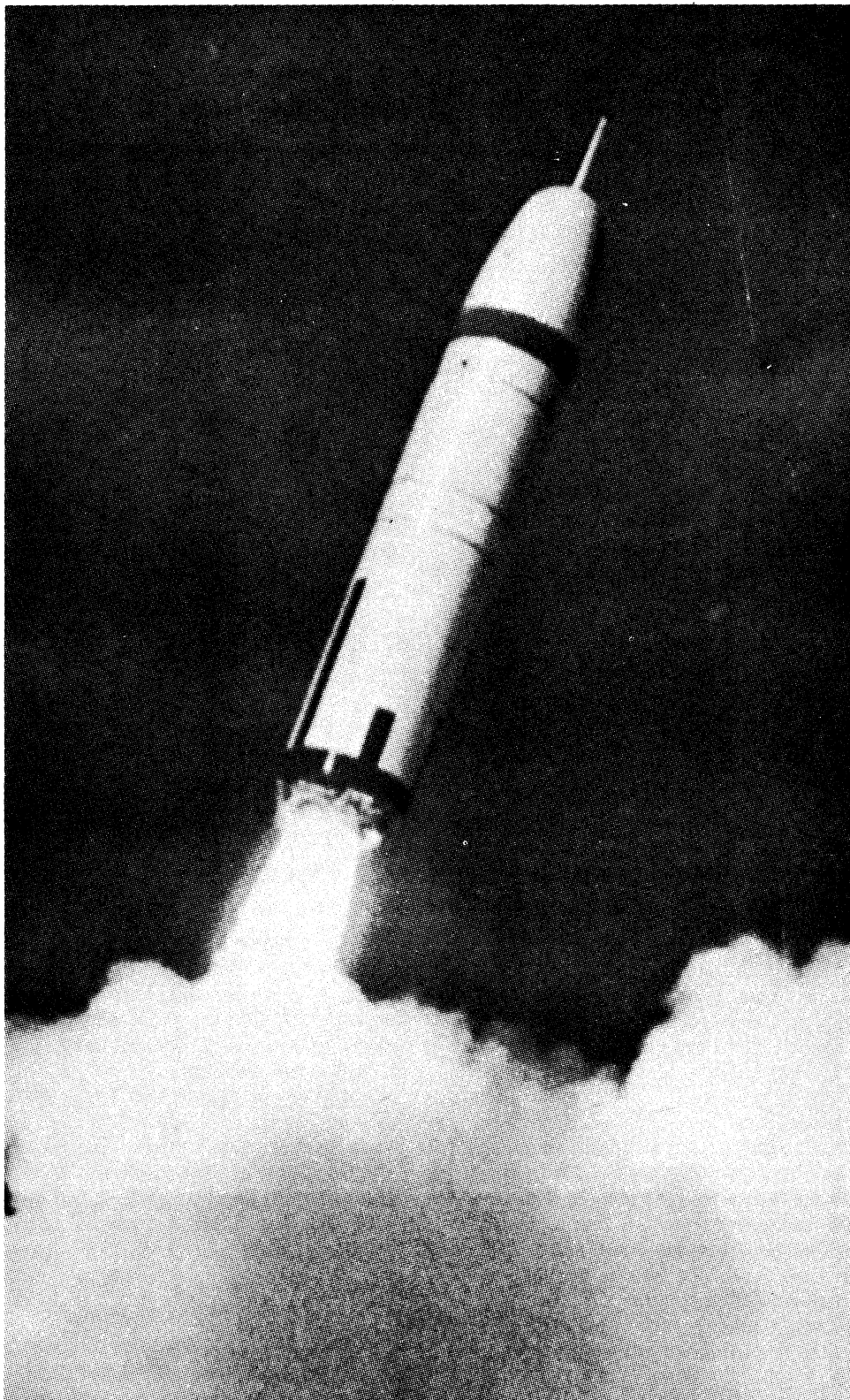
But this figure ignores the increase of *deliverable warheads*—that is, effective firepower—that is guaranteed under the new treaty. U.S. bombers, which each count as one launcher, are now capable of carrying up to twenty nuclear-armed cruise missiles, although these have not yet been deployed. The SALT treaty allows future bombers to carry up to twenty-eight cruise missiles.

Each new MX missile—a weapon for which the Senate voted \$265 million on May 3—will carry ten nuclear warheads, and each Trident II missile can carry fourteen warheads. Each warhead is capable of hitting a different city, and the SALT II treaty allows a maximum of more than 17,000 warheads for each side, compared to the 9-10,000 currently in the Pentagon's possession.

During his tenure as secretary of defense, Robert McNamara estimated that 100 nuclear weapons falling on the United States or the Soviet Union would kill at least 35 million people and destroy almost two-thirds of the industrial capacity of either country. And McNamara was probably underestimating the real impact.

### Framework for arms race

Summing up its expectations in an editorial titled "We Support SALT," the *New Republic* explained May 5:



U.S. Trident missile. Under SALT II pact, U.S. ruling class will be able to almost double the number of nuclear warheads on its missiles.

"Because of submarine and bomber advantages, the US currently has double the total warheads that the Soviets do; in 1985 we will have 12,000 compared to the Soviets' 8000."

Here we are presented with an "arms limitation treaty" whose supporters foresee a 25 percent increase in the number of nuclear weapons deployed by the Dr. Strangeloves in the Pentagon over the next six years. If this is arms limitation, what is an arms race?

The truth is that the SALT II treaty will merely establish a particular framework for the nuclear arms race. Built into this framework is development of the \$40 billion MX missile system, the Trident submarine—at a cost of \$1.5 billion each—and the cruise missile.

Those who accept the SALT framework offer the lame argument that is it necessary to support the treaty because without it the increases in the arms budget might be even greater.

### How the fraud works

But the whole purpose of the SALT debate, from the point of view of the ruling class, is to try to prepare public opinion for precisely such increases in the arms budget by playing up the supposed Soviet threat while at the same time presenting Carter as a man of peace. This will probably be one of the main themes in the 1980 election campaign.

Carter, who has vowed to continue jacking up the military budget by at least 3 percent in real dollars each

year, is now able to present his new weapons programs as necessary concessions to hawkish senators who would otherwise refuse to vote for the SALT treaty.

As *New York Times* reporter Hedrick Smith put it May 10, "The Administration hopes to lure skeptical moderates and conservatives to its side by offering promises of expanded military programs."

Richard Burt reported the following day that "some members of Congress predict that unless Mr. Carter announces his support for the MX soon, he will not be able to win Senate approval for the treaty."

Kenneth Bacon bluntly explained the tactic to readers of the *Wall Street Journal* in a December 12 article:

"Even if an arms control pact is ratified . . . the debate is likely to leave many people feeling less secure about U.S. strength, more suspicious of Soviet intentions and, therefore, more willing to increase U.S. defense spending."

A similar point was made by Joseph Harsch in the January 18 *Christian Science Monitor*. "The limiting factor on American weapons building will not be the new levels in SALT," Harsch declared, "but how far the Congress is willing to go down the road to guns instead of butter."

If working people really wanted guns instead of butter, the whole SALT charade would not be necessary for the ruling class. The capitalist government must present its military program wrapped in the pretense of arms con-

trol because of the desire of American working people for peace.

This antiwar sentiment, profoundly deepened by the Vietnam War, forced the government to withdraw U.S. forces from Indochina. It has sharply limited Washington's ability to intervene militarily since then. The popularity of slogans against nuclear weapons at the massive May 6 antinuclear demonstration in Washington showed that this sentiment is still very much alive.

### Carter's war program

Since coming into office in January 1977, Carter has had a consistent policy—within the limits imposed on him by the antiwar mood of the American working class—of increasing arms spending and pushing toward military intervention abroad.

This policy is a reflection of the basic war drive of the imperialist economy. American capitalism is based on a worldwide economic empire, and it must defend the profits of that empire from struggles by workers and peasants.

Not surprisingly, Carter's most aggressive steps have been taken in those areas where the imperialist system is facing the sharpest challenges.

In Africa, Carter helped spur the Somali invasion of Ethiopia in mid-1977 and then launched a strident campaign against the Cuban government after the Cubans helped defeat the imperialist-inspired attack on the Ethiopian revolution. Carter's response included the dispatch of two U.S. warships to the Red Sea.

In Indochina, Carter is trying to reinforce the imperialist encirclement of Vietnam. Arms have been shipped to the Thai dictatorship and to rightist forces in Kampuchea, and Carter pushed the Peking regime to invade Vietnam.

And in Afghanistan, Washington is engaged in a destabilizing operation aimed at overturning the pro-Soviet regime there.

But the boldest moves have come in the Middle East in the wake of the Iranian revolution. These include:

- The \$5 billion worth of new arms being shipped to Israel and Egypt;
- Trial balloons about the possible establishment of U.S. air and naval bases in Israel and Egypt, and a treaty that opens the door for basing U.S. ground forces in the Sinai;
- The sending of \$540 million in U.S. arms to North Yemen, along with contingents of U.S. "advisers."
- The dispatch of a U.S. naval fleet, including the aircraft carrier *Constellation*, to the Gulf of Aden during the conflict between North and South Yemen this March;
- Plans for the creation of a U.S. "Fifth Fleet" in the Indian Ocean;
- And the establishment of a 100,000-strong Mideast intervention force.

Along with these moves has come a serious attempt to reinstitute the draft. As *New York Times* military analyst Drew Middleton explained May 2, the attempt to restore conscription is due to "a belief that in the [next] decade the Army will be summoned to intervene and perhaps to fight in defense of American interests outside continental Europe."

In other words, the imperialists are well aware that they will have to fight new Vietnam-style wars if they are to contain the social upheavals that threaten their profits.

Carter is not pursuing a contradictory policy. The proposed SALT II treaty is not an isolated move toward peace in an overall policy of imperialist aggression. On the contrary, SALT II is part and parcel of the imperialist war policy.



# How can labor block Carter's war drive?

By Fred Feldman

"OK SALT!" exclaimed the banner headline of the May 10 *Daily World*, newspaper of the Communist Party USA, following the announcement that U.S. and Soviet negotiators had agreed on a new arms pact.

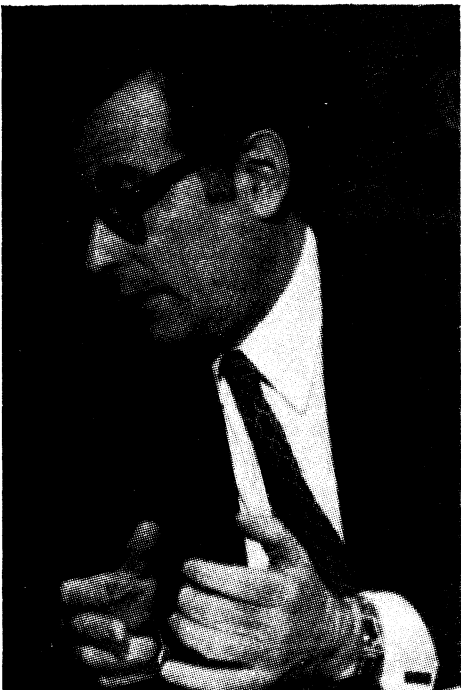
An editorial called on organized labor to launch a drive to win congressional ratification for the SALT II accord. Statements of support for the treaty from leading bodies of the United Auto Workers, United Steelworkers, and International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's unions were cited.

"Senate ratification of SALT can be blocked by a minority of 34 senators," the *Daily World* warned. "Other unions, state and local federations of labor, the national AFL-CIO are also needed in this battle. Mass action today by labor can prevent mass death tomorrow."

In the preceding months, the CP had presented SALT as the axis of the struggle to prevent war. CP General Secretary Gus Hall stated on March 22, 1979, that "SALT II can make the difference between life and death on our planet." Hall claimed the accord would "place a cap on some of the systems of nuclear armaments" and "would establish ground rules for an orderly mutual reduction of nuclear stockpiles."

### A brazen cover-up

The actual SALT accord shows that Hall's promises were a brazen cover-up. The treaty amounts to a set of ground rules for the further escalation of the arms race (see article on facing page).



National security adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski (top) and Defense Secretary Harold Brown. Communist Party now praises them as among "realistic circles" of U.S. ruling class.



Marchers at May 6 antinuke demonstration in Washington were angry about nuclear power and weapons. Unions should be in forefront of struggles like this, which represent challenge to government's war drive. SALT II 'arms control' fraud aims to head off such struggles.

The nuclear arms race is a life-and-death matter for American working people. A congressional study quoted in the May 15 *New York Post* predicted that as many as 20 million Americans would die in a "limited" nuclear exchange. And this report far understates the peril, for today's nuclear arsenals can destroy all life on earth.

For the billions of potential victims of nuclear war, SALT II provides no protection whatsoever.

From the point of view of the U.S. rulers, however, the value of SALT II is obvious. As ruling classes have done for centuries, they prepare for war while talking peace and signing "peace treaties."

As agreement was being sought on SALT II, Carter stepped up arms spending, initiated moves to restore the draft, and sought to convince the American people to accept the use of U.S. military power around the world to protect capitalist interests.

Since working people have nothing to gain and everything to lose from any war carried out by the employers' government, such moves have to be presented as "peacekeeping." For the U.S. rulers, SALT II is intended to throw a cloak of "arms control" over Carter's war drive.

So why is the Communist Party—which claims to defend the interests of working people—calling on the labor movement to be a party to this fraud? Why doesn't it tell the truth about SALT?

The CP campaign for SALT faithfully reflects the goals and outlook of the privileged bureaucratic caste governing the Soviet Union, headed today by Premier Leonid Brezhnev.

This caste stands at the head of a workers state where capitalism and its war drive were eliminated more than 60 years ago by a revolution of workers and peasants.

### A policy of class collaboration

Unlike the revolutionary government of Lenin and Trotsky, this bureaucratic caste doesn't rely on the struggles of working people around the world to defend the progressive gains of the Soviet Union. Nor does it seek to inspire working people in other countries to abolish capitalist rule. Instead the present Stalinist leaders seek a live-and-let-live relationship with world imperialism.

They don't speak for workers and peasants in the Soviet Union or anywhere else, but for their own privileged interests.

In exchange for diplomatic and economic deals—above all, guarantees

against an imperialist military attack on the USSR—they are prepared to help the imperialists stabilize the world. That includes selling out, opposing, or even helping the imperialists crush struggles of the workers and farmers in other countries.

The bureaucratic caste views SALT II as a step toward this kind of overall accord.

Gus Hall expressed the Stalinist rulers' class-collaborationist outlook in a March 22 article in the *Daily World*: "The U.S. must end the drive for nuclear superiority. It must free itself of the concept of trying to be No. 1. The No. 1 syndrome is deadly. Nuclear balance with the Soviet Union means being No. 1 together."

Guarantee the Soviet Union against attack, Hall is promising the imperialists, and the bureaucratic rulers will help you to stay "No. 1."

### Peace-minded imperialists?

This policy stakes everything on supporting a supposedly peace-minded wing of the imperialist rulers against a supposedly more warlike one. As part of the deal, the Communist Party is obliged to do what it can to persuade working people to do likewise.

Thus *Daily World* columnist Conrad Komorowski wrote on May 12, "U.S. warhawks have tried hard to shipwreck [SALT]." They failed "due to the efforts of realistic U.S. circles and the steadiness, persistence and flexibility of the Soviet Union." Komorowski's "realistic circles" include President Carter, national security adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski, Secretary of State Cyrus Vance, and Secretary of "Defense" Harold Brown—all of whom back SALT II.

The CP seeks to get the labor movement to act as an auxiliary to the Soviet rulers' class-collaborationist policy. But in doing so, they help to drag the unions into the wake of the war drive being organized by the very "realistic circles" that the CP counts on to bring peace.

The Stalinist policy is unrealistic as well as treacherous. The capitalist rulers of the United States heat up the arms race because they must. They are driven to defend and expand their markets, sources of raw materials, and arenas of capital investment. That requires crushing popular revolution and eventually attempting to restore capitalism in the workers states where it has been abolished—above all in the Soviet Union.

The U.S. rulers are happy to use the cover provided by the Soviet bureaucrats to shield their military preparations, but they will press ahead with their expansionist plans—and that

means war.

The Stalinist bureaucrats in the Soviet Union who live parasitically off the workers and farmers are similar to the labor officialdom in this country who don't work for a living but manage to live high off the hog from the dues of union members. And like the privileged caste in the USSR, the labor bureaucrats seek an impossible labor peace with the capitalists.

To get this they are more than ready to sacrifice the interests of union members. Both the union bureaucrats and the Moscow bureaucrats count on "realistic circles" in the Democratic and Republican parties to assure peace and prosperity. That's why the more liberal leaders of the United Auto Workers, United Steelworkers, and International Longshoremen's unions embrace SALT II.

### Labor's antiwar program

But American working people will get neither peace nor prosperity along this route. The struggle against war requires mobilizing the independent power of the labor movement. Labor must tell the unvarnished truth about "arms limitation" pretenses and present and fight for its own antiwar program. This program must demand that the U.S. government:

- End all secret diplomacy and secret agreements.
- Stop production of nuclear weapons and destroy the nuclear stockpiles.
- Use the funds from the massive arms budget to provide decent health care and other basic human needs.
- Withdraw U.S. bases and troops from overseas.
- End the capitalist draft in any form.

The struggle for this program points toward the only way the warmakers will be disarmed and peace guaranteed. That is the replacement of the present government of employers by a government that represents the vast majority—a workers government.

But the labor movement cannot wage this struggle if it is supporting and relying on the Democratic and Republican parties. These are the war parties and have no interest in disarming the capitalist warmakers.

Labor needs its own party—a party based on the unions—an antiwar party.

The unions could take a first step toward establishing such a party by running candidates in the next elections. They have the apparatus—the offices, newspapers, finances, and organizers—to launch such a campaign right now. All that's needed is to do it.



# Militant sales drive tops 100,000 goal

By Peter Seidman

We're over the top! This week's scoreboard shows total sales of 7,772 copies of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*. That brings us to 108 percent of our goal of selling 100,000 papers by May 22.

Sales during the national target week now completing this spring's circulation drive by members of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance will push us even further over.

As the scoreboard shows, we sold 113 percent of last week's goal. This victory was spurred on by sales of more than 3,000 papers at the national antinuclear march on Washington, May 6.

Industrial sales reported for this

issue totalled 532 (315 papers at plant gates and 217 to co-workers on the job). A number of areas that failed to make their overall goals maintained a high percentage of these key industrial sales nonetheless. Industrial sales accounted for 60 percent of Toledo's sales, for example. In Detroit they were 49 percent, New Orleans 45 percent, and Chicago 29 percent.

Our spring circulation drive has been taking place during a period of intensifying concern among working people over the near-disaster at Three Mile Island, and the national debate over nuclear power and weapons.

Capitalism's energy crisis has deepened working people's interest in the socialist alternative.

Motorists trapped on this week's gas lines in California have been no exception.

The back-page headline, "Oil companies hold Californians for ransom," is getting "a tremendous response," according to Holbrook Mahn, who organizes sales in Los Angeles. "We've sold well over 300 papers in the first three days," Mahn said.

On some lines, 20 to 25 percent of those waiting buy the paper.

"People don't believe there's a real shortage," Mahn reports. "They think the oil companies are forcing lines as part of their drive to raise prices, to get deregulation. And I haven't heard anyone buy the story that it's all the Arabs' fault."

San Francisco socialists sold at least 225 papers in the first four days of sales.

Another important focus of sales this week is the picket lines set up by striking members of the United Rubber Workers union at Uniroyal plants around the country.

Detroit SWP organizer Nan Bailey reports that she and other socialists have sold some fifteen papers in two visits to a picket line "so far this week."

Bailey says the strikers gave the paper a "friendly" response. A number of workers she interviewed told her they were looking forward to reading next week's coverage.

The rubber workers certainly can't read much about their strike in the Detroit big-business dailies. So they're interested in the *Militant's* account.

But the strikers' interests go beyond their own immediate struggles. One worker, thumbing through the paper,

noticed an article on Cuba. "Those Cubans knew how to handle Uniroyal," he told Bailey, referring to Castro's nationalization of U.S. firms after the revolution.

Socialists in several other cities are planning to send sales teams out to

URW Uniroyal picket lines.

It will be important to continue such efforts even after the sales drive ends. Bringing the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* into the growing struggles by working people is exactly how we will give our sales the political clout we want them to have.



Militant/Nancy Cole

## Sales scoreboard

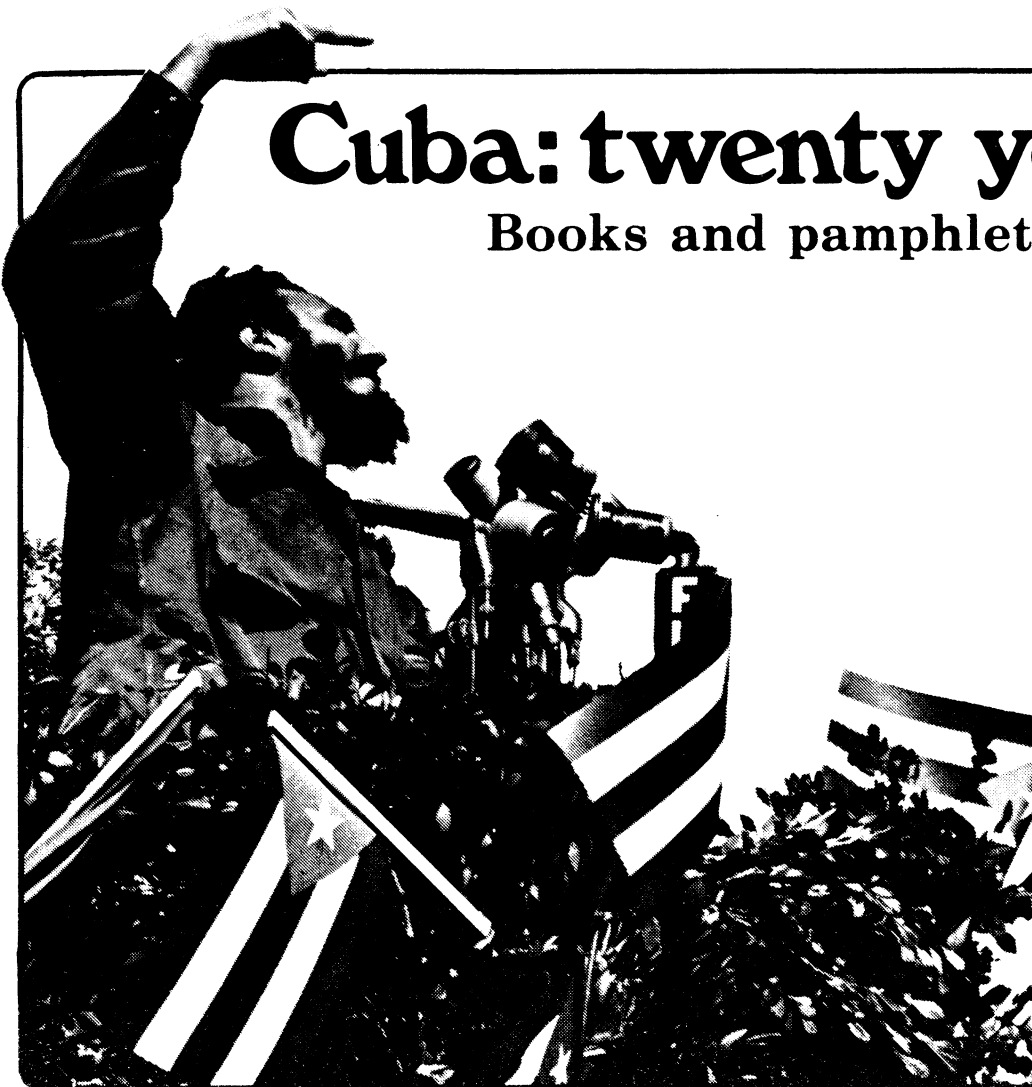
CITY	MILITANT		PM		TOTAL		
	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold	Percent
Newark	100	374	10	2	110	376	341.8
Vermont	18	52			18	52	288.8
Baltimore	100	251			100	251	251.0
Albany	100	225	5	0	105	225	214.2
New York City	540	1135	60	30	600	1165	194.1
Raleigh	90	167			90	167	185.5
Philadelphia	225	443	25	18	250	461	184.4
Atlanta	145	231	5	1	150	232	154.6
Washington, D.C.	230	378	20	2	250	380	152.0
Pittsburgh	200	288			200	288	144.0
Boston	200	320	25	2	225	322	143.1
Birmingham	100	140			100	140	140.0
Indianapolis	85	115			85	115	135.2
Kansas City	110	144		2	110	146	132.7
Iron Range	35	40			35	40	114.2
Louisville	100	114			100	114	114.0
Cincinnati	75	85			75	85	113.3
Dallas	125	112	35	68	160	180	112.5
Seattle	145	168	5	0	150	168	112.0
St. Louis	125	133			125	133	106.4
Phoenix	95	107	30	24	125	131	104.8
Salt Lake City	130	139	5	2	135	141	104.4
Gary	75	75		3	75	78	104.0
San Jose	105	120	15	4	120	124	103.3
Los Angeles	320	299	80	106	400	405	101.2
Albuquerque	115	114	20	22	135	136	100.7
Minneapolis	150	137		1	150	138	92.0
Detroit	175	159	5	0	180	159	88.3
Portland	100	87			100	87	87.0
St. Paul	100	80			100	80	80.0
Denver	120	95	20	16	140	111	79.2
Cleveland	115	91	5	0	120	91	75.8
Chicago	310	255	40	10	350	265	75.7
Miami	100	74	30	19	130	93	71.5
San Francisco	275	175		10	275	185	67.2
Milwaukee	120	80	5	1	125	81	64.8
Houston	170	129	30	0	200	129	64.5
New Orleans	100	60			100	60	60.0
Tacoma	125	74			125	74	59.2
Toledo	100	58			100	58	58.0
San Antonio	50	30	10	1	60	31	51.6
Oakland	145	70	15	5	160	75	46.8
TOTALS	6,333	7,423	525	349	6,858	7,772	113.3

Not reporting: Amherst; Berkeley; Iowa City; Morgantown; San Diego.

Covers sales of issue number eighteen of the *Militant* and the second week of sales of issue number eight of *Perspectiva Mundial*.

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*Twenty Years of the Cuban Revolution*, by Jack Barnes, 1978. \$5.

*The Theory of Permanent Revolution (on Cuba)* by Joseph Hansen, 1961. Two talks, \$9.

# '3,000 people would have died immediately'

Printed below are excerpts from a speech by Helen Caldicott on the Three Mile Island nuclear crisis. Caldicott, an Australian pediatrician and outspoken opponent of nuclear power, gave the speech at the May 6 antinuclear march on Washington.

What happened in Harrisburg? Did we hear it would have produced devastation of an area the size of Pennsylvania? Twenty percent of the time the winds blow toward New York and Boston. Eighty percent of the time they blow toward Washington, D.C.

What would have happened if there had been a meltdown? Three thousand people would have died immediately. Ten to a hundred thousand people right now would be going bald. They would be getting ulcers on their skin, severe vomiting and diarrhea, and, as their blood cells died, they would be dying of massive hemorrhage or infection.

Thousands of men would be rendered sterile from the radiation on their testicles. Thousands of women would stop menstruating permanently. Thousands of babies would be born with small heads, because the radiation affects the developing brain.

Thousands more babies would be born mentally retarded for life. There would be an epidemic of leukemia five

years later, and hundreds of thousands of cases of cancer would appear in fifteen to fifty years later.

It would have killed approximately half a million Americans.

Did any of you hear the government officials on national television tell you those facts?

Why not?

It's like what Eisenhower said—confuse the public, let them die in ignorance.

What happened in Harrisburg? They don't know how much radiation they've let out.

Health, Education and Welfare Secretary Califano said that ten people will die. We physicians are very afraid that many children are going to get leukemia and cancer in five, ten, fifteen years.

Hershey's Chocolate is twelve miles from that nuclear power plant. They are powdering the milk because they say that radioactive iodine will decay in a couple of weeks. That's true. But what about the strontium 90 that lasts for 600 years? And gets recycled and recycled through the soil and the grass, the milk, the babies, and human breast milk? The babies are twenty times more sensitive to radiation than adults.

Nuclear power is the biggest threat to face the world, the biggest public health hazard.

# 'I charge U.S. gov't with manslaughter'

Following are excerpts from a speech by Orville Kelly delivered to the May 6 antinuclear march on Washington. Kelly contracted cancer after he and other GIs stood on a beach in the Pacific in 1958 and observed H-bomb explosions. Kelly is president of the National Association of Atomic Veterans.

Approximately 250,000 members of the armed forces of the United States were exposed to various amounts of radiation during atmospheric testing of atomic weapons from 1945 until 1963.

I am one of those persons.

At Eniwetok Atoll in the Marshall Islands during Operation Hardtack in 1958, I observed, from a short distance away, a total of twenty-two nuclear blasts, ranging up to nine megatons in size. Some of these explosions took place in the lagoon area, and for one year we drank the water that spills from the same lagoon.

I will never forget the horror of witnessing those blasts, which we were ordered to observe from the beach.

But neither can I find words to accurately describe what happened at countdown zero, or what occurred in the early morning dawn at that tropical island paradise. [It all] lies shielded in a frenzy of light, sound, heat, and flame, which my mind could never comprehend.

Thirty thousand of the men who witnessed nuclear blasts, or their widows, have to date contacted the defense nuclear agency here in Washington. And of the 30,000 approximately 3,000 have cancer, and 7,000 report various illnesses and birth defects.

None of these men were warned of the consequences. Nor did any of us receive medical surveillance during or after the exposures.

I charge the United States government with willful deceit, cover-up, and manslaughter in the death of hundreds of servicemen!

I am one of the cancer patients who called in. For the past six years, I have tried unsuccessfully to obtain the same medical and family benefits as any other veteran who was injured in battle.

I just received my third denial from the Veterans Administration.

I was once told by a Department of Energy official that, unfortunately, some persons have to pay a high price for national defense. But the commendations I received for my duties at Eniwetok will not pay my medical bills or help support my wife and children when I die.

Because of my own frustrations in seeking just compensation, I formed an organization, the National Association of Atomic Veterans, to help others.

My doctors have told me there is no cure rate for the cancer I have. But I assure you, with your support and help, and through the efforts of our fledgling but determined organization, the tragedy of American servicemen who are ill and dying because of exposure to radiation during nuclear weapons testing will not die with us.

I do not intend to give up. I hope you don't either. Thank you.

# Moves to restore draft hit by Young Socialists



Young workers don't want to die in imperialist wars such as the one in Vietnam

The following statement on the Carter administration's moves toward reinstating the draft was issued May 15 by Young Socialist Alliance National Chairperson Cathy Sedwick.

The U.S. government is attempting to bring back conscription. This is an attack on the youth of this country and an attack on the oppressed and exploited throughout the world. It is part of the drive of the capitalist ruling class toward new wars like the one in Vietnam.

More than a million young Americans—mostly from the working class—were sent to fight in Indochina. Fifty thousand died there. And if Carter has his way, tens of thousands more will be sacrificed in new wars whose only purpose will be to defend the profits of the giant corporations.

The drive toward new wars is built into the profit system, just like unemployment. When they aren't making enough profit from our work, the employers toss us off the job. And when their foreign investments are threatened by the struggles of workers and farmers in other countries, they draft us to defend *their* interests.

During the Vietnam War, when millions began to see what the government was really up to, the rulers were forced to give up the draft.

With teenage unemployment officially at more than 15 percent, and with unemployment for Black youth running at *four times* that rate, the capitalists tried out a "volunteer" army. The unemployed youth were offered a meal ticket and promises of learning new skills in the army that would prepare them for a steady job.

But economic compulsion has not proved satisfactory for the ruling class. They are worried that too high a percentage of Blacks in the army could lead to problems if they try to intervene in Africa. And they are complain-

ing that there is just not enough cannon fodder filling the ranks.

The American ruling class knows it needs to prepare for new wars, and it is acting accordingly. That is the reason for Carter's record \$135 billion war budget.

In just the last three months Carter has agreed to provide \$5 billion in new arms to the Israeli and Egyptian regimes; has sent hundreds of "advisers" to North Yemen and Saudi Arabia; and has dispatched a naval fleet to the Arabian peninsula—a fleet that is still there.

Meanwhile, the Pentagon is mulling over plans for the creation of a U.S. Fifth Fleet in the Indian Ocean and exploring the possibility of establishing U.S. bases in the Sinai Peninsula.

And that's not all. U.S. military aid to the dictatorship in Thailand has been increased sharply as part of Washington's stepped-up campaign against the Vietnamese revolution.

But Carter and Congress know the American people don't want any more wars for corporate profits. American youth are not about to volunteer to fight and die for the investments and profits of the rich. That is why the ruling class is trying to bring back the draft.

Perhaps the most cynical argument used in favor of a new draft is that it will provide jobs for the unemployed. The real solution to unemployment is to shorten the workweek with no cut in pay. But if the capitalist rulers want to do something more, let them use the \$135 billion wasted on the military to rebuild the cities and expand essential services. That could provide jobs at union wages for all who need them.

The Democrats and Republicans, who claim to represent us, will not protect us from the draft. The Democratic and Republican parties are and always have been the parties of war. And they have equally been the parties of the draft. It was only the independent struggles of working people which finally forced them to suspend the draft and end the Vietnam War.

These parties of the employers are committed to protect profits here and abroad—at the expense of the lives and living standards of working men and women.

We need to use our own organizations, the trade unions, to challenge the war parties in the elections and in the streets.

Thousands of young workers in the factories are directly threatened by a new draft. They would be inspired to join in if the unions took the lead in this fight. And they would be in the front lines if the unions formed a labor party.

Such a party could bring the full weight of the American labor movement into the struggle against Carter's war preparations.

## Majority says no to U.S. troops in South Africa

A majority of Americans, both Black and white, oppose the use of U.S. troops in South Africa, even to counter Soviet or Cuban intervention, according to a poll prepared by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

The survey found that a big majority is against the racist apartheid system in South Africa and believes the white minority there uses force to maintain its privileged position.





## Louisville rightists being pushed back

# Gov't pressed to resume probe of attack

By Debby Tarnopol

LOUISVILLE—A Justice Department decision to halt the investigation of right-wing attacks on the Socialist Workers Party here has drawn protest from supporters of democratic rights.

The Louisville Civil Liberties Union has voted unanimously to issue an appeal locally and nationally, calling on everyone to demand that Attorney General Griffin Bell reopen the investigation.

Protests have also been made by the Jefferson County Teachers Association; Bob Mitchell, a member of the International Union of Electrical Workers Local 761 and a mayoral candidate in the New Albany, Indiana, Democratic primary; and David Banks, president of the Louisville Board of Aldermen.

The campaign to reopen the case is the latest in a series of broad protests since November 4, 1978, when right-wingers threw a gas grenade into an SWP rally announcing the party's candidate for governor, Liz Jayko. Fortunately the grenade was removed before it could harm anyone. It could have caused suffocation because it is designed to destroy oxygen.

When the police refused to take action to arrest those responsible, dozens of prominent groups and individuals expressed their outrage, including unionists, the city's board of aldermen, the presidents of the NAACP and League of Women Voters, and women's rights activists.

Lodge 2409 of the International Association of Machinists passed a protest motion after an appeal from Jim Burfeind, a member of the lodge. A tool-and-die maker at General Electric's Appliance Park here, Burfeind ran for U.S. Congress in the 1978 elections on the SWP ticket.

The IAM voted to send a letter to the mayor and chief of police encouraging that they take action. "Threats to anyone's civil liberties are a threat to everyone's civil liberties," the letter said in part.

Later, Lodge 2409 backed up Burfeind when he encountered right-wing harassment at the plant. Through this support, the harassment was stopped (see story below).

The support for the socialists' rights reflects the political changes in this



Socialist Jim Burfeind pickets during 1978 GE strike

city—the increased militancy of the labor movement and the growing isolation of ultrarightists such as the Ku Klux Klan. In 1975-76, thousands participated in racist, antibusing activities. By the second year of busing, the racists could muster only a couple of hundred demonstrators at most.

### Campaigning at GE

The attacks on the SWP began when the SWP took Burfeind's congressional campaign to the GE plant where he worked.

GE's Appliance Park is the biggest factory in Kentucky. It employs 17,000 production workers who are virtually all members of Local 761 of the International Union of Electrical Workers (IUE). Three hundred tool-and-die makers, including Burfeind, are in IAM Lodge 2409.

Last October Burfeind and twenty of his supporters distributed campaign literature to GE workers as they entered the plant.

Headlined, "Put a GE worker in Congress," a flyer outlined the SWP program for fighting inflation, unem-

ployment, race and sex discrimination, and nuclear power. It also called for a labor party based on the trade unions.

As a result, many of Burfeind's co-workers became more interested in socialist ideas.

This infuriated ultraright elements at the plant—egged on by the GE bosses. These people are a tiny minority at the plant. But—with company encouragement—their violent threats had succeeded in silencing many workers.

The night the socialist literature was distributed, as Burfeind was taking a meal break, some of these right-wing thugs crawled out on a catwalk above his head and dumped two gallons of oil on him.

Two weeks later, at the SWP campaign rally, two men threw the gas grenade into the hall.

The attack fit the pattern of past harassment, intimidation, and physical violence carried out by the KKK and other right-wingers against Blacks, abortion rights activists, and others. Prior to the attack on the SWP, no campaign had been organized to

effectively counter such assaults, to expose the right-wingers and their ties to the cops, and isolate them.

### Case taken to unions

The SWP took a different course. It demanded that the police take action and appealed to others to join in this demand. Socialists and their supporters in the unions brought the case into the IAM, IUE Local 761, United Steelworkers Local 1693, and Laborers International Union Local 576. They received a friendly response.

A week after the gas grenade attack, a witness recognized one of the two attackers in a newspaper photo of an antibusing demonstration.

Almost a month later, the cops conceded they had identified the individual in the photo. But they still refused to arrest him!

This drew a further angry response.

An editorial in the January 25 Louisville *Courier-Journal* noted that the police had acted promptly in a tear-gas attack on a Catholic bingo game and added:

"What's less assuring is the slow progress or possible lack of interest by

## Unionists are isolating GE-inspired goons

LOUISVILLE—General Electric has a history of using divide-and-rule tactics to try to keep its workers in line. Here at GE's Appliance Park plant, the company has traditionally encouraged tiny groups of right-wingers to intimidate workers.

But GE's methods have been dealt a blow at Appliance Park. When ultrarightists went on a campaign to harass members of the Socialist Workers Party employed at the plant, they ran into trouble. Solidarity from co-workers and action by Lodge 2409 of the International Association of Machinists (IAM) brought the harassment to a halt.

Several SWP members and supporters work at Appliance Park. The *Militant* is regularly circulated there. During the spring *Militant* sales drive, more than 150 copies of the paper were sold to GE workers.

After the gas-grenade attack on the SWP's campaign rally late last year—and the ground swell of support for the socialists' rights—SWP member Jim Burfeind became a target of harassment by right-wingers at GE. Burfeind is a tool-and-die maker who belongs to Lodge 2409. He ran for Congress on the SWP ticket in 1978.

When he was transferred to a new building at the GE complex in January, Burfeind's workplace was vandalized, his tool cart stolen, and a series of threatening notes put up attacking his political ideas.

When the harassment began, co-workers viewed the incidents as simply pranks—not attacks on the democratic rights of another union member.

But as the harassment continued, more and more workers began to see that it must be stopped. Several workers came to Burfeind's aid when his workplace was vandalized. Workers also began speaking up about similar harassment they had received for expressing probing views or atheist ideas on the shop floor.

The solidarity with Burfeind angered the right-wingers. Some of the workers supporting Burfeind began receiving threats themselves. A hand-printed publication called "Commie News" appeared. One issue stated: "Sad to say, it has come to our attention that some members of 2409 are commie sympathizers . . . the sickness is among us and spreading."

The McCarthyite-like campaign

convinced even more workers to turn against the right-wing attacks. Those carrying out the harassment ceased open boasting and became increasingly isolated, finally forced to carry out their activities in a completely clandestine way.

A central factor in isolating these thugs were steps taken by the IAM to protest the company-inspired attacks.

After Burfeind's tool cart was stolen, the shop steward, in consultation with the union grievance committee, began filing a grievance against GE. It listed the series of incidents against Burfeind and placed the blame squarely on the company.

The grievance demanded that "the company cease and desist in failing to provide James Burfeind with an agreeable place to work . . . and that the company discipline those responsible for those actions, and that the company make whole all current and future personal losses to James Burfeind."

GE answered that it was doing everything it could to stop the harassment. When workers discussed this response, one argued that the company would stop the attacks if it

could. The shop steward disagreed, saying he thought GE liked to have workers fighting among themselves, especially since the national contract comes up at the end of June.

The union decided to press the grievance to the next level. When it did this, the harassment stopped! The company had been forced to rein in its goons. In an unprecedented move, GE also replaced 90 percent of Burfeind's stolen tools within two weeks.

The issue of harassment at Appliance Park is being discussed more openly by workers now. A front-page article in the Louisville *Times* May 4 reported on the type of "pranks" carried out at the plant and interviewed workers about them. Racism was cited as one reason for the attacks. Blacks and women reported they were frequent targets. The *Times* said the workers feel "GE officials have ignored the problem for years."

Socialists and others at the plant are continuing the discussions, and urging co-workers to protest the Justice Department's refusal to investigate the right-wing assaults on the SWP.

—D.T.



# on SWP

the police in a similar . . . incident at a Socialist Workers Party gathering in Louisville last November."

The man identified from the photo as one of the attackers, it turns out, also works at the GE plant where Burfeind is employed.

## Justice Dep't probe

At the end of December the Justice Department agreed to do a "preliminary investigation" of the case to see if there was a violation of the civil rights statute barring interference with an election activity.

For a couple of months, the Justice Department carried on a slow-motion probe.

Assistant U.S. Attorney Scott Wendelsdorf finally brought the suspect before a federal grand jury March 12. Prior to appearing before the jury, the suspect admitted he was the person in the newspaper photo of the antibusing demonstration.

But on March 21, Wendelsdorf was instructed by Craig Donsanto of the Justice Department in Washington to halt the investigation. Only if the local police could or would not investigate the case could a federal probe be reopened, Donsanto said.

But the police still refuse to arrest those responsible. They have claimed they are unable to obtain a photo of the suspect from his employer, GE. Yet it turns out that the suspect's brother is a member of the Louisville Police Department! Why then are the police having such a hard time locating a picture of the suspect?

In urging that the federal investigation of the case be reopened, the Louisville Civil Liberties Union also calls on the Kentucky Commonwealth Attorney to get the cops moving on the case again, as well as to investigate the links between the gas-grenade attack on the SWP and harassment of socialists at GE.

The campaign against right-wing terror in Louisville has had a big impact here in isolating the reactionaries. On March 25 a probusing forum was held at the Militant Bookstore, scene of the earlier grenade attack. This time there was no disruption. The forum was widely publicized in the media before and after the event.

Two other targets of previous attacks, the Reproductive Freedom League and the Religious Coalition for Abortion Rights, held a meeting of 100 without incident on March 31.

The SWP is planning a major campaign rally on June 17. Featured speakers will be Liz Jayko, the SWP gubernatorial candidate, and SWP National Committee member Maceo Dixon. Jim Burfeind will chair. The rally will take place at the YMCA at 930 West Chestnut.

## Our party is your party!

IF YOU AGREE with what you have been reading in the *Militant*, now is the time to join the Socialist Workers party. . . . OUR PARTY is made up of working people like you. The more who join, the better we can fight together against war and racism, and for decent living and working conditions. . . . JOIN US and help us build a better world, a socialist world. Fill out the coupon below and mail it today.

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# U of Minn. head feels heat

## Anti-apartheid pressure mounts

By Stephen Thomas

MINNEAPOLIS—On May 2 a crowd of more than 550 heard University of Minnesota President C. Peter Magrath debate opponents of his policy to retain university investments in corporations doing business with South Africa.

The debate, which drew a swarm of local media, focused on what Magrath counterposes to divestment—support of the Sullivan Principles. These are guidelines for U.S. corporations in South Africa drawn up by Rev. Leon Sullivan, a Black minister and member of the General Motors board of directors. The principles allegedly aim to guarantee equal treatment for Black South African workers.

Over the past year, the divestment struggle at the University of Minnesota has won large numbers of supporters. This was why Magrath felt compelled to have the debate.

Siding with Magrath in the debate was Rev. Gus Roman, an associate of Sullivan. Supporting divestment were Jennifer Davis of the American Committee on Africa, and Dennis Brutus, a Black South African political exile.

Roman argued that Sullivan "has a long history of working in the civil rights movement," is highly moral, and should be trusted. He admitted the inadequacy of Sullivan's guidelines and the difficulty of enforcing them.

Davis, who followed, said, "The Sul-

livan Principles are a type of prison reform, and a poor one at that. Black South Africans do not want prison reform. They want the prison abolished!"

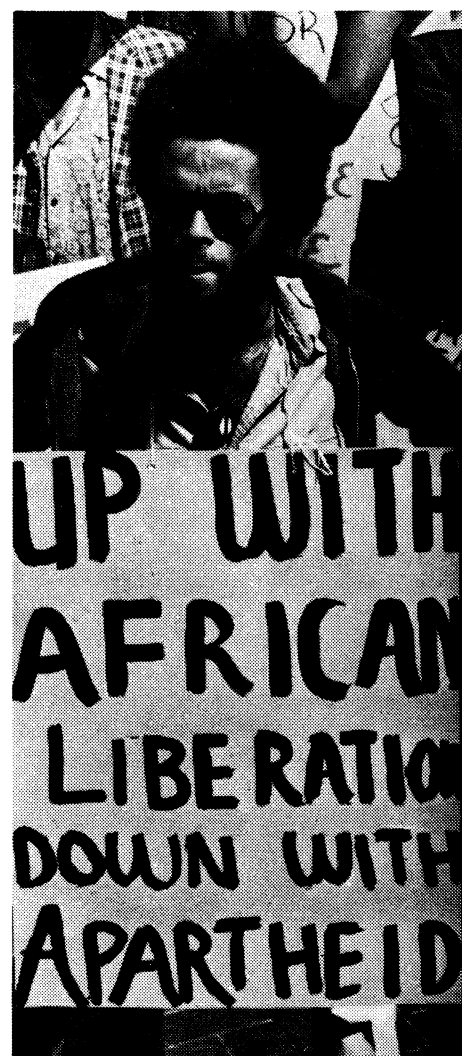
"Why should we expect U.S. corporations in South Africa to fight against racism and for political rights such as the right to form unions, when here in the United States these same corporations play a key role in perpetuating racism and fighting against unions?" Davis asked.

Trying to portray himself as an opponent of apartheid, Magrath argued that the issue was simply tactical and that divestment is ineffective.

Brutus emphasized that the Sullivan Principles do not address the real issue—the complete denial of political rights to Black South Africans. "We're not interested in having our shackles polished, we want them removed," he said.

The applause for Brutus and Davis made clear that the audience was in favor of divestment.

A questionnaire, distributed before the debate and collected afterwards, indicated a shift of opinion in favor of divestment. Forty-six people who said that before the debate they opposed or only mildly advocated divestment changed to strongly advocate it, while only two went from approving to opposing divestment.



Militant/Barry Chann

## Anti-KKK prisoner put on trial

By August Nimt

The trial of August 8th Brigade member Felix Castro is under way in Kingston, New York.

The August 8th Brigade is a group of prisoners being tried on felony charges stemming from the August 8, 1977, rebellion at the Eastern New York Correctional Facility at Napanoch, New York.

More than 200 prisoners participated in the rebellion to protest vicious Ku Klux Klan terror and KKK organizing among prison guards. One demand of the prisoners was the immediate firing of two guards known to be in the KKK. The rebellion erupted after four years of petitioning and legal attempts to halt KKK brutality in the prison.

Castro, a thirty-two-year-old Puerto

Rican, faces a possible life sentence if convicted.

Court proceedings, which began on April 30, have been severely prejudiced against Castro. Having already been denied his right to a speedy trial and to be represented by the attorney of his choice, Castro will be tried by a jury that is all-white and averages about fifty-six years of age. A defense motion requesting a change of venue was denied.

The August 8th Brigade Defense Committee reports that during the jury selection, Judge John Clyne consistently blocked attempts by the defense attorney to question prospective jurors about their attitude toward the KKK. Ulster County, in which Kingston is located, is the home base of the Inde-

pendent Northern Klans, Inc. The Klan's "Grand Dragon," Earl Schoonmaker, once worked as a teacher at the Napanoch prison school.

During the trial on May 1, a bomb scare was called in to the courthouse. "Whites have rights, too. We're serious. There's a bomb in the courthouse," the caller said. No bomb was found.

Despite the intimidating atmosphere, Judge Clyne has denied a defense motion to declare a mistrial. He has also gagged the two defense attorneys by denying them the right to discuss the case with the press.

Other Brigade members awaiting trial include Andre Nieves, Lorenzo Perez, Frank Abney, Eddie Pacheco, and Ronald Tacardon.

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# 1979 contract

## Unions vs. Carter's 7 percent

By Frank Lovell

(First of a series)

Four million unionists work under contracts expiring in 1979. Government intervention into their negotiations has been more heavy-handed than usual as Carter seeks—successfully so far—to impose his wage-gouging guidelines on American workers.

When Carter announced his “anti-inflation program” in October 1978, he called for “voluntary” compliance by employers and unions. Holding wage increases to 7 percent was supposed to keep price increases below the average increase of the past two years.

Following the lead of American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations President George Meany, most top union officials denounced the guidelines. An AFL-CIO statement said the scheme was “based on the false assumption that wages alone are the cause of inflation when the fact is that wages trail—not cause—inflation.”

On the wage side, the rules “are inflexible, are not voluntary,” said the federation, “since they are universal, and will be eagerly enforced by every public and private employer in the land, by the Internal Revenue Service and by threats of black-listing and official denunciation.”

The price guideline, on the other hand, “is so flexible as to be non-existent and is without effective enforcement.”

“In sum,” declared the AFL-CIO, “the price deceleration program is a sham.”

This charge has been proven beyond doubt in the months since. According to the Labor Department's Consumer Price Index, prices rose 9 percent in 1978. For the first three months of 1979 prices climbed at an annual rate of 13 percent. Carter's “voluntary” guidelines have not served to check rising prices—and were not meant to.

But, says Chairman Alfred Kahn of Carter's Council on Wage and Price Stability, “we have no choice but to continue as we are doing.” He admits, however, that it is “highly unlikely” that the administration's projection of 7.4 percent inflation for this year can be met.

Barry Bosworth, one of Kahn's aides, warned that if inflation does not cool down, workers will force prices still higher with their wage demands. He is only echoing the employers' contention that wage raises are the source of inflation—and that the only cure is a lower standard of living for the working class.

Since Nixon's 1971 wage-price freeze, wages have continuously slipped further behind runaway prices. Over the life of union contracts negotiated in 1978, wages are scheduled to rise only 6.6 percent in manufacturing, 6.4 percent in non-manufacturing, and 6.2 percent in construction.

The unions are now engaged in what they call

“catch up” bargaining. But in the first union contracts this year settlements have completely failed to close the gap between wages and prices.

### Why Carter's success?

There are several reasons why the government has successfully imposed the 7 percent limit without provoking massive strikes in response.

First, the wage guidelines fit right in with the employers' aggressive anti-union drive, aided and abetted by Carter and the Democratic-controlled Congress.

Second, union officials have demonstrated their complete lack of confidence in their own ability—and in the power of the workers they profess to represent—to challenge and defeat the bosses in open warfare.

The officialdom continues to place its confidence in the capitalist parties administering the employers' attack. Their unwillingness to break from the Democrats and Republicans and begin to organize a labor party cripples labor's ability to fight back.

Contributing to the default on the wage front is the officials' attempt to coast by on the higher wage scales of some of the workers they represent.

The statistics on wages, prices, and profits are usually reduced to percentages: a 7 percent wage increase; a 13 percent price rise; a 50 percent profits gain. This reveals a grim picture of the economy from the workers' point of view. But it hides some of the worst effects within and upon the working class. The 7 percent wage guideline, for example, means a higher raise for workers earning nine dollars per hour than those who earn only six dollars. Since government-imposed limits on union wage scales tend to apply also to the mass of unorganized workers, it is those low-paid workers who are hardest hit and suffer most.

By allowing the government and employers to exacerbate these divisions within the working class—rather than close the gap through a united wage fight—union officials leave the entire labor movement more vulnerable to attack.

### 'Self-destruct'?

When the Consumer Price Index revealed prices rising at an annual rate of 13 percent, George Meany declared Carter's anti-inflation policies “an absolute failure.” Douglas Fraser, president of the United Auto Workers, announced the wage-price guidelines had “self-destructed.”

It is not true, however, that Carter's wage-price policy failed. Nor is the wage guideline destroyed. The 7 percent guideline remains intact, exactly as drafted.

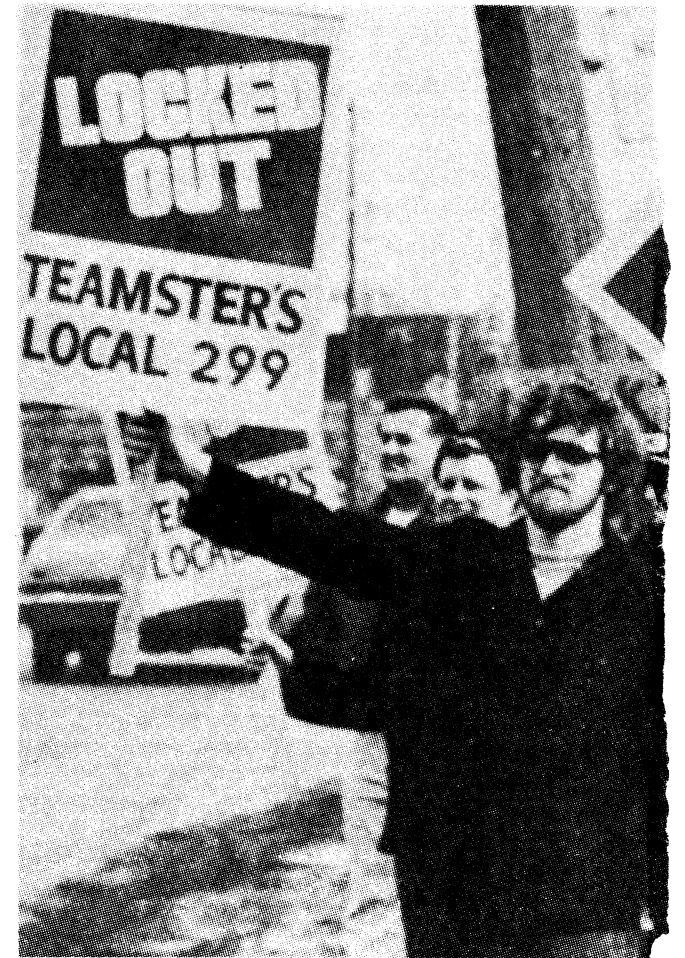
It has allowed government “conciliators” to participate in all major wage negotiations this year. The “pattern-setting” settlements in the oil and trucking agreements were limited by the government's wage guideline. The negotiations in the rubber industry have been similarly policed. And all indications are that whatever happens in wage negotiations for electrical and auto workers later this year will show the marks of Carter's guideline.

From the side of corporate management, the “voluntary” wage-price guidelines have been an effective government tool for keeping wages in check. That was the original purpose.

The effect of Carter's wage guideline was demonstrated at the beginning of the year in the wage negotiations for the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers. All the bold talk by Meany and other top union officials about the “unfair” effect of wage-price guidelines proved to be hardly more than a thin cover for accepting and complying with them.

### Grospiron

The conduct of OCAW President Alvin Grospiron was typical. He began a study of the guidelines shortly after they were announced last year, prior to the opening of formal negotiations with the oil industry. The study revealed, to the surprise of no one, that Carter's guidelines are not only unfair to workers, but ineffective in controlling inflation. It was discovered that “the necessities of life—food, housing, health care and energy—which comprise 70 percent of the average household budget, are



As the largest union in the country, Teamsters came up with a settlement, hailed as a guideline-buster by union P percent a year.

exempt from the Carter price guidelines. Imports, which represent another 5 percent of the wage earner's budget, also are exempt.”

What did Grospiron conclude? “The union was confronted with a double standard created by the government,” said OCAW's *Union News*, “a wage standard rigidly enforced against the workers and no price standard applicable to the oil companies.”

This did not deter Grospiron from meeting with Labor Department representatives and others in the Carter administration.

“We discussed the guidelines,” he said. “I thought it was more important for them to understand our program than it was for me to concentrate solely on President Carter's program because we had already studied it and felt we understood it.”

During the negotiations Grospiron demonstrated that he did indeed understand Carter's program. He said, “I'm keeping a low profile. I haven't tried to antagonize the government or the industry.”

Nonetheless, Grospiron tried to appear as though he were putting up a hard fight. He's been in the business long enough to know, as he said, that “a labor leader that just gives up will catch hell.”

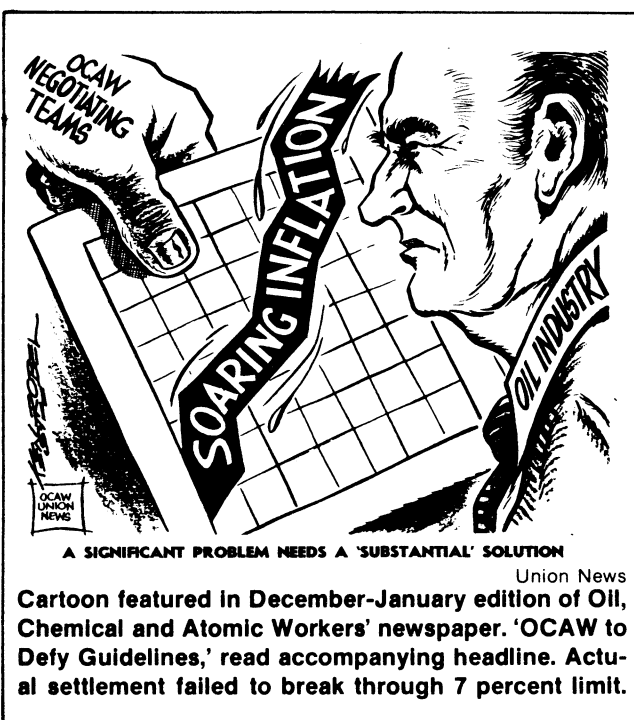
### OCAW settlement

OCAW's January 11 settlement, affecting 60,000 workers, strictly complied with Carter's guideline. The wage increase averages 8 percent this year, but in deference to the 7 percent guideline, only 5 percent next year. A 1980 reopener clause stipulates that any adjustment must meet federal guidelines then in effect.

Oil workers were not happy with the settlement but they were unprepared to reject it. It granted a seventy-three-cent across-the-board raise, retroactive to January 8, boosting the hourly wage from \$8.82 to \$9.55. This is above the wage standard in most other industries.

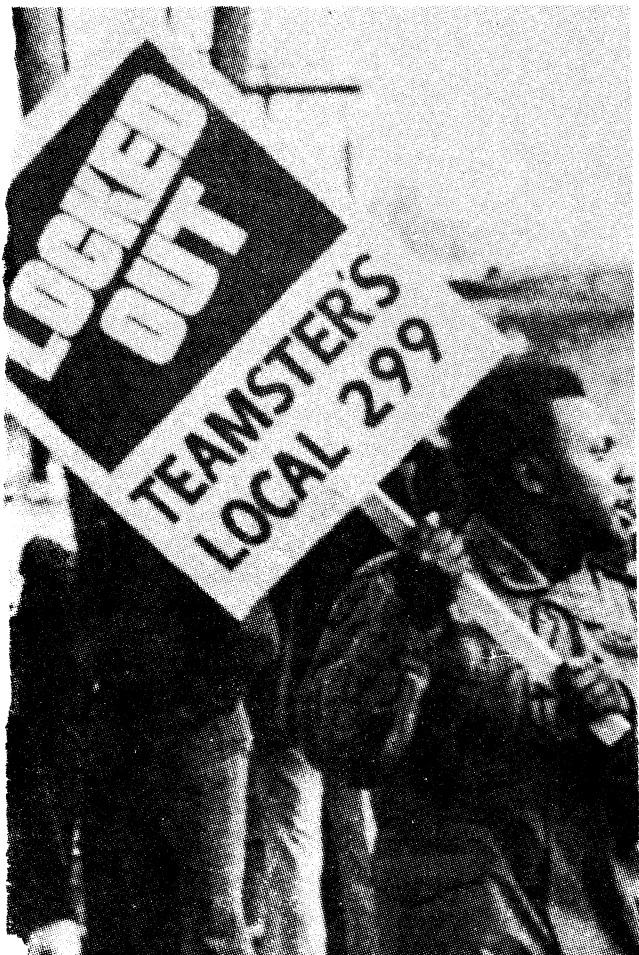
Wages of oil workers are meager when compared with company profits, however. Three months after the 7 percent wage increase was accepted Mobil Oil announced an 81 percent profit increase over 1978. Mobil's profits in the first three months of this year totaled \$437 million, up from \$241 million in the first quarter of 1978. Texaco showed a profit gain of 80.9 percent for the same period; Gulf Oil, up 60.6 percent; Standard of California, up 42.8 percent; and Exxon reported a gain of “only” 37.4 percent.

When these whopping profits were reported, gaso-





# round wage guideline



the heaviest pressure from the Carter administration. President Fitzsimmons, limited wage increases to just over 7

oil prices had already reached one dollar a gallon—up more than 25 percent from the first of the year when oil workers were given their 7 percent raise.

Carter turned every screw to check the wages of oil workers while at the same time sponsoring legislation to decontrol oil prices that will reap the bosses an estimated \$15 billion in additional windfall profits.

## Teamsters

Negotiations for the Teamsters Master Freight Agreement, covering 300,000 truck drivers and dock workers, were steered toward Carter's guidelines by a complex system of government pressures.

There was the Labor Department's and other government agencies' continued investigation of union officials for misuse of the Central States Pension Fund. During negotiations Teamster President Frank Fitzsimmons had good reason to remind himself that Carter holds the keys to a possible jail cell for him and his cohorts. So he bent over backwards not to offend the administration's "labor conciliators," keeping a low profile like OCAW President Gropiron.

Early in the negotiations Alfred Kahn publicly warned Fitzsimmons to keep union demands within the 7 percent figure. The Interstate Commerce Commission threatened to deregulate freight rates in the trucking industry if wage demands were "unreasonable." The operators were also notified that the ICC would not allow a "passthrough" raise in freight rates to cover new labor costs.

Fitzsimmons responded to these pressures as expected. Early in February, almost two months before the March 31 expiration of the Teamsters' contract, he sent a letter to the House Ways and Means Committee endorsing in principle Carter's wage-control legislation. He said, "We feel that President Carter's innovative proposal for real wage insurance deserves support from Congress." Fitzsimmons cautiously added that he thought the 7 percent guideline "too restrictive."

## Strike

As the March 31 MFA deadline approached, Fitzsimmons and the operators had agreed upon a "package settlement," which included a government-approved wage hike, changes in work rules to increase productivity, and assurance that

the ICC would raise freight rates. The remaining obstacle was the union demand for a twice-yearly cost-of-living adjustment. The old contract called for an annual adjustment.

Carter's refusal to budge on cost of living collided with the rising discontent of union ranks. To save face, Fitzsimmons was forced to strike 73 of the major freight carriers. The employers' bargaining association countered with an industry-wide lockout by 500 companies.

The ten-day strike/lockout ended with all sides in agreement—except a large segment of the union membership rightfully suspicious about hidden clauses in the new contract.

To secure ratification, Fitzsimmons claimed he had negotiated an average 10 percent annual increase—a guideline buster. But Alfred Kahn came closer to the truth when he declared the Teamsters' settlement fell within the "original" guideline conception, always containing sufficient loopholes to allow union officials the "flexibility" needed. While pension benefit increases were "exempted" and cost of living will be computed semiannually, the actual wage package amounts to only 24 percent over three years. Tolerable to Carter—but far short of what Teamsters needed.

## Steelhaulers

Some 10,000 steelhaulers refused to accept the new Master Freight Agreement and continued their strike for two weeks after the April 11 settlement. The strikers demanded better wages, back sick pay, higher rates for Teamster owner-operators, and the right to vote on the "supplemental" contract provisions that apply specifically to steelhaulers.

This strike, which began as a "wildcat," won official sanction from the union and wrested further concessions from the steel industry. The steelhaulers demonstrated the fighting mood of all truck drivers—a mood that accounts for initial concessions made during negotiations.

The steelhaulers failed to win a separate vote on their supplemental agreement. Fitzsimmons argued, "If the steelhaulers get to vote on their supplemental, everybody will want to vote on their supplemental." Most workers under the national freight agreement are also covered by "riders" that pertain to various regions of the country and to the peculiarities of the trucking industry.

On May 1 the contract covering 80,000 Teamsters employed by United Parcel Service (UPS) expired, and on June 1 the contract covering 20,000 car haulers expires. These are separate contracts yet to be renewed.

New wages and working conditions are expected by the workers in these jobs to follow the pattern of the National Freight Agreement, but Carter's wage watchers are examining each contract separately with an eye to limiting it as much as possible.

(next: rubber & electrical contracts)



AFL-CIO head George Meany denounced Carter's guidelines as 'sham.' But he and other union officials have refused to lead fight against them.

## ...gas crisis

Continued from page 4

cle, asking readers what they would do if they had power for a day, one wrote they would call a mass meeting in Golden Gate Park to decide what to do about the gas shortage.

\* \* \*

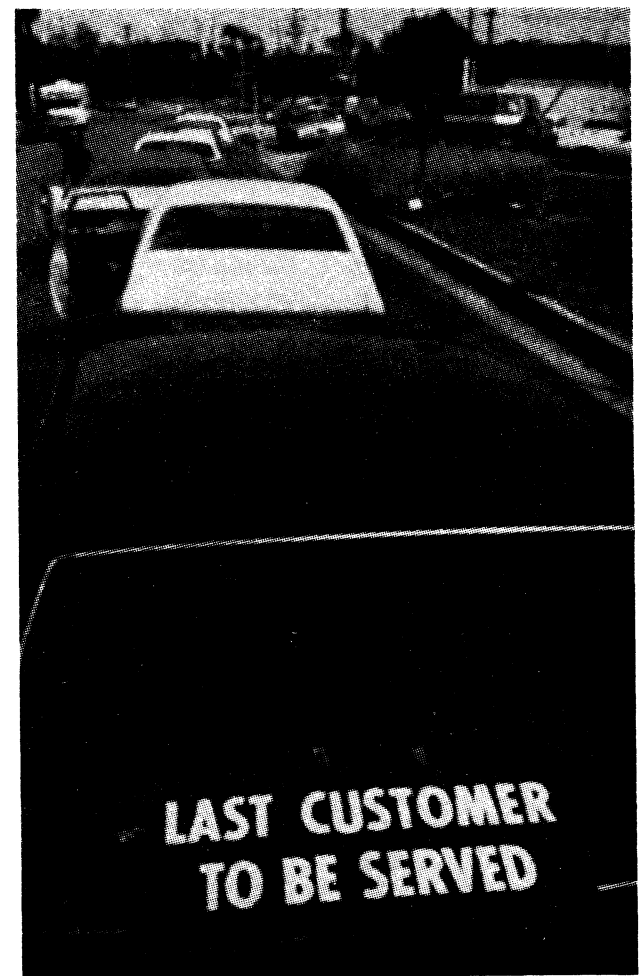
In San Francisco, several older workers and a young train clerk recently had a discussion during the midnight shift on the Southern Pacific Railroad. The yardmaster came in on this particular night cursing because he was an hour late. "This is a phony crisis," he said. "There's plenty of oil."

One engineer responded, "We should begin by nationalizing the oil companies." He was so angry that he declared there should be a civil war in the United States to get rid of the oil barons.

The railroad clerk suggested that the best thing to do would be to give the oil barons a job on the railroad.

To this the yardmaster replied, "No, we don't want that kind of people on the railroad. Put them somewhere else."

The yardmaster was also angry at Carter and the government. "It doesn't matter who's in power. They all represent the oil companies. Carter's windfall tax is a joke."



## Farmers face shortages

Oil companies claim that current gasoline supplies are about 3 percent below last year's levels. Why is it, then, that they are cutting back deliveries to service stations by as much as 20 percent?

The answer the companies give is that it is necessary to give preference to fire and sanitation departments and other gas users performing essential services.

Farmers are supposed to be included in this essential category. They need fuel to run their tractors, irrigation pumps, and other equipment. But many of them aren't getting it.

"Spot shortages of fuel have been widely reported," according to an article by Meg Cox in the May 14 *Wall Street Journal*. "The more serious shortages appear to be centered in Iowa, Nebraska, Kansas and Missouri."

One Kansas City, Missouri, cooperative, composed of several thousand small-farmer cooperatives, will get only 80 percent of the fuel it says it needs for spring planting.

"We can't get fuel. It's critical," says one Nebraska farmer, who worries that even if he gets his crop into the ground, he may not be able to get enough fuel to run his irrigation system over the summer.



## Transcripts of secret meeting

# How nuclear agency hid truth on Harrisburg

By Arnold Weissberg

With the Three Mile Island nuclear power plant out of control, the federal Nuclear Regulatory Commission began secret meetings to deal with the crisis.

The transcripts of these meetings have been made public. They reveal that the NRC was concerned with the government's image and that of the nuclear power industry—not with the safety of the people in the Harrisburg area.

Instead of telling the truth—that the reactor was out of control and that a disastrous meltdown was a real possibility—the commission sought to soothe the public and minimize the danger.

This public-relations job revealed itself most sharply on Friday, March 29, when the NRC put out its first press release after the beginning of the Three Mile Island accident.

Excerpts from the transcript, which was released by the NRC, are printed below.

Hendrie, Kennedy, and Ahearne are NRC commissioners.

*Hendrie (reading).* OK, we start out and say the Chairman of the NRC said this afternoon that contrary to some media reports there's no imminent danger of a core meltdown of the Three Mile Island nuclear plant, period.

*Kennedy.* Splendid.

*Hendrie.* Then we go here. There have been intermittent . . . We end up, the reactor is being maintained—all the way down to reactor's being maintained in a stable condition.

*Kennedy.* Then you can add that [ . . . ] additional staff from the Commission and additional numbers of the Commission staff—technical experts. Additional technical experts from the Commission staff.

*Hendrie.* The staff were flown to the site and reached the site early this afternoon.

*Kennedy.* They went through White House auspices, at the direction of the President. They have been provided with all granted communications, and are working closely with the utility personnel, experts from other Federal agencies and the State of Pennsylvania.

*Hendrie.* Anybody.

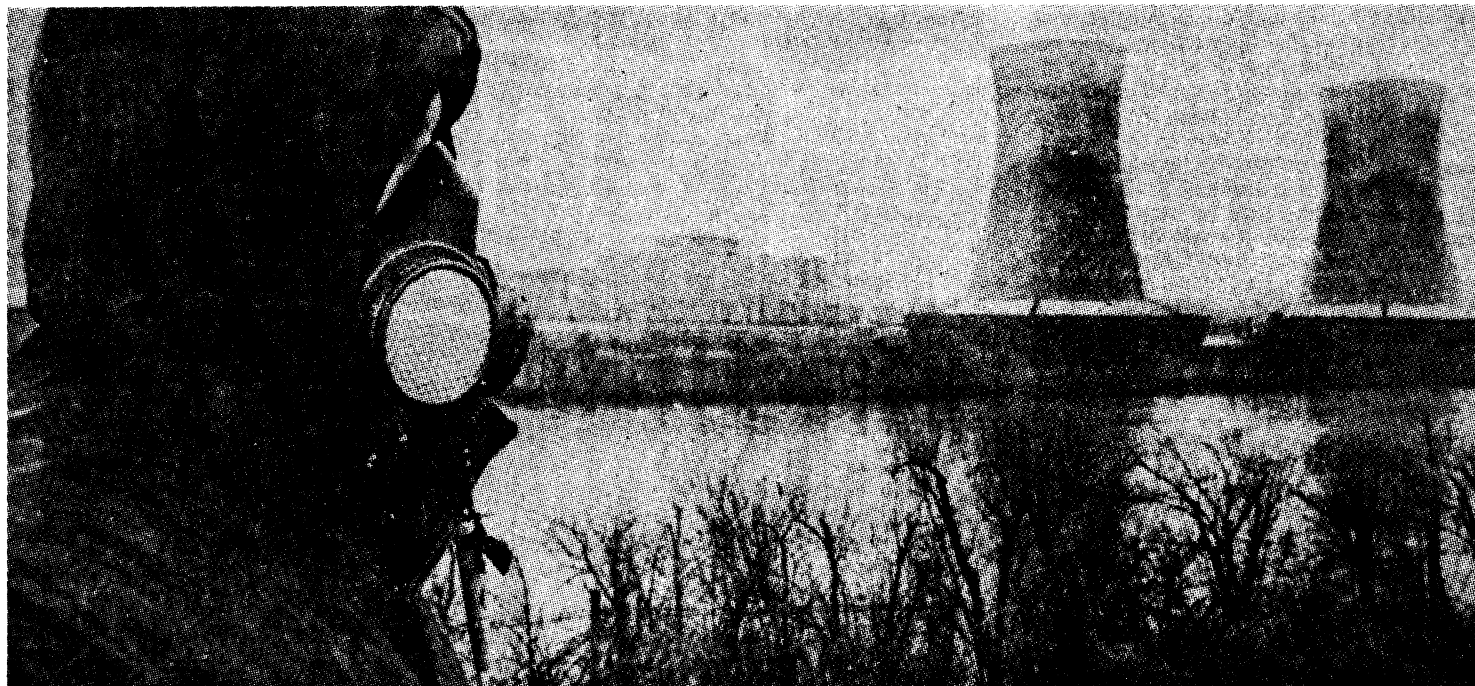
*Ahearne.* Thornburgh [governor of Pennsylvania].

*Ahearne.* I guess what you're saying is that you want to be very positive to Congress mainly because . . .

*Hendrie.* Yes.

*Ahearne.* Clearly the fuel rods are in a situation.

*Kennedy.* It says that. It says that there's evidence of severe damage to nuclear fuel. Possibility exists of interrupting coolant flow within the reactor



With Three Mile Island looming in background, man wears protective breathing device. Nuclear Regulatory Commission sought to cover up seriousness of accident.

etc.<sup>1</sup> Several options can be considered, in the meantime a state of . . .

*Ahearne.* The whole flavor is very optimistic and I . . .

*Kennedy.* [ . . . ] The focus, I think, has to be reassuring—reassure people that at least we're working hard on it.

\* \* \*

*Hendrie.* I wonder if after the things I've read here, we shouldn't start the press release with efforts to reduce the temperature and get that message in, and then put that there have been intermittent releases<sup>2</sup> as a final paragraph. Because it kind of deals with the fundamental problem that this thing is talking about first.

*Kennedy.* Which gets back to your opening sentence—Is a few milliroentgen per [hour]<sup>3</sup> the right way to phrase that? What's that, four, five?

*Hendrie.* I think it's off-site level—a few.

*Kennedy.* I'm worried about few.

*Ahearne.* On the east bank of the river they got to twenty.

1. "Severe damage to nuclear fuel" and "possibility of interrupting coolant flow" are polite ways of saying "core meltdown." If a full-fledged core meltdown had occurred, tens of thousands of people would have died as a result. Even in their private meetings, the commissioners didn't want to call things by their right names.

2. Of radiation.

3. A measure of radiation. A roentgen is the equivalent of a rem. A milliroentgen is one thousandth of a rem. Federal standards are supposed to limit the average human exposure to 170 millirems a year.

*Kennedy.* Well, your off-site readings were ranging anywhere between one and twenty. Is that characterized by a few OK?

*Hendrie.* The last report quoted one to twenty around the, sort of around the perimeter of the Island.

*Kennedy.* That's right.

*Hendrie.* I think it's likely to be as accurate as a . . . Shall I call it out?

*Ahearne.* . . . I'd just drop off-site level. It's been as high as twenty-five mr.

*Hendrie.* OK, all right.

*Ahearne.* Let me make one last plea—down here where you finished releasing, you go on to say several options. I think it would be technically a lot better if you said . . . something about there's a possibility<sup>4</sup> . . . it's small, but, it could lead to serious problems.

*Kennedy.* Well, you've got to remember that's the only thing out of the press release they will then take out.<sup>5</sup>

*Ahearne.* Well, Dick, we've been sitting here for the longest time telling them everything's fine. It's a real struggle, with what to do. There's none of that flavor here. And I realize you're counterbalancing.

*Kennedy.* Well, I understand what you're saying. I'm worried about the effect that you're going to get. It's going to be hyped by a factor of a hundred. The question is how to phrase it so that it might get that kind of treatment. You could put a little

4. Presumably of a meltdown.

5. Kennedy here expresses his fear that should the release admit the possibility of a meltdown, the press would report that and nothing else.

sentence in right there after expand to say were this—in the unlikely event that this occurred, increased temperatures would result and possibly further fuel damage. OK? Then say several options are reasonably considered. OK?

*Ahearne.* That's the type of core melt distraction.

*Kennedy.* Yes, I think—that doesn't trouble me if you could get enough of the qualifiers in to get it back to where it was in the opening sentence.

[At this point, Hendrie took a phone call from an NRC staff member at Three Mile Island.]

*Hendrie.* [ . . . ] By the way, we just got an update. The last round of readings off-site are down to the one or two millirem range [ . . . ] I think we can put that sentence back in.

*Kennedy.* We put that sentence back in a few minutes ago. I think it's a fine press release. I think that sentence does give the right sense of actual facts but not with any alarming. . . .

\* \* \*

[After more discussion, Hendrie reads the draft of the press release.]

*Hendrie.* [ . . . ] Then we go back to the top for the last paragraph: "There have been intermittent"—delete uncontrolled—"releases of radioactivity into the atmosphere from the primary coolant," etc., on through—make the last sentence read "Off-site levels are a few millirem per hour." [ . . . ]

[Hendrie then called the White House and read the press statement to Carter aide Jody Powell who approved it, and it was released.]

## 4,000 say no to Calif. nuclear weapons lab

By Philippe DesLilas

LIVERMORE, Calif.—About 4,000 people braved cold rain and the gasoline shortage May 5 to demonstrate here for ending all nuclear weapons research at the Lawrence Livermore Laboratory. The protest called also for an end to nuclear weapons work at Lawrence Livermore's sister facility in New Mexico and for converting the two facilities to socially constructive uses.

The two labs, which employ 14,000 people, have conceived, developed, and tested every single nuclear weapon in the U.S. arsenal, from the Hiroshima and Nagasaki bombs to the latest neutron warheads. The labs are owned and funded by the Department of Energy at the rate of \$600 million a year. The University of California

(UC) manages the labs for the government. Demonstrators demanded that UC sever its ties with the labs.

Charles Schwartz, a physics professor at UC Berkeley and ten-year veteran of the struggle against the labs, spoke for many when he said that "pursuing the nuclear arms race is not in the interests of anyone in this country except the labs' management and the corporate interests it serves." He called for providing workers at the labs with jobs "that can serve society and not destroy it."

Andrew Baldwin of Friends of the Earth alerted the crowd to the earthquake hazards at the Livermore Lab. "Five hundred pounds of plutonium is sitting on top of an earthquake fault, and that is enough to mortgage the health and safety of the Bay Area

forever," he said.

Pat Broudy, widow of a GI who developed cancer after being forced to witness atom bomb tests, described her recent trip to Japan. "Thirty-four years after Hiroshima and Nagasaki, hospitals in these cities are still full of 'hibakusha'—Japanese for victims of atom bombs—that is, microcephalics, people with abnormally small heads."

Bill Wahpepah, from the American Indian Movement urged antinuclear activists to join the fight against uranium mining in the Black Hills of South Dakota and in New Mexico.

The last speaker of the day, Daniel Ellsberg, denounced the labs as "a factory of Auschwitzes." Ellsberg said that "every U.S. president since Truman has either used or threatened the use of nuclear weapons, from Dien

Bien Phu to the Cuban missile crisis, for the purpose of backing up threats."

Also speaking was Andrew Haines, who described the fight of British aerospace workers in the military industry for socially useful jobs as an alternative to layoffs.

The celebrated poet Lawrence Ferlinghetti, feminist singer/songwriter Holly Near, and others provided their talents in songs, skits, and readings.

More than 100 copies of the *Militant* were sold.

Sponsored by the UC Nuclear Weapons Conversion Project, a statewide coalition, the rally was the culmination of months of antinuclear organizing in the Livermore area. It was followed by a day of workshops, strategy sessions, and films at the UC Berkeley campus.

## S. African activist discusses

# Socialism & the fight for Black liberation

The following is an interview with Siphso Buthelezi, a leader of the Black Consciousness movement, the most influential Black nationalist current within South Africa. He was the first secretary-general of the Black People's Convention, which was banned along with most other Black Consciousness organizations in October 1977.

Buthelezi now lives in exile. He has edited 'The Black Peoples' Convention (BPC)—South Africa: Historical Background and Basic Documents' (New York: Black Liberation Press, n.d.). The interview was obtained in Britain in early 1979 by John Blair.

*Question. First, can you tell us something about your own political history?*

*Answer.* I first became active in the SASO [South African Students Organisation] when it was formed in 1968. I was its main convenor at the University of Zululand. Later, in 1972, I became involved in the BPC [Black People's Convention]. First I was chairman of the Zululand Branch, and then at the [full] BPC convention in Hammanskraal in December 1972 I was appointed as the first secretary-general. After being imprisoned and banned I left the country in 1974 and became the BPC's first external representative, residing in Botswana. At the moment I am still in the leadership of the BPC externally.

*Q. What were SASO's main political positions?*

*A.* When SASO was first formed it had no very clear political ideology. It was only later, in the early 1970s, that the idea of Black Consciousness as a mobilizing agent amongst the Black oppressed began to appear. At first SASO was limited to the Black campuses. But this was felt to be limiting since it was realized that a student group could not articulately express the aspirations of the mass of the oppressed.

### Formation of BPC

Hence the formation of the Black People's Convention in December 1971 with the aim of filling the political vacuum that had prevailed during the 1960s. It is not however correct to say that the BPC was formed by SASO alone. It was a coalition of many social forces. At the first conference that was held, in Bloemfontein in April 1971, organizations involved included the Association for the Educational and Cultural Advancement of the African People of South Africa, the Independent Churches Association, the Interdenominational African Ministers' Association, the Young Mens' Christian Association, SASO, and many other smaller organizations. From this you can see that it was really a coalition of many social forces in the Black community.

*Q. What sort of political program came out of this founding convention?*

*A.* The first conference did not really talk about the BPC as such. There was simply a feeling that there was a vacuum in the community and that there needed to be a coalition movement that would coordinate all sorts of activities that were going on; political, cultural, and social. But this first conference decided that a further, larger one had to be called, involving more



*'We see an independent working-class organization as vital. . . . We recognize that we need to ensure, if we're to establish a socialist society, that the Black working class is the leading force.'*

organizations, with the aim of forming an effective coordinating body. This was called in August 1971 at Pietermaritzburg but broke down in disagreement about what kind of body was needed.

Ultimately in December 1971 a fresh conference took place where the BPC was formed as a political organization. At first people had visualized a mere umbrella body which would be mainly cultural in function. The idea that eventually emerged however was the formation of a political movement, and the BPC was founded.

Its main aim was to solidify and unite all the oppressed people in the struggle for their "physical and psychological liberation," as it was put at the time. At this time great stress was laid on the need to supersede the multiracial liberal establishment that, with the suppression of the traditional organizations, appeared to have become the main spokesperson for the oppressed. There was also strong emphasis on the need to counter the Bantustan program which was then escalating rapidly.

*Q. What were the main elements of the program finally thrashed out in December 1972?*

*A.* The first important thing was to mobilize the oppressed masses. Amongst these the working class, which was seen as the vanguard force of the potential struggle for national liberation, was prime. Hence various workers programs were developed.

For instance, the Black Workers Project employed experienced trade unionists to organize amongst the working class. This program was funded and assisted by both SASO and the Black Community Programmes.

The methods that were used then were not of course always necessarily effective. But what is important politically is that it was being realized that it is only the working class that can lead the struggle to its successful conclusion.

It's true that the program of BPC was not as explicitly socialist in content as that of the ANC in its 1955 Freedom Charter. The most important thing, however, is to appreciate the different conditions under which the respective programs came about. Now there was brutal repression, and there had been this long period of vacuum. In addition, as I already indicated, the BPC was formed as a coalition of many varied organizations so that to come out with a clear program at that stage was not very possible. What was most important was to reestablish the main political principles that had been forgotten in the previous period.

### Political currents

*Q. What are the main political currents now developing in the Black Consciousness movement?*

*A.* Basically there are two strong currents. One stream of petty-bourgeois nationalism and another very strong section which is Marxist-Leninist in orientation. At this point there is no organized division between these two tendencies, especially inside the country where political debate is restrained by legislation and repression. But it is possible to see the clear emergence of such differences.

*Q. What kinds of things are the two tendencies debating?*

*A.* For Marxist-Leninists the most important thing is the formation of an independent working-class organiza-

tion. This is a vital issue for the general development of the struggle. It comes about from a realization that in the whole long history of the national liberation movements in South Africa, workers have always been left out in all the struggles that have been going on. When they have participated they have merely done so as spectators. They've not had a leadership of their own; they've not had a revolutionary ideology of their own. To Marxist-Leninists within the movement this is vital. Of course there have been many problems, not only in the Black Consciousness movement but also in the ANC and the PAC, which have always been led by a petty-bourgeois leadership that follows opportunism, personalism, and, at times, even tribalism.

*Q. Does this mean Marxist-Leninists inside the movement differ with those who see the Black population as a single group capable of uniting as one to overthrow apartheid?*

*A.* We see an independent working-class organization as vital and as acting as the vanguard force in the struggle for national liberation. We appreciate that there should be a united front of all the "patriotic" forces in the country, but we recognize that we need to ensure, if we're to establish a socialist society, that the Black working class is the leading force.

*Q. Does the South African Communist Party (SACP) not say the same thing?*

*A.* The main difference that we have with the SACP is that they maintain the two-stage theory of the struggle. That is to say that they state that the present fight is for a "national demo-

*Continued on page 17*



## Kremlin cracks down on Marxist dissidents

By Marilyn Vogt

The Stalinist regime in the USSR pretends that the persistent demands of the Soviet people for democratic rights are the work of imperialist agents. The big-business media are only too happy to join in the claim that the struggle for democratic rights in the USSR is essentially a procapitalist movement. The result is a conspiracy of silence against left-wing trends within the dissident movement.

An example is the failure of the capitalist media to report a demonstration by 200 young people in Leningrad on December 5, 1978. The demonstrators, primarily students from Leningrad universities, were protesting the arrest of four members of a group calling themselves the Revolutionary Communist Youth League (RCYL).

According to a report in the March-April issue of *Labour Focus on Eastern Europe*, the RCYL first came to public attention in October 1978 when the KGB, the Kremlin's secret police, began interrogating members of the group.

On October 14, three RCYL members were arrested: Aleksandr Skobov from Leningrad, Andrei

Besov from Moscow, and Viktor Pavlenkov from Gorky.

Skobov, a student, had been a leader of the "Leningrad Commune," where for a year and a half young people from Leningrad, Moscow, the Baltic Republics, and the Byelorussian and Moldavian Republics had gathered for political, philosophical, and cultural discussions.

A fourth member of the RCYL, Arkady Tsurkov, was arrested October 31.

The RCYL seems to have included both Marxists and anarchists. It evidently put out three issues of an uncensored journal, *Perspectivy*. One issue contained articles for and against the Kronstadt uprising in 1921.

Left-wing opposition to Stalinism has led to the formation of numerous groupings of students and workers since the late 1940s. News of the existence of these groups has tended to emerge, as in the case of the RCYL, only after the group members have been arrested.

The bureaucratic caste in the Kremlin deals harshly with the youth who seek to reconstruct and discuss the true history of the October revolution of 1917 and of the postrevolutionary years. This his-

tory has been hidden and falsified since Stalin's time, and his successors still view it as a threat to their rule.

Since Besov's arrest, he has been forcibly confined in the Kashchenko Psychiatric Hospital.

Skobov and Tsurkov have been charged under the notorious Article 70 of the Russian Criminal Code—"anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda"—for distributing *Perspectivy* and other uncensored literature and for attempting to organize an "All-Union Conference of Left-Wing Groups." The RCYL seems to have had close contacts with student groups in Moscow and other Soviet republics.

Article 70, which the Kremlin often uses against activists in the civil rights movements, carries a maximum sentence of seven years' imprisonment followed by five years' internal exile.

Other RCYL members have been threatened with expulsion from the university or warned that they should apply to emigrate.

Among the demands raised by the placards and leaflets at the December 5 demonstration was that the arrested RCYL members be given an open trial. Twenty demonstrators were arrested, although all were later released.

## Crimean Tatar leader Dzhemilev exiled

By Marilyn Vogt

Mustafa Dzhemilev, a leader of the struggle by the Crimean Tatar people in the Soviet Union to return to their homeland, was sentenced March 6 by the Soviet courts to four years' internal exile. He had been charged with "violating rules of administrative surveillance."

Two hundred thousand Crimean Tatars were forcibly deported from their homeland in Crimea to Central Asia by Stalin in 1944. The entire Crimean Tatar people was falsely accused of collaborating with the Nazis. In 1946, Stalin abolished the Crimean Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic.

Although the deportations were acknowledged by Stalin's successors to have been a crime, the Crimean Tatars are still denied the right to return to Crimea.

Dzhemilev has received four previous prison terms for championing the rights of his people. His arrest came after more than a year of persistent police harassment.

He had been released from prison camp in December 1977 after serving his last term. Throughout 1978, however, the security police imposed special restrictions on Dzhemilev. He was under constant surveillance, he could not travel or live where he chose—authorities denied his request to live with his aged parents in Crimea—and he had to report to the police three times a month.

When Dzhemilev protested these unconstitutional measures, a security chief in Tashkent told him, "There is no need to talk about laws to me. I have bosses—they decide. I have nothing to do with it."

The February 8 *New York Times* reported that Dzhemilev had renounced his Soviet citizenship and asked to emigrate to the United States. On February 8 he was arrested.

Following his arrest, Dzhemilev began a hunger strike. According to latest reports, he is continuing the strike.

A previous hunger strike, and the harsh conditions of his imprisonment, have seriously undermined Dzhemilev's health. According to the March 8 *Le Monde*, he was so weak that he was brought to his sentencing on a stretcher.

But despite his weak health Dzhemilev would not bend to the authorities. He refused to be present for the farcical courtroom proceedings—where there was no defense attorney or witnesses. It was not really a trial at all, just an occasion to impose another



Demonstration by Crimean Tatars demanding right to return to their homeland.

sentence on a fighter for the rights of an oppressed people.

Over the past year the bureaucratic caste in the Kremlin has brutally deported dozens of Crimean Tatar families who had gone to live in Crimea despite official prohibition. In June 1978 Musa Mamut committed suicide to protest police measures to deport him and his family.

Exiled dissident Aishe Seitmuratova reports that another longtime activist in the fight for Crimean Tatar rights,

Dzhemilev's cousin Reshat, was arrested in early April.

Seitmuratova says she has also learned that a Crimean regional court recently ruled that Mustafa's parents and his sister Dilyara and her family must be deported from their home in Crimea. To protest this ruling, Dilyara went on a hunger strike March 11-13.

Other Crimean Tatars have been arrested for resisting attempts to deport them. In early April, four Crimean Tatars, all fifty years or older, were

each sentenced to three to four years at hard labor for trying to help a family resist deportation.

The Crimean Tatar people are demanding the right to return to their homeland. They are also demanding the reestablishment of the Crimean Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic.

As they have explained many times, their demands are not "anti-Soviet" as the Stalinists claim, but *pro-Soviet*. They are defending one of the gains of the Russian revolution.

The shameful persecution of the Crimean Tatar people by the Stalinist bureaucracy has more in common with the tsarist regime than the revolutionary government of Lenin and Trotsky.

Russification—the forcible assimilation of national minorities by the Great Russian state—was the basis of the tsarist nationalities policy.

This reactionary policy was reversed by the Bolsheviks, who established the Crimean Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic in 1921.

The Bolshevik leaders intended that the Soviet Union serve as an example and inspiration to nationally oppressed workers and peasants the world over.

The revival of Great Russian chauvinism under Stalin and his successors is one more example of the counterrevolutionary and anti-working-class character of the bureaucratic rulers in the Kremlin.

## Fight for Socialist Democracy



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# Colombians protest high prices, repression

By Miguel Fuentes

BOGOTÁ—Workers, peasants, slum dwellers, students, and women poured into the streets of Colombia's major cities on May 1 to protest government torture and repression and the skyrocketing cost of living.

Solidarity with the striking steel and iron-ore workers of Paz del Rio was also a central theme of the demonstrations.

Despite a massive military and police presence—including tanks, riot vehicles, jeeps mounted with machine guns, and troops armed with automatic weapons—more than 40,000 persons joined the May Day demonstration and rally in Bogotá sponsored by the National Trade-Union Council (CNS). The CNS had called for a "united May 1," and united it was. Almost every union in the country was represented, along with peasant organizations, women's groups, and professional organizations.

For more than three hours the various contingents marched from the Plaza de Toros to the Plaza Bolívar in front of the capitol building. Among the marchers were contingents from the Revolutionary Socialist Party and the Socialist Workers Party, Colombian sympathizing organizations of the Fourth International. Nearly 1,000 persons marched under the Trotskyists' banners.

Despite the provocative show of military force, no incidents occurred at the

rally site. Representatives of Colombia's four main union federations addressed the demonstrators.

The turnout in Bogotá was clearly larger than that for May Day here a year ago. Reports indicate heavier participation as well in other major cities such as Cali, Medellín, and Sogamoso. This reflects the growing militancy of the working class in face of the government's austerity program and repression aimed increasingly at the labor movement.

Colombia's trade unions are divided among four main federations, each under a leadership with a different political orientation. But pressure from the ranks has forced the bureaucracies to form a coordinating body, the CNS. This unity is fragile, however, as both the bureaucrats and the government maneuver to prevent the formation of a single, united labor federation.

President Julio César Turbay Ayala laid out his government's policy toward the labor movement in a speech printed in the country's main dailies on May 1. After declaring Colombia one of the most advanced countries in the world with regard to labor law, Turbay got to the point:

In its actions, the working class has achieved great maturity, and only in a small number of cases can political ends be attributed to the labor leadership. Experience has shown the organized workers that within the framework of the law they can gain national sympathy for their de-

mands. However, fighting in a sterile fashion against our juridical order diminishes their position and does damage to the very interests they seek to serve.

Turbay was referring to the labor movement's recent involvement in the struggle for democratic rights. At the National Forum for Defense of Human Rights<sup>2</sup> held here March 30-April 1, the unions joined in condemning government torture, military trials, censorship, arbitrary detention of labor and political leaders, and other violations of human rights.

There are some indications that the regime's pressure is having an impact. At the May Day rally, the main banner hanging from the capitol said "Against high prices, for wage increases." Missing was any slogan concerning human and democratic rights. Such slogans had been prominent in the propaganda leading up to the day's protests, and most contingents carried large banners and placards demanding a halt to the torture and repression. So it can hardly be an accident that the theme was missing from the principal banner.

The most important labor struggle today is that of the 7,500 striking steel and iron-ore workers at the Siderúrgica Nacional (national steel mill) of Paz del Rio. The once-nationalized, now private, company was struck on April 6 for the first time in its thirty-year history. For the last month not a single sheet of steel has left the mills, nor has

an ounce of iron ore been mined. Much of Colombia's metalworking industry, employing some 300,000 workers, has already been affected.

The Paz del Rio union is demanding a 50 percent pay hike to make up for inflation—nearly three times the government's wage ceiling of 18 percent. The company has offered 28 percent, but this has been rejected by the strikers. Wide recognition of the strike's importance has brought many demonstrations of labor solidarity—resolutions, money and food donations, and delegations of unionists to help staff the picket lines.

The government also faces an impending strike by the workers of ECOPEPETROL, the state oil industry. The 7,500 oil workers are organized in the Unión Sindical Obrera (USO—General Workers Union), historically a militant union. The USO can virtually paralyze the Colombian economy if it shuts down the oil center of Bucaramanga. The regime has already militarized that city in an attempt to intimidate the workers, and in the past it has not hesitated to massacre oil strikers.

The central issue in the ECOPEPETROL negotiations is the USO's demand for the rehiring of 217 workers fired during a 1977 strike. Neither the union nor the company has shown any sign of backing down on this.

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

## ...S. Africa

Continued from page 15

cratic" state and only after this has been achieved will the way be open for the struggle for socialism.

As far as we are concerned, South Africa being a highly industrialized society, there is no real reason why there should be two such stages in the struggle for socialism. Certain sections within the Unity Movement for instance also agree with this sort of line. We believe that while the struggle is one for national liberation it also has to be raised at the level of class struggle. We don't think that we should first simply achieve national independence and then after that struggle for socialism. We believe we shall have the combination of the two stages into one.

*Q. Do these differences within the movement reflect class divisions within the Black community?*

A. Yes, they really do. As I've indicated, we have a petty-bourgeois leadership that has always led the movement from 1912 until now. Recently there has developed a very strong feeling that the petty bourgeoisie has really led the movement into disarray, into the present stalemate that we are all facing.

### Working-class organization

The Marxist-Leninists in the Black Consciousness movement have realized that this central problem can only be resolved through the formation of an independent working-class organization with its own structures and its own revolutionary theory. In any case the present "revolutionary theory" that has evolved over the last fifty years is quite unacceptable; it is regarded by most of us as pure formalism. It does not answer the aspirations of the oppressed people, that is the Black working class and other working people.

*Q. Do you think that elements of all the existing movements will be involved in this new development of a*



Black consciousness movement inspired youth in 1976 uprising.

*working-class organization devoted to leading the socialist revolution in South Africa?*

A. Our major aim within the BPC was to unite all patriotic forces within our country in the struggle for national liberation. In other words we recognized the existence of the ANC, the PAC, and the Unity Movement as contributory organizations in the struggle. But we feel that all these organizations, including the BPC, are really petty-bourgeois nationalist groups that do not actually express the aspirations of the working class, which is the majority of the South African population. In all the struggles they put themselves to the forefront.

A clear example is provided by the BAWU [Black Allied Workers' Union], itself part of the Black Consciousness movement. It was formed as a political trade-union movement, but it was still largely dominated by the petty bourgeoisie. This has stifled the formation of an independent working-class leadership, which would in our opinion be an essential step.

We see the role of the ANC, the PAC, the Unity Movement, and the BPC as independent nationalist organizations

within a national united front led specifically by a working-class leadership.

*Q. Are you optimistic that a genuine united front of all organizations of the oppressed can be built?*

A. Here we need to distinguish between the situation in exile and that inside the country. It is true that sectarianism and even factionalism tends to be widespread in the former. Everybody is anxious to defend the name and the position of their own organization, especially because their own livelihood can sometimes depend on continued receipt of outside aid.

Inside the country however people have no time for the old splits which they see as based around cliques rather than political principles. In my opinion, this pressure from the "home base" will mean that in the future leaderships will be forced to accept the united front or they will be pushed aside by their own supporters.

### Leadership

*Q. How do you envisage the creation of an independent working-class leadership?*

A. We think this has to be built step by step through involvement in the day-to-day activity of the Black working class. At this stage it would be quite wrong for a small group of us, without any serious base inside the class, to proclaim ourselves the leadership. It is only after serious work with the class in its struggles that we shall see the emergence of a genuine proletarian party. The party must be built in this way and not by simply announcing it.

*Q. How optimistic are you about the future of the South African revolution?*

A. We have to understand that the racial oppression of every Black in South Africa means that there is a massive potential unified bloc against the regime. Only a tiny, numerically insignificant, minority of Bantustan leaders, Indian big merchants, etc., have been bought off into collaboration by the government.

Secondly, I am certain that the 1973 strike wave marked a real leap forward in the consciousness of the Black working class, the leadership of the revolution. Although there have not been any such massive waves of action since then, the organization and consciousness of the class remains at the much higher level it then achieved.

Thirdly, I believe that the present economic recession poses the ruling class with insurmountable problems that cannot be effectively solved within the framework of the present system. In particular there is the objective need for it to attack the extraordinarily privileged position of the white working class. Since this is however the National Party's base, it will be very difficult for them to tackle this problem.

For all these reasons I am very optimistic that we may enjoy much more rapid change in South Africa than might be envisaged if you only look at the obvious power of the state's repressive machinery. Even the CIA didn't predict what's happening in Iran. Hopefully we are involved in a similar situation.

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

## Brazil: largest May Day protests since 1964

By Fred Murphy

"It was the biggest May 1 rally since the dictatorship has been in existence," the São Paulo fortnightly *O Trabalho* reported in its May 3-15 issue. "Two hundred thousand persons in the Vila Euclides municipal stadium in São Bernardo. Hundreds of banners with the most varied slogans; delegations arriving in chartered buses from many cities; workers, teachers, public employees—such was the panorama of one of the biggest united demonstrations of Brazilian workers, held in the midst of one of the most intense strike waves the country has ever seen."

The rally in São Bernardo do Campo—one of the three big industrial suburbs southeast of São Paulo known collectively as ABC—was organized by a coalition of some fifty trade unions.

While the rally was taking place, strikes were under way involving 11,000 teachers in Brasília; 200,000 public employees and teachers in São Paulo state; 11,000 students and teachers at Catholic University in Salvador; and most students at the University of São Paulo.

During the weeks before May Day, 18,000 shipyard workers had struck for fourteen days in Niterói and teachers throughout the state of Rio Grande do Sul had stopped work for twelve days. Five thousand bus drivers in the city and suburbs of São Paulo went on strike on May 3, and teachers in Rio de Janeiro and Belo Horizonte were preparing to do the same.

All these strikes have centered around demands for wage increases of about 70%, challenging the 45.4% maximum decreed by the military dictatorship. Inflation in Brazil is currently running at an annual rate of about 70%.

The present explosion of strikes began March 13, when more than 200,000 metalworkers in the big auto and steel plants in ABC and other São Paulo suburbs walked off their jobs to demand trade-union rights and a 78% wage hike. That strike was suspended for forty-five days on March 28 after the Figueiredo government ordered the removal of the elected leadership of the ABC metalworkers unions and arrested some 1,600 strike pickets.

"They thought they were going to



Sao Paulo demonstration organized by fifty unions drew 200,000

finish off the movement in ABC by intervening in the unions," São Bernardo metalworkers union President Luis Inácio da Silva ("Lula") told the massive May Day rally.

They forgot that the union is not only a building. The union is the worker in the factory and the worker in the plaza. And the ABC metalworkers know that we only granted a truce until Sunday the thirteenth [of May, the day the forty-five day strike suspension expires]. We'll have an assembly on that day—and we want to have just as many people as we have here today—and if they don't grant our wage increase, on the fourteenth ABC will be out on strike again.

Benedito Marcílio, Santo André metalworkers union president, termed the huge May Day rally "an answer to this government and this dictatorship." He focused his remarks on an important obstacle Brazilian workers face in their efforts to organize:

Companheiros, we all know that what we have in this country is a fascist union structure, imposed on us, which has served

all the governments in this country. But we workers—organized in the plants, with factory commissions, with the organization of the workers, and with strikes—are going to overturn that union structure. . . .

Marcílio explained how trade-union freedom will be won in Brazil:

There is only one solution . . . unity of the workers in the plants, in the neighborhood clubs, in the unions. That is how we will win trade-union freedom, contracts, and the full right to strike. But we won't get freedom and union independence if we don't get a free society. . . .

Companheiros, we are right when we say that the dictatorship will only be done away with in this country through the organization of the masses—of the workers, the students, the teachers, the medical workers—of all the segments of this society.

Marcílio's speech reflected the way in which the fight for democratic rights in Brazil is converging with the big rise in working-class struggles. This was also evident in the speech given at the May Day rally by Luiz

Eduardo Greenhalgh, a leader of the Brazilian Committee for Amnesty:

This is a historic May 1 in our country, a May 1 that is going to show the dictatorship that its days are numbered and that the Brazilian people will proceed resolutely in winning their political rights. . . .

Amnesty is a fight that must be part of the democratic and popular struggle right here in Santo André, São Bernardo, and São Caetano [ABC]. . . . We won't accept the intervention [in the metalworkers unions]. We are going to demand that our companheiros in the union leaderships be amnestied, and we will all win that amnesty. . . . We are going to win the release of the political prisoners and the return of the exiles, bring to justice those who murdered the patriots of this country, and put the leaders back in their unions.

Greenhalgh's speech was greeted with chants of "Down with the dictatorship" from the massive crowd of workers.

Other May Day rallies of 8,000 and 3,000 respectively took place in Rio de Janeiro and Belo Horizonte.

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

## Indonesia regime prosecutes student activists

By Dan Dickeson

A series of trials against student leaders in Indonesia have become a focal point of opposition to the Suharto dictatorship.

The students now on trial are among the estimated 600 persons arrested by the regime in January and February 1978 following a wave of campus protests against government corruption, and against the fraudulent elections in which General Suharto ran unopposed for a third term as president. Trials are occurring in Jakarta, Bandung, and at least four other Indonesian cities.

Lukman Hakim, chairman of the Student Council of the University of Indonesia, Jakarta, appeared in court February 21. In a statement to the court he declared that the current trials are "unique in Indonesia's history. . . . Together with me, my comrades-in-arms are being tried simultaneously in various parts of the country, each in their capacity as student leaders in their campuses. The actions they took were varied but the charges are uniform, insulting the Head of State."

The students are being tried under Indonesia's "lese majesty" laws, a holdover from the colonial period when

criminal penalties were imposed for insulting the Dutch king or governor general.

The accused are being defended by prominent attorneys of the Indonesian Legal Aid Association. The trials offer a rare opportunity to publicly challenge the violation of democratic rights by the Suharto regime.

Courtroom testimony has revealed the use of torture against the defendants. Lukman Hakim stated that "almost all students detained together with me were subjected to beatings, electric torture and confinement to cells."

Some of those appearing in court show visible signs of mistreatment in prison. Several trials have had to be postponed because of the poor state of health of the defendants. Student leader Lala Mustafa, on trial in Bandung, reportedly had to request permission to remain seated while his indictment was being read because he was too weak to stand.

The students have sought to use their trials to reach out to the Indonesian people, explaining why they mobilized against the dictatorship.

Indonesian law stipulates that court hearings are to be open to the public,

but the regime has nevertheless taken various measures to prevent the students' appeal from reaching a wider audience. Courtroom galleries are often packed with plainclothes police, and riot troops are mobilized to intimidate the crowds which gather around the courthouses to listen to the proceedings over loudspeakers.

These practices were denounced by student leader Sukmaji Indro Tjahjono in a statement before the Bandung District Court February 22:

There are indeed some loudspeakers in this courtroom, but what is the significance of Bandung for the one hundred and thirty million Indonesian people? . . . Is it possible to say that because of a few loudspeakers in front of the courtroom, we can tell the world that this is an open trial? Can we say that because the courtroom doors are open 60 centimeters, this is an open hearing? Can we be proud and satisfied if all who attend are searched and have to go through formalities as if they were entering a royal palace? I feel a deep sense of shame when I see all these devious methods. The authorities are, it is true, allowing voices from this courtroom to be heard outside a little; but more insidious is the fact that while our voices are not being stifled, the ears of virtually the entire Indonesian people have been plugged.

During the 1977-78 protests many Indonesian newspapers, although prohibited from criticizing Suharto directly, gave extensive coverage to the students' demands. To prevent the same thing happening during the trials, the regime in February ordered all newspapers and periodicals to reaffirm the "Journalists' Code of Ethics." The code stipulates that journalists will not write stories "of a destructive nature, which harm the state and the people, create trouble or hurt moral ethics, religion or belief." Offending publications face withdrawal of their publishing permit by the government.

The result has been that newspapers publish extensive coverage of the trials, but avoid mentioning students' statements about why they oppose Suharto. In order to break through the press blackout, the Joint Indonesian Students Defence Coalition has been formed to publish uncensored reports and documents from the trials.

Statements in support of the defendants, and protesting the violations of their democratic rights, can be sent to the Joint Indonesian Students Defence Coalition, Student Centre UI, Salemba 4, Jakarta Pusat, Indonesia.

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor



## 'Death of a Bureaucrat'



*Death of a Bureaucrat. Directed by Tomás Gutiérrez Alea. Produced in 1966 by the Cuban Film Institute. Spanish with English subtitles. A Tricontinental Film Center release.*

Anyone who knows what it's like to wait for hours at an unemployment office or stand in line for what seems like hours at the post office—in other words, practically everyone—should see *Death of a Bureaucrat*, a newly released film from Cuba. This movie is worth waiting in line for.

Directed by Tomás Gutiérrez Alea, Cuba's best-known filmmaker (and one of the world's finest), *Death of a Bureaucrat* is the slapstick story of a young worker's losing battle with an army of chairwarmers and pencil pushers.

For the film buff, it is also a small catalogue of movie lore, with scenes

with the coffin containing his uncle's remains.

When the coffin is returned the next day, the cemetery director refuses to admit it without the exhumation order to prove that it has been removed. The nephew has no choice but to devote the next several days to going from line to line, office to office, desk to desk, in search of the elusive document on behalf of a body that lies packed in ice in his aunt's parlor.

In a vast, pillared chamber crammed with desks, an overbearing, fraudulently accommodating functionary refers him to a man who sits at a desk measuring out swatches of toilet tissue for impatient employees. This man in turn sends him to a compulsive paper folder who knows nothing and appears to be typing one word per hour.

A close call at the Department for Procedural Speed-up leads to the high point of the film, a wild pie, muck, straw hat, and flatiron brawl in a downtown square.

With the dubious aid of his influential employer, the nephew manages to get a properly stamped and forged exhumation order acceptable to the cemetery director. But since the body needs to be buried, not exhumed, the cemetery director indignantly refuses to cooperate. Enraged, the nephew strangles him.

A funeral procession as pompous as the man himself takes the cemetery director to his final resting place, accompanied by the ludicrously mournful strains of Chopin's Funeral March.

*Death of a Bureaucrat* is a very entertaining movie, although it falls short of the exceptional merit of Gutiérrez Alea's later films, *Memories of Underdevelopment* and *The Last Supper*.

One reason for this is the failure of the nephew, as portrayed in the movie, to develop an engaging personality. Cartoon-like characters are essential to

slapstick, but they work most effectively when played off against someone with whom the audience can identify.

*Death of a Bureaucrat* satisfies in the end, however. Its humor is light-hearted, not bitter or sarcastic. It pokes fun at the awkward, ridiculous, and exasperating ways in which some people have sought to trim the Cuban revolution to suit their style.

*Death of a Bureaucrat* was made in 1966, but is only now being made available for exhibition in the United States. The film was very successful in Cuba when it first came out, and is still shown there occasionally. The

Cubans, however, chose not to present it to American audiences as the first example of the new Cuban cinema.

Gutiérrez Alea explained, "We felt that a film like this—which directed a series of criticisms at the administration of the revolution—could be manipulated in other countries, especially capitalist countries, and used against the revolution."

The Cuban revolution and its supporters have nothing to fear. The Cubans' decision to release *Death of a Bureaucrat* in the United States will enhance, not diminish, the revolution's reputation.

—Rich Robohm

### Film

alternately imitating and parodying cinematic styles from Laurel and Hardy to Ingmar Bergman.

The story opens with the death of an "exemplary worker" in a machine of his own invention, a wheezing whirligig that turns out plaster busts of the great Cuban patriot José Martí. His grieving relatives honor the worker's dedication by burying him with the union card he died clutching, only to learn that his widow cannot collect his pension without it. Thus begins her long-suffering nephew's increasingly desperate struggle with bureaucratism.

Unable to obtain an exhumation order, the nephew enlists the aid of two gravediggers to spirit his uncle's body out of its grave under the officious nose of the cemetery director. Their plan is foiled, but the nephew hotfoots it home

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## SEEK TO KILL PREVAILING WAGE

Business lobbyists and members of Congress are pressing a stepped-up campaign to scrap the Davis-Bacon Act, which, since 1931, has provided that workers on government construction projects be paid the "prevailing wage" in the industry. That has become generally synonymous with union wages.

The moves against the prevailing wage statute was given new impetus with publication April 27 of a General Accounting Office report entitled, "The Davis-Bacon Act Should Be Repealed."

The government report noted that in 1977, 22 percent of the nation's 3.8 million construction workers were employed on government projects.

It asserted that the statute was resulting in "unnecessary construction and administrative costs of several hundred million dollars annually." It asserted this was inflationary.

Repeal of the act would constitute a major new blow to already severely weakened building trades unions.

## 'SAFE,' 'ATTRACTIVE' BORDER FENCE

Despite widespread protests on both sides of the border, the U.S. Immigration Service will proceed with plans for a massive new border fence at border points in the area of El Paso,

Texas, and San Ysidro, California.

In announcing the decision to go ahead with the fence, Attorney General Griffin Bell said it would not have the dangerous jagged top originally announced. Instead the fence will have "smooth and rounded edges to prevent personal injury" to anyone trying to climb it.

## Army delays moving nerve gas

Deferring to protests, the army has temporarily postponed moving 896 nerve gas bombs from Colorado to Utah.

The bombs contain 300,000 pounds of the colorless, odorless gas that killed 6,000 sheep in a 1969 Utah test.

The stockpile is theoretically capable of killing 140 billion people—thirty-two times the world's population.

With the memory of the mass slaughter of sheep fresh in the minds of Utah residents, Gov. Scott Matheson has protested loudly and has threatened court action to block the move. He demanded that the bombs be deactivated.

The arsenal where the bombs are now was built in an isolated area. Then, Denver's Stapleton International Airport was built right next to it. Each day 1,300 planes take off or land there.

Initially, the Army said it

planned to detoxify the bombs, but last year Secretary of Defense Brown reversed that decision, declaring the bombs were needed as a deterrent to the Soviet use of lethal gas in case of war.

The bombs would be loaded on trucks, driven to the Stapleton airport, loaded on planes to Utah, and there shipped to a depot by truck.

Officials advised that the bombs would be "rigidly packed and secured" to prevent damage in the "highly unlikely event of an accident during transport."

Also, they added, trained personnel would accompany the bombs. They didn't say what the trained personnel would do if a truck collided or a plane crashed.

The army had planned to move the bombs last year but postponed it when three of them were found to be leaking. Officials said that, after investigation, it was decided that the rest of the bombs are now "safe."

## Crystal City Raza Unida target of election fraud

In spite of an incredible swindle by the Democrats, the Raza Unida Party won a sweeping election victory in Crystal City, Texas, last month. However, as a result of the chicanery, the *partido* lost control of the county administration. The April election was held after a Democratic judge set aside November elections in which the Chicano-based RUP carried both the city and county.

The RUP has been the majority party in Crystal City since 1972 and in Zavala County, of which Crystal City is the seat, since 1974.

Last November, after the RUP again won the city and county elections, the losing Mexican-American Democrats went to court, charging irregularities. The judge

found in their favor and set a hearing just prior to the new election, which was used for wholesale intimidation of Raza Unida supporters.

In a telephone interview, Judge José Angel Gutiérrez, founding leader of the Crystal City RUP, told what happened.

Depositions were taken at a public hearing from 282 people. Their names were published in the local paper.

People had to establish that they were not non-citizens who had voted illegally.

Some were grilled as to whether they had voted from their true residence; did they maintain two households; have a mistress.

A number were charged with being felons who voted without having their right to

vote restored.

Despite the intimidation, in Crystal City itself, the Raza Unida proved again that it enjoys strong majority support.

It took the three open seats on the city council and four on the school board by margins of nearly two-to-one in the April voting.

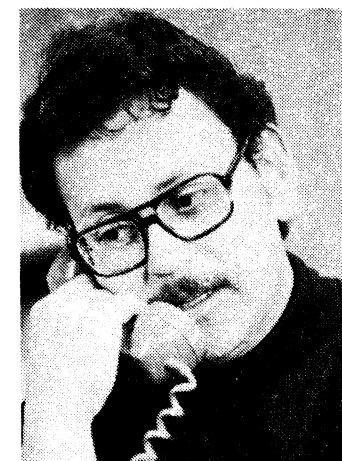
But in the county, which had enjoyed a record voter turnout in November, only 20 percent went to the polls.

The RUP won two offices and lost three. The margins were narrow. The RUP candidate for justice of the peace lost by four votes, the candidate for district clerk by thirteen, and the candidate for county commissioner by thirty-four.

But loss of the commissioner race gave the Democrats a three-two majority

on the commission.

Judge Gutiérrez, whose election last November was not challenged, remains the executive officer of the county, but has only one other RUP member on the commission with him.



Militant/Harry Ring  
**JOSE ANGEL GUTIERREZ**

In fact, the attorney general declared, it will be "more attractive" than the fencing it replaces.

A true symbol of American "democracy." An "attractive" wall to keep out people in desperate need of work.

## WIN FOR GAY RIGHTS IN SIOUX FALLS

High school officials in Sioux Falls, Iowa, approved a senior's request to bring his male date to a school prom.

The issue came into the news last month when school officials in Cumberland, Rhode Island, denied a similar request from a homosexual student.

In Sioux Falls, Lincoln High School principal Fred Stephens said, "My belief is that people need their rights protected. Homosexuals have rights. You have to accept that."

## WILL COST MILLIONS TO CLEAR TOXIC DUMP

New Jersey taxpayers may have to foot the bill for the disposal of the 16 million pounds of toxic and hazardous waste found in an Elizabeth waste-disposal warehouse.

State officials estimate the cleanup would run between \$10 and \$15 million, plus \$4 million just to inventory the material.

The mayor of Elizabeth had declared a state of emergency May 4, restricting traffic within a half-mile radius of the area, after federal officials advised him they had found nitroglycerine, dangerous bacterial wastes, acids, and some "low-level" radioactive waste in the warehouse.

The lethal waste was stored in some 24,000 55-gallon cans

piled five and six high. Many were rusting and some already leaking their toxic contents.

The nitro was hauled away by a federal bomb squad. Specialists, wearing breathing apparatuses and acid-resistant coveralls began cataloguing the chemicals. The cleanup operation will take months, officials said.

The president of the Chemical Control Co. which owns the warehouse, was convicted in 1977 of illegally disposing of waste and the company promised to clear the place.

However, state officials said, they were "fooled." The company didn't do it.

Chemical Control was paid \$50 to \$100 a barrel by companies to "dispose" of waste material.

The parent company of the Chemical Control Corp. bears the splendid name, Northeast Pollution Control Company.

## ASBESTOS THERAPY

The board chairman of the Johns-Manville Corporation, the nation's biggest asbestos producer, testified before a congressional committee April 4.

He denied a deposition by a former plant manager that workers were not told when asbestos-related disease showed up on company-provided x-rays.

He said the company's medical director had issued an order in 1955 that workers be told when physicals indicated health problems.

However, he conceded, this directive may not have been carried out "perfectly."

The imperfection was confirmed by the transcript of a

1957 meeting of company health specialists at which it was decided in various particular cases not to inform workers of their lung infections.

Speaking of one such worker, the company medical director said, "I see no reason to bring a man in like this. It is dangerous."

Another doctor chimed in on a second case, "Now take that woman, she is very nervous. If she is called in, she will get hysterical and I am sure you will have a claim on your hands."

Asked why workers were not moved to less dangerous areas when their lungs became afflicted, board chairman McKinney responded philosophically, "I'm told with respect to certain individuals that, after you diagnose that they have advanced fibrosis . . . the best thing they can do therapeutically is to continue working."

## 'RIGHT-TO-WORK' KILLED IN MAINE

The Maine legislature killed a right-to-scab bill that would have legalized the union shop in the state.

The Senate voted 21-9 to defeat the measure. The previous day the House voted 85 to 59 against the bill.

## NAACP DEMANDS RACIST JUDGE QUIT

The Fort Worth, Texas, NAACP demanded the resignation of a federal judge who used the word "nigger" twice in a newspaper interview.

In the interview, Judge David Belew had referred to

# What's Going On

## GEORGIA ATLANTA

**'WITH BABIES AND BANNERS.'** A film about the role of women in the 1937 Flint, Michigan, auto workers' sit-down strike. Fri., May 25, 8 p.m. 509 Peachtree St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (404) 872-7229.

## ILLINOIS CHICAGO

**THE FIGHT FOR WOMEN'S RIGHTS TODAY AND THE ROLE OF THE SO-**

**CIALIST MOVEMENT.** One-day conference with special tribute to Marxist anthropologist Evelyn Reed. Speakers: Nan Bailey, member, National Committee, Socialist Workers Party; Matilde Zimmermann, SWP national coordinator of women's rights work; Linda Loew, member of Local 153711 United Steelworkers of America and NOW. Sat., June 16, Blackstone Hotel, Embassy Room, Michigan Ave. at Balbo. Sessions: "Women's Oppression: How it Began. Why it Continues Today." Speaker: Nan Bailey, 12 noon. "With Babies and Banners," a film showing. Speaker: Linda Loew, 3 p.m. "Is Socialism Needed to Win

Women's Liberation?" Speaker: Matilde Zimmermann, 7:30 p.m. Donation: \$1.50 per session or \$4 for entire conference. Ausp: Chicago/Gary Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call: Chicago (312) 939-0737 or Gary (219) 884-9509.

## MINNESOTA IRON RANGE

**CLASS: BLACK RIGHTS AND THE LABOR MOVEMENT. FORUM: THE 'WEBER' CASE AND AFFIRMATIVE ACTION.** Speaker: Andrew Pulley, Steel-

worker and recent Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Chicago. Sat., June 2. Class: 3 p.m.; forum: 7 p.m. Northern Electric Cooperative Association, 1500 S. 16th St., Virginia, Minn. Donation: \$2.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (218) 749-6327.

## MINNEAPOLIS

**MILWAUKEE RAILROAD BANKRUPTCY.** Speaker: Dick Roberts, member, Socialist Workers Party National

Committee. Tues., May 22, 7 p.m. Sabathani Community Center, 3801 First Ave. South. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 825-6663 or 222-8929.

## NEW MEXICO ALBUQUERQUE

**THE ENERGY CRISIS, REAL OR A HOAX?** Speakers: Jim Miller, Socialist Workers Party; others. Fri., May 25, 7:30 p.m. 108 Morningside NE. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (505) 255-6869.



queries about his membership in a Jim Crow club as "the questionnaire about niggers."

The issue, he added, had never come up because "no nigger—no Black—ever applied."

Responding to the NAACP demand that he get off the bench, the judge said it was "ridiculous."

He said the important thing was what he had done for Blacks, "and I've done a lot."

He didn't say what.

#### INDIAN VICTORY ON FISHING RIGHTS

A federal judge ruled May 8 that the state of Michigan does not have the right to put limits on two nineteenth century treaties guaranteeing Indians unlimited fishing rights.

For years, the state has tried to limit fishing by two Chipewewa tribes despite treaties signed in 1836 and 1855. Officials alleged concern about conservation.

The judge ruled that the two treaties guaranteed unlimited fishing "for as long as Indians lived in Michigan."

The decision could have a positive bearing on similar cases in other states.

#### Quote unquote

"The only real solution to inflation is restraint and patience."  
—Secretary of Labor Ray Marshall.

#### BACKING ERA, USWA NIXES LAS VEGAS

United Steel Workers President Lloyd McBride announced May 11 that the union was shifting the site of its 1980 convention from Las Vegas to Los Angeles because the state of Nevada has not ratified the Equal Rights Amendment.

The National Organization for Women and other groups have been conducting a boycott of states that have failed to ratify the ERA.

McBride's action follows that of several other international unions supporting the ERA.

It also coincides with the growth of women's committees within the steel union, particularly in District 31, the key Chicago-Gary section of the USWA.

#### Ga. Blacks fight to regain land

Four people were sentenced to thirty days in jail May 4 for refusing to leave Georgia's Harris Neck Wildlife Refuge, from which Black people were driven by the U.S. government during World War II.

The sentence is being appealed by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and the NAACP, which are working with area residents seeking to regain their land. Further protests are slated.

About 100 Black families used to live in the area.

"It was in July 1942, and I used to fish for crabs and shrimp in the river," one man said. "And I had a good crop of corn, sweet potatoes, and tomatoes. And along about then these white men came along—surveying up and down and cutting down trees. And they said I would have to move in two days because they needed my land for the war."

Black farmers were paid an average of \$7 an acre for their land and promised that after the war they could return.

But when the war ended, the land the army had used for an airstrip was turned

over to the state and then to the Department of the Interior, which incorporated it into a wildlife preserve.

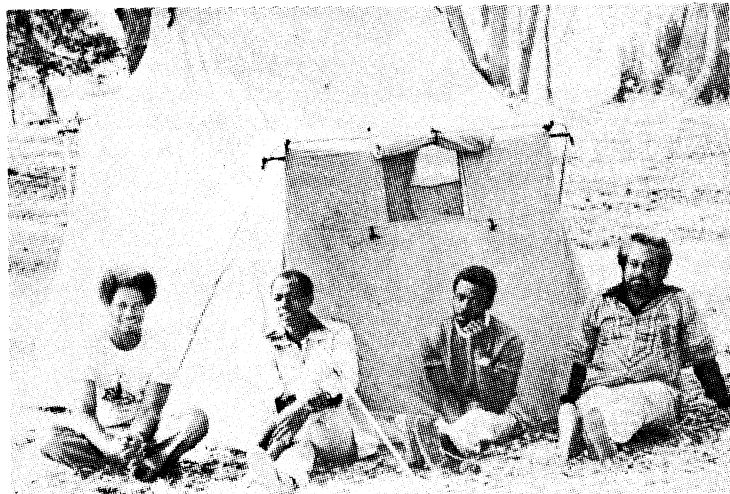
One woman, whose family was given forty-eight hours to get out, recalled, "They said if we were in there one minute after, they would burn us out."

The grandson of one man who had owned a farm and oyster cannery told reporters, "There was no reason for them to take our land and not nearby land, except that Harris Neck was 100 percent Black and doing well."

According to the SCLC resistance to the demand that the land be restored to its rightful owners is due in part to the fact that local white businessmen have an interest in the area.

The protest began at the beginning of the month, when fifty people went into the area with construction material and began rebuilding the church that had been there.

A church deacon, James Cook, 79, told supporters of the movement, "There are some things we must pray for, some things we must work for, and there are some things we must fight for."



SCLC/Elaine Tomlin

Arrested for 'trespassing' on land from which Georgia Black families were driven by government in World War II are, from left: Chris McIntosh, Jr., Edgar Timmons, Jr., Hercules Anderson, and Rev. Ted Clark.

# The Great Society

Harry Ring



**Maybe he'll get food stamps**—To compensate for losses suffered with the Three Mile Island blowout, the owner, General Public Utilities, is trimming its budget. For openers, 600 workers at three of its utility plants will be laid off. Even more serious, executive salaries will be frozen. But not only that. GPU Chairman William Kuhns is slashing his own pay from \$255,000 a year to a tight \$230,000.

**Can you top this?**—Henry Ford II advised a management conference that in past days, "capitalism's greatest shortcomings were its evils: bad working conditions; shoddy products; exploitation. Today, one of capitalism's greatest shortcomings is its inability to make a better case for itself: to boast of the high quality of the conditions of its factories; the excellence of its products; the fairness of its pricing; the value of its contribution to social life."

**Simple**—Writing in the *New York Times* in favor of nuclear power, engineer

Myron Kayton advises: "Research in nuclear waste disposal is certainly needed but solid nuclear wastes could always be moved about by future generations if the storage facilities began to deteriorate." And if there were no future generations, it would be even less of a problem, right?

**Like fast food**—Consumers Union found that McDonald's cherry pie averages about 5 cherries per pie, a bit less than the picture on the package showing 100. Also, it averages out to 20 percent cherries by weight as against the 25 percent required by FDA regulations for frozen pies.

**Catch-22**—"Poor countries assert that rich countries have constantly urged them to industrialize. But as soon as they do so, and begin to make shirts or pocket calculators, rich countries pass rules prohibiting the importation of their new products."—The *New York Times*.

## Union Talk

### Machinist runs for mayor

The following column is by Raúl González, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of San Diego and a member of Local 685 of the International Association of Machinists.

The announcement of my candidacy for mayor of San Diego struck a responsive chord in the hearts of many working people throughout the city. The men and women who, like me, work at Solar Turbines International were especially affected.

To my surprise, even before I officially announced my candidacy, workers in my union came and offered their support.

Articles that appeared in the *San Diego Union* and the *Evening Tribune* were clipped out by co-workers and posted on the bulletin boards. After reading one article, an older Chicano worker walked through the shop telling people to vote for me.

Two days after the announcement appeared about forty workers stopped by my machine to congratulate me and to talk about the campaign. Most wanted to know why I was running.

I told them I would use my campaign to explain why workers need our own party—a labor party based on the trade unions. How our union could put this idea into action right away, by running our own candidates for office.

To a man and woman all have agreed with the need for a labor party. The question has come up as to whether this would be a third party along the lines of that proposed by International Association of Machinists (IAM) President William Winpisinger.

Winpisinger, as a member of the National Committee for a Democratic Alternative, demagogically and occasionally calls for a third party. But what he's really for is a more viable Democratic candidate in the 1980 elections.

I explained that what I am proposing is not a third capitalist party or a reformed Democratic Party. Either would still be a party loyal to the employing class. I'm for a labor party—a party representing the working class. Such a party would be independent of and in opposition to the Democrats and Republicans and a mortal enemy of the corporations.

A Chicano worker, who is enthusiastic about my campaign, has volunteered his time and money. He and half a dozen others have helped in various ways to

distribute campaign materials to other workers. Two took leaflets to give to their younger brothers and sisters to distribute in their high schools. A dozen Solar workers contributed \$205 at my campaign kickoff rally.

After Three Mile Island, an older worker asked me, "What do you think about nuclear power?"

I said that I believe all nuclear facilities should be shut down immediately. I explained that since energy is so vital to our lives the decisions about it cannot be left in the hands of a few corporations who are motivated only by profit making. Since the energy industry is privately owned, corporations can keep secret the real facts about energy supplies.

The only way working people will really know the actual situation is by opening the books of the corporations to public scrutiny.

I went on to say that the entire energy industry should be nationalized and placed under public ownership.

About twenty workers had gathered around to listen. One raised a point about nationalization of the energy industry. He said he was for it, but not if it would mean "the same people running it who run it now."

Under public ownership, I said, the industry would be managed by an independent board directly elected by and responsible to the American people. Workers in the industry would control job conditions and safety and make sure no secrets were kept from the public.

The workers were in general agreement with what I said. Only one man disagreed that nuclear power is dangerous.

The other morning three campaign supporters and I went with a loudspeaker to talk to the workers at General Dynamics. G.D.'s Electronics Division workers were recently out on strike and were forced back after challenging President Carter's 7 percent guidelines.

The machinists remembered us and the help we had given them on the picket line and in gathering unprecedented support in what has traditionally been an anti-union town. Their response to the campaign was good.

Each day someone comes up to me at work and asks how the campaign is going and what they can do. I encourage them to help the campaign and also come to the union meetings and work to make the IAM a more effective tool in the fight for our rights.

# Our Revolutionary Heritage

## SALT & defending USSR

The United States and Soviet Union announced May 9 that they have reached "basic agreement" on a Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty known as SALT II. (See story on page 6.)

The following are excerpts from an article by Joseph Hansen on how revolutionary socialists defend the USSR, why the Soviet rulers enter into phony accords like SALT II, and how a revolutionary leadership would fight for nuclear disarmament. The article appeared in the July 4, 1977 issue of 'Intercontinental Press/Inprecor.'

Until his death in January, Hansen was editor of 'IP/I' and a central leader of the Socialist Workers Party.

The capitalist system is expansionist and aggressive because of its insatiable search for profits, whereas no such compulsion operates in a planned economy [such as the Soviet Union].

The world Trotskyist movement has never defended the parasitism and special privileges seized by the [Kremlin] bureaucracy. What the Trotskyists have defended is the proletarian basis of the workers state (expropriation of private property in the means of production, monopoly of foreign trade, economic planning). This has meant *opposing the bureaucracy*.

The defense of the workers states occurs on two levels, *political* and *military*. Of these the political is the more important by far.

However, let us consider the military defense first, since this is the predominant level in the current SALT talks and in the bourgeois estimates of the meaning of these talks.

On the issue of nuclear bombs, what constitutes an adequate number? It appears to me that a stockpile large enough to obliterate humanity *once* marks a natural quantitative limit so far as use values are concerned.

But the fact is that each side possesses a stockpile much larger than needed to wipe out all human beings once. Both have stockpiles sufficient to obliterate humanity many times over.

Yet in a madness that has no equal in human history the nuclear arms race continues. "Military defense" has obviously become meaningless in terms of saving a country from the most terrible catastrophe imaginable—its extinction.

To me it appears quite clear that the Kremlin, by participating in this mindless race, is dealing terrible blows against the

defense of the Soviet Union. For no matter how huge the Kremlin's stockpile might be or how accurate its delivery systems, the Soviet Union cannot escape the fate of the rest of humanity once the bombs begin to be exchanged.

Now let us turn to the political defense of the workers states. This means above all mobilizing popular support.

The best possible defense of the Soviet Union (and of the other workers states) is to further establish the superiority of planned economy over the anarchy of capitalism, and to demonstrate its inherent capacity to expand democracy in a way never experienced under capitalism, making possible a great new flowering of science, literature, art.

The Kremlin forgoes—in fact rejects—active support of the masses. It seeks to restrain or divert them from carrying out a socialist revolution in their own countries that could bring about a definitive victory: the replacement of capitalism by socialism on a world scale.

The Kremlin favors class-collaborationist deals with the main imperialist powers in which it plays the role of leading—or trying to lead—anticapitalist forces to their doom.

The Kremlin's practice of class collaboration thus emerges as deadly sabotage of the defense of the Soviet Union.

If we now place within this political context the Kremlin's policy of haggling with Carter over relatively insignificant details in the nuclear arms race, it is clear that Brezhnev must be blamed for failing to seize the initiative on disarmament, an issue of great importance in exposing Carter's imperialist objectives.

Brezhnev even permitted Carter to leave the impression that Moscow—not Washington—believes that an astronomical nuclear stockpile is a military imperative.

Had Brezhnev challenged Carter to join him in reducing nuclear stockpiles to a maximum capability of destroying humanity only *once*, it appears to me that Carter would have had some difficulty in replying. Naturally, it would have been preferable if Brezhnev had proposed in addition a schedule leading at short intervals to a one-half capability, one-fourth, one-eighth, and so on. Why shouldn't rapid decay rates be imposed on stockpiles of nuclear arms?

But Brezhnev will not do that. Nor Carter. Clearly it would be a fatal policy to rely on either Washington or Moscow to halt the arms race and dismantle nuclear stockpiles.

# Letters

### Einstein a Zionist?

A letter in the May 18 *Militant* by Paul Foer asserts that Albert Einstein was "an ardent Zionist." Some passages of his book *Out of My Later Years* indicate he was not. In 1938, Einstein, while praising Zionism, remarked: "I should much rather see reasonable agreement with the Arabs on the basis of living together in peace than the creation of a Jewish state," noting that "my awareness of the essential nature of Judaism resists the idea of a Jewish state. . . ."

He expressed regret in 1949 that "we did not achieve an undivided Palestine in which Jews and Arabs would live as equals, free, in peace."  
David Keil  
New York, New York

California CIB plants is paid \$30,000 a year.

Ober said the CIB's claim that they cannot pay blind workers the minimum wage is a ploy to destroy union protection.

"This is particularly odious to me," he said, "because they claim to be for the blind and have been given \$1.5 million in public contributions and low-interest loans in 1978 alone."

Capitalist thievery is well known. Everyone who works for a wage suffers from it. Some big corporations feel free to steal even from the blind.

What is new is that the blind are organizing and fighting back.

Della Rossa  
Los Angeles, California

### Cop racism

I read an article by Brother Michael Smith that I found to be very enlightening. The article, entitled "New York cops: Law isn't for Blacks," appeared in the May 11 issue of the *Militant*.

This article really tells it like it was and still is. Racism and police brutality continues to haunt Afro-Americans as well as other minorities in this country.

I am strongly convinced that the police forces in America are nothing more than a Ku Klux Klan organization. The only difference is that they, the police, wear uniforms instead of hoods and robes. This goes to prove that a Klansman is a Klansman regardless of whether he is living in the northern, southern, eastern, or western part of the United States. And regardless of whether he is clad in a hood and robe, a police uniform, or plain clothes.

A prisoner  
Virginia

### 'I admire Evelyn Reed'

In response to the articles about Evelyn Reed, I'd like to say that I admire her and feel she made an important contribution.

I met her and talked with her in Los Angeles about twenty years ago. I remember saying to her that conventional

### Blind workers strike

Ninety blind workers have been on strike at facilities in San Diego and Los Angeles since February 20.

Don Ober, a field representative for the Service Employees International Union (SEIU) Local 535, said, "They were kicked out like garbage in the street, but they've had the guts to fight back, walking the picket line through rain and hail, stopping production. If the entire labor movement had the same kind of guts we wouldn't be in the situation we're in."

Blind workers were forced to work for as little as half the minimum wage of \$2.90 an hour, and were fired from their jobs just before Christmas last year.

The striking workers want to be trained for work in private industry but California Industries for the Blind (CIB) deliberately prevents this.

Although CIB is supposed to be a nonprofit organization and gets state and federal subsidies, big companies such as Procter and Gamble, AT&T, and General Electric buy products from them (such as industrial brooms) because they are cheaper. And they are cheaper because the wages paid to produce them are dirt cheap.

At the same time, the executive director of the three

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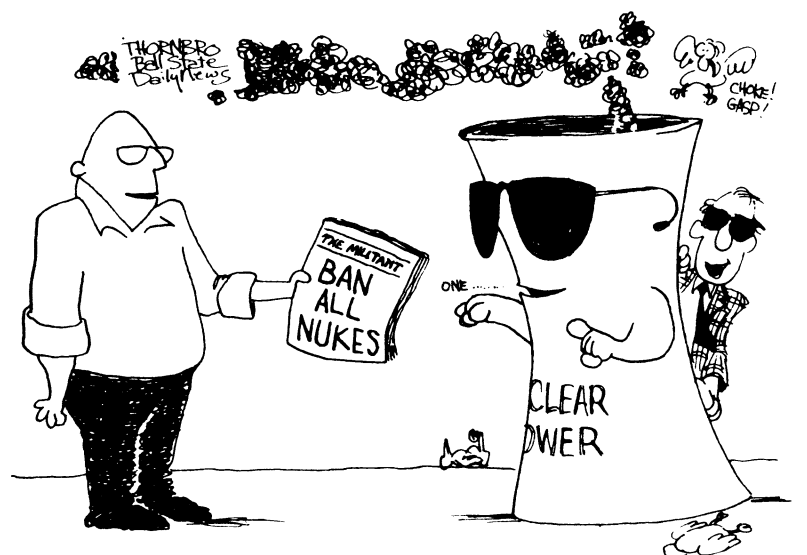
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# Learning About Socialism

## New educational tapes

scholars would refer to her as an "armchair anthropologist" (one who spins theories without doing research in the field). She replied that the "field anthropologists" do not even pose certain questions, let alone answer them.

She was right about that. I believe that she posed some essential questions about early human history and gave answers that merit serious study.

As an artist, I cannot help regretting that she gave up her art, yet I agree that she could not have done full justice to both art and politics. I respect her choice and her accomplishments.

Georgia Sanford  
Pismo Beach, California

### Prisoner requests sub

I am currently a federal prisoner. I have read your paper a few times and like it very much. A fellow prisoner here receives it and passes it around when he is done reading it. However, I am not always able to get a chance to read it.

I was wondering if there was a way you could send me a subscription. I regret that at this present time I am unable to send you a contribution. However, I would appreciate it very much if you could find a way to send me a subscription. A prisoner  
Pennsylvania

### Nuclear threat

It is total nonsense and complete profit-hungry dishonesty for the government (Nuclear Regulatory Commission) and the nuclear industry to proclaim that "no harm has been done" by the radioactive wastes that seeped into the environment at Three Mile Island.

Why, a plutonium particle the size of a grain of pollen, inhaled or otherwise taken into the body, can cause bone or lung cancer, leukemia, or genetic effects.

They are trying to kill us!  
A prisoner  
Kansas

The 'Militant' special prisoner fund makes it possible to send reduced-rate subscriptions to prisoners who can't pay for them. To help out, send your contribution to: Militant Prisoner Subscription Fund, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

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.

The Education for Socialists Tapes are a useful tool for learning about socialism. These ninety-minute cassettes contain recordings of talks by leaders of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance, past and present. They provide a wealth of material on the socialist program and the history of the fight for socialism. They are particularly helpful for anyone preparing to participate in a class, to teach one, or for individual study.

There are now twenty-eight different titles available, each comprising from one to five talks covering a wide range of subjects.

Many who have read Evelyn Reed's books, *Woman's Evolution, Problems of Women's Liberation*, and *Sexism and Science*, will want to hear this outstanding Marxist anthropologist. Two tapes offer the opportunity to further study her ideas: "Feminism and Women's Biology" and "History of the Family and Marriage." In the latter, Reed took an in-depth look at the history and development of the family and marriage as an institution, and discussed the role that each has played in maintaining the oppression of women.

Another contribution to the Marxist view of women's oppression is the talk by Mary-Alice Waters, editor of *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*, on "The Role of Women's Liberation in the Socialist Revolution."

These talks are particularly appropriate as an aid to the study and discussion of "Socialist Revolution and the Struggle for Women's Liberation," a draft resolution submitted to the upcoming world congress of the Fourth International.

Recent events in Southeast Asia is the topic of a talk by SWP leader Gus Horowitz, available on another new cassette. Horowitz explains the evolution of the new conflicts in that region, showing how and why U.S. imperialism fostered Peking's attacks on Vietnam and backed the reactionary Pol Pot tyranny against the alliance of Kampuchean rebels with Vietnamese troops.

In Kampuchea, Horowitz points out, the Stalinist Pol Pot gang crushed a revolutionary mass movement and preserved capitalism, albeit on an extremely primitive economic foundation. In Vietnam a socialist revolution took place despite the initial plans of the Stalinist rulers.

This contrast has sparked renewed discussion among socialists on the socialist revolutions in Eastern Europe, China, Cuba, and Vietnam and the role played in them by the working class.

Material that is basic to this discussion is contained in three talks on cassettes by Fred Feldman, entitled "The Eastern European Revolution."

Feldman, who has covered developments in Vietnam, Laos, and Kampuchea for the *Militant*, here describes the class struggles that overturned capitalism in Eastern Europe after World War II. Some of the questions he takes up are: How could upheavals that were not headed by revolutionary Marxists end up in the establishment of workers states? What was the role of imperialism, the working class, the Soviet Union, and Stalinist parties, in the struggles that led to this outcome? What does this mean for building revolutionary Marxist parties today?

A three-part series by Leslie Evans, "An Introduction to Marxist Philosophy," is also now available on cassettes. These talks were originally given at the August 1978 Socialist Educational Conference in Ohio.

Evans, author of *China After Mao*, discusses the origins of Marxism, the role of philosophy, the relationship between theory and practice, and the emergence of Marxism against bourgeois schools of philosophy.

He discusses the effects of Stalinism on Marxist theory, the rise of ultraleft and idealist currents, such as the "Frankfurt School," represented by Herbert Marcuse and others, and philosophers such as Georg Lukács.

"South Africa: Key to the African Revolution" is the subject of a taped talk by August Nimtz, staff writer for the *Militant*. Nimtz, who recently visited South Africa, presents a comprehensive study of the imposition of white rule there and the methods employed by imperialism to seize and maintain control over the 80 percent of the population that is Black.

In three talks entitled "Socialist Strategy for the Labor Movement," Frank Lovell, a veteran trade unionist and SWP leader, discusses today's emerging working-class struggles and the critical need to transform the trade unions into organizations capable of fighting effectively for the needs of the workers.

These are just a few of the items available on these tapes. There are many more. Check the ad on page 19 of this issue for a full listing. If you have already begun to build your socialist tape library, you will welcome the new additions. If you are just finding out about these tapes for the first time, they are highly recommended as additional tools for learning about socialism.

—Paul Montauk  
and Rich Robohm

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# THE MILITANT

## Rubber workers speak out: 'Carter's 7% doesn't cut it'

By Nan Bailey

DETROIT—Thirty to forty members of United Rubber Workers Local 101 are picketing the Uniroyal plant here around the clock. They are among 8,500 rubber workers across the country who struck the company May 9 for improved pay, and cost-of-living increases. Uniroyal is the union's national target in this year's round of negotiations for an industry-wide, three-year contract.

Uniroyal—backed by Firestone, Goodyear, and Goodrich—is stonewalling the union's demands with a vow to uphold Carter's 7 percent wage-slashing guideline.

Uniroyal's Jefferson Avenue plant employs more than 1,700 workers and averages a daily production of 20,000 tires. Workers here make just under eight dollars an hour. On May 14 the *Militant* spoke to picketing strikers about their concerns.

"We're out here for a better cost-of-living, for sick leave, and for better retirement benefits," said Edward Charleston, who's worked at the plant for nine years. "We want the kind of benefits the auto workers have."

A woman who has been on the job for twelve years agreed that sick leave should be a top demand. She pointed out that Uniroyal provides no sick-time

off for its employees. She and her co-workers have been harassed and victimized for taking legitimate sick days.

Cost-of-living is the chief concern of Nolton Roberts, a Black worker with fourteen years at Uniroyal.

"We're falling behind each year," said Roberts. "It seems like every time we end a contract our wages are just as far behind prices as they were three years earlier when the contract was signed." This year the URW is striking for increased COLA—one cent for every .26 rise in the CPI.

"None of us really wants a strike," Roberts said. "But if it will win us better benefits, then it's worth going out." All the wageworkers in the plant are solidly behind the strike, he added. "If we all fight together and cooperate, we'll get what we want a lot quicker."

Another picket agreed, but thought more could be won—and sooner—if the URW struck all the major rubber companies at one time, instead of just Uniroyal. "This strike is important," he said. "But I think the union is going about it the wrong way. We should pull all of them out—not just us."

Other strikers focused their anger on working conditions inside the plant. One complained about the dangerous, unhealthy fumes and chemicals used in tire production that cause sickness and breathing problems.

"I can't understand how the federal government lets them get away with these working conditions," he said.

One woman, with thirty-six years'

seniority, said she works in the "new" wing of the plant—built right after World War II. The main body of the plant was constructed in 1902; most of it is still in use.

"This is a strike against Uniroyal and Carter," one of the youngest pickets told us. "Carter doesn't say anything to [Chrysler President] Iacocca about raising the price of cars."

"Workers should control management's wages," he continued, "then they would know what it's like to be out on the picket line. Carter's 7 percent just doesn't cut it."

"Carter was afraid of those Teamsters," said another striker. "Now we're the guinea pigs. If we give in to Carter's 7 percent, he'll walk into the auto talks to see how far he can go again."

That's exactly why auto workers—and all working people—will gain if the URW lands a blow against Carter's guideline. Now is the time to show them our support.

### Cops attack URW picket

DETROIT, May 10—Cops beat up and arrested a Black worker who was acting as picket captain at Uniroyal's Jefferson plant today.

The incident took place as up to twenty-five United Rubber Workers pickets were marching peacefully at the plant entrance. Salaried personnel—reportedly used to produce tires during the strike—were driving out. The pickets made no effort to prevent them from leaving, but the presence of the picket line meant that only a few cars could get out at a time.

After a brief conversation between

the plant manager and the police assigned to watch the picket line, the number of cops quickly increased to about twenty-five. They demanded that the pickets disband to allow more cars through the entrance. The rubber workers refused. A few minutes later the picket captain was grabbed by the cops, hurled to the ground, kicked and mauled, and then thrown onto the floor of a police car and driven off.

A URW picket organizer who arrived on the scene told the pickets—whose number had increased to almost forty—that their brother would soon be out of jail.

#### Detroit Support the Rubber Strike!

Speaker: Charlie Russel, Member of Local 101 United Rubber Workers and the Socialist Workers Party. Sunday, May 20, 7:30 p.m. 6404 Woodward Ave. Sponsored by the *Militant Forum*. Donation \$1.50. For more information call (313) 875-5322.

## El Salvador: Thousands protest gov't killings

By Osborne Hart

Carrying banners and denouncing the government, a procession of 20,000 mourners marched May 10 during the funeral for demonstrators massacred by soldiers and police in the capital of El Salvador.

Thousands more lined the route from the Metropolitan Cathedral to the cemetery, expressing their solidarity with the victims and opposition to the military government.

It was in front of the Metropolitan Cathedral on May 8 where government troops and cops fired on 300 demonstrators—killing at least twenty-three and wounding seventy.

The demonstration was one of several that took place throughout the city in support of militants occupying churches and the French and Costa Rican embassies. The Venezuelan embassy was seized May 11.

On May 4, members of the Revolutionary People's Bloc (BPR) organized the sit-ins demanding the release of five labor and student leaders. These leaders were arrested in late April for organizing May Day activities.

The BPR is a coalition of worker, peasant, student, and squatter organizations formed in July 1975 after the government attacked a peasant march and killed twelve persons.

El Salvador has a long history of popular rebellion going back to the 1930s.

Primarily an agricultural economy, El Salvador has a population of 4.2 million. The major exports are coffee, cotton, and sugar.

Sixty percent of the land is controlled by 2 percent of the population. Nearly half of the 60 percent that lives outside the urban areas is unemployed.



Policeman prepares to fire on demonstrators displaying banners demanding the release of labor leaders.

And the average wage is one to two dollars a day.

A military dictatorship has ruled the country since 1932. That year a major peasant uprising was put down through the massacre of some 15-20,000 persons by the military.

The BPR has been organizing against the current government of Gen. Carlos Humberto Romero since the 1977 elections. The BPR program

centers on jobs, higher wages, lower rent, and land reform. They have relied on mass protests and occupations to express their economic and political demands.

In addition to the military, the government uses a paramilitary force known as ORDEN to suppress and control peasant and worker actions.

The current wave of actions comes on the heels of workers' strikes and

factory occupations.

In March, STECEL, the union of electrical workers, struck for eight days in solidarity with striking bottling plant workers. At one point every power station was shut down, and on March 19 all electrical power was shut off for twenty-three hours.

Workers at La Constancia and La Tropical bottling plants struck and occupied the factories with their families. They demanded wage increases and better food. This strike was declared illegal by the government and the military surrounded the plants.

The army was met with an outpouring of mass support for the workers demanding that the tanks and troops withdraw.

The army responded with violence. Six people were killed.

The reaction was more solidarity demonstrations and strikes closing down some fifteen businesses in support of the bottling plant and electrical workers.

As a result of the mass mobilizations, the government and bosses were forced to grant many demands of the workers.

Since the May 8 shootings, two of the labor leaders have been released.

Demands for the release of the other three are being made as the occupations continue. Reflecting the breadth of mass outrage, Archbishop Oscar Arnulfo Romero of San Salvador called on the government to release them as well as other political prisoners. He said, according to the May 14, *New York Times*, "It is not just the bloc [BPR] but all decent people in El Salvador who demand of the Government respect for the law and freedom for our brothers."