

THE MILITANT

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

GAS RIPOFF

Open records of the energy industry
Workers have right to know the truth



Militant/Arnold Weissberg

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Labor's alternative
to nuclear power

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DEFEND IRANIAN REVOLUTION!

Carter and Senate
back shah's torturers

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U.S. gov't backs Iranian torturers

The U.S. imperialists have launched a cynical propaganda attack against the Iranian revolution. A Senate resolution adopted May 17 demanded an end to trials and executions in Iran of police agents, torturers, and high officials guilty of crimes in the service of Shah Reza Pahlavi's tyranny. And on May 21 the Carter administration issued a further protest.

The U.S. government gave all-out support to the hated shah until his regime crumbled in the face of a popular uprising last February. Carter went to Iran in January 1978 and told the royal butcher: "The cause of human rights is one that also is shared deeply by . . . the leaders of our two nations."

Neither Carter nor Congress uttered a murmur of protest while the monarchy's forces gunned down in cold blood thousands of peaceful demonstrators over the past year.

Now Carter and the Senate dare to present themselves as the moral guardians of human rights in Iran!

The target of their attacks is the deepening anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist struggles of the Iranian workers and peasants.

A similar publicity campaign was whipped up in 1959 when Fidel Castro's rebel army tried and executed a few hundred of the ousted Batista dictatorship's cops and army officers. These criminals were responsible for killing up to 20,000 workers, peasants, and students. The U.S. rulers, who had been the real bosses of Cuba under Batista, sanctimoniously denounced the executions in order to prepare public opinion for the U.S.-organized invasion of Cuba in April 1961.

Like Batista's goons, the police agents and former officials that Carter and the Senate are defending in Iran were responsible for the torture, mutilation, rape, and murder of tens of thousands.

The U.S. Central Intelligence Agency initiated and organized SAVAK, the shah's hated secret police. U.S. personnel trained the shah's cops in spying, torture, and other means of terrorizing the people.

Iranian leader Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini hit the nail on the head when he said he was not surprised at the Senate resolution, since "they know what they have lost—they have lost servants. And such servants!"

Khomeini accurately described the U.S. government's relations with Iran as "that of a tyrant with an innocent, that of a ravaged victim with a plunderer."

Describing imperialism as a "wounded snake," he pointed toward the real reason for the Senate's pious posturing: "The American Senate has condemned the executions in Iran. It was no doubt to be expected of them to condemn us, for it is they who have felt a big jolt to their interests more than any other country. . . . For we have stopped the supply of oil to Israel . . . and we shall never resume it again."

The trials and punishment of some of the shah's—and Carter's—hangmen is overwhelmingly popular in Iran. The Iranian masses want justice. They want the crimes of the old regime thoroughly exposed. They want a definitive end to the twenty-five-year reign of terror.

Any government that dealt leniently with the old regime's hired killers would be justifiably suspect in the eyes of the Iranian masses. For the Iranian masses, exposure and punishment of these sinister creatures is an important part of their struggle to maintain and extend the democratic rights they won in the battle against the shah.

In Cuba, the trials of Batista's war criminals were carried out in public. Extensive testimony and cross examination were carried out. The relative secrecy of some of the trials in Iran blocks the full exposure of the crimes of the shah and his collaborators.

The U.S. rulers are fearful that continuation of the trials will bring to light new facts about the U.S. government's complicity in the shah's regime of torture and murder, despite efforts by the capitalist Khomeini-Bazargan regime to keep this to a minimum.

The Iranian people are right to want the brutal killers and torturers brought to justice. And only they have the right to decide what punishment is appropriate.

American working people should tell the Carter administration and the Senate, "Hands off Iran!"

Block Florida executions

On Friday, May 18, Florida Gov. Robert Graham signed death warrants for Willie Darden and John Spenkelink, two of the 131

people the state government holds on death row. This action came the day after the Senate's high-toned pronouncement against Iran. Yet there were no protests from capitalist politicians against the impending executions in Florida.

If the governor's order is carried out, Darden and Spenkelink will be the first victims of the death penalty in the United States since Gary Gilmore faced a Utah firing squad.

The death penalty in the United States has never prevented violent crime and is not intended to. It is a weapon to terrorize and intimidate working people. Capital punishment is used by the ruling rich in this country to protect the social system that spawns crime be fostering unemployment, poverty, inequality, racism, and brutality.

Ex-cop gets off easy

On May 21 in San Francisco, California,—another state that has reinstituted the death penalty—working people were given a graphic demonstration of ruling-class justice.

Dan White, an ex-cop and former member of the Board of Supervisors was found guilty of manslaughter, a crime that carries a sentence of no more than seven years and eight months.

White admitted gunning down Mayor George Moscone and Supervisor Harvey Milk. Milk was the first open gay to hold office in San Francisco. White was elected supervisor on an antilabor, racist, antigay "law and order" platform.

Gays and other people expressed their anger in the hours following the verdict. San Francisco cops used the protests as a pretext for a rampage through neighborhoods where there are many gay people, beating anyone they saw.

The contrast between the Florida and California cases says a lot about capitalist justice. As the *Militant* wrote when White murdered Milk and Moscone, "When cops gun down strikers, Blacks, Chicanos, or gays under the cover of badges and blue uniforms, they can count on being excused with a slap on the wrist—at worst."

But when poor people like Darden and Spenkelink fall into the clutches of the law, it's a different story. They are rushed toward the electric chair.

In capitalist America, that's called "law and order."

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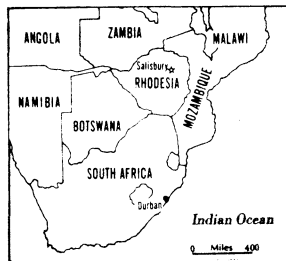
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U.S. helping hand for Rhodesian regime

Why Senate voted to drop sanctions against the white-minority-dominated government. **Page 21.**



The trial of Héctor Marroquín

This week the 'Militant' begins a series on testimony from the deportation trial of socialist who fled Mexican repression. **Pages 12-13.**



'The Deer Hunter'

A Vietnam veteran takes on the Academy Award winner. **Page 23.**

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Workers have a right to know Open records of the energy industry

By David Frankel

• Fact 1: U.S. imports of crude oil and refined products during the first four months of 1979 were up 4.3 percent over the level of the year before. On May 16 the company-funded American Petroleum Institute admitted that in April alone imports were up 7 percent over the previous year. (*New York Times*, May 17.)

• Fact 2: Gasoline marketing specialist Dan Lundberg "says real gasoline demand this year has not grown more than 2 percent over last year and, he says, will show no growth for April compared to a year ago." (*Washington Post*, May 13.)

In its May 16 report the API confirmed that demand for gasoline in April was virtually the same as it was a year earlier.

• Fact 3: "U.S. refineries have operated at 80% to 85% of capacity through most of this year, when levels of more than 90% are normal." (*Business Week*, May 28.)

Is it any wonder that working people have concluded that the present gas shortage is contrived and that we are being taken for a ride by the profit-hungry oil monopolies?

It has gotten to the point where company propagandists can't even keep their lies straight.

Twisted stories

Speaking to Exxon shareholders May 17, Exxon Chairman Clifton Garvin, Jr., declared: "I want to assure you that Exxon has not withheld supplies during this trying period."

Garvin claimed the problem was due to the cutoff of Iranian crude oil, and that other oil-producing countries had refused to make up the difference.

Not only was Garvin's explanation refuted by the industry's own figures from the API, but it was also contradicted by Robert Baldwin, president of Gulf Oil Refining and Marketing Company. Baldwin claimed, according to a

report in the May 18 *Christian Science Monitor*, that the gas shortage "stems from a lack of refining capacity, not a shortage of crude."

Oil industry executives used a slightly different line of argument to back their claim that they cannot use excess supplies of Alaskan oil to relieve the gas shortage in California. They said their California refineries could not handle the high-sulfur crude from Alaska.

But a former oil executive who had managed a refinery told San Francisco *Chronicle* reporter Larry Liebert: "I can't think of a refinery in California of any size that can't handle that kind of crude."

In the face of this testimony, "Standard of California's [Kenneth] Haley acknowledged that most California

refineries can process the Alaskan crude oil."

Being caught in bare-faced lies, however, has not stopped the oil barons from pushing ahead with their shake-down of the American people. When President Carter tried to take some of the heat off himself May 16 by promising that the gas shortage would ease up next month, industry representatives promptly replied that the situation in June would remain roughly the same as this month's.

"It would be absolutely wrong to give signals that the worst is over and that consumers should relax," declared Continental Oil's J. Alan Cope.

Exxon's Garvin promised that supplies would be tight for the next ten years.

The companies have also made it

clear that the gasoline shortage is only a dress rehearsal for shortages in heating oil this winter. At the end of March stocks of diesel fuel and home heating oil (chemically the same product), were 16.8 percent lower than a year earlier, according to the API.

Working farmers in some areas are already having trouble getting enough diesel oil for their machinery.

In California, it is working people who have had to get up at 4 a.m. in hopes of getting enough gas to get to work.

It is working people who are hurt by dollar-a-gallon gas prices.

It is working people whose recreation and vacations are disrupted—the rich can fly to their playgrounds in the Caribbean or Europe.

And it will be working people who will have to worry about the skyrocketing prices of heating oil this winter and who will be left sitting in the cold due to shortages.

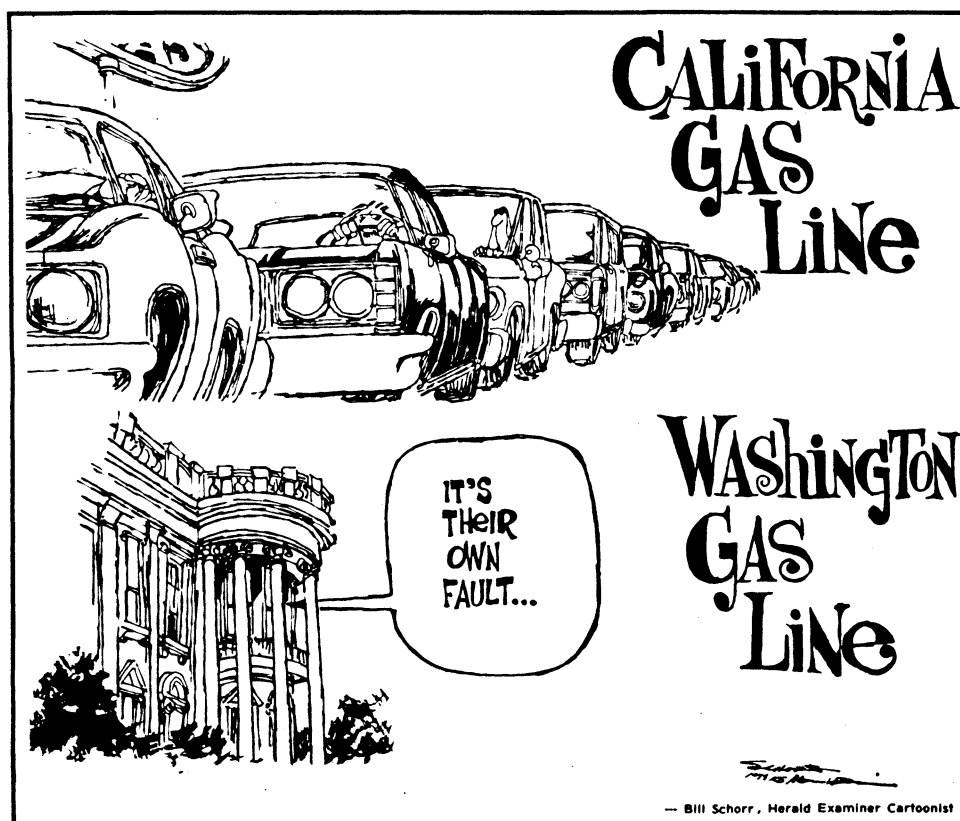
While the working class suffers, the Rockefellers, Gettys, and du Ponts are raking in billions. Moreover, since U.S. corporations control the lion's share of the world oil market, they collect tribute from working people all over the world as well as from us in the United States.

This was reflected in an article in the May 16 *Wall Street Journal*, which reported that the U.S. dollar "rose to its highest levels since last December against major Continental European currencies after Kuwait's oil minister was reported as saying a 'substantial' increase in the price of oil would be needed by the fourth quarter of this year."

Capitalist 'regulators'

Clearly, the interests of working people here and throughout the world cry out for bringing the operations of the energy monopolies under control. Even Carter and the capitalist govern-

Continued on next page



It doesn't pay to believe the oil companies

By Suzanne Haig

After Texas, Louisiana has the biggest oil industry in the country. Oil was discovered there in 1901, and within three months seventy-six different companies had joined the scramble for Louisiana oil.

The largest refinery in the United States is in Baton Rouge, and refineries line the edge of the Mississippi River. The only superport in the country is being built off the coast of New Orleans to service all the oil rigs.

Greg Nelson, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of

Louisiana, is a worker at the Kaiser Aluminum plant in Chalmette. He told the *Militant* that when one of the workers at the plant got into an argument and bet money on whether the gas shortage was phony, the other workers came up with an easy way to settle it.

Murphy Oil, a refinery organized—like Kaiser—by the United Steelworkers of America, is next to the Kaiser plant. "So these guys got on the phone to a buddy who works at Murphy Oil," Nelson said. They asked their friend at Murphy what was going on.

"He told them that his company

was building new oil storage tanks because they had more oil than they ever had before and didn't have enough room to store it all.

"Then the guys at Kaiser put their skeptical buddy on the phone so he could hear it for himself," said Nelson.

Gas prices are a big concern to the workers at Kaiser. Because of the marshes in the bayou country, many people live way out in the woods. "Some people drive an hour and a half to get to work and come from the middle of Mississippi," Nelson explained. "It's a tremendous burden

on them to pay high prices for gasoline.

"We started car-pooling back in 1975. It's not like people are 'wasting' their gasoline. They already come in big vans with ten people in them."

The discussion at Kaiser continued, based on the new information from the Murphy Oil workers. "Hell, if there was a shortage, they'd be laying people off at the refineries not building new storage tanks and looking for new workers," someone said.

"There's plenty of oil here. We'll get gas in June, all right, when the prices go up," another added.

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N.J. unionists demonstrate against gas ripoff

By David Frankel

LINDEN, N.J.—Three hundred people—mostly trade unionists—demonstrated here May 21, putting the blame for the gas shortage on the profit-gouging oil monopolies.

Held outside Exxon's Linden research center and in sight of Exxon's giant Linden refinery, the protest was called by the New Jersey Industrial Union Council.

Picket signs provided by the IUC focused on President Carter's plan to decontrol oil prices. Among the slogans were: "Exxon profits up 40%—Keep controls on oil prices"; and "Stop Exxon robbery—Stop decontrol of oil prices."

Others on the demonstration brought their own signs: "Middlesex Hospital Nurses say stop the oil rip-off," "Singer workers protest against phony gasoline shortage," "Regina

workers say stop gas ripoff," and "Halt ripoff on fuel prices."

United Auto Workers Local 906, which includes some 5,000 workers at Ford's Mahwah plant, sent a bus to the demonstration. Contingents also came from other New Jersey UAW locals.

Although the UAW contingents were the most visible, several locals of the International Union of Electrical Workers were also represented. Members of the Newark Teachers Union, retail clerks from Newark and Edison, and a delegation from Local 8-575 of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers at Merck chemical's Rahway Plant were on the picket line as well.

When picketers appealed to passing motorists to blow their horns in support of the demonstration, the response was deafening. Truck drivers going by were especially friendly.

Summing up the feeling of those demonstrating against the gas crisis, Paul Oliver, Jr., a committeeman in UAW Local 736 at GM's Clark plant, said: "I think the whole thing is designed to put profits in the oil companies and take money from the poor working people."

Speakers at the rally included James Grogan, president of the New Jersey Building Trades Council; Ed Gary, Director of UAW Region 9; William Bywater, president of IUE District 3; Rep. Andrew Maguire (D-N.J.); Carole Graves, president of the Newark Teachers Union; and Maurice Veneri, president of the Industrial Union Council.

Protesting "the ripoff of all of us by the giant oil companies of America and the western world," Gray pointed out that "their control is so great that the government has to rely on their figures."

A telegram from International Association of Machinists President William Winpisinger cheered the IUC's "effort to tell the truth about the energy crisis and put the blame where it belongs."

Bywater declared, "This oil shortage is a phony!"

"I'd like to remind you of what



Union protesters: 'Gas shortage is rigged'

Militant/Arnold Weissberg

happened the last time we had a shortage. The oil was on the ships and they kept them out in the harbor until the price went up."

Archie Cole, vice-president of the IUC, read an indictment of the oil companies to cheers of "guilty!" from the crowd. It said in part:

"We accuse Exxon, Mobil, Gulf, Texaco, Standard Oil and the rest of deliberately refusing to make available to the U.S. government facts and figures on domestic production and imports which would give the American people the information vital to the status of our country in the field of fuel and energy."

For about half an hour after the rally broke up, picketers marched around the intersection of Park Street, where the rally was held, and the main highway, Route 1.

When asked if he was happy with the demonstration, Bernie Jackson, first vice-president of UAW Local 906, declared: "No—I think more people should get out and let the government know what they feel. This is only the beginning."

A passing driver expressed his feelings when asked if he would like to buy a copy of the *Militant*. "Here's a dollar," he said. "I hate Exxon."

Exxon workers doubt shortage

Some of the workers at Exxon's Linden refinery were sympathetic to the picket line.

The refinery is not operating at capacity. Although the company says this is due to an explosion that took place there some months ago, workers know better.

They note that the refinery area where the accident occurred is now functioning, while other places are shut down tight.

Old timers at the plant shake their heads. "Too many unanswered questions," they say. "Why aren't they running to capacity if there's a gas shortage?"

Not all the workers got to see Exxon picketed. While not mentioning the rally by name, the daily company newsletter on Monday told first-shift workers to leave by the back gate to avoid a "traffic jam" expected on Route 1. —S.H.

...disclose secret records of energy industry

Continued from preceding page

ment give lip-service to the need to regulate the oil industry. The government goes through the motions of trying to set energy policies, and the Department of Energy sets various rules the industry is supposed to follow.

But this is a miserable charade. Virtually all of the Department of Energy's information on the oil industry is supplied by the companies themselves. And the corporations supply only the information they want to.

Alfred Dougherty, an official of the Federal Trade Commission, complained to the *Wall Street Journal* about the difficulties in trying to regulate or investigate the energy industry.

"Mr. Dougherty," the *Journal* reported May 16, "said the Energy Department often makes decisions with incomplete information because the oil industry is reluctant to provide the data. When the industry does provide information, it may be self-serving. . . . Sometimes the department gets the information only after promising that it won't share it with other arms of the government, he said."

By supporting the right of the oil trust to conduct its operations in complete secrecy, the capitalist "regulators" become part of the whole setup that enables the corporations to get away with their giant energy swindle.

As long as the working class is prevented from getting at all the facts about the secret machinations of the corporations, we will be unable to take the first step toward controlling the energy industry.

There is widespread recognition of this problem. It is raised in discussions among workers and even in the capitalist press. The editors of the *Christian Science Monitor* pointed out May 17 that "the problem at root is a lack of hard, reliable information."

Their solution is to set up still another government unit "to verify statistics supplied by the industry and to collect its own data on fuel costs, supplies, profits."

But President Carter and the Democrats and Republicans in Congress are not willing to force the industry to make its operations public. Anyone willing to open their eyes knows that this gas shortage has been contrived by the energy companies. Instead of getting at the facts and acting on them, both Congress and Carter have called on workers to sacrifice. Bills are even before Congress that would make it mandatory for people not to drive one day a week.

While the government helps the oil barons, working people feel helpless against the energy trust. These faceless corporations represent the greatest concentration of economic power in the world. In 1978, the ten biggest U.S. oil companies reported sales of \$220 billion. And that does not include the figures for the dozens of companies that these corporations control in turn—everything from coal and uranium mines to shipping companies.

Mobil oil, for example, has subsidiary operations that include insurance, paints, coal, shipbuilding, printing, real estate, and chain-store merchandising (Montgomery Ward and Marcor).

Even more closely guarded than the shady deals and market manipulations are the names of the handful of individual owners who hold the ultimate power over this entire vast empire.

What can be done to stop them from continuing to ride roughshod over the working class?

Publish the records

To begin with, the labor movement should call on Congress to pass a law opening all financial records, internal correspondence, stock portfolios, technical data, fuel reserves, refining and shipping capacity—the entire body of secret information that is in the hands of the energy trust—to public inspection.

It is necessary to eliminate the commercial secrets that enable the monopolies to hold the country for ransom. And the way to do it is not through another congressional committee, or a new government board. The information should be published so that the entire working class can see for itself.

Putting the energy industry under a magnifying glass would make it impossible for the capitalists to get away with creating shortages or disruptions in supplies, and would prevent price-fixing.

To make sure that the oil barons don't hold anything back, the workers in the energy industry should be called upon to secure the records and to police the continued functioning of the industry. They are in the best position to know if supplies are being held back, if refineries are not being run correctly, if newly discovered fuel sources are not being exploited.

Unions such as the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers, the United Mine Workers, and the Teamsters are the ones who could organize such supervision on the job. And in policing the industry in the interests of the working class as a whole, they could also police safety and working conditions for those in the industry itself.

As part of opening up the energy industry to public scrutiny, it is necessary to nationalize it, placing it under public ownership. As long as there is a maze of hundreds of interconnected, privately run companies, each with their separate records, it will be virtually impossible to oversee the industry effectively. The capitalists will be able to shift supplies and profits from one company to another, eventually hiding them in a system that is set up for precisely that purpose.

A realistic program

Labor's answer to the energy crisis should be to fight for:

- Full disclosure of the secret records of the energy industry;
- Continuing surveillance and control by the workers in the industry;
- Public discussion on any problems that exist and how to solve them;
- Public ownership of the industry and its amalgamation under a single system.

This is a realistic program that would eliminate periodic crises and exorbitant prices once and for all. We would be able to see exactly what resources exist and what must be developed. We would be able to proceed rationally to meet the needs of the American people.

San Diego IAM local: 'open oil industry's books'

By Suzanne Haig

Workers at Rohr Industries, an aerospace contractor in San Diego, decided to get their union to put out a statement about the phony gas shortage—to demand that the oil industry make its records public (see box). International Association of Machinists Local 755, which represents the workers at Rohr, has 3,200 members. Jay Fisher, a milling machinist, told the *Militant* why the workers decided to act.

"People in the plant believe the shortage is a fraud. They know that there'll be plenty of gas when it goes up to a dollar a gallon—or more. They think we in California are guinea pigs—that the oil industry is trying it out on us first before they go around to the rest of the country," he said.

Several workers brought a resolution to the second-shift union meeting on May 22. "Because of this resolution and another against nuclear power, it was the biggest second-shift meeting in a long time," Fisher said.

"The guy who works on a machine across from me was two hours late on Monday trying to get gas. He liked the resolution," Fisher said. "And six young workers in my area came to the meeting just for it."

The business agent spoke in favor of the resolution in his report and urged people to vote for it.

Since the meeting Fisher has talked to a lot of people about the resolution. A few have questions.

"Won't the oil companies hide their real records in a vault somewhere 500 feet underground so we'll never be able to see the truth?"

"Everyone already knows it's a lie, so what good will it do to open the books?"

One worker, who supported the resolution, wondered what could be done with it. "It's just words on a piece of paper," he felt.

Despite questions like these, most workers felt confident that the resolution was an important first step.

One Black worker, for example, told Fisher that "when all of the records of

the oil industry in this country are looked at, it will be like finding out that someone everyday has been taking money out of your bank account. You'd be mad as hell to see documentation that they've been stealing from us like that."

A Chicano said it would be like opening up "all the filth and lies. The industry will have all the lies written down in black and white. We'll be able to see how they thought them all up," he said.

A tool grinder who hadn't gone to the union meeting marched over to Fisher's machine after reading the resolution. "This is a good thing here," he said, "but I don't think it's going to get passed until one union gets to other unions who then go out and get community groups and this gets to be a national thing. That's what it's going to take to get anything like opening the books."

On May 23, the day after the resolution was passed in Local 755, the *San Francisco Examiner* carried a headline that added to the outrage of working people in California.

The headline, which read "Let the poor walk," referred to Sen. S.I. Hayakawa's statement following a meeting with Carter on the gas shortage.

Millionaire Hayakawa arrogantly declared, "The important thing is that a lot of the poor don't need gas because they're not working. Wealthy people are driving around in their jets and cadillacs and they are going to do that whether they have to pay 95 cents for gas or 3 dollars for gas. Let the price of gas go up—\$1.25, \$1.50, \$2.00 or \$2.50."

The next day Raúl González, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of San Diego, brought copies of the Local 755 resolution to his job at Solar Turbines. The workers there are in IAM Local 685. They had read about Hayakawa's remarks, and they were angry.

One worker taped a copy of the resolution to a wall above the tool crib that night. Five days later it was still up.

Text of IAM resolution

The following resolution was passed by Local 755, International Association of Machinists.

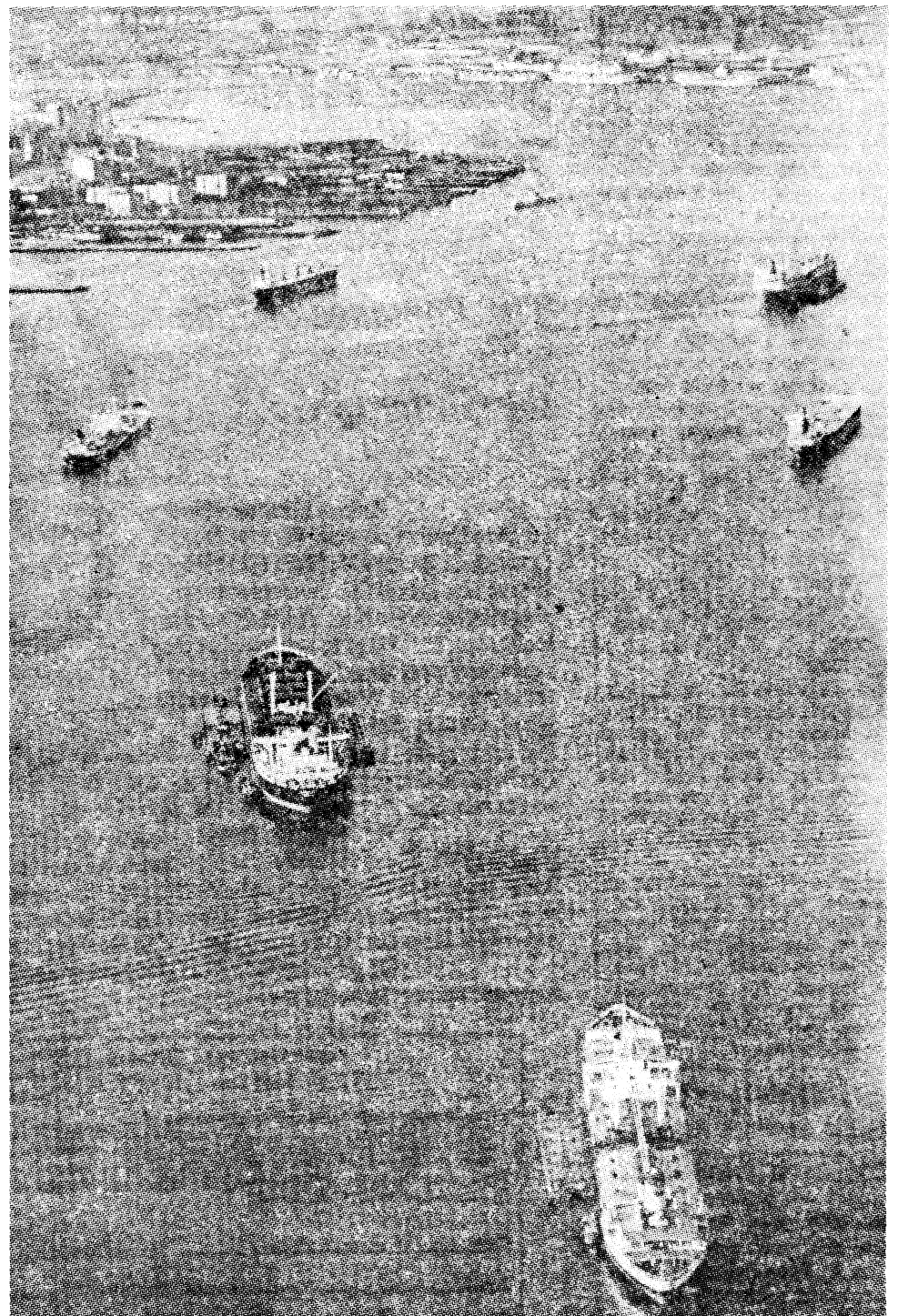
We the members of the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers, Local 755, believe the current gas shortage has been artificially produced by the oil monopolies as part of their drive for higher profits. Along with the artificial shortage of gas, the oil companies have also taken more of the workers' ever shrinking paycheck by raising gasoline prices tremendously. Now we have to wait hours in

gas lines to pay 30 percent more than three months ago.

This takes away from our inadequate leisure time and often makes it difficult to get to work.

So that working people can get to the bottom of what is really behind this artificial "shortage" and so we can intelligently discuss solutions in our interest, we feel that all the oil industry's records should be made public.

OPEN THE BOOKS! Let the working people know the whole truth about how the energy industry is run.



Tankers outside New York harbor during 1973 oil crisis, waiting for prices to rise. Opening books of the energy industry would expose such profiteering.

González asked the tool crib attendant what people had had to say about it. "There's been nothing but praise," he said, "even by a few foremen."

The crib attendant asked González what Local 755 was going to do with the resolution. "Are they getting around a petition?" he asked.

González said he thought they were trying to get the international union involved.

"Well, that would be the only way we could do it," the attendant answered, "because if it's just one local union, we can't do that much. But if we got the whole international involved in fighting for it, then you can have an impact."

One twenty-five-year-old white worker was skeptical at first. "If they were forced to open the books, it would

make Watergate look like a nickel-and-dime dope bust," he told González.

"But for that reason, I don't think they would ever do it. How could you force them?"

González explained that if the unions got together, working people would have that kind of power.

Yes, the worker said, he agreed with that, "but it is something that would be very hard to do because they have us so divided."

Under the impact of the shortage and the lies of the oil industry and the government, more and more working people are looking for solutions that can break down the divisions and unify us. This resolution and the discussions that workers are having about it are an important first step in this process.

Miners reaction to gas crisis: anger, disbelief

By Suzanne Haig

From California to West Virginia, working people are expressing anger and disbelief at the gas shortage. Coal miners at Martinka No. 1 mine in Fairmont, West Virginia, are no exception.

They recall the last shortage, when tankers sat off the coast filled to the brim with oil. When the prices went up—the tankers came in.

According to coal miner Tom Moriarty, they also recall the Alaska pipeline. "Workers remember that they said it would solve all our oil problems," he said.

Some machines in the mines run hydraulically on oil pressure, according to Moriarty. "Occasionally a hole pops in the hose, causing gallons of oil

to spew out. Then we have to stand in a puddle of oil while they clean it up."

Recently, when this had happened, the discussion turned naturally to the gas shortage, and someone said, "Don't you guys know there's an oil shortage? You're keeping the Arabs in business."

"The reason I remember this," said Moriarty, "is because it's the first and only time I've heard the Arabs blamed. Most miners put the blame on the domestic oil companies."

Miners are very concerned about the gas shortage, because most have to drive long distances to get to work, and gas is getting harder to find. A lot of miners have mobile homes and pickup trucks, which burn more gas. State allotments of gas are down 17-20 per-

cent for May.

The end of the month is the Memorial Day weekend, and June 30 through July 14 is the miners' vacation period. They want to be able to get out of town.

Because of this miners were particularly annoyed by Carter's remarks on TV about people needing to walk to work to save fuel. "Many were surprised to see him come out so clearly on the side of the oil companies without even giving a nod to working people's plight," said Moriarty.

Moriarty said he'd be happy to walk if his "office" was in his house like Carter's.

The miners' concern about gas goes beyond just thinking about themselves. One miner in Moriarty's crew,

pointing out that miners are some of the better-paid workers in the United States, said, "I don't like paying the prices of gasoline now, but it's going to get worse. What in the hell is the average person going to do?"

Occasionally discussion comes up around the coal liquification process. In this process, which is already in use in some countries, coal is used to make a substitute for oil.

"They've made a big deal here about building an experimental plant for coal liquification in Morgantown," Moriarty said. "It's supposed to be in operation in 1983. Oil people are making all kinds of excuses against substituting this for oil, even before it's built. But it's just like gasahol—they would do it if it was profitable enough."

Socialists campaign to tell truth about gas crisis

By Peter Seidman

In California, people have been waiting for hours on gas lines.

In New York City, stations are now selling gas by the half-gallon so that their pumps can charge more than 99.9 cents a gallon.

Socialist workers report that this latest round of price-gouging by the energy corporations is the biggest topic of discussion in plants from coast to coast.

"People are extremely angry," reports Holbrook Mahn, who organizes sales of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* in Los Angeles.

"But they are also tremendously frustrated. They're being held up at

gas-nozzle point. But the people we talk to on the gas lines here don't know what they can do about it."

In response to the gas crisis, the *Militant* has gone on a special campaign to explain how the oil trusts have contrived a shortage, what workers in the plants are discussing, what steps the labor movement could take to end the energy blackmail.

Sales of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* are the most important single way that members of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance have to get out our ideas on the gas crisis.

Reports from around the country indicate working people are eager to read what we have to say.

Motorists waiting in gas lines bought 561 of the 710 papers Los Angeles socialists sold last week. "Buying the *Militant* became a form of protest," Mahn said.

In Berkeley, California, the SWP branch sold half its papers on gas lines. "It was even easier than our highly successful sales around the antinuclear issues," SWP organizer Arlene Rubenstein reported. "People on the lines were holding up the front-page headline 'Stop the gas swindle,' like protest signs."

But sales of the paper represent more than a mood of protest.

Mahn told how people who'd read the previous week's issue would often have their money out, waiting for their salesperson as they came down the gas line. People were interested in the *Militant* because "it not only expressed their anger, but also pointed out what to do," Mahn explained.

This was also the experience in Pittsburgh. Socialists there have begun regular sales to coal miners during the last few weeks. At Consolidation Coal's Rentan mine, salespeople

flag down cars coming in for the midnight shift change. When workers roll down their windows to find out what's happening, salespeople urge them to buy the *Militant*, explaining, "We think coal miners can take the lead in the fight to expand coal production and shut down nukes."

A typical response is "right on." Seven people bought the paper this way at last week's sale. At the Harman mine, also near Pittsburgh, socialists are now selling about ten *Militants* a week.

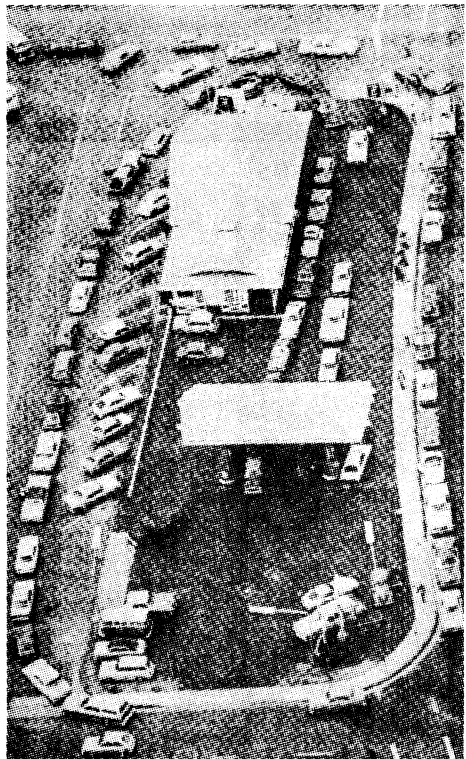
These successes underscore the importance of SWP branches and YSA chapters maintaining sales of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*, even though our spring circulation drive is now completed. We would miss a big opportunity right now otherwise.

Forums & candidates

SWP members are also organizing Militant Labor forums so that our co-workers can have the opportunity to hear a party speaker on the energy crisis, and then participate in a discussion of what the unions can do about it.

In several cities, the SWP is now running candidates for public office. They are making the socialist answer to the oil barons a key part of their campaigns.

And everywhere they can, as articles elsewhere in this issue also demonstrate, socialists are bringing their ideas on what working people can do now into their unions, for discussion and action.



Socialists have found excellent reception of 'Militant' on gas lines.

Sales scoreboard

CITY	MILITANT		PM		TOTAL		
	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold	Percent
Iron Range	35	134			35	134	382.8
Albuquerque	115	248	20	46	135	294	217.7
Atlanta	145	319	5	0	150	319	212.6
Birmingham	100	201			100	201	201.0
Kansas City	110	217		4	110	221	200.9
Dallas	125	233	35	87	160	320	200.0
Newark	100	200	10	19	110	219	199.0
Denver	120	237	20	32	140	269	192.1
Salt Lake City	130	255	5	4	135	259	191.8
Louisville	100	185			100	185	185.0
Baltimore	100	180			100	180	180.0
Los Angeles	320	579	80	131	400	710	177.5
Cincinnati	75	127			75	127	169.3
Washington, D.C.	230	372	20	39	250	411	164.4
Morgantown	100	163			100	163	163.0
New York City	540	835	60	130	600	965	160.8
Toledo	100	154		3	100	157	157.0
Pittsburgh	200	301			200	301	150.5
San Diego	105	151	20	31	125	182	145.6
Minneapolis	150	200			150	200	133.3
Philadelphia	225	300	25	30	250	330	132.0
San Jose	105	153	15	4	120	157	130.8
St. Louis	125	158			125	158	126.4
Phoenix	95	99	30	58	125	157	125.6
Gary	75	85			75	85	113.3
San Francisco	275	283		20	275	303	110.1
Seattle	145	164	5	0	150	164	109.3
Berkeley	145	155	5	2	150	157	104.6
Milwaukee	120	126	5	4	125	130	104.0
Raleigh	90	92			90	92	102.2
Houston	170	178	30	18	200	196	98.0
Portland	100	95			100	95	95.0
St. Paul	100	88			100	88	88.0
Chicago	310	263	40	40	350	303	86.5
Oakland	145	119	15	15	160	134	83.7
Tacoma	125	94			125	94	75.2
Detroit	175	132	5	0	180	132	73.3
Indianapolis	85	62			85	62	72.9
San Antonio	50	33	10	4	60	37	61.6
Cleveland	115	73	5	0	120	73	60.8
Boston	200	126	25	1	225	127	56.4
Albany	100	52	5	3	105	55	52.3
New Orleans	100	40			100	40	40.0
TOTALS	6,333	8261	525	725	6,858	8,986	131.0

Not reporting: Amherst; Iowa City; Miami; Vermont.

Covers sales of issue number nineteen of the 'Militant' and the first week of sales of issue number nine of 'Perspectiva Mundial.'

Gas line sales set pace

By Peter Seidman

This week's scoreboard reports the final, successful week of our drive to sell 100,000 copies of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* this spring.

Our total of 8,989 papers—131 percent—will put the drive as a whole way over the top. In the near future, we'll report our final cumulative scoreboard and a wrap-up of how we did.

Brisk sales at gas lines set the pace for issue 19 sales. But working people everywhere were interested in what socialists had to say about the energy crisis. Industrial sales totaled 1,001 (596 at plant gates and 405 to co-workers on the job). This is the highest industrial sales total for any one week of the spring drive.

Several areas sold at picket lines of striking rubber workers. St. Paul socialists sold eleven papers to sixteen pickets at the big Uniroyal plant in Eau Claire, Wisconsin. Toledo supporters sold eight *Militants* to twelve picketing members of United Rubber Workers Local 926 in Port Clinton, Ohio. Both sales teams received the same interested and friendly response previously reported about Detroit Uniroyal strikers.

Steelworkers in Newport News, Virginia, bought eighty-two *Militants* last week.

Perspectiva Mundial also benefited from the extra efforts our supporters put into this final national target week. *PM* sales were 725, more than double the previous week's total.

Cuban offices bombed in Washington

By Harry Ring

The U.S. government's continuing efforts to isolate and threaten Cuba are being accompanied by rising violence on the part of counterrevolutionary Cuban exiles. These terrorists have recently targeted Cuban-Americans who are beginning to take an open and even sympathetic attitude toward the Cuban revolution.

On May 19, a bomb exploded outside the Cuban diplomatic offices in Washington. It did extensive damage, but no one was injured. All diplomatic offices are supposed to have round-the-clock U.S. protection, but the cops obviously looked the other way when the bombers attacked.

The following Sunday morning,

churchgoers found five bullet holes in the door of the Christian Reformed Evangelical Church in Miami. The church is headed by Rev. Manuel Espinosa, a central figure in the developing dialogue between the Cuban community in the United States and the Castro government. Many advocates of the "dialogue" call on the U.S. government to lift its economic blockade against Cuba and open diplomatic and trade relations with the country.

Espinosa, who was in Havana at the time of the attack on the church, has been involved in negotiating the immigration of prisoners from Cuba to the United States. He has also helped arrange the visits home of Cubans living here.

Earlier, Espinosa escaped an assassination attack.

One such attempt was successful. This was the April 28 murder in Puerto Rico of Carlos Muñiz, a leader of the Antonio Maceo Brigade. The brigade is composed of young Cubans who support the dialogue. Many of its members are also supporters of the revolution. It has organized extensive visits to Cuba.

Credit for the murder of Muñiz was taken by a gang of thugs calling themselves "Command O." This gang is associated with Omega 7, the group that took credit for the Washington bombing.

Following the murder of Muñiz, one of the thugs called an exile paper in Miami, saying, "We have killed one,

we will kill seventy-four more."

This referred to the Committee of 75, the broad-ranging group who initiated the dialogue.

On May 21, the threat of "Commando O" was expanded. In a press release to UPI, the right-wingers threatened that all visitors to Cuba would be targeted for murder.

In taking credit for the bomb attack on the Cuban mission in Washington, Omega 7 told AP May 19, "We demand the withdrawal of Cuban troops on the African continent."

As does the United States government. Which may help explain why it seems to find it so difficult to track down this small group of reactionary killers.

Management is to blame

Women unionists protest job harassment

By Elizabeth Ziers

DETROIT—More than twenty women lined up to testify at the Detroit City County Building May 9 for hearings on sexual harassment in the workplace. In the evening another session of hearings was held at the United Auto Workers' Solidarity House. The two sessions were jointly sponsored by the Michigan Department of Labor and University of Michigan Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations.

Women did not come to talk about casual flirtation or innuendo. They told the 100-person audience of how they have been subjected to rape, attempted rape, physical assault, threats of firings, and dangerous job assignments.

Most of the women who testified—including auto workers, secretaries, and waitresses—said they came to tell their stories because they have "nowhere else to go." Their immediate foremen and supervisors are the source of the harassment they suffer. And their complaints to higher levels of management either fall on deaf ears or result in stepped-up victimization.

Flora Roberts passed the skilled trades apprenticeship test at General Motors in 1978 with one of the highest scores in her group. As a single parent, she was hopeful her improved wages would enable her to better provide for her two sons.

Roberts, who is Black, started work at General Motors Chevy Gear and Axle in January. Her ordeal started then and hasn't stopped since.

In addition to sexual harassment by

her supervisors, she is called into the office on a daily basis and questioned about aspects of toolmaking she has not yet been taught.

Even though she performs her job according to requirements, Roberts is constantly criticized by foremen and harangued about why she doesn't "go back to production work."

After Roberts complained to higher levels of management, the bosses encouraged her co-workers to harass her as well. She has filed grievances and suits but her problems persist.

Wilton Cain, president of United Auto Workers Local 961 at Chrysler Eldon Gear and Axle, testified that a number of women from his plant are out on the street after being fired for refusing their foremen's sexual demands.

He said numerous women and the union have made statements and filed grievances against these foremen. But the foremen are always defended by the company for their "high efficiency."

"Their purpose is to produce cars and make money, and that's all the company cares about," Cain testified.

"We as a union have only the grievance procedure to deal with this problem," he went on, "and the grievance procedure is outdated and backlogged. It can take six months to a year to get a woman's job back after she's been fired. During this time she may have three or four children she has to feed. There have to be some laws to protect these women. Give us some help, because we need it."

Noel Little, thirty-two years old, was the first woman insurance agent at Sentry Insurance Company in suburban Southfield. During her fifteen

months at the company, she said, her job was continually threatened because she refused sexual relations with her boss. Her salary was frozen and her workload tripled for resisting his pressure. Finally she was forced to quit.

Cynthia Ware, an auto worker with ten months' seniority at General Motors Fisher Body in Pontiac, Michigan, said her problems started when she protested a dangerous job assignment—on a truck sitting on a ramp where cars could roll back and hit her.

While her foreman had not sexually harassed her, said Ware, he had called her a "lazy bitch" and shouted that he "didn't know why they put goddamned women in here to do the job."

At this point the Labor Department mediator interrupted to ask the women testifying to limit their remarks to incidences of sexual harassment, not sex discrimination.

But, as Ruth Jeffries of the National Organization for Women explained, sexual harassment and sex discrimination are part and parcel of the same oppression women face on the job and in society at large. Jeffries called for prohibiting sexual harassment by the same laws that prohibit discrimination.

Because victims of sexual harassment are made to look like criminals, they hesitate to come forward, Jeffries explained. She said NOW's most conservative estimate is that 75 percent of women workers are sexually harassed. To prevent this, she added, the foremen or supervisors who say "put out or get out" must be prosecuted.

Jan Leventer, attorney for the Detroit Women's Justice Center, said an

extensive public education campaign must accompany pressure for legal protection. Co-workers must communicate with one another about these problems, Leventer said, for there is strength in their numbers.

Dorothy Haener, head of the UAW's Women's Department, testified that sexual harassment "cannot be tolerated" by the union movement. This problem is becoming known today only because women now have the courage and confidence to come forward, she said. Haener called attention to the even worse situation faced by women in unorganized plants, who lack union protection.

"Even if no threat of firing is implied by the harasser," said Floyd Chambers, civil rights representative for United Steelworkers District 29, "if the effect of the harassment on the women's mental or physical health is so great that she has to quit, the result is still the same—loss of employment."

Some witnesses raised the predicament of recently hired women, still working their probationary period. These women can be discharged at any time without union protection.

Riola Phillips, a member of UAW Local 600 and the Dearborn Assembly Plant's Women's Committee, testified that she had been fired during probation after taking a medical leave. Harassment by a co-worker had caused her to be injured on the job. In line with management's policy of encouraging sexual harassment, Phillips was the one fired.

One of the key tasks of recently formed UAW women's committees, said Phillips, will be to deal with sexual harassment and help force the companies to police their foremen.

Elizabeth Ziers is a member of United Auto Workers Local 600 at the Dearborn Assembly Plant.

Arizona copper miners end safety walkout

By Eduardo Quintana and Rob Roper

HAYDEN, Ariz.—Five hundred copper workers here in central Arizona returned to their jobs May 20, ending a sixteen-day walkout.

They had been protesting unsafe working conditions in the Hayden reduction plant, a facility of Kennecott Copper.

Under the threat of court-imposed fines and lacking strike benefits the workers called off their job action without winning their chief demands. But they intend to continue their struggle for safe working conditions inside the plant.

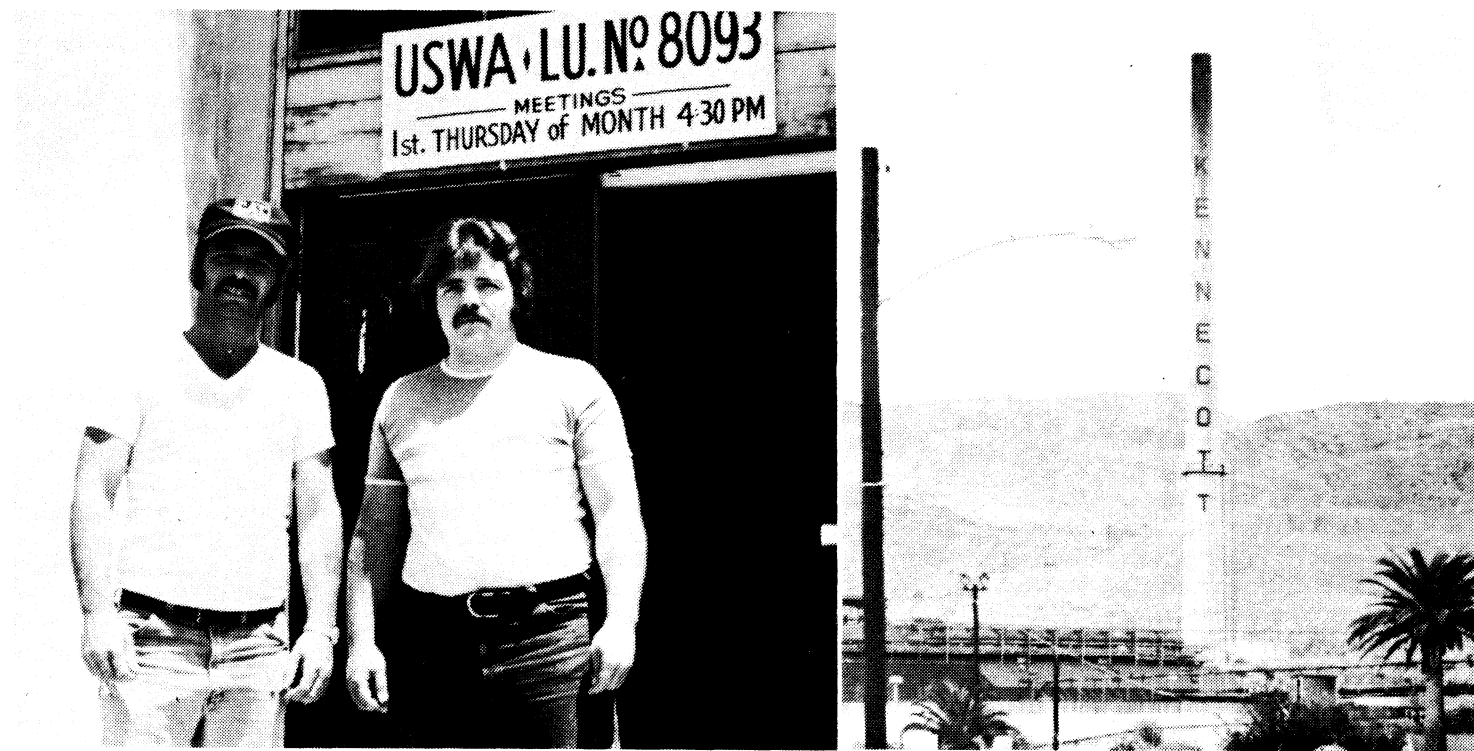
The majority of miners here are members of United Steelworkers Local 8093. The rest belong to five other unions—Boilermakers, Machinists, Pipefitters, Carpenters, and International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.

Unionists first walked off the job April 19, the day after two workers, Juan Fuentes and Ray Cruz, were seriously burned in an accident. They stayed out until Occupational Safety and Health Administration inspectors investigated and fined Kennecott a paltry \$1,400 for safety violations.

Kennecott promised to immediately correct the hazards in the cyclone area, the large, funnel-shaped units where the men were burned. But once workers were back on the job, they were ordered into the cyclone area without the protective clothing promised.

On May 4, sixteen days after the accident, Juan Fuentes died from the burns he had suffered. "His lungs were completely burnt, even though he had his respirator on," said Boilermakers local President Roy Sawyer.

Kennecott had still not made the safety corrections required by OSHA. So the workers walked out again, de-



Boilermakers local president Roy Sawyer (left) and Joe Goga. 'Kennecott doesn't care about human lives, just profits,' says Sawyer.

manding enforcement of OSHA regulations and no reprisals against the protesters.

I was up there where the two guys were burned," said USWA International Representative Roy Santa Cruz. "There's nowhere to go. You're trapped."

Kennecott claims it "can't afford" the safety measures until the plant shuts down in June. "They don't care about human lives, just profits," said Sawyer. "They put production above safety."

Sawyer's charge is verified by the company's profit figures. Kennecott projects 1979 profits that will pay

dividends *twenty-two times* more than last year's—from \$.15 a share to \$3.25. Meanwhile, Kennecott Chairman Thomas Barrow enjoys a salary of \$365,000 a year—that's \$1,000 a day! But the company can't scrape up the money to save the lives of its employees.

Kennecott responded to the walkout by seeking a back-to-work court order and \$900,000 a day in fines against the USWA. Various tricks were used to make it appear as though normal production in the plant was continuing.

But, according to miner Joe Ivey, the company failed to intimidate and dem-

oralize its workers. "The union seemed to be getting weaker before this happened," he said. "Now we are together."

The workers' unity was demonstrated in daily meetings bringing together all six unions, and in their determination to resist any reprisals.

The solidarity forged during their walkout will be a powerful weapon in the miners' continuing fight for safe working conditions. The urgency of this struggle was confirmed again the day they returned to their jobs. Six workers narrowly escaped with their lives from a mud and sludge explosion inside one of the plant's converters.

June actions demand nuclear shutdown

By Arnold Weissberg

Around the country, activists are putting the finishing touches on plans for anti-nuclear power protests June 2-3, the International Days of Protest. This round of actions, coming in the wake of Three Mile Island and the march of 125,000 people against nuclear power in Washington May 6, is marked by increased participation of the labor movement.

In the Gary, Indiana, area, the Bailly Alliance is holding a protest in nearby Michigan City June 3 against construction of the Bailly 1 nuclear power plant.

Speaking at the rally will be James Balanoff, Director of United Steelworkers District 31; Gary mayor Richard Hatcher; Pat Clark, president of United Steelworkers Local 1026; Mike Olszanski, head of USWA Local 1010's environmental committee; and Ray Yenchus, president of United Transportation Union Local 1883.

USWA Local 1010 has long been on record opposing Bailly, and it has recently been joined by Local 6787, which organizes the steel plant next to which Bailly will be built.

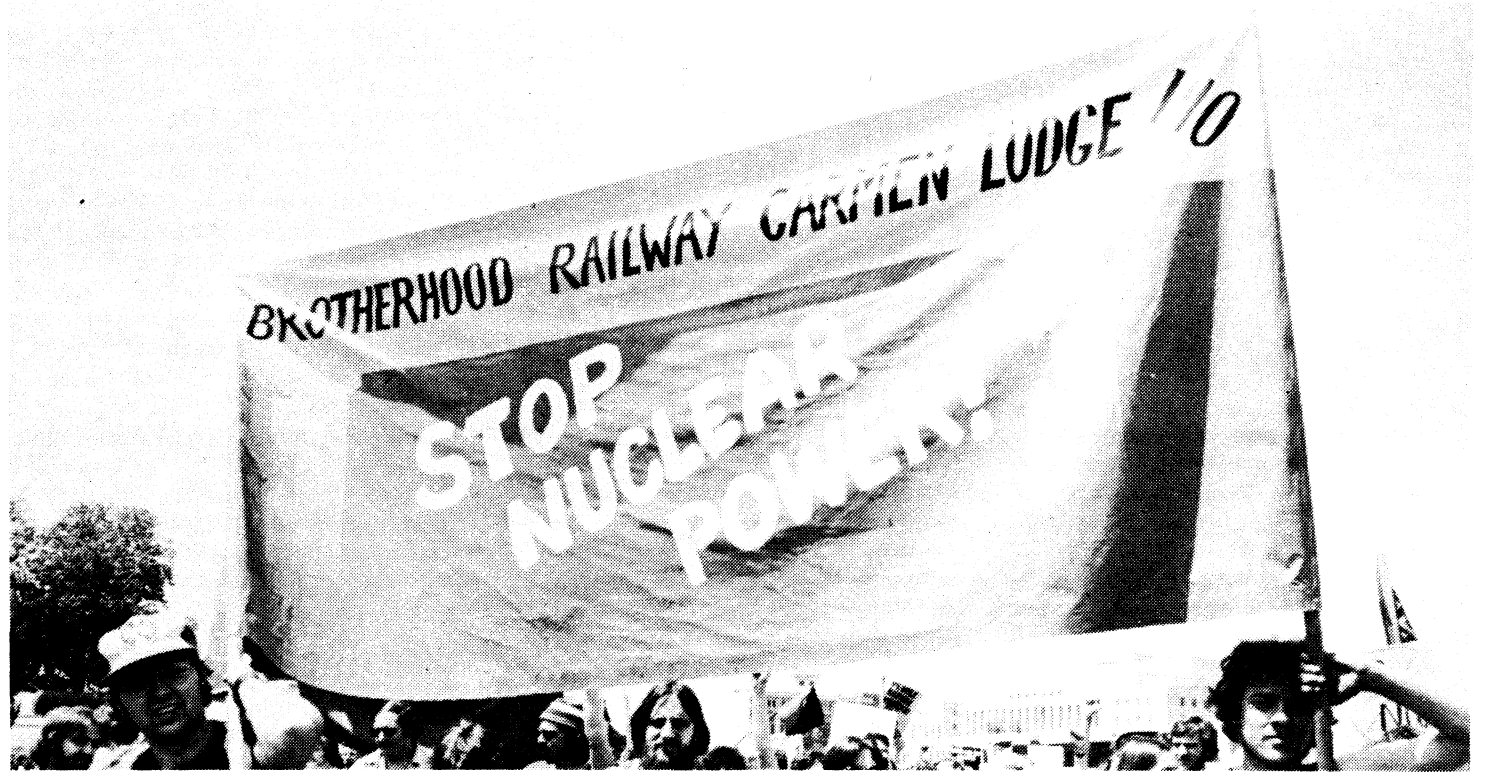
And International Longshoremen's Association Local 1969 at the Port of Indiana also recently went on record as opposing the construction of the Bailly nuke.

The June 3 protest will begin with a noon march from Sixth Street and Franklin Square for a 1 p.m. rally at the old band shell in Washington Park. For more information call the Bailly Alliance at (219) 926-2820.

At a demonstration planned for June 3 at the Pilgrim nuclear power plant in Massachusetts, scheduled speakers include Mason Caudill, a United Mine Workers local president from Kentucky; Jerry Gordon, an international representative for District 2 of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters Union; state representative Mel King; and antinuclear activist Anna Gyorgy.

The action is sponsored by the Massachusetts Bay Coalition, Boston Clamshell, and Pilgrim Alliance.

Workers at the huge General Electric plant in Lynn are organizing a bus to the rally. Leaflets about the action have been distributed at Raytheon, the



Banner at May 6 antinuclear march on Washington. June 2-3 protests have drawn local union support.

Militant/Lou Howort

state's largest employer and a major manufacturer of nuclear weaponry. The Boston Teachers Union newspaper carried a full-page article on nuclear power and the June 3 protest.

An anti-nuclear weapons march and rally are set for Cambridge June 2, at Draper Laboratories, which designs nuclear weapons systems. Speakers there include Peter Fisher of Boiler-makers Local 614 (shipfitters) and anti-Vietnam War figure Sid Peck. The action is sponsored by Mobilization for Survival.

A June 2 protest is set for Monroe, Michigan, the site of the under-construction Fermi II nuclear power plant. In 1966 Fermi I, a short forty miles from Detroit and Toledo, underwent a core meltdown. The accident forced the closing of the plant, and it later became the subject of the book *We Almost Lost Detroit*.

The protest is being organized by a number of antinuclear groups around Michigan and northwestern Ohio. It has also been endorsed by United Auto Workers Locals 869, 599, 372, 1619, 15,

and a unit of Local 600 (all in Michigan), the Jeep and Bingham units of UAW Local 12 in Toledo, and Communications Workers of America Local 4001.

The antinuclear groups have put out a special eight-page tabloid, *The Stop Fermi II Special*.

Speakers at the rally will include Prof. Art Schwartz of the University of Michigan, Susan Case speaking on Karen Silkwood, and Mike Parker of UAW Local 869.

The Bingham unit of Local 12 passed a resolution backing the action and calling for a permanent shutdown of Fermi II and the Davis-Bessie plant near Toledo.

Leaflets about the protest have been posted on union bulletin boards at Bingham Stamping, and a car caravan for Monroe will leave from there.

Detroit steelworkers at the Whitehead and Kales plant are putting together a contingent for the rally.

For more information, call the Toledo Coalition for Safe Energy at (419) 243-6959. In Detroit, call (313)

865-6901.

In Wisconsin a demonstration is set for June 2 in Sheboygan, near the proposed site for a nuclear power plant at Haven. Featured speaker will be Ray Majerus, director of United Auto Workers Region 10.

The Shoreham, Long Island, nuclear power plant, nearing completion, will be the target of a protest rally June 3, sponsored by the Shad Alliance. Speakers include Leon Harris of the Village-Chelsea NAACP, George Wald, and others.

Other protests are set for June 3 in Madison, Indiana, near Louisville; June 2 in Atlanta; June 2 in Indianapolis; June 3 in Essex, Illinois, near the Braidwood reactor; June 3 at Prairie Island, Minnesota; June 2 at the Fort Saint Vrain nuclear power plant in Colorado; June 3 at the South Texas Nuclear Project, near Houston, and the Glen Rose nuclear plant, near Dallas; June 2 at the North Anna nuclear plant, seventy miles from Washington, D.C.; and June 3 at the Perry nuclear plant, near Cleveland.

Kentucky steel local says no to nuclear plants

By Steve Diehl

WILDER, Ky.—United Steelworkers Local 1870 at Interlake Steel here voted May 16 to oppose nuclear power and to print a leaflet in support of the June 3 antinuclear demonstration.

The June 3 action will be held near the Zimmer nuclear plant, some twenty miles from the Cincinnati and northern Kentucky area.

The union leaflet will be passed out to the more than 1,000 members of Local 1870, the largest steel local in northern Kentucky.

Discussion in the local on nuclear power began at the April meeting, when a representative from the local antinuclear group, Citizens Against a Radioactive Environment (CARE), gave a presentation. The CARE representative, a member of the Cincinnati Federation of Teachers, explained the dangers of nuclear power, especially those of the nearby Zimmer plant, and why trade unionists should oppose the nuclear threat.

After discussion, a proposal that the local take an antinuclear stand was tabled and referred to the local executive board.

At the executive board meeting, I spoke, giving more facts on the hazards of nuclear power. I pointed to

what other union locals around the country have done against nuclear power, in particular USWA Local 1010 and District 31 in the Chicago-Gary area.

The main debate was over whether a no-nuclear power position would also mean a no-nuclear weapons stand. There was stiff opposition to the latter. It was decided that if the local voted against nuclear power, it would refer only to the Zimmer plant and other nuclear power plants across the country.

The executive board voted by a slim margin to recommend the local take an anti-nuclear power stand.

At the local meeting May 16, most of the questions centered around whether the union should be involved in issues like this. I and another member of the local argued that our unions have the organization and power needed to shut the plants down. We explained that the government and utilities were in collusion and that it was left to working people to fight nuclear power.

There were about fifty members present at the beginning of the meeting, and while attendance had dwindled by the time the antinuclear motion came up, only three voted against it.

Our union will need to continue doing education work within the local around nuclear power. We'll begin it with the leaflet we distribute within the plant, calling for participation in

the June 3 protest.

The day after the local vote, on May 17, I spoke before Local 1639 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, urging its participation in the antinuclear fight. Local 1639 is one of the locals at Longview State Hospital in Cincinnati. The AFSCME local then adopted a no-nuclear power motion, including support for the June 3 march and rally.

'Shut it down forever!'

Chanting "First you try to kill us, then you want to bill us," 2,000 people marched to the Metropolitan Edison home office in Reading, Pennsylvania, May 20. The utility is part owner of the Three Mile Island nuclear plant.

Called as a women's and children's march, the demonstration was made up of residents and families from the Three Mile Island area. They protested attempts by Metropolitan Edison to increase electricity rates in order to pass on to consumers the costs of the nuclear plant's accident March 28.

Among the demands of the action were:

- Three Mile Island should be

closed forever.

- Met Ed stockholders—not consumers and tax payers—should pay for all costs arising from the accident.

- Local radiation readings should be taken daily in the area and specific details made public.

- The health of local residents and workers should be monitored.

The march and rally were organized by Three Mile Island Alert. Speakers included Susan Cassidy, former resident of Middletown, Pennsylvania; Judith Johnsrud, co-director of Environmental Coalition Against Nuclear Power; and Donna Warnock, board member of Supporters of Silkwood.

Steve Diehl is a member of United Steelworkers Local 1870.

Louisiana SWP nominee slams Weber, oil barons

By Ron Repps

NEW ORLEANS—Greg Nelson, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Louisiana, hit a responsive note when he told a campaign rally here May 12, "At the risk of seeming cruel, perhaps it's time to insist that all the oil barons in Louisiana go to work."

The audience at the opening rally for the socialist gubernatorial campaign had no trouble identifying with Nelson's remarks on the energy crisis. They knew that once the oil companies get the price they want, there'll be plenty of oil.

"If there really is an oil shortage," Nelson reasoned, "why are the oil companies building new storage facilities in the state?"



GREG NELSON

Nelson is a member of United Steelworkers of America Local 13000 at the nearby Kaiser Aluminum plant in Chalmette. He has been active in the fight against the suit of Brian Weber, a white lab technician who is challenging the affirmative-action program won by the USWA at Kaiser's other plant in Gramercy.

Nelson concluded his remarks by referring to the Weber case. "If you believe in your union, then you have to fight racism—you have to fight Weber."

John Gunther, a professor at Southern University in New Orleans, has made the *Militant's* coverage of the Weber case required reading for his classes. He told the rally: "The SWP has provided the greatest support and leadership in the fight against Weber. It is for this reason that I back the campaign for Nelson for governor."

Picking up on Nelson's comments on the gas shortage and on the support of the capitalist politicians for nuclear energy, feminist activist and author Lou Hicks declared, "I would rather trust this state and its natural resources to the SWP and Greg Nelson."

Also speaking was Sam Green, a building representative of the United Teachers of New Orleans; Joel Aber, SWP candidate for mayor; and R.P. Jones of the Young Socialist Alliance.

Aber reported that the ACLU has decided to back the SWP in its fight against Louisiana's discriminatory election laws. More than \$1,300 was collected in response to his appeal for funds.

Campaigning at Kaiser

By Scott Breen

CHALMETTE, La.—"Running for governor? Well, why not?"

"Hi, gov!"

"I hope you win."

These are some of the comments Kaiser Aluminum workers made when they met fellow worker Greg Nelson, Socialist Workers candidate for governor of Louisiana.

Nelson and campaign supporters were waiting at the entrance to the Chalmette Kaiser plant when the day shift got off work May 10. Kaiser has a policy of allowing "major candidates an equal opportunity" to campaign on the plant site.

The Chalmette plant is one of the largest aluminum-refining plants in the world, employing nearly 3,000 production workers. Nelson is a member of United Steelworkers of America Local 13000, to which all Kaiser's wage earners belong.

"I'm a flex-operator on 'A' shift, and I'm running for governor of

Louisiana," is how Greg introduced himself to those workers who didn't know him already. Many were amazed that a worker would run for the highest elected post in the state. Some asked if he was qualified for the office. Others took it in stride: "Workers running the government? We could do a better job," said one Black worker walking away with a brochure in hand.

Some of Nelson's supporters joined him at the plant gates as they came off their shift, introducing their friends and co-workers and encouraging them to come and hear Nelson speak Saturday night.

It was a hot, humid day outside, but nothing like the climate inside the plant. The aluminum "pots"—furnaces for melting aluminum ore—generate tremendous heat. So, when the whistle signaling the end of the workday blows, the workers roar out of the plant. Still, some stayed a few minutes to talk with Nelson, ask questions, and wish him luck.

New Education for Socialists bulletin, **Background to 'The Struggle for a Proletarian Party'** provides background information on the issues taken up in James P. Cannon's **Struggle for a Proletarian Party** and Leon Trotsky's **In Defense of Marxism**. It contains letters and articles by Trotsky and Cannon on the struggle to build a revolutionary party rooted in the unions and made up in its majority of industrial workers, and on the role of the leadership of such a party.

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EDUCATION FOR SOCIALISTS

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Background to "The Struggle for a Proletarian Party"

by James P. Cannon, George Clarke, Leon Trotsky, and Fred Feldman

MAY 1975

\$1.75

Campaigning for socialism

Dan Fein for mayor of Phoenix

"I have to admit that I voted for Carter," Pablo Martínez told a Phoenix Socialist Workers Party campaign rally. "I did not make a good choice. He's seen to it that we don't get any more raise than what the company wants us to get. But he's making sure that the gas-pump prices, grocery bills, and everything else goes up."

Martínez is a former candidate for president of Steelworkers Local 4102 at Capital Castings Division of Midland Ross, where Fein also works. He explained that he had read the SWP platform, "and I share your ideas. It's time we have somebody that shares the feeling of the working people, and that's Dan Fein."

Among others speaking in support of Fein were Joe Nolasco, another member of USWA Local 4102, San Diego SWP mayoral candidate Raúl González, and Gustavo Gutiérrez of the Rank and File Committee in the mainly Chicano Construction Laborers Local 383.

Preventing campaign corruption

The Federal Election Commission, set up to administer the campaign "reform" act, supposedly watches for corrupt use of campaign funds. This year they've elected a chairman who should know where to look.

He's former Rep. Robert Tiernan, most recently in the news for racking up a \$2,000 bill on FEC phones while trying to run his bankrupt hockey club, the Rhode Island Reds.

Last year the George Town Club in Washington successfully sued Commissioner Tiernan for \$1,300 he owed them for fund-raisers held during his unsuccessful 1974 reelection campaign. He still owes \$4,000 in back debts from that campaign.

The Federal Election Commission sets regulations for writing off campaign debts.

Preparing for 1980

A Task Force on Televised Presidential Debates, organized by the League of Women Voters, says candidates outside the Democratic and Republican parties "present the single most difficult issue" in planning the 1980 presidential debates.

In 1976 the league worked with television networks to exclude all but Carter and Ford, and they hope to do it again next year. To make it look legitimate they've come up with a "minimum requirement" that each candidate be on the ballot in enough states to get a majority of the electoral college vote.

Candidates who meet that test will still have other hurdles, like being nominated by a party that got at least 5 percent of the 1976 vote (which just happens to knock out everyone but the Democrats and Republicans).

'No such thing as a minor candidate'

Colorado politicians haven't been anxious to let socialists air their ideas. Last fall a Socialist Workers Party campaign worker was arrested for leafleting one of the so-called debates between the Democratic and Republican candidates for governor.

So supporters of Harold Sudmeyer, recent SWP candidate for mayor of Denver, weren't surprised when Democratic Party leaders excluded them from the Windsor Garden candidates' night, traditionally one of the main debates of the mayoral campaign.

The SWP organized protest messages, picketed, and leafleted the meeting. A number of the 400 people going in expressed support, and one TV crew filmed the picket line.

Inside the meeting, Gary Mitchell, one of the three Democrats running, won loud applause when he demanded Sudmeyer be included. He called the exclusion a "squeeze play on democracy."

When the moderator still refused to include the socialist, Mitchell walked out, taking some audience members with him.

The debate over the exclusion of Sudmeyer was featured in news coverage of the panel. Since then, organizers of two other candidates' panels have called the SWP to invite Sudmeyer, apologizing for having "forgotten" him before. One moderator apologized in public, telling the audience, "I've learned there's no such thing as a minor candidate."

Debates—III

Getting in on a campaign debate provided immediate results for the Philadelphia SWP. One listener was so impressed by socialist mayoral candidate Nora Danielson's presentation on a radio panel that he volunteered to sell the *Militant* at the May 6 antinuclear demonstration.

A victory in Florida

Florida candidates can again run official write-in campaigns, thanks to a state supreme court decision won by the SWP. Florida's undemocratic laws make getting on the ballot virtually impossible for independents. In 1977, the legislature also removed the write-in provision. The court decision has restored the old law until the legislature writes a new one.

The suit was filed by National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee attorney Ira Kurzban, representing SWP candidate Lee Smith. Smith ran in the Thirteenth Congressional District against Democrat William Lehman. With no Republican opponent and with no way to write in Smith's name, Lehman was reelected without even having his name on the ballot.

—Bob Schwarz

1979 contract

Rubber & electrical unions vs. Carter's

By Frank Lovell

(Second in a series)

After Teamster President Frank Fitzsimmons announced April 11 that a settlement had been reached in his union's ten-day strike/lockout, it was widely speculated that the Carter administration's 7 percent limit on wage increases had been cracked. *Newsweek* magazine questioned whether it was time to say "goodbye guidelines."

Partly this was to help Fitzsimmons sell the new three-year Master Freight Agreement to the 300,000 Teamsters covered by it. General opposition to the leadership exists in the union, and 10,000 steelhaulers had refused to go back to work.

Alfred Kahn, head of Carter's Council on Wage and Price Stability, admitted that the guidelines had been "bent" to accommodate the Teamster settlement.

He had initially announced that the new contract was "substantially less" than the one it replaced. But this was quickly revised. Kahn subsequently said, "From the point of view of the Teamsters, they got a very good contract, and I hope they ratify it." He said the increase amounted to 8.3 percent a year, higher than previously estimated.

"Since we reached a tentative settlement," Fitzsimmons says, "others in labor have struck out at inflation standards which limit the American worker and blush at huge corporate profit reports."

The Teamster contract, however, has not deterred government efforts to curb wages. Nor was the usefulness of Carter's wage guideline to the ruling class destroyed.

Rubber negotiations

United Rubber Workers President Peter Bommarito announced April 19 that agreement on a new three-year contract had been reached. But the rubber companies denied it.

Apparently all four companies had agreed to sign a new industry-wide pact, if any one came to terms with the union. Bommarito targeted Uniroyal. As the weakest financially, he thought Uniroyal would not risk a strike. Bommarito was mistaken.

The terms of the tentative settlement and the exact issues in dispute were not fully revealed. But Bommarito indicated that the companies balked at two vital issues. They are the cost-of-living allowance for the new contract and a company agreement not to interfere with URW efforts to organize their unorganized plants in the South.

The union charged that government agents "forced" the rubber companies to hold out for lower wages by threat-

ening to withhold government contracts for their products should the new agreement exceed a strict interpretation of the 7 percent guideline.

The union then filed a court action for a restraining order against government interference in the collective-bargaining process. This was quickly denied by a federal judge.

However, the judge set an early date for arguments on the union demand that enforcement of Carter's wage guideline be declared illegal. This is in conjunction with an earlier suit filed by the AFL-CIO.

An early decision is expected; no later than the end of May. In case the ruling cripples Carter's present wage restraints, contingency plans for holding wages in check were previously drafted by the administration.

While the union sought protection from the federal courts, Kahn telegraphed Bommarito that he was expected to "reach a wage settlement within the administration's standards." If not, warned Kahn, "we will do everything we can to protect the public interest." Copies were sent to the rubber companies repeating earlier threats to withhold government contracts if labor costs rose.

Strike

Under these circumstances the rubber companies were under no compulsion to reach an agreement with the union. They could sit back and wait for the Council on Wage and Price Stability to dictate the terms of a new contract.

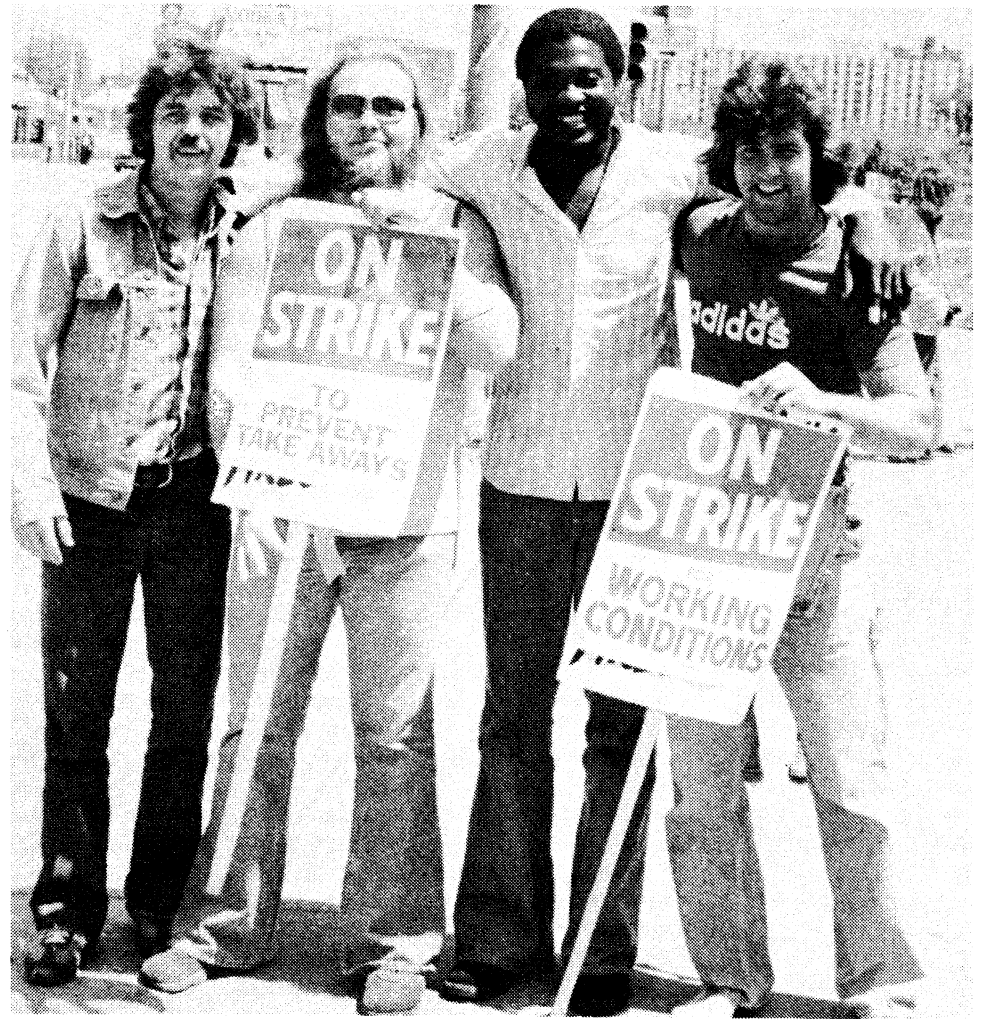
Bommarito was caught in the squeeze. The companies wouldn't budge, and union members would not swallow a contract guaranteed to place them further and further behind in the race against inflation.

On May 9, Bommarito called a "selective" strike against Uniroyal. But the URW is not in as strong a position as it was when it shut down the entire industry for 141 days in 1976.

During the past three years the union has not gained in relation to its adversaries. The rubber companies have continued building new facilities in anti-union "right to work" southern states. This year most tire production will be in unorganized plants.

Union leaders have shown neither the foresight nor the ability to organize the unorganized workers. In this year's negotiations they have failed to publicize the needs and problems of rubber workers—or rally union members for a united fight against the companies.

URW officials don't seem to understand the importance of seeking support from the rest of the union movement and from the natural allies of the



Rubber workers picket Detroit's Uniroyal plant. Carter's guidelines can backfire and spark growing resistance from union ranks.

union—the unemployed, the unorganized, Blacks and other minorities, and all others who suffer the injustices of this society.

Weakness

Instead, like the heads of the AFL-CIO, they seek help from "friendly employers." From "helpful government agencies" like the federal mediation service. From "pro-labor forces" in the Democratic Party. From "even-handed court rulings." And from all the other unreliable combinations within the structure of capitalist property relations and the present two-party system.

This weakness of the URW was known to government mediators and other interested parties before wage negotiations in the rubber industry began. They assumed a settlement would be easily reached. Perhaps this is why Kahn and the others overextended their ability to curb wages in this low-pay industry. They clearly did not count on the fighting capacity of the rubber workers themselves.

Rubber workers' wages are below the scale in most other industries. They make less than eight dollars an hour. That's almost two dollars below the pay of over-the-road truck drivers before this year's round of negotiations began.

It seems patently unfair for "impartial" government wage controllers to stretch their flexible guideline to accommodate a higher raise for Teamsters and then tighten up on the less-well-off rubber workers.

This reflects the relative power of the two unions rather than a difference in their leaderships or the viciousness of government bureaucrats—although there is certainly plenty of the latter.

But rubber workers, like most other workers when goaded by their employers and mistreated by the government agencies, will transform their unions and turn on their tormentors. The URW has a proud and militant history as one of the early CIO unions in the days of the sitdown strikes. Under renewed ruling-class pressure, it can

again become part of a new working-class movement for social and political change.

Negotiations in the electrical industry were formally opened May 1 between the notoriously anti-union General Electric Company and unions representing approximately 150,000 workers, less than half in the industry.

The relative strength of the electrical unions as against the corporate structure is comparable to that of the URW in the rubber industry. Both are far weaker than the unions in auto and steel.

This weakness is reflected in the below-average industrial wages of electrical workers. The estimated average wage at GE and at Westinghouse, the other major company, is \$6.80 per hour.

From the start, GE took advantage of Carter's wage guidelines. In his opening statement to the unions, company negotiator John Baldwin said that GE would have to certify compliance with the wage standard.

GE insists on negotiating separately with the largest union, the International Union of Electrical Workers (AFL-CIO) and the smaller independent United Electrical Workers.

Both unions belong to a thirteen-union coalition, the Coordinated Bargaining Committee. The CBC, chaired by George Meany, also includes the Machinists, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, Teamsters, United Auto Workers, and seven others. In 1969-70 the CBC conducted a successful 101-day strike against GE.

'Arbitrary and illegal'

Representatives of all the unions have declared their opposition to Carter's guidelines and have vowed to break the 7 percent limit.

Locals of the IUE, Machinists, and UE drafted a joint statement: "We will negotiate for our membership, based on the needs of our membership, without regard for an arbitrary and illegal 7 percent ceiling." The statement was circulated as a petition inside some GE



round

7 percent

plants and then hand-delivered to the White House as an apparent appeal to Carter.

The GE contract expires June 30. Whatever new terms are agreed to by GE have traditionally become the industry-wide pattern.

The two main issues under negotiation are the same as in rubber: cost-of-living and a company neutrality pledge in union organizing campaigns.

Cost-of-living allowance in the electrical industry provides annual payments (as did the previous Teamster contract) of one cent per hour for each 0.3 rise in the Consumer Price Index.

Under this formula, electrical workers gained only \$0.50 an hour during the life of their 1976 contract. By contrast auto workers, who receive quarterly COLA payments, gained \$1.60 an hour. In neither case did wages keep up with rising prices.

The separate unions acting independently have not been able to organize GE's runaway plants in the South or other nonunion facilities. Only an estimated 44 percent of the industry is unionized.

It is very unlikely that GE, or any other corporation, will remain "neutral" in union organizing drives—regardless of how many solemn vows they may take. This has already been demonstrated in the auto industry where General Motors's "neutrality" pledge has not helped the UAW organize southern plants.

UAW organizing victories that have occurred were won against GM's opposition. Where the company has moderated its anti-union tactics, it has done so only because the union is strong enough to enforce what in labor-management parlance is called "fair play."

Partnership

IUE President David Fitzmaurice regards himself and his union as a partner in the electrical manufacturing business. On the eve of negotiations with GE he said, "Efficiency and productivity are legitimate goals of management, especially in a shrinking world where competition speaks a thousand tongues."

"IUE is ready to work with GE and Westinghouse," Fitzmaurice continued, "to meet any fair competition."

Fitzmaurice may have been making a bid for higher wages in exchange for automation and speedup, a deal union officials have struck in other industries. But in the electrical industry, the IUE doesn't have enough control over production to make such trade-offs. Production standards are set in the unorganized sector. Workers in union plants are ordered to meet these standards or risk plant closings and unemployment.

Such conciliatory "good partnership" statements as this one by Fitzmaurice have been standard procedure prior to negotiations. Labor officials of his generation make them out of habit. But it has always been the relative strength of union and employer—not such charades—that determine wages.

Today "one-sided class war" has replaced "fair play" and "good partnership" in labor-management relations, although electrical union officials don't seem aware of this fact. It's hard to convince GE's anti-union management that "working under union contracts" is more efficient and more profitable than their nonunion operations.

Long ago these employers decided that partnership with the union bureaucracy is socially unnecessary and costly.

Wages in the electrical industry are

presently depressed. This is largely the result of GE's longtime take-it-or-leave-it bargaining practice known as "Boulwarism," so called because it was used effectively by GE Vice-president Boulwar, for many years in charge of labor relations.

When union officials negotiating with GE today talk about "catch-up bargaining," they're hoping to catch up with union pay rates in trucking before the present round of negotiations began.

This is different than catching up on losses suffered from inflation—which is what workers in all industries need and are demanding. And this is what Carter's "anti-inflation" wage guidelines are designed to block.

Anti-union

The Carter administration shares the anti-union views of GE management. It is not bidding for support from the union bureaucracy. That support is assured so long as the bureaucrats remain loyal to the capitalist political structure. Inside the Democratic Party, union officials are considered a liability these days by politicians eager to appease anti-union employers.

This is the central purpose of Carter's "flexible" wage guideline formula: to hold the general level of wages to a socially acceptable minimum. That is, to push as far as possible without triggering mass resistance. Its tactical use in collective bargaining serves to establish Carter's distance from a divided and isolated union bureaucracy. He believes this "labor policy" will help demonstrate his adroitness as a capitalist politician and convince the ruling class that he deserves a second term in the White House.

But there are dangers in the present anti-union drive, for the employers and their servile politicians as well as for the working class.

If Carter's scheme succeeds, as it has in the early phase of the 1979 wage negotiations, the working class will suffer a severe drop in its already declining living standard. This will eventually arouse the union movement to new struggles and bring additional forces from unorganized industry into its ranks.

In the present situation the combined pressures of government and industry can provoke immediate struggles.

The hard lot of rubber workers and electrical workers—the effect of depressed wages in these two industries—can drive these workers into big strike actions. Both unions have demonstrated their ability to conduct successful strikes—the URW in 1976 and the electrical unions in 1969-70. If this should happen again, the chances of unorganized workers joining such strikes are greater than in previous years.

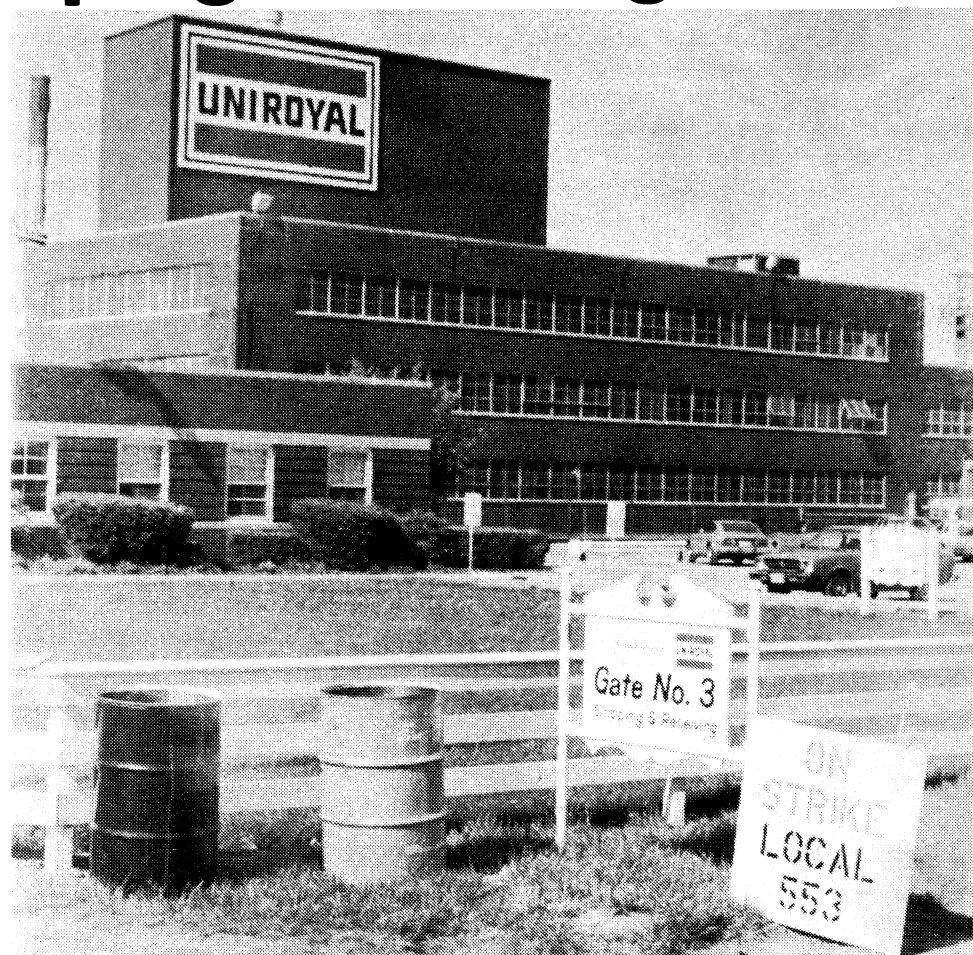
Looking to unions

Today, more workers look to the union movement for answers to their economic problems than at any time since the end of World War II. A determined strike to defy and destroy the unjust wage guidelines would be serious trouble for Carter and his political strategists. And it would inflame the growing social unrest the ruling class wants to defuse.

Whatever develops out of the rubber strike at Uniroyal and wage negotiations in the electrical industry, the outcome is bound to affect negotiations in other industries later this year. Especially the confrontation between the United Auto Workers and its formidable industrial adversaries.

(next: auto negotiations)

Rubber strike: 'We're up against the gov't'



Militant/Dick Roberts

Painesville, Ohio, Uniroyal plant shut down by United Rubber Workers' strike.

By Dick Roberts

AKRON, Ohio—Rubber workers in this area are furious at President Carter for attempting to impose the 7 percent ceiling on their contract when prices are rising at 11 or 12 percent.

Furthermore, rubber workers won cost-of-living protection in a bitter four-and-a-half-month strike three years ago. "We won COLA in 1976 and that was good. But now that S.O.B. Carter takes it all away," a worker at the giant Goodyear plant in Akron told the *Militant*.

The United Rubber Workers' strike targeted Uniroyal, which is the only one of the "Big Four" rubber companies not centered in Akron. But the workers here are strong strike supporters.

"If you took a collection in our plant, every worker would give five or ten dollars to support those Uniroyal strikers," a worker at Goodyear said.

"I feel sorry for them. They're up against the government and there's only 8,500 Uniroyal workers out of 65,000 rubber workers."

The idea that the whole union should be out is widespread. This was true among picketers interviewed at a small Uniroyal plant in Painesville, Ohio, twenty miles east of Cleveland.

"There's no way this is going to do any good because we're talking about a national issue and the strike should be national," said one striker, who's worked for Uniroyal twenty-eight years.

Painesville strikers discussed other issues as well. No one on the picket line believed there is a real gas shortage in California. "They're writing their own ticket," another longtime worker at Uniroyal said. "Probably aren't more than a handful of people

running this entire industry." He added: "If someone ran for president who said, 'I'm going to steal from every one of you and put as much as I can in my pocket,' he'd get my vote."

"I'm frustrated about this whole country," he went on. "Everybody lies."

Three Mile Island had a big impact here too. Painesville is near the Terry nuclear plant, under construction on Lake Erie. "I live only a mile and a half from it and I've got to move—and who's going to buy my house? Hell, they lied about that too."

The rubber companies use the threat of moving south to intimidate workers. Akron's General Tire got workers to take pay cuts on the promise of building a new plant.

Rubber workers in Akron discussed this bitterly: "They promised two years ago to build that General plant and I ain't seen nothing yet. You've worked hard for what you got. You shouldn't take any cut in pay."

Union members felt they had been kept in the dark about negotiations.

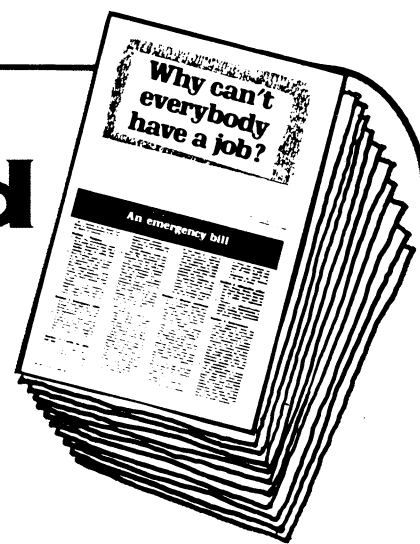
A Goodyear worker said, "You never know what's going on up there. Same thing with the Teamsters. They go out on strike and get a settlement and you still don't know what it is."

The Goodyear workers interviewed by the *Militant* had worked fourteen or more years at the plant. They were in their early thirties.

As this reporter was leaving the plant a manager came out to see what was going on. The workers showed him a copy of the *Militant*, which he shied away from. One of them took the paper and held it open wide with both hands and marched back into the plant reading it.

Help get it around

Socialist Workers Party candidates have proposed an "Emergency Bill to Provide Jobs for All." You can help distribute this bill and the accompanying article, which explains the causes and solutions to unemployment, by ordering copies (2½ cents each, 2 cents each for 1,000 or more) from the Socialist Workers National Campaign Committee, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.



Marroquin's testimony on

Beginning with this issue the 'Militant' is running major excerpts from Héctor Marroquin's deportation hearing. The hearing took place April 3-5 in Houston, Texas, before Immigration and Naturalization Service Judge James Smith.

Marroquin—who is seeking political asylum in this country—is a trade unionist and a member of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. He was forced to flee Mexico in 1974 to avoid being victimized by the regime for his political beliefs.

At the deportation hearing, Marroquin testified and offered documentary proof and expert witnesses on behalf of his claim for asylum. Six days after the hearing, Judge Smith, ignoring the evidence, denied asylum and ordered Marroquin deported from the United States.

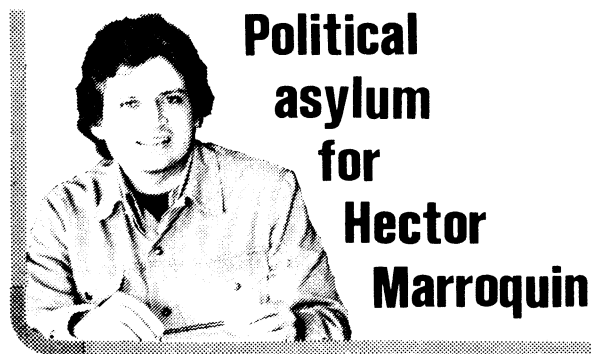
The ruling—and the hearing itself—made it clear that Marroquin is being persecuted by the U.S. government because of his socialist views.

Smith's decision is currently under appeal to the Board of Immigration Appeals in Washington, D.C.

In the excerpts from the hearing, below, Margaret Winter is Marroquin's attorney; James Smith is the immigration judge; and Daniel Kahn is the INS prosecuting attorney.

Winter. Mr. Marroquin, will you please tell the court why you are in the United States?

Marroquin. I am in the United States seeking political asylum because I fear that if I am deported back to Mexico, my life, my freedom, and my security could be seriously endangered because of



my political beliefs and my political activities. I feel that if I am deported back to Mexico, I could be imprisoned without a trial, tortured, kidnapped, and disappeared, or assassinated like many other political activists have been in Mexico.

Winter. Do you recognize this document?

Marroquin. This is [the pamphlet] *My Story* that will tell the basic facts of my case.

Winter. When did you write this?

Marroquin. I wrote it on December of 1977 as soon as I was released from jail.

Winter. When you're through with it you'll give it to Mr. Kahn so he can look at it.

Kahn. The government objects to this as self-serving hearsay.

Judge Smith. Your objection is noted on the record and overruled. It will be admitted as Group Exhibit 8. And you'll of course have an opportunity to cross-examine the witness, Mr. Kahn.

Winter. Will you please state when your opposition to the Mexican government began?

Marroquin. I would not be able to state an exact day, because it was a process. It was the result of the conditions in which I lived when I was a kid, just like many other kids in Mexico, which are conditions of misery. But the first time I became politically active was in 1968.

On October 2, 1968, the Mexican government ordered the army to open fire on a peaceful, legal, and defenseless demonstration of thousands and thousands of students and teachers. The result of this: more than 500 demonstrators were slaughtered. This had a big impact on my political thinking and on the political thinking of many of my generation in the sense that I began to lose illusions in the kind of political machine that we have in Mexico and began to become conscious of the kind of oppression that exists.

Winter. How old were you in October, 1968?

Marroquin. I was fifteen years old, a high school student.

Winter. At that time were you engaging in any political activity?

Marroquin. I became active in a demonstration in Matamoros, in the city where I was born, to protest the brutal slaughter of defenseless Mexican people.

Winter. Could you give us a little bit of your family background before you go on to develop your

political ideas?

Marroquin. I am the third in a family of ten children: six women and four brothers. My father was a customs official, my mother never worked. She was a housewife.

We, the family, had a very low income. We were always poor. My father died in 1965 as a result of a car accident that left the family practically without means of subsistence. At the time, I and some of my brothers and sisters had to begin working, doing all kinds of work in order to bring some money to the house to be able to survive.

Winter. Now where were you living at that time?

Marroquin. I was living in Matamoros, Tamaulipas, with my mother and sisters and brothers.

Winter. And did you eventually leave Matamoros?

Marroquin. I came in 1969 to Monterrey, Nuevo León, to study in the department of economics at the University of Nuevo León. The political climate at the university was one of student demonstrations, student mobilizations and student protests. It was a result of the 1968 events that many, many students all over Mexico became politically active. And students in Monterrey were protesting, for example, the existence of hundreds of political prisoners as a result of the 1968 events. One of the main aims of the mobilizations that were taking place in the university was the fight for university autonomy, that is, the fight for total independence for the university from any kind of government control or private business control.

Winter. What form was students' political activity taking at that time?

Marroquin. It was taking the form of peaceful and legal demonstrations, peaceful and legal meetings at the university.

Winter. Were there any incidents of police repression against the students' activities at that time?

Marroquin. Yes. The government offered a few concessions. The government said that they were going to grant autonomy to the university. The government said that they were going to grant the democratic control of the university. But this was not true. After they said that the demands were granted, they started to use police and paramilitary groups on campus in order to suppress peaceful demonstrations. We were attacked with tear gas, clubs, and all kinds of violence by the Mexican police in order to suppress our movement. And this was the first kind of violence that I knew.

We continued our mobilizations. We continued putting pressure for our demands. In 1971, we organized a big demonstration in Mexico City. On June 10, 1971, thousands upon thousands of students and workers demonstrated in Mexico City in solidarity with the students of the university where I was. This demonstration was brutally attacked by a paramilitary group trained, financed, and organized by the Mexican government. This demonstration was attacked by the Halcónes, the hawks. At the time, over 100 students were killed.

Winter. Before you go on to what happened, would you please explain what the Halcónes were?

Marroquin. The Halcónes is a group of thugs, a group of gangsters, a terrorist group that the Mexican government organized. They use all kinds of weapons, in order to attack demonstrations. Their main activity is to suppress any demonstration that is independent politically from the existing regime in Mexico. The Halcónes, the first time they were used was on June 10, 1971, because they didn't want any movement like the 1968 movement to spark again in Mexico.

Winter. Were any arrests made of the Halcónes?

Marroquin. No, there were no arrests.

* * *

Winter. Were you active in the student movement as you described it at this period?

Marroquin. I was very, very active, as I said before, as a result of the 1968 massacre. I was looking for an alternative. I was looking for a way to express my ideas, to defend democratic rights in Mexico. So the first way I saw to express this was through the student movement that began in 1969 in Monterrey at the University of Nuevo León where I was.

Smith. Before we go to page 9 and 10 of your pamphlet—we're now on page 8—were you physically present in Mexico City Distrito Federal when the Halcónes, Los Halcónes, (spelling:) H-a-l-c-o-n-e-s, participated in this incident of which there are photos on page 9. Were you there? Or where were you at that date?

Marroquin. I was in Monterrey. I couldn't attend the demonstration.

Smith. I see. So what you're telling us now is hearsay and the pictures here you didn't take. These are hearsay—what people told you.

Marroquin. Those are the few pictures of the press that were rescued because all the press was attacked by these paramilitary groups. They were breaking their cameras, they were beaten and they were attacked, severely attacked.

Smith. You didn't see them.

Marroquin. I did not see it but many of my fellow students at school, including my roommates were in the demonstration.

Smith. Now back to Monterrey, Nuevo León. You stated that you were not attacked by Los Halcónes but you were attacked by the police, correct?

Marroquin. Yes.

Smith. What date was that?

Marroquin. Well it took different dates that I wouldn't be able to recall. It was in 1971, early March of 1971, when the police started to attack these demonstrations.

Smith. But you were basically there in Monterrey?

Marroquin. Yes.

Winter. During this time when you were very politically active, how were you doing in school?

Marroquin. I was a good student. I had the first grade three times in the first semester.

Winter. Were any other members of your family getting this kind of an education?

Marroquin. No. All the members of my family couldn't go to college because of our low income resources.

Winter. Did there come a time when you became even more deeply involved in the political activity at the university?

Marroquin. On January 17, 1972, one of my closest friends, a schoolmate and a roommate, Jesús Rivera, who had been a brilliant student and who was a recognized leader in the student movement in Monterrey, this student, a close friend of mine, was assassinated by the Mexican police.

Winter. Mr. Marroquin, did you witness the death of your roommate?

Marroquin. I did not witness the actual shooting. But I witnessed events which happened immediately after the shooting because at the time I was with a football team at school which was being trained on the side of the apartment building where the events were taking place.

Winter. What happened when you were at the football field?

Marroquin. Well, we saw many kinds of police and military cars coming into the building and suddenly we heard a lot of shots, many shots and bombs. So we dispersed, and the body of a person was being carried out.

Winter. Who was carrying out the body?

Marroquin. Two policemen were carrying the body of a young student. They were dragging this body through the streets.

Nat'l Alliance backs Marroquin

By Jane Roland

The National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression went on record May 6 in support of Héctor Marroquin's fight for political asylum.

The resolution of support was passed at the plenary session of the alliance's national convention, held the weekend of May 4-6 in New York City. Previously several national leaders of the alliance, including Angela Davis and Charlene Mitchell, had endorsed Marroquin's case.

Many of the delegates stopped at the Héctor Marroquin Defense Committee table, signed petitions supporting his asylum fight, bought buttons, and took literature.

Among those at the convention who endorsed Marroquin's right to asylum were Abe Feinglass, a vice-president of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen's union, and Helen Orlow, sister of Wilmington Ten defendant Ben Chavis.

Marroquin's case was presented at a special workshop on political prisoners, chaired by Angela Davis. The workshop focused on a number of defense campaigns, particularly the case of the Wilmington Ten.

The conference was attended by more than 400 delegates. A rally on Friday night opening the weekend's activities drew 2,000 people.

gov't repression in Mexico

Winter. By his feet?

Marroquín. By his feet. And they were being careless with the body of the person. His head, for example, was bumping on the stairs of the apartment building. Then they took the body of this young student on the side of the building and the police started to kick him instead of bringing him medical attention. . . .

Winter. When you say a body, do you mean this was an apparently dead person?

Marroquín. It was a person who was still alive because he was still moving. He was wounded, severely wounded by several shots. And he was still alive because he was moving. I couldn't immediately recognize who the person was. He was being kicked, as I said, by the feet of the policemen. I immediately saw that here was my roommate, Jesús Rivera.

Smith. I note that we are deviating from the script slightly. On page 10 [of *My Story*] it says, "By coincidence, I was near the scene of the murder and saw what happened." You saw after they dragged the body of Jesús Rivera or the person of Jesús Rivera out, is that your statement?

Marroquín. Yes.

Smith. Thank you. That clarifies the second paragraph. Go ahead.

Winter. Your honor, I would like to respectfully object to your honor's language. . . .

Smith. I have a right to make observations. I have a right to interrogate. I have a right to cross-examine. And I propose to fulfill my obligation to find out what is going on.

Winter. My only objection is your reference to the pamphlet which has been introduced as evidence as a script. It is not a script. Mr. Marroquín has stated his story. . . .

Smith. Which we are at great length recapping. And the document is already on record as Group Exhibit 8. Can we be a little more terse, or what's the situation?

Winter. I wish him to develop in as much detail as we can the background which is. . . .

Smith. I want to get to his specific problems insofar as persecution. Not the public in general. And I would like him to be as terse as possible. We have other cases besides this, now, so that's my whole point.

Winter. Your honor, this is a person who is asking for asylum. This is his one chance for a trial. We consider this a matter of life and death. I appreciate your honor's problems. I can only ask your indulgence. I can only ask for patience.

As your honor noted, this is a case of first impression. Asylum has never been granted to a Mexican national before. The United States State Department, as your honor now knows, because he has the ORM [Office of Refugee and Migration Affairs] letter, says that there is basically no repression in Mexico. I think we have to take our one opportunity for a trial. It's our one chance, your honor.

Smith. The whole point is that it could be more terse than going item by item over something that is a matter of record. Can we shorten it up as much as possible?

Winter. As much as possible, we will. Mr. Marroquín, I am going to ask you to describe the events surrounding the assassination of your friend Jesús Rivera, to explain what else happened, what else you saw, what else other witnesses saw that they told you. . . .

Kahn. Objection. His observations are fine. But hearsay, can we restrict that somewhat? To what events you actually saw that relate to Jesús Rivera.

Winter. Well, I think that we do need the testimony here of people that he knew were in. . . .

Smith. If you get them here, beautiful. But hearsay, that's something else. Can we shorten it up. His observations. . . .

Winter. Hearsay is permissible. . . .

Smith. It is permissible to a point. But we don't have to document it several times, we can document it once.

Marroquín. Another thing that I saw is a woman who was being brought out of the apartment building by two policemen. She had a wound in the stomach which I believed was a shot wound, which I confirmed the next day through the newspapers. Even though she was wounded, an army official hit her on the head with a rifle butt. And they started questioning her. They were asking her that she should confess to being a guerrilla and they were telling her that she was a terrorist and she was a guerrilla and she had to say this.

Smith. Who was the lady?

Marroquín. The woman was Rosalbina Garavito, who was never convicted of any criminal activity as



Developing Mexican student movement and government repression against it helped lead Marroquín to socialism. Top, July 1968 demonstration celebrating anniversary of Cuban revolution; bottom, students jailed that year.

I understand. Her husband was also being dragged out of the apartment building and he was already showing some of the injuries caused because of the beatings of the police. He had several swollen parts of his face, stuff like this. That's all I could see.

Winter. Now, were there any accusations made about Jesús Rivera about why he's been killed?

Marroquín. Well, the police claimed—

Kahn. Objection.

Smith. (to Winter) What's your proffer?

Winter. He's putting into issue whether or not there were charges, whether or not there is any serious basis for the charges against Marroquín.

Smith. We're not sitting as a Mexican tribunal at this point.

Winter. I understand, your honor, but the letter from [INS] District Director Casillas denying the asylum claim states that under the United Nations Protocol, Mr. Marroquín may not at any rate be entitled to asylum, even if there were repression in Mexico, if he is guilty of violent crimes and we are going to show—

Smith. Tersely in that area.

Marroquín. You want to repeat your question?

Winter. Yes. In the newspaper reports of the incident we've just been talking about, were there any accusations made about Jesús Rivera and the reasons why he was killed by the police?

Marroquín. The excuse that the police made was that they were attempting to arrest a guerrilla activist. They said that in that building were guerrilla activists. They also said that Jesús Rivera was a guerrilla activist. They said this, I want to make it clear, after he was dead. The charges that the police told to the newspapers were absolutely false and were a cover-up for that crime. For me this was a clear lesson on the futility of terrorism, because terrorism only gives a pretext to the real terrorists who are behind the Mexican regime to assassinate, torture, and do all these kinds of cruel activities.

Kahn. Objection your honor. Objection. There is

police brutality in every country of the world, and that shouldn't have to reflect on the good members of the force. This has not shown me any act of persecution against any political party or any political individual.

Smith. Objection noted and overruled. This occurred in Monterrey, sir?

Marroquín. Monterrey. And the real reason that I see for the assassination of my friend, as well as the assassination of many others, is that they were dedicated to the struggle for democratic rights in Mexico, for social change. He was not a terrorist.

Winter. So you concluded that he had been killed precisely because of his political beliefs, not because of any terrorist activity? Were you at this time a member of a political organization at the university?

Marroquín. No, I was not.

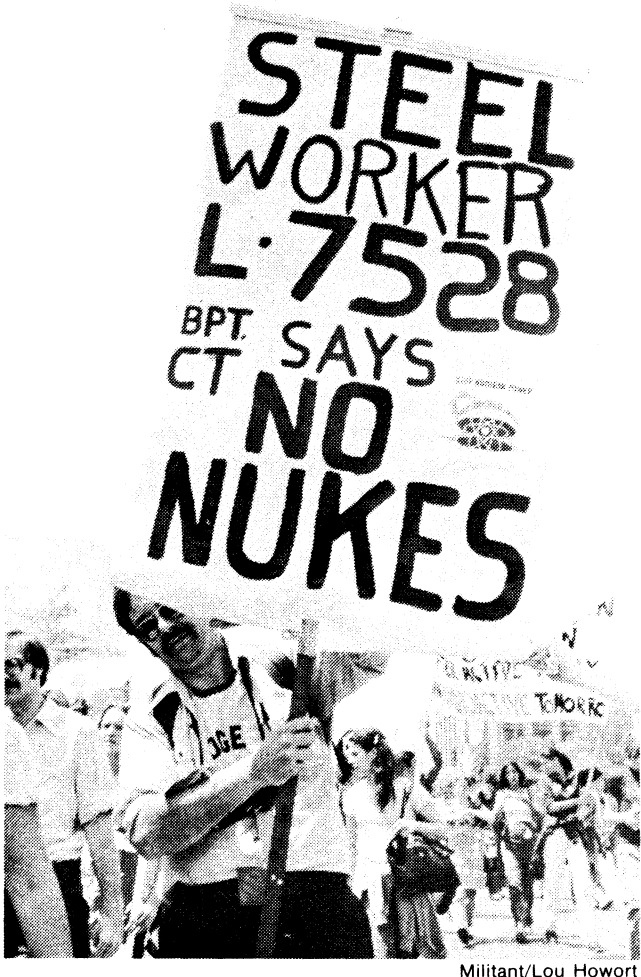
Winter. Did you ever become a member of a political organization at the university?

Marroquín. I became a member of a political organization later in 1973 after this event happened to my friend. This made me lose any illusion, any illusion that I had in the Mexican government. For me it represented a total break in the illusions that I had in the Mexican government.

I want to recall what we did after the murder of these students. We organized a demonstration of protest which was attended by several thousand students, I believe three or four thousand students. This demonstration was to protest this kind of brutality, which is something that happens in Mexico very often. The fact that three to four thousand students showed up is proof of the kind of leader and activist that this good friend was.

Winter. Was it a peaceful demonstration, this demonstration of several thousand you've just been talking about, to protest his death?

Marroquín. It was a peaceful demonstration. There was some violence from the Mexican police. The Mexican police attacked with tear gas, with clubs and with all kinds of things to suppress it.



Militant/Lou Howort

Why labor fight to nukes and

By Nancy Cole

"What I don't understand," a New Jersey electrical worker said to me after marveling at the antinuclear demonstration of 125,000 we had just been a part of May 6, "is why doesn't the government just shut them all down?"

This question has been asked often since the March 28 nuclear accident at Three Mile Island catapulted the hazards of nuclear power into world headlines. And along with it, "What would happen if they were all shut down?"

The Harrisburg Syndrome, as the nuclear nightmare in central Pennsylvania has come to be known, jarred the consciousness of millions of working people—not just about nuclear power plants, but about nuclear weapons production and testing, about the drive toward more wars, and about the ends to which the government and industry will go to keep the horror of it all a secret from the public.

At the start the nuclear industry found some of its most dedicated and effective defenders among the labor bureaucracy.

The last meeting of the AFL-CIO Executive Council, for example, approved a resolution calling for accelerated development of nuclear power. Only one vote was registered in opposition.

But that was in February. The truth about nuclear plants and weapons that

is starting to surface has profoundly affected working people. Under this pressure the union officialdom has begun to turn an ear.

International Association of Machinists President William Winpisinger, the one antinuclear vote at the February AFL-CIO meeting, endorsed the May 6 march on Washington.

"Trade union members and all other working people have a life and death stake, as well as a bread-and-butter stake, in this nation's energy policy," he told the rally there.

In a letter distributed by rally organizers, United Auto Workers President Douglas Fraser declined to speak or to formally endorse, but he contributed \$1,000 to the effort.

UAW reassessment

"The UAW is currently re-examining our position on nuclear power," Fraser wrote. "I personally am even more concerned about the safety of nuclear power than ever before, in part because of what happened in Harrisburg last month. It's clear that the assurances given the public that nuclear power is safe have been misleading."

The April *Labor Unity*, newspaper of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union, reported that delegates to the Pittsburgh Joint Board meeting of ACTWU "passed a resolution which called for new stronger safeguards before any new power plants are built, and an all-out effort to

inspect existing power plants and correct any problems.

"The resolution also called for new expenditures for research on solar and water power," *Labor Unity* continued, "and new efforts to extract existing supplies of coal and natural gas which are still abundant in the Appalachian region."

The April convention of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union discussed nuclear power and adopted a policy statement detailing the dangers of nuclear power and calling for an end to construction of new plants. It also urged congressional appropriation of funds to research alternative forms of energy.

Several rail union locals around the country have passed resolutions against nuclear power. They are especially concerned that it is rail workers who are forced to transport much of the deadly radioactive waste.

Local 1870 of the United Steelworkers in Cincinnati endorsed the June 3 antinuclear demonstration there. The president of Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Local 7-346 is scheduled to speak at the protest.

At the May 6 premarch rally in Washington, D.C., Mike Olszanski, head of the environmental committee of USWA Local 1010 in East Chicago, Indiana, spoke.

"The significance of my being here today is not in anything I might say but in the fact that we in District 31

can add to this struggle the support, the clout of 120,000 Steelworkers," Olszanski said.

"Unfortunately the Steelworkers union international leadership has in the past supported nuclear power," Olszanski went on. "Much discussion and debate in our union holds promise that this position can be improved upon."

The discussion, which is likely to be a deepgoing one in the entire labor movement, also holds the promise that the unions can be brought into the fight against nuclear power.

To mobilize their ranks, the unions have to put forward an immediate alternative to nuclear power—one that is practical and realizable—and a program for how to fight for that alternative.

Supporters of nuclear power argue that there is no alternative—or at least none that can be used right now.

"It's out of the question to peremptorily shut down all of the nuclear power plants in this country," President Carter told a delegation of antinuclear groups May 7. "We do, however, want to shift toward alternative energy supplies and also a strict conservation commitment . . ."

Who knows how long this "shift" could take, or what new attacks on working people a "conservation commitment" would entail? Meanwhile the nuclear risk continues.

Some critics of nuclear power have also fallen into this trap.

Moratorium

Several speakers at the May 6 antinuclear rally centered their demands around the call for a moratorium on new nuclear plants. This included Democratic politicians, such as California Gov. Jerry Brown, who are exploring the nuclear minefields for an exploitable campaign issue.

But the call for a moratorium was unfortunately also echoed by IAM President Winpisinger. "If there are answers to nuclear power safety, then we must have a moratorium on nuclear power development to give us the time to come up with those answers," Winpisinger told the rally.

"That could take another third of a century," he added.

The immediate problem, however, isn't the construction of new plants.

The problem is with those seventy-two that already exist.

Each day they continue to operate, they threaten a nuclear catastrophe.

Each day they continue to operate, they generate horrible wastes, which after twenty years of accumulation there is still no plan to dispose of.

Each day they continue to operate, they emit more radiation, causing



Truck waits to enter gates of Three Mile Island nuclear plant near Harrisburg.

Militant/Nancy Cole

should shut use coal

ancer and unknown environmental amage.

The 125,000 protesters who marched in Washington May 6 did not chant, "No new nukes, but let's keep those we already have."

They demanded, "No nukes. Shut them all down today!"

But, the nuclear proponents argue, what are we to do? About 12.5 percent of electricity in the country is generated by nuclear power plants. In some places, such as Chicago, half the total electricity comes from nuclear power.

To shut down existing nuclear plants, they claim, would throw parts of the nation into chaos, plunging whole areas into darkness.

Does it mean 'less'?

If this were true, and working people could only look forward to "less" with a nuclear-free energy system, then the prospects for bringing unionists and other working people into the antinuclear fight would be dim.

But that is not the case. There is an abundant energy source in the nation's coal reserves. According to a Wall Street investors' publication, *Value Line*, the nationwide unused mining capacity is 100 million tons of coal a year. The *New York Times* estimates last year's overcapacity at 150 million tons.

A 1973 study by the Cornell Workshops on Energy Research and Development estimated recoverable coal reserves could supply the nation's energy needs—at present levels of consumption—for 440 years.

Many coal generating plants stand unused or as backup energy for nuclear plants when they are shut down for repair or maintenance.

And presently some 15,000 coal miners are laid off or working short shifts. In some Appalachian counties where mining is the main source of jobs, unemployment now tops 16 percent.

These miners could be immediately put back to work producing the coal needed to replace deadly nuclear power.

This reasonable alternative could also help bring the force of a powerful industrial union into the antinuclear fight—the United Mine Workers.

The UMWA has long had a stand in opposition to nuclear power and in favor of coal as its alternative.

"Perhaps coal miners, particularly those familiar with Farmington and Scotia and Buffalo Creek [all mine disasters], have a better perspective than most people to weigh the acceptability of a risk of 145,000 [nuclear] casualties," wrote the *UMW Journal* last year.

So why is it that the energy industry and the Carter administration refuse

to recognize coal as a possible immediate alternative to nuclear power? Is it a matter of the coal lobby losing ground to the stronger, competitive nuclear interests?

To begin to answer these questions, you have to first sort out who owns the energy reserves, including the uranium deposits necessary to generate nuclear power.

The giant U.S. oil companies not only manipulate the supply and distribution of domestic and imported oil, but they increasingly control the coal and uranium deposits.

Oil companies mine 17 percent of the coal and 25 percent of the uranium in the United States. (See box.)

Thus the nation's top corporations have their hands in every available energy source. That way they can use their control to juggle supplies. To curtail one source while expanding another if labor and environmental "problems" get in the way. To blackmail the American people—into paying higher prices or even into supporting new wars if necessary to protect corporate interests.

Nuclear power fits into this profit-gouging scenario.

Its roots were in the development of nuclear weapons. Nuclear reactors were necessary to provide plutonium for atom bombs.

Promoting nuclear power as a new source of energy—the wave of a technologically superior future—was a convenient diversion from its hideous purpose, demonstrated by the atom bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

Nukes a godsend

Nuclear power was a godsend for the energy profiteers. Here was a new energy source whose research and development was heavily subsidized by federal tax money. It was an industry shrouded in secrecy, and the phony cover of "national security" could be used to justify the lies told the public about its "safety" and "environmental benefits."

The union officialdom was silenced with the promise of a few construction jobs, nuclear plant jobs, and an expanded economy.

The nuclear work force was new. There were no union traditions or history of nuclear workers fighting for their rights in conflict with their bosses.

What a profit bonanza!

Coal, on the other hand, was a different story. Coal had been mined in this country for nearly 100 years at the time of nuclear power's birth. Coal's dangers were well known—100,000 miners had died on the job since the beginning of the century.



Militant/Nancy Cole

The United Mine Workers was viewed as a serious obstacle to profits. During World War II, while other union officialdoms fell into line and accepted a no-strike pledge, the miners carried out four national strikes. They cracked the wartime wage freeze.

Massive automation of the coal industry followed, and nearly 300,000 miners were thrown out of work. But by the 1960s, union miners were again stirring. They were demanding stiff safety laws to prevent the periodic mass murders in the mines. They insisted that there be laws to curb black lung disease and to provide compensation for its countless victims. And they won major concessions on both counts.

Democratic reforms

In doing so, the miners found it necessary to turn out the corrupt union dictatorship of Tony Boyle in 1972, ushering in a new, inspiring period of democratic union reforms.

In 1974, the miners won a contract clause that is still unprecedented in the union movement—the right of union safety committees to shut down a mine or mine section when there was judged to be an "imminent danger."

But the energy corporations maintained hope of taming the mining work force, the most organized and militant section of the industry.

At the time of the 1977 UMWA

contract expiration, Carter was talking coal boom, projecting a doubling of production by 1985. Oil and natural gas generating plants were to be firmly encouraged to convert to abundant coal.

The only problem, both industry and government moaned, was the coal miners' "unruliness." It made coal "unreliable" as a major source of energy and unless it were curbed, they threatened, the UMWA faced "extinction."

The miners said, "Shove it," and struck for 110 days. They returned to work, having inspired labor's ranks by their stand, with a new confidence in their power and a determination to continue their fight.

The coal boom suddenly fizzled. And nuclear power was off and running.

"The walkout by the United Mine Workers has created second thoughts about reliance on this fuel," wrote *U.S. News & World Report*. "Utilities and manufacturers who were moving reluctantly toward coal under political rather than economic pressure are now more likely to resist forced conversion to a fuel that is increasingly unreliable and costly."

"The big winner to emerge from the strike could be the atom. Nuclear facilities kept on producing electricity during the strike while some coal-fired plants were cutting power."

Continued on next page

The nuclear gang

Continental Oil, the nation's eighteenth-largest corporation, distributes a piece of propaganda headlined, "Oil, Coal, and Uranium: Do They Mix?"

The subtitle answers the question: "The role of oil companies in the development of alternative energy sources."

Continental owns Consolidation Coal, the second-biggest producer of coal in the country.

The pamphlet brags that "collectively oil companies have discovered about half of the total U.S. uranium reserves," and that four oil companies produce about 52 percent of yellowcake, or milled uranium.

To be sure, the top corporations have their tentacles into the production of nuclear power, and that includes first and foremost the oil giants—Exxon, Gulf Oil, Mobil Oil, Atlantic Richfield, and the list goes on.

Each of the nine largest domestic

oil companies (which are among the top eighteen corporations) owns uranium reserves.

Of course, they own coal too. Four of the top twelve coal companies are owned by oil corporations.

Number one in both uranium reserves and uranium milling is Kerr-McGee Corporation, which ranks 142 on *Fortune's* list of the 500 largest industrial corporations.

Kerr-McGee is a \$2 billion "diversified mineral resources conglomerate." It suffered a setback recently when an Oklahoma jury ordered the corporation to pay more than \$10 million to Karen Silkwood's estate. Silkwood was a Kerr-McGee worker poisoned with radioactive plutonium. (See page 28.)

Kerr-McGee is not a big producer of coal—yet. But it has 3 billion tons of coal reserves. "What they lose in nuclear on the left hand, will certainly be weighted with coal on the right," explains an energy analyst.

When the price is right.

...labor should fight to shut nukes, use coal

Continued from preceding page

Fortune magazine, voice of big business, began a series of articles in March, titled, "It's Time To End The Holy War Over Nuclear Power." The introduction noted, "Today the U.S. gets 12½ percent of its electric power from seventy-two nuclear generating plants. That is already enough to make a vital difference when foreign oil supplies are pinched or when coal miners stage a lengthy strike."

Besides labor "unrest" in the coal fields, industry is also aiming its fire at new environmental rules, which would require utilities to install equipment to control pollution from coal-burning plants.

They also perceive another obstacle. Some 65 percent of coal is transported by rail. An immediate increase in production of coal would exacerbate the decrepit condition of this country's railroads and could trigger a big fight for safety by rail workers. The rail carriers would be forced to upgrade and expand rail transportation.

The energy industry has not abandoned coal. But nuclear power is an attractive energy source to rely on until coal's labor and environmental "problems" are straightened out to industry's satisfaction.

'Expansion restraint'

"Labor will probably behave well this year, so most coal companies will earn far more than in strike-torn 1978," predicted the March 23 *Value Line*. "That's not a reason to rush to buy coal stocks, however. . . . The coal companies will apply plenty of restraint to expansion over the next 3 to 5 years."

But "nuclear power use is growing fast and will continue to do so for years to come," it added.

That was before Three Mile Island, of course. But even with nuclear power's dive in public esteem, the energy profiteers are still holding the American people hostage.

The fact that industry sees the miners' militancy as a major obstacle is all the more reason to fight for coal as the immediate alternative to nuclear power.

Some supporters of nuclear power cynically argue that coal mining is more dangerous than nuclear power. They point to all the miners killed in accidents each year and those who die from black lung disease. They capitalize on the fact that the full scope of the nuclear danger has been hidden until recently from the public and that statistics on its thousands of victims remain uncompiled, if not buried.

It is certainly true that coal mining by the profits-first energy industry is dangerous. But somehow the pronuclear forces are nowhere to be found when miners are fighting to better their working conditions.

A campaign by the labor movement to increase coal production as the alternative to nuclear power would strengthen the United Mine Workers in its fight for safe working conditions.

It would help alter the relationship of forces between the huge energy



Militant/ Steve Watson

By taking lead against nuclear power, miners could win new support in their life-and-death struggle with coal companies.

monopolies and the largely unorganized energy work force.

Opening up new mines and providing jobs to thousands of coal miners would create a more favorable situation for the UMWA in general—in its organizing drives, in its battles against speedup and safety violations, in its campaign for decent health care.

And by taking the lead against deadly nuclear power, the miners could explain *their* case for safety to broader forces. The miners could win new support in their life-and-death struggle with the profit-hungry coal barons.

Such a UMWA-led campaign, joined by the labor movement as well as by environmentalists and antinuclear activists, could place the following demands on the energy industry:

• Coal must be mined safely.

Ever since coal miners forced passage of the 1969 coal mining health-and-safety act, the operators have complained of the law's interference with "productivity." The UMWA safety committees, which make it their job to try and enforce this and similar state laws, were a particular target of the industry during the strike last year. These laws and contract provisions should be maintained and expanded.

• **Strip-mined land must be reclaimed.** Coal is increasingly surface mined, much of it recklessly stripped from the land, which is then abandoned. Besides the environmental blight, this leaves thousands of Appalachian residents victims of devastating floods each year.

After a ten-year battle, a law requiring strip mining reclamation was signed in 1977. But rules have yet to go into effect. Currently the coal industry and the states of Illinois and Virginia are suing to block enforcement of the law.

Environmental controls

• **Environmental controls must be enforced.** The energy industry's loudest complaint these days is the 1977 antipollution amendments added to the Clean Air Act. These "regulatory rampages," as *Time* magazine dubs the effort, would require new coal-burning power plants to install "scrubbers" to remove sulfur pollution from exhaust smoke.

The original rules issued by the Environmental Protection Agency last September have been watered down. But they are still under heavy fire, including by Carter's "inflation fighters."

Unfortunately, some UMWA officials have been blackmailed into siding with the coal industry on this issue on the basis that "costly" rules will mean fewer mining jobs. But allowing the coal operators and utilities to slide by on pollution controls can only embolden them to step up attacks on other profit restrictions that they also oppose, most notably safety laws.

• **Stop the attacks on miners' right to organize.** Having failed to wipe out the United Mine Workers during the strike last year, industry is continuing to chip away at the percentage of UMWA-produced coal, which now stands at less than 50 percent.

Expansion of western coal is largely non-UMWA. And there are determined coal company efforts to sabotage organizing efforts in the eastern coal fields and to drive the UMWA out of mines already organized.

The labor movement would also need to campaign for a program to retrain all nuclear workers for new jobs at union wages.

And unions could demand that federal funds be devoted right away to developing alternative forms of energy.

The energy corporations always scream that safeguards and environmental protections are prohibitively expensive. They hide the real facts and figures on energy reserves just as they lie about the ghastly dangers of nuclear power.

Energy, an absolute necessity for every person in this country, is totally governed by the whims and wishes of privately owned corporations and their only thought: profits.

In its fight for coal as an immediate alternative to nuclear power, the union movement should demand that the books and all the secret records of the energy monopolies and federal agencies be opened to public inspection.

If the health and safety of working people is "too expensive," let the corporations prove it to us. If there are oil and gas shortages, let's see just what and where the hidden reserves really are. If there are no "significant" dangers from nuclear power, let's hear what industry and government officials have said—not in their lies to the public—but in their closed-door meetings and secret reports.

Such a campaign by the labor movement would lead to the next reasonable step: demanding that the government nationalize the energy industry and place it under public ownership, managed by an independent board directly elected by the American people.

This would take the industry out of the hands of the private profiteers, organizing it instead on the basis of human needs. All the facts and decisions would be subject to public scrutiny because the workers in the energy industry would make sure no secrets were kept from working people.

This is the only reasonable solution for the millions of working people who now face nuclear disaster, long gas lines, and astronomical utility bills.

Spanish dock workers refuse nuclear cargo

Spanish dock workers have refused to unload cargo shipped to a nuclear power plant under construction in the Basque city of Lemoniz, near Bilbao. The national longshore workers association said its members would refuse to handle the cargo at every Spanish port.

French dock workers at Bordeaux, responding to a solidarity plea from the Spanish, indicated they too would refuse to unload the cargo.

The Spanish longshore workers have appealed for solidarity all over Europe.

The Lemoniz plant, built by Westinghouse, has been the scene of the largest anti-nuclear power demonstrations anywhere, reaching as high as 200,000 people. Opposition to the plant is linked with the demand of the Basque people for the right to control their own nation.

By Doug Jenness

The accident at the Three Mile Island nuclear plant has rightly convinced millions of working people that nuclear power is dangerous. But they also know that electricity is essential to industry and their homes. So before joining the campaign to shut down all the nuclear plants, they want to know where the 12.5 percent of electricity now produced by nuclear reactors will come from.

Alternative is coal

The United Mine Workers Union has pointed out that there are huge reserves of coal still available and plenty of unemployed miners ready and willing to mine it.

The Socialist Workers Party also believes that coal is the most obvious, immediate, and practical answer to nuclear power. Furthermore, fighting for this alternative would greatly strengthen the UMW, including in its fight for safety and its attempt to organize unorganized miners. It would put the labor movement as a whole in a stronger position against the energy trust. (See article on page 14.)

This approach sharply contrasts with the spectrum of alternatives being put forward by the assorted petty-bourgeois sects and grouplets around the edges of the labor movement.

The International Socialist Organization, for example, published a special supplement to its newspaper, *Socialist Worker*, for the May 6 antinuclear march on Washington. In it they state that "there has to be an alternative to the barbarism of nuclear power and nuclear weapons—to the threats both of eternal contamination and instant annihilation."

What is this alternative?

"Socialism—real socialism—is the alternative, and we must begin today to build for it."

It is absolutely true that the present capitalist system must be replaced by socialism if peace, economic security, and freedom from exploitation are to be guaranteed.

Answering immediate problems

But socialists will never get a hearing from working people unless they offer answers to the immediate problems capitalism forces upon us—nuclear disaster, fuel shortages, skyrocketing inflation, and mass unemployment, to name only a few.

It's only by putting forward its own program to deal with these immediate problems and fighting for it, that the labor movement can point the way toward wresting power from the capitalist rulers, establishing a workers government, and laying the basis for a socialist society.

To simply say that socialism is the alternative sounds like we should put off the fight against nuclear power or do with less electricity until a socialist society is established that can provide the answer to our energy needs.

Another group that is for closing down nuclear power plants but offers no immediate alternative is the Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist), a Maoist organization. In an article in the May 7 issue of its paper, *The Call*, it argues that solar energy is the answer. "Solar power not only represents an alternative; it represents a better alternative because it poses none of the safety problems of nuclear power."

It contends that fossil fuels such as coal, oil, and natural gas are not in the running as alternatives because there is only a limited, finite quantity of these resources. Thus we must campaign for solar energy to replace nuclear energy.

But the big problem with this proposal is that the present technology for solar power is very far from being able to provide our society's massive needs for electricity—from running factories to lighting cities and millions of homes. Perhaps at some future time, if sufficient resources are allocated, solar power can be developed to provide much of our energy needs. But until that time solar power doesn't provide an answer to the Carter administration's lie that closing all the nuclear power plants will precipitate an immediate shortage of electricity.

The CP (M-L)'s answer, like that of the ISO, appears remote, not immediately realizable, and therefore impractical.

Democrats & solar energy

Many pro-Democratic Party liberals in the anti-nuclear movement also believe that solar power is the best alternative to nuclear energy and give the demand for it a great deal of prominence. But being more "realistic" than the CP (M-L), they recognize that its application, if it can be developed, is a way off. So in order to woo the support of capitalist politicians, they demonstrate their "reasonable" interim solution by calling for a moratorium only on the construction of new nuclear plants. Meanwhile, most of the seventy-two existing plants continue to operate.

How left groups see nuclear power



Spartacist League labels antinuclear activists 'anti-industrial eco-faddists.'

Militant/Nancy Cole

The Communist Labor Party also believes solar energy is the alternative but proposes a different interim solution until it can be developed. In the May 15 issue of its paper, *People's Tribune*, they explain that "the most important short-term source available is conservation." Insulating homes and other buildings is especially cited as a means to save large quantities of energy.

It is true that some energy could be saved through industrial conservation measures. But urging conservation as an immediate alternative to nuclear power gives credence to Carter's efforts to pin the blame for the energy crisis on working people. We live too luxuriously, he declares, and we should do with less gas, less heat, and less air conditioning.

The Spartacist League takes an entirely different approach than the other groups. In the April 13 issue of their newspaper, *Workers Vanguard*, they argue that "the impressive technology of nuclear power" should not be shut down. Antinuclear activists are contemptuously labeled "anti-industrial eco-faddists."

"Of course," they admit, "nuclear energy is far from completely safe and is fraught with unresolved problems. . . ."

"But the alternatives under capitalism are just as, if not more, unsafe. Coal burning power plants emit as much background radiation as nuclear reactors (coal contains radium and uranium)."

The article then goes on to develop at great length the hazards of coal mining.

The Spartacists' conclusion is that all technology is hazardous under capitalism and can only be made safe when capitalism is abolished. "It is not so much a question of a special technology, but the irrationality of the capitalist economy which makes all industry in the U.S., including the nuclear industry, hazardous."

Dangers of nukes

But this is where they are dead wrong. There is something *special* about nuclear energy. It is intrinsically far more dangerous than other forms of energy because the technology *does not* exist to make it safe—whether capitalists or workers control the economy.

Nuclear energy releases into our environment lethal radioactivity that previously did not exist, that cannot be safely disposed of, and may last tens

of thousands of years. The continued use and expansion of nuclear power means that the accumulation of these deadly wastes will increase, and the threat of accidents even more serious than Three Mile Island will be greater.

But the Spartacists are full of advice on how to make nuclear plants safer. One suggestion is to build them farther from major population centers. "They should obviously be built at a distance and downwind from cities." Where presumably only rural residents, such as farmers, would be radiated!

Moreover, this bit of wisdom fails to take into account that winds *do* change direction, that radioactive emissions *can* travel for hundreds of miles, and that there *is* still the problem of waste disposal.

But totally undaunted by facts, the Spartacists ask, "And why not test an actual meltdown in the desert to see how to protect against it?"

Do they have a specific desert in mind? One distant and downwind from any cities? One where the water table is miles underground? Perhaps in Utah or Nevada where the government tested atomic bombs a few years ago?

They also suggest that maybe reactors can be made safe by lowering the water table where they are located or building huge underground concrete silos to prevent a meltdown from burrowing into the water table.

Amateurish advice

But all this amateurish advice only adds up to speculation. They cannot definitely say, "Yes, the technology does exist at this moment to make nuclear power safe."

Yet in the same article the Spartacist League does admit that, "The technology exists to make mines considerably safer with ventilation and adequate equipment." And of course they could add that scrubbers have been developed that can make coal burning plants safer. So their contention that the alternatives to nuclear power "are just as, if not more, unsafe," doesn't hold up.

An important test of any revolutionary organization is whether it can present a fighting program to answer the immediate problems capitalism imposes on working people. This sampling of positions from just a few of the self-appointed advisers to the labor movement demonstrates how far off the mark they are.

Sears anti-affirmative action suit dismissed

By August Nimtze

A federal judge has thrown out of court Sears, Roebuck and Company's attack on federal affirmative-action guidelines.

U.S. District Court Judge June Green dismissed the class-action suit May 15 on the grounds that "Sears had failed to present the court with a justifiable case or controversy."

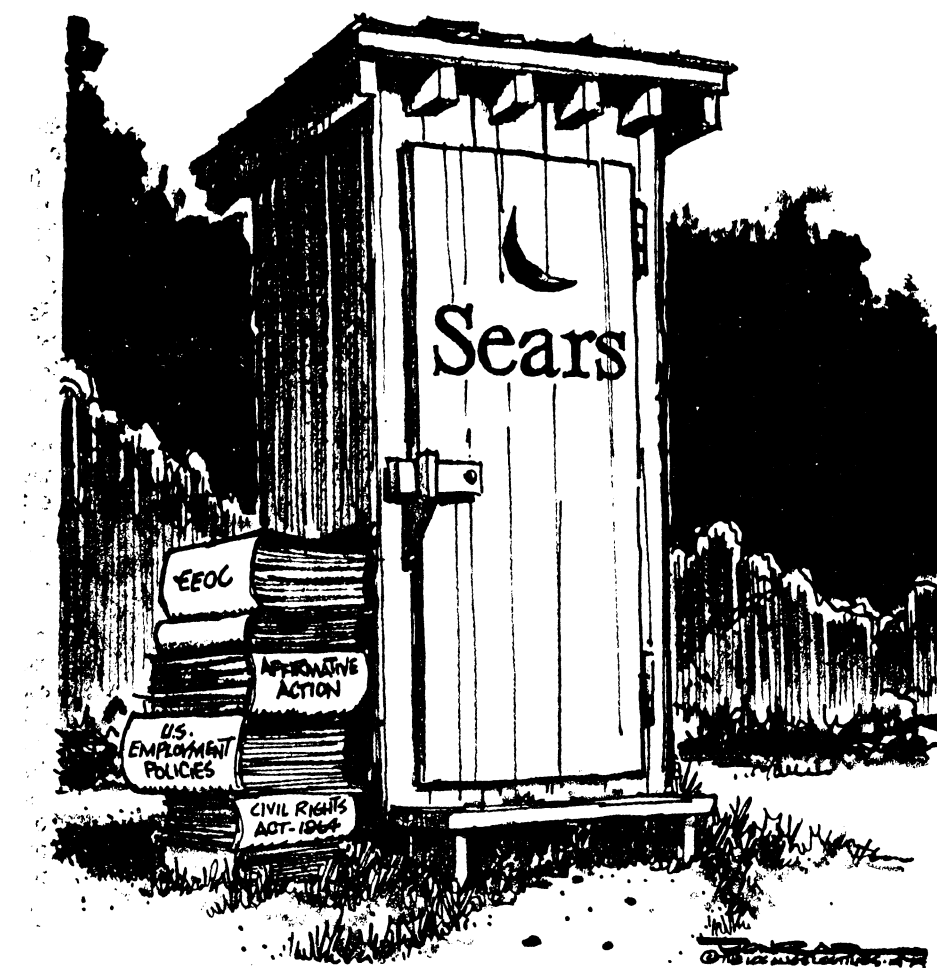
The suit by the nation's largest retailer was intended to head off action against Sears by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. The commission has been investigating discrimination charges against Sears since 1973. Some reports say that the EEOC may order the giant merchandiser to grant as much as \$100 million in back pay because of its sexist and racist hiring and promotion policies.

This could make the Sears settlement one of the largest in the history of EEOC actions, rivaling the 1973 consent decree with the American Telephone and Telegraph Company. As a result of an EEOC suit, AT&T was forced to give Black and women workers better job opportunities and to make back pay and other adjustments totaling \$52 million.

With the dismissal of the Sears suit, the way is apparently cleared for the EEOC to proceed with its case against the retailer.

Sears claimed in its unprecedented lawsuit that "confusing" and "arbitrary" federal policies and the maze of government red tape made it impossible for retailers such as itself to comply with affirmative-action regulations.

The suit cited, as an example, the



federal policy of preferential treatment for veterans, which it claimed had slanted the labor pool from which it draws in favor of white males.

In the extensive publicity with which Sears launched its suit, the company

tried to suggest that it truly supported affirmative action but was prevented from doing so because of the federal government.

The lawsuit was a blatant attempt to pit worker against worker—especially

women against Blacks.

"We believe in equality for women," said Charles Bacon, Sears vice-president for personnel, at the time the suit was filed. "But we think the government has moved its enforcement priorities from minorities, for whom the 1964 law was primarily intended, to women. And we think that the minorities are getting the short end of the stick."

Because of the outrage with which Blacks greeted its suit, Sears went so far as to try to bribe a section of the Black community by launching in May a twice-monthly advertising campaign in 150 Black newspapers across the country.

Sears's attack on affirmative action was encouraged by other efforts to overturn equal job rights, especially the *Weber* case, now before the Supreme Court.

Brian Weber, a white lab technician at Kaiser Aluminum's Gramercy, Louisiana, plant, claims he is the victim of "reverse discrimination." He is trying to overturn an affirmative-action plan negotiated by the United Steelworkers. The plan set aside half of craft trainee positions for Black and women workers.

Brian Weber is no friend of white workers any more than Sears is an ally of Blacks. Both cases, and all the other attacks on affirmative action, only serve to divide the working class.

Every time one of these anti-labor moves is turned back, such as in the Sears suit, it's a step forward for working people.

Rail workers to protest Milwaukee Road plan

By Dick Roberts

MINNEAPOLIS—A protest against the threatened liquidation of the Milwaukee Road is being planned by railroad workers here. They have called a rally for June 5 to present the viewpoints of workers and farmers who would be affected by the threatened shutdown.

The trustee of the bankrupt railroad asked a federal court in Chicago last month to approve plans for reorganizing the railroad, which could eliminate 5,000 or more jobs. At a minimum, trustee Stanley Hillman would like to close down all the operations of the Milwaukee west of Chicago and Minneapolis.

Besides throwing thousands of workers out of their jobs without compensation, this threatens all the farmers and small businessmen along the branch lines that would be closed.

The court has set May 31 for an initial ruling on Hillman's demands.

A big inspiration in encouraging railroad workers to initiate a fight back was the work of a Milwaukee Road employee in Portland, Oregon.

Kendall Gustasson prepared a lengthy report on the mismanagement of the Milwaukee Road. He listed a number of questions the company should answer about the ownership of the railroad and the secret maneuvers of the owners and managers before the bankruptcy was announced. Gustasson also presented arguments for stepping up the use of the railroads in response to the energy crisis.

He then entered a Milwaukee Road office in Portland late one night and put the entire report on the company teletype, which went out to its offices all over the country. Although the Milwaukee closed down its entire computer system the next day and managers ripped down the reports posted in one office after another, photostats of the original had already been made by employees, and they are circulating everywhere.

Gustasson will be one of the speakers at the Minneapolis rally.

The initial call for the rally came from United Transportation Union Local 911, representing train service employees of the Milwaukee Road in St. Paul and Minneapolis. Top UTU officials have so far limited their response to the threatened shutdown to suggesting that workers write to Congress.

"People wrote letters before the union was founded," Bill Peterson told the *Militant*. Peterson is a member of Local 911 active in building the protest meeting. "We explained in the local that you don't need a union to write letters. We need the union to defend our jobs."

The local unanimously backed the idea of sponsoring a protest meeting. Other locals are now signing up.

One of the first endorsers of the protest was Charlie Wilson, secretary and local chairman of UTU Local 263, representing Milwaukee Road engineers.

"This is a manipulated bankruptcy," Wilson told the *Militant*. "Never was there more potential for railroads to service the economy, and yet they're ripping them up one after the next. I'm pretty concerned." Wilson has worked on the railroads for twenty-eight years.

On May 21, Wilson and Peterson appeared before UTU Local 1000, representing Twin Cities-area yard, train, road, and engine service workers on the Burlington Northern. They got unanimous endorsement for the Milwaukee Road bankruptcy protest meeting.

This testifies to deep resentment of railroad workers to the speedup and layoffs taking place on the rails. It's possible that some of the Milwaukee Road lines will be taken over by the financially powerful Burlington Northern. At the same time, however, the BN is attempting to drive through a cut in crew size comparable to the crew reductions already imposed on the Milwau-

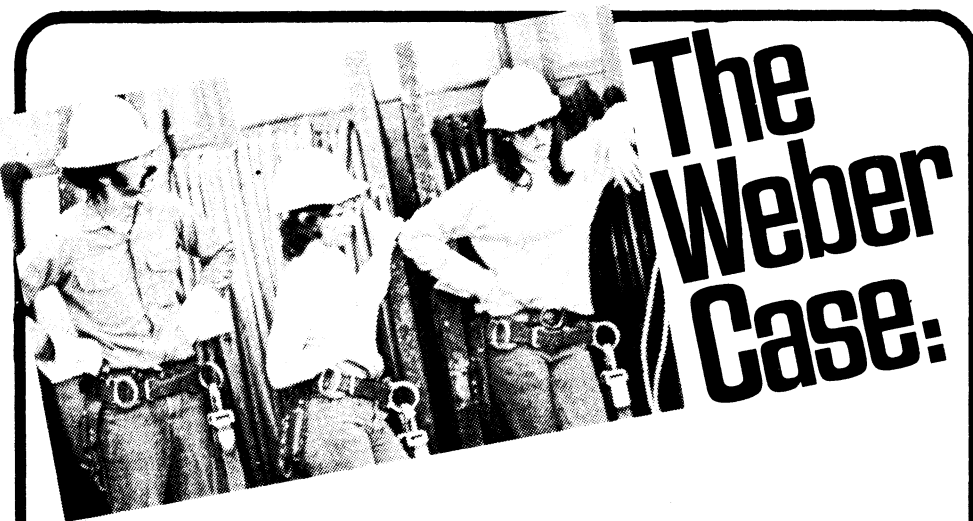
kee Road.

Supporting the workers who are already threatened with losing their jobs on the Milwaukee is a good place to begin fighting back against the national profit drive of the rails.

Copies of Gustasson's report were eagerly received by the BN members present at the union meeting. The local

president spoke about how the companies keep different sets of books and how important it is to get the real facts out of them.

Endorsements and letters of support for the June 5 meeting should be sent to: Secretary, United Transportation Union Local 911, 3232 Karth Road, St. Paul, Minnesota 55110.



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Trotskyists point to Cuban example

What way forward for Iranian revolution?

The April 11 debate between Trotskyist leader Babak Zahraie and "Islamic republic" proponent Abu al-Hassan Bani Sadr had a dramatic political impact throughout Iran. Zahraie's clear and simple explanation of what a workers and peasants government would do aroused interest and sympathy from very broad sections of the masses, including those still under the influence of Ayatollah Khomeini's followers in other respects.

The debate, which was nationally televised, was viewed by an estimated 22 million persons—virtually the entire adult population of Iran.

The reaction to it showed that the masses were anxious to begin discussing how to build the new society that they had fought for, and that they were beginning to think about socialism.

The results of the debate apparently alarmed the new regime, which has little authority and can hope to survive only by hiding behind "Islamic" demagoguery.

The editors of the major Iranian dailies thought that the interest displayed in the debate called for reprinting the text of it. *Ayendegan* printed it in full, in a series running in three issues beginning April 11.

What did Zahraie say that made such an impact on tens of millions of Iranians?

'Opportunity to discuss'

"I am happy that the victory of the third Iranian revolution of this century has given us the opportunity to discuss the fundamental questions," Zahraie began, "questions that not only intellectuals are preoccupied with but which concern the workers, the toilers, and the middle classes. . . .

"When we discuss different economic frameworks, what we are discussing is first of all human society, relations among people. We live in an age of

great scientific advances—when machinery and technology can reduce the working time required to produce the things we need, both in the cities and in the countryside. But in this century of great scientific progress, for seventy years, under the domination of imperialism and the monarchy, Iran's situation has gotten worse.

"There are very contradictory developments here. On the one hand, science has provided the technological means for improving the lives of human beings. On the other, the social realities have continually made life worse."

The old regime had promised that rising oil prices would bring prosperity for the Iranian people. The new authorities also look to higher oil prices as the only hope they can offer for solving the country's economic problems. Zahraie said:

"It is exactly six years since the energy crisis appeared throughout the world, and the price of oil in Iran increased many fold. The country's leaders, the leaders of the despotic regime of the former shah, made a big fuss over this increase. This was all hoopla. The source of this development lay outside the country. . . .

"What was its result? . . . The rich have become richer and the poor, poorer. Before the price increase, Iran was self-sufficient in agriculture. Five years afterward, Iranian agriculture was ruined. Food began to be imported at high prices. The peasants and small peasants were ruined. Hundreds of thousands of peasants became uprooted wanderers."

So, Zahraie explained, the solution to the country's economic problems did not lie in higher oil prices. The economic problems had to do with relations between different groups of people. And the road to solving them was indicated by the February rebellion. The only force that could solve these problems was the same force that

overthrew the shah—the masses of Iranian workers and toilers.

Zahraie took up a point made by Bani Sadr about the weakness of Iranian capitalists:

"I want to say one thing about weak capitalists and strong capitalists. What is the difference between them? What you said makes the differences clear. You mentioned an American company, IBM. It has billions of dollars in capital. Not even the biggest Iranian capitalist has capital amounting to billions of dollars.

"And capitalism has its own laws, the law of gangsters. The stronger wins. It has no other law. . . ."

Breaking from imperialism

"One thing that I find interesting about this discussion is that although we say we are talking among ourselves, we see that everything depends on relationships with people outside the country. How is it possible to free ourselves from these debts? It is very simple. There are historical examples of how to do this.

"In the case of the Cuban revolution, after Castro took power, he denounced the unwarranted power exercised in Cuba by the United States. Castro said: 'To whom should I be loyal? To the working people of Cuba? Or to the obligations imposed by the relations that you say must be maintained internationally?' His conclusion was that he should put the needs of Cuba first. So, what did he do then?

"He ordered that the land be given to the peasants. He nationalized 99 percent of everything the American companies owned in Cuba. The Americans had said that if he did thus and so, they would do thus and so in return. Castro's reply was that he would nationalize the imperialists down to the nails in their shoes.

"Expropriations are needed here. . . . This requires mobilizing the masses of working people. But instead



BABAK ZAHRAIE Militant/Mark Satinoff

of this, the political leaders are telling the people to go home. They should tell them to stay mobilized and stay on the alert so that we can carry forward the struggle to root out imperialism from Iran.

"There is a fundamental question here. The February uprising pointed it up. That is, it showed that the people are the ones who can solve this problem. . . . The people have the power to do it. They showed that they could overthrow any shah, that they could overthrow the monarchy with all its power. So the problems of Iran, from unemployment to underproduction, are not going to be solved by some economists sitting in a room. They can only be solved by the masses through their struggle."

Economic crisis

"We are coming to the question of what an economic crisis is. One thing that is being talked about today in Iran is the crisis in agriculture, which is very deep.

"What is involved in this crisis? Insufficient food production. Revolutionary planning could solve this crisis in a couple of days. It's very simple. The first thing is to see how much is under cultivation. The second is to see how much is in storage. And the third is to find out how much has to be imported. Do you know how that can be done? Ask the farmers themselves, who are without work. The machinery that is being kept in storage by the landowners should be turned over to the farmers so that they can begin to do the work to get the crops ready. . . .

"And the question of imports raises another question. The Socialist Workers Party proposes a state monopoly of foreign trade. What is imported should be determined by the needs of the country, not by those of personal enrichment, so the state should assume full control over foreign trade. What should be imported are tractors for agricultural work, machinery to increase production."

Zahraie took up some of the vague populist formulas in Bani Sadr's program for the Islamic republic:

"You say that the former government centralized things but that this did not bring order and regularity. But that is a contradiction. If you centralize, there is one law. But you cannot centralize a capitalist economy.

"Of course, each factory is central-

Continued on next page



Cuban agricultural workers. Zahraie explained that Castro 'ordered that the land be given to the peasants. Who knows better than the peasants how the seed should be used?'

King Hassan's Saharan war backfires

Morocco: strike wave challenges regime

By Peter Archer

The Moroccan regime of King Hassan II is facing a deepening crisis. Growing unrest in the working class, fueled by the cost and political impact of waging a three-and-a-half-year war against the Western Sahara Polisario (People's Front for the Liberation of Saguiet El Hamra and Rio de Oro), have the king worried.

The Moroccan economy is staggering under the burden of maintaining 40,000 troops in a losing war against the Polisario guerrillas. "Since last autumn," reported *New York Times* correspondent James Markham May 1, "railway workers, postmen, bank employees, phosphate workers and, most recently, primary- and secondary-school teachers have struck for higher wages that the Government is hard pressed to come up with.

"The strikes were touched off in part by an austerity program begun last summer. . . .

"Many [politicians] concede," Markham continued, "that widespread corruption, against which the ruler recently railed . . . as a Western diplomat put it, 'could be an Achilles' heel' at a time of belt-tightening for most of the country's 18.6 million people."

Although up to now Hassan has been able to rely on his imperialist backers in the White House and Wall Street to bail him out of his financial difficulties, the Carter administration has been somewhat cautious in funneling aid to him.

The Polisario forces are backed by the Algerian regime, which has a long-standing border dispute with Morocco going back to 1962. Carter is wary of precipitately breaking ties with the government in Algiers. U.S. trade and investment in Algeria is substantially higher than that with Morocco.

Saharan war

In November 1975, the aging Spanish dictator, Gen. Francisco Franco, agreed to hand over to Morocco and Mauritania the Western Sahara, which until then had been a colony of Spain.

The United States supported this move. None of the governments involved showed any interest in what the people of Western Sahara thought about the matter.

In January 1976, Moroccan and Mauritanian troops moved into West-

ern Sahara. Part of the deal between the three governments had been that all would share in the profits to be derived from exploitation of the area's phosphate reserves. Morocco had already opened negotiations with several American multinationals, including the Rockefellers, for development of the deposits.

Forty thousand Saharans fled the invading troops. Many of them poured into refugee camps in Algeria.

The United States backed up the invasion with massive military aid to the Moroccan regime.

Initially the Saharan campaign also seemed to answer the Moroccan ruling class's need to attain a measure of stability by whipping up a chauvinist campaign against the Western Saharans. The two main workers' parties in the country—the Socialist Union of Popular Forces and the Stalinist Party of Progress and Socialism—backed Hassan's campaign against the right of the Saharans to self-determination. The workers movement was disoriented by the treachery of its leadership.

The White House was delighted with Hassan's performance.

But the Moroccan and Mauritanian regimes were unable to deal a decisive defeat to the Polisario, desert-wise and mobile in an area of more than a million square miles. In 1976, a group of thirty-five Polisario landrovers traveled undetected for 1,000 miles to the outskirts of the Mauritanian capital of Nouakchott, where they shelled the presidential palace.

In Mauritania, the seemingly endless war rushed the declining economy into a tailspin. By the end of 1978, the regime was borrowing heavily to keep afloat, and the public debt had soared to account for 92 percent of the country's gross domestic product. In addition, the guerrillas were becoming increasingly successful in disrupting the iron industry, on which Mauritania relies for 82 percent of its exports.

Mauritania coup

On July 10, 1978, a coup overthrew the eighteen-year-old Mauritanian regime of Moktar Ould Daddah. The new head of state, Lt.-Col. Moustapha Ould Mohammed Salek, explained in a press statement following the coup that Daddah had led the country into a state of

broken loose from the world market, broken those very relations that you say we must maintain. Only those states [the USSR, China, and other workers states] have been able to put the needs of their country above the laws of the imperialist jungle, above the greed of the imperialist companies, and begin a process of economic development."

Socialists' program

At this point the moderator asked Zahraie and Bani Sadr to try to find points of agreement so that the discussion could be more "fruitful." Bani Sadr indicated that he thought they could agree on the need for the people to get back to work.

Zahraie responded:

"The question is what kind of work. Should the workers go back into the factories to work for the bosses? Or should they take control of production themselves? Should the peasants work for the landlords, or should they take the agricultural machinery and use it



KING HASSAN II: Washington is worried that Hassan may go same way as shah of Iran.

"bankruptcy," "economic marasma," and "financial decadence," and that there had been a "daily danger of revolt and popular uprising."

for the benefit of the country? That is the question. It is in this sense that we say that the country's problems could be solved in a couple of days. We don't say that Iran would be a paradise, but that all its potential would be utilized. . . .

"Who knows better than the peasants how the seed should be used? Who knows better than the workers how to run the factories, how to develop production? What the uprising showed was that the workers and the peasants should not only build the society but that they can and should direct this process. . . .

"What does the monopoly of foreign trade mean? It doesn't mean turning all foreign trade over to a few so that they can get rich. It means planning by the peasants themselves, for example. . . . It might be necessary to import some things for building roads. The government would import them.

"To whom should this task be delegated? Only a government could do it. What kind of government? That is the

The new government moved to extricate Mauritania from the war. A ceasefire with the Polisario was agreed upon and Moroccan forces were forced to withdraw from some important posts in the Mauritanian-controlled territory.

In addition to having to shoulder the full burden of the Saharan war, Hassan's government was badly shaken by the revolution in Iran. In January the shah, fleeing the massive upsurge in his country, arrived in Morocco, hinting he would like to have a long stay. But Moroccan students demonstrated against his presence, some chanting, "Tehran, Rabat, same combat!" Others chalked up on a wall near the university, "One shah in Rabat is enough." Under this pressure, Hassan began to hint broadly that the shah had overstayed his welcome. The monarch left for the Bahamas March 30.

In this situation, the Carter administration is trying to open more channels of support to the beleaguered monarch.

Writing in the April 27 *Christian Science Monitor*, which is often used as a mouthpiece by the U.S. State Department, Stefan Halper and Roger Fontaine complain that "the US attitude [toward the Saharan war] is one of studied neutrality."

This claim is nonsense. The U.S. government has backed up Hassan's rule with millions of dollars in arms and aid, and endorsed his occupation of the Sahara. Halper and Fontaine use the phony claim of neutrality to propose intensified U.S. intervention.

"The principal objective of US foreign policy in the area," they write, "is helping to maintain a moderate, pro-Western regime in Rabat. Leaving Morocco alone and unaided to fight a war of attrition in the Sahara does little to achieve that goal."

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...Iran

Continued from preceding page

ized. At Iran National, they can tell you exactly how much they produce and how long it takes. But when you take all the factories together, there is anarchy. That is the nature of capitalism and you cannot change it. . . .

"You say that the problem is that the economic centers are not in Iran, and that they must be brought into the country. Well, it's obvious that the centers are not in Iran. The country is not industrialized. . . . The problem is, how are you going to bring these centers into the country? The capitalists cannot industrialize Iran.

"You cannot point to a single semi-colonial country anywhere in the world that has industrialized, even though there have been a lot of insurrections in these countries.

"The only countries that have escaped from the jungle of imperialism . . . are those countries that have

nub of the question in my opinion. The old despotic government of the former shah could not do it. And the government apparatus of today is the same one that existed under the old regime.

"Although the dictatorship was swept away by the insurrection, the state apparatus remains. . . . You cannot do what needs to be done with this state apparatus. Perhaps you could carry out some reforms . . . cut down what is handed over to the imperialist companies for a period. But the fundamental problems of the workers and toilers in Iran would not be solved."

In order to solve these problems, Zahraie concluded, the masses would have to have full freedom to discuss and examine all opinions. Only in this way could it be shown who was trying to deceive the people. He said that the debate with Bani Sadr was an example of the sort of discussion that needed to be carried on throughout the entire country, among the masses of working people.

From *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*

Why the Senate voted to drop sanctions against Rhodesia

By August Nimtz

The U.S. Senate voted 75 to 19 on May 15 to ask President Carter to lift economic sanctions against the white-minority-dominated regime in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia). The proposal calls for ending the sanctions within fourteen days of the installation of the new government of Bishop Abel Muzorewa on June 1.

The Senate justified its vote with the lie that the recent elections held by the white minority rulers were "fair." Under legislation enacted by Congress last year, Carter must lift the sanctions if he determines that the Rhodesian regime stages "freely" conducted elections allowing the participation of "all political groups."

By any measure, the Rhodesian elections cannot qualify as "fair." An earlier, whites-only election determined the constitutional basis of the Muzorewa government. The result is that whites, who comprise 4 percent of the population, have 28 percent of the seats in the parliament and veto power over all major legislation, including constitutional amendments. Whites will also have control of the armed forces and the Executive Council.

The April elections, in which Blacks and whites voted for Black parliamentary candidates (Blacks were not allowed to vote in the earlier election for white candidates), were held under the guns of 100,000 Rhodesian troops.

Despite the attempts of "observer" groups such as the New York-based Freedom House to give the elections a clean bill of health, there were numerous confirmed reports of Blacks being intimidated into voting.

Moreover, the Patriotic Front, the major nationalist group fighting for Black majority rule, is outlawed by the regime and was not allowed to participate in the "free elections" hailed by the Senate.

U.S. policy

While the Senate proposal has been played up in the capitalist press as a blow to Carter's southern African strategy, it does not differ with the fundamental aims of Carter or his predecessors.

The Senate vote, which was supported by liberals and conservatives of both capitalist parties, was a blunt statement of the real aims of the U.S. ruling class in southern Africa. They care nothing about the undemocratic basis of the Muzorewa government. Their real worry is the mobilization of



SMITH: Under his 'internal settlement' white minority will retain control of army and veto power over all major legislation.

the Zimbabwean masses in the struggle for genuine Black majority rule.

U.S. policy makers know that such a struggle might well spill into South Africa itself, and would threaten imperialist domination of the entire region. Washington gives lip service to the rights of the Black majority, but its first concern is defense of U.S. economic interests.

After giving full support to British colonial rule in Rhodesia for decades, Washington—working along with the British imperialists—was forced during the 1960s to shift its policy in light of the struggles of the African masses against colonial domination.

The British tried to set up an independent government in Rhodesia tied to imperialism—a neocolonial regime. But Ian Smith and the white settlers he spoke for opposed any concessions to the Black majority. They declared their independence from Britain in 1965.

Despite formal U.S. support for economic sanctions against Smith's outlaw regime, American trade with Rhodesia continued and was instrumental in helping to maintain Smith in power for fifteen years. U.S. violation of the United Nations trade embargo was formalized when Congress passed the Byrd Amendment in 1971.

But the collapse of Portugal's African Empire in 1974-75 and Washington's inability to intervene successfully in Angola in 1976 required a shift in U.S. policy in southern Africa. White-minority regimes that had enjoyed decades of uninterrupted dominance over Blacks began to feel the heat of the African revolution. In Zimbabwe, where every peaceful road to liberation had been closed off, the Black masses intensified their struggle for liberation.

Anglo-American plan flops

The big problem for the U.S. ruling class was how to maintain its economic and political interests in southern Africa, which are based on the exploitation and subordination of Blacks, in the face of this revolutionary upsurge.

Henry Kissinger attempted to fashion a deal for Zimbabwe that was later pursued by the Carter administration. Under this "Anglo-American



MUZOREWA: Senate claims he came to power in 'free' election despite martial law and ban on opponents.

plan," British and American imperialists tried to pose as defenders of Black majority rule in hopes of splitting the Black majority and drawing at least a section of the guerrilla fighters into a Black government that would protect imperialist interests.

Carter made a major effort to sell the plan, using Andrew Young to drum up Black support. Congress joined in by repealing the Byrd Amendment and formally restoring economic sanctions.

However, Carter has not been able to implement the Anglo-American plan. One reason is that Smith has refused to go along with it. Instead, Smith went ahead with his own "internal settlement," which the Muzorewa government is based on. Meanwhile, the armed struggle for majority rule has continued to intensify.

Under these circumstances, the Senate majority has apparently been convinced that it is necessary to go along with Smith's internal settlement. Carter himself called the rigged election "certainly a step in the right direction." When the issue was being

debated in Congress, he refused to oppose sending an observer team to Rhodesia—a move which was intended to lend legitimacy to the elections.

Carter is working together with the Senate in exploring the possibility of recognition of the Muzorewa regime.

According to the May 4 *Washington Post*, Andrew Young said that while the elections were "rigged," the U.S. "should help the new government of Bishop Abel Muzorewa survive while preparing for 'new elections without pressures.'"

The editors of the *New York Times* also endorsed the "internal settlement." They declared May 18: "As long as enough blacks collaborate . . . there is nothing the Western powers could or should do to upset it."

And, they smugly point out, "It should require no genius . . . to find the American interest in the Bishop's [Muzorewa's] choice."

Problem facing imperialists

But it will require much more than extending recognition to Muzorewa or lifting the sanctions to stabilize his regime. The Rhodesian government faces a worsening military situation and a breakdown of much of the economic activity in the country.

It will be necessary for the imperialists to step up military support for the new government to survive. (In this connection it is important to note that there has been an increase in covert arms shipments of American origin to the Rhodesian regime.)

The Senate vote was one step toward legitimizing the regime in the eyes of the American people in order to give open military support to Muzorewa's government. It is doubtful, however, that this move will be successful. According to a recent poll conducted by the Carnegie Endowment, Americans are strongly opposed to any U.S. military involvement in southern Africa even in the face of increased Cuban or Soviet military activity.

In light of this constraint, Carter will no doubt try to rely as much as possible on his imperialist allies. Already, the new government of Margaret Thatcher has increased its support for the Smith-Muzorewa coalition by assigning a full-time envoy to the Rhodesian capital.

The racist regime in Pretoria has stated its willingness to back the Muzorewa government militarily as well as economically.

But British or South African intervention could result in what the imperialists most fear—a deepening radicalization of the Black masses and the involvement of Cuban forces in the struggle.



Christian Science Monitor

Imperialists are afraid that liberation struggle in Zimbabwe will spill over into South Africa.

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Demand informer files be opened

Socialists seek Supreme Court review

By Harry Ring

NEW YORK—The Socialist Workers Party has petitioned the Supreme Court to review an appeals court decision which voided a contempt of court citation against Attorney General Griffin Bell.

Bell had been held in contempt for defying a court order to turn over to the SWP's attorneys the files on eighteen FBI informers. The informers were

a sampling of those who participated in government efforts to disrupt the party.

The Supreme Court petition was filed May 11 by Leonard Boudin and Margaret Winter, attorneys for the SWP in its six-year-old suit against the government. The party, together with the Young Socialist Alliance, is seeking \$40 million in damages and a permanent injunction against government surveillance, burglaries, infiltration, and other illegal activities.

The Supreme Court will probably announce this fall whether it will review the case.

Federal District Judge Thomas Griesa, who is presiding in the SWP's suit, had ordered the informer files turned over after he had read them and found they contained extensive evidence of illegal government activity against the SWP.

The files, Griesa declared, "undoubtedly constitute the most important body of evidence in the case."

Attorney General Bell apparently felt the same way, since he took the unusual step of directly defying the judge's order. Bell argued that he was bound to protect the "confidentiality" of the FBI's stool pigeons and provocateurs.

Instead of compelling Bell to surrender the files, the appeals court basically stated that attorney generals are above the law. The court did rule, however, that Griesa could assign

someone to read and summarize the files.

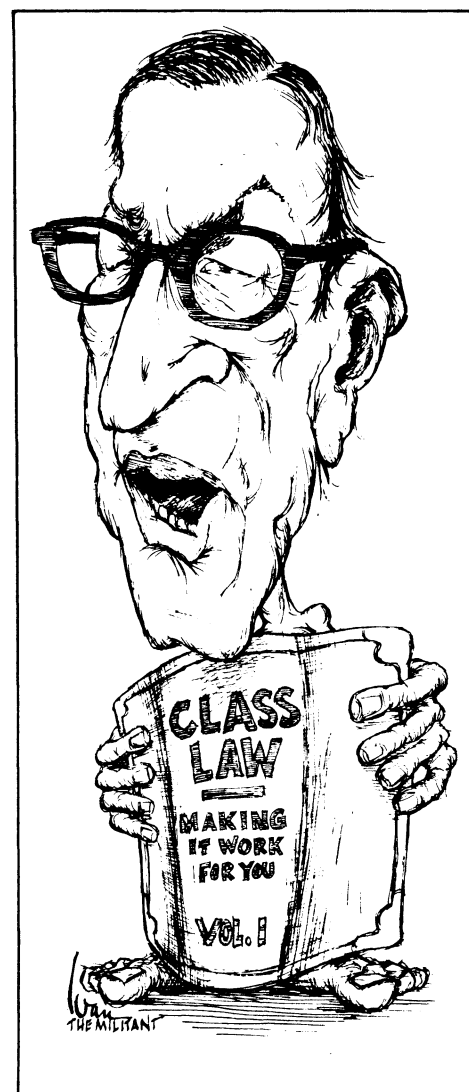
In asking the Supreme Court to review that decision, the SWP brief argued that the appeals court had acted improperly in even hearing Bell's appeal against the contempt citation. According to law, such civil citations cannot be appealed until after a case is resolved. Otherwise, appeals against a judge's rulings while a case is in progress can be utilized for endless delays.

By denying the SWP access to the files, the brief contended, the appeals court was denying it evidence necessary to ensure a fair trial. And in elevating the attorney general above the law, the court had violated the SWP's constitutional right to due process.

On April 30, Griesa appointed a "special master" to review the contested informer files and make a digest available to the SWP.

Charles Breitell, a former chief judge of the New York Court of Appeals, is supposed to go through the secret files and extract relevant information concerning illegal activity against the SWP without revealing the identity of the informers.

Meanwhile, legal expenses in the suit continue to escalate. Funds to defray these costs have been appealed for by the Political Rights Defense Fund, which is organizing support for the case. Contributions can be sent to the PRDF at Box 649, Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003.



GRIFFIN BELL

CP member wins FBI suit

The FBI has been ordered to pay \$48,000 in damages to Mary Blair, a veteran Milwaukee member of the Communist Party, according to the May 17 *Daily World*. The FBI caused her to lose her job in the early 1960s and also to lose her position as a Cub Scout den mother.

Represented by the Wisconsin Civil Liberties Union Foundation, Blair went to court after receiving FBI documents under the Freedom of Information Act. The documents confirmed that the FBI had sent anonymous letters to her employer and to Boy Scout officials resulting in her victimization.

The FBI's dirty tricks against Blair were part of its Cointelpro operation designed to disrupt and destroy the Communist Party.

... hundreds at Va. Steelworker meetings

Continued from back page

The bulletin is still published on a weekly basis to keep communication lines open within the local.

Inside the yard the battle for union rights continues. It's a "touch and go" situation, according to Hower, which "varies from department to department."

Glenn, a Black mechanic, told the *Militant* what it's like in his department, which is heavily union. "It's real quiet," he said. "Nothing's happening at all. The foreman doesn't hassle us."

In another department the situation

is just the opposite. One woman told the *Militant* that white "foremen just stand over top of Black workers and holler at them. They're afraid to do anything."

Company spies and shipyard plainclothes cops try to create a climate of fear to keep union members quiet.

According to Hower, "twenty-two workers have been fired for conviction" of strike-related arrests. That means that 156 other Steelworkers—now back on the job after suspension due to arrest—may also face discharge if convicted in court.

But even being acquitted of their "crimes" does not protect the Steelworkers' jobs. Strike activist Joe Will Hardy was fired despite winning an appeal overturning his conviction.

Tenneco has instituted another form of victimization by virtually removing "light duty"—less physically taxing work to which production workers are assigned, usually when medically necessary. Now, Hower told the *Militant*, "workers are being 'passed out' of the yard indefinitely until they're able to take on a regular job." Women have been particularly hard hit.

While harassing union militants, Tenneco is preparing to appeal the May 4 ruling of Administrative Law Judge Melvin Welles. That ruling recommended that the NLRB reaffirm its certification of Local 8888. An appeals process through the courts can drag on for years.

But despite Tenneco's offensive—and despite the fact that the Steelworkers were forced to suspend their strike short of winning recognition—working people in the Tidewater area are not reading the situation as a defeat for the union.

"Some people talk," said Hower, "that because we went back, we got beaten. But we're strong. Stronger than ever in some ways. Our people want the Steelworkers as their union, and they will do anything to get that."

Local 8888's fighting spirit—and the fact that oil-rich Tenneco could not pound the union into submission—has inspired working people here to such an extent that a rush is on to solicit the Steelworkers' help in budding organizing drives.

"All kinds of workers have called up in the past several weeks," said Hower. "Some have already formed organizing committees. Others are thinking about it. The workplaces range from a couple hundred to much bigger operations."

A good indicator of the impact of the Steelworkers' battle is the recent victory of the Hotel and Restaurant Workers Union in neighboring Colonial Williamsburg. Despite an anti-union slander campaign, kitchen and food workers in this tourist town voted union 485 to 289. It was the major news story in Tidewater that day.

"The workers there would not have voted in the union if they'd thought we'd been beaten down here," Hower told the *Militant*.

The Steelworkers have not been beaten by a long shot. Their enthusiastic response to this week's organizing meetings shows they are anxious to press on with their fight. And the support they are winning inside the shipyard—as well as throughout Tidewater—bodes well for their victory.



Steelworkers organizer Jack Hower (right) at picket line during strike. Union is gaining new support inside the yard he reports.

In Review

'The Deer Hunter'

The Deer Hunter. Starring Robert De Niro. Directed by Michael Cimino. Produced by Universal Pictures, 1978.

In 1968 I went to Vietnam holding opinions about the war derived from U.S. Army propaganda. Orientation sessions confirmed what we had already heard: it's impossible to tell who is "Charlie" (the National Liberation Front and North Vietnamese soldiers) and who isn't, and never trust a "gook" with a gun—including the Saigon government's army.

This pro-imperialist, patriotic, and racist bill of goods couldn't stand the test of reality, however. The majority returned having learned instead never

Film

to trust anyone who sends someone else to fight a war. Others radicalized still further.

It was with these and other memories of Vietnam and its aftermath that I went to see *The Deer Hunter*.

I went to see the movie expecting a 1978 remake of *The Green Berets*. What I saw was no less pro-imperialist and anti-Vietnamese, but very much more subtle.

The film, an emotional blockbuster, has been given a thoroughly professional production. All of Hollywood's big-buck stoppers are pulled out: the "star," Robert De Niro; the authentic-seeming locations in Thailand; the quality of photography; the detailed brutality of the violent scenes; and the many-layered imagery of a well-thought-out script.

The patriotic intentions of *The Deer Hunter* have been confirmed by the film's co-author and director Michael Cimino. But having seen the film, I don't need his assurances. The tool that is used to present this patriotic point of view was also used to get us to fight in the war: racism.

All Vietnamese are treated in the same "yellow peril" manner, as cruel and sadistic creatures. Hollywood writers are adept at creating Asian enemies for Caucasian warriors.

And there is another facet to the racism of *The Deer Hunter*. History shows that in the fighting branches of the army during the Vietnam War, the



John Savage and Robert De Niro in 'The Deer Hunter.'

majority of soldiers were Black and *latino*. But in *The Deer Hunter*, a story about Americans in combat, to be an American is to be white.

I don't think that the film could possibly have portrayed young civil rights activists and Black nationalist militants in Vietnam—there were plenty of them—while presenting the Vietnamese as subhuman embodiments of evil. The parallel between the liberation struggles would have been fatal to the movie's point of view.

The Deer Hunter gets its point across. A goodly part of the New York City audiences the two nights I saw the film cheered when the hero turned the tables on his giggling and sneering Vietnamese torturers, who were forcing American captives to play Russian Roulette, and gunned them down. (The Vietnamese fascination with Russian Roulette—a figment of Cimino's imagination—is a recurrent theme in

The Deer Hunter.)

The subdued singing of "God Bless America" at the end of the film as the American survivors and their friends begin to rebuild their nearly shattered lives was accompanied by sobs and soft crying in the audience.

These reactions were helped along by the fact that the movie was released during a new wave of anti-Vietnamese propaganda and imperialist-inspired attacks on the Vietnamese revolution. The film's patriotism and "Best Picture" Academy Award became part of the propagandist's weaponry. It is being used to try to rewrite the meaning of the Vietnam War and as a counterweight to deepening sentiment in the United States against new Vietnams.

That's why the *Wall Street Journal* devoted its main editorial April 30 to praising *The Deer Hunter* for depicting "the Vietnamese enemy" as "moral

scum" and "not falling in step with the career anti-Vietnam War movement."

The Deer Hunter is a more serious effort to restore faith in the "American Way" than *The Green Berets*. There was no way you could believe the swaggering arrogance of John Wayne in Vietnam—especially after the Vietnamese liberation forces won the war. In *The Deer Hunter* the quiet loyalty and courage of the leading characters, combined with the pain and suffering inflicted on them, inspires more sympathy.

But as effective war propaganda and in artistic merit, *The Deer Hunter* can't hold a candle to World War II classics like *Casablanca*. —Brian Riffert

Brian Riffert was stationed with the U.S. Army's Twenty-fifth infantry division at Cu Chi, South Vietnam, for a year.

Austria 1934: workers vs. fascism

Workers in Arms: The Austrian Schutzbund and the Civil War of 1934 by Ilona Duczynska. Monthly Review Press. 1978. 356 pages. \$15.

Workers in Arms is an abridged translation of *Der Demokratische Bolschewik* (Munich, 1975). The author, recently deceased, was a participant in the Hungarian and Austrian Communist parties, the Austrian Social Democratic Party, and the Schutzbund—the paramilitary defense unit of the Austrian SP. I, like Duczynska, can speak of the 1934 events from personal experience.

In February 1934, the Schutzbund made an heroic last stand against Austrian clerico-fascist reaction. But the armed uprising by the rank-and-file workers

of armed fascist bands—was triumphant.

Before 1934, of all the workers parties, the Austrian Social Democrats were the most massive.

Support for Social Democracy was so great that, following the collapse of the Hapsburg monarchy in 1918, the regime's arms arsenals came under the control of the party. Although these were hidden from the victorious Allies, all through the 1920s, up to 1934, the number of rifles, machine guns, and ammunition accessible to the party was much larger than that of the bourgeois forces!

Even after many years of retreat before the bourgeoisie, the Schutzbund in 1934 was still twice as strong as the federal army. It did not lack any small arms, and was defeated only by the indiscriminate use of artillery.

If the Schutzbund had acted decisively and vigorously during the first few hours of the general strike that shook Austria on February 12, 1934, it would have been able to take over the capital city, Vienna.

But the party leaders had hamstrung the armed workers and ordered them to wait and not do anything in those first crucial hours.

The party leadership saw the armed workers' defense guards not as a fighting force but as a weapon that by its very existence would stay the

hand of the bourgeois reaction. From the inception of the Schutzbund, they had organized it along strictly military lines to keep it under the control of the party hierarchy. It was this prior militarization of the Schutzbund, and the orders given to wait, that made defeat in the February 12 struggle inevitable.

Yet, if the leaders saw in the armed workers only a bluff, the rank and file considered themselves revolutionaries. In the showdown with the fascists, they fought, leaving for us a heritage of armed resistance to fascism.

While I was only a child at the time, I will never forget those terrible but glorious days.

The 1934 defeat broke the Austrian Social Democracy, which was not to rise again until after the end of World War II.

Ilona Duczynska is wrong in putting so much emphasis on the armed struggle debates in the party during 1927-33. The cause of defeat is not to be found there. Rather, it is the need to build a new and truly revolutionary leadership of the working class that is the main lesson of the 1934 armed struggle. It was this lesson that led me into the ranks of the Trotskyist movement.

—Theodore Edwards

Books

was betrayed by the vacillating and weak-kneed leadership of the SP and ended in defeat.

The mass Social Democracy was shattered. Its organizations were prohibited, its property confiscated, hundreds were killed, dozens executed, thousands more jailed. Bourgeois reaction—in the form

In Brief

NEVADA GOV. ACTS ON RADIATION ACCIDENT

The governor of Nevada ordered an indefinite halt to the shipment of nuclear waste into a state dumping area by three California companies.

He acted after a May 14 accident in which improper packaging of the deadly waste resulted in a fire aboard a truck.

He said the accident resulted from packing uranium waste in a gypsum compound instead of concrete as required by law. The gypsum packing was, presumably, cheaper, as well as less sturdy.

The governor said the acci-

dent did not pose any health hazard to the ten people exposed to the radiation.

Sure.

U.S. DEFOLIANTS HIT VIETNAMESE INFANTS

The Vietnamese people are the victims of a continuing toll from the poisonous defoliants sprayed over their countryside by the U.S. during the war.

This was reported by Ton That Tung, a cancer specialist and Vietnam's director of science and health. He was interviewed by the *Washington Post* May 8 during a visit here.

The *Post* reported: "High incidents of miscarriages, birth

defects and liver cancer, he said, are all believed to have been caused by defoliants.

"According to Tung," the interview continued, "half of all infants born with birth defects in one hospital in Vietnam are anencephalic—born with no upper portion of the brain. That defect, he said, is normally found in about one percent of the infants born with birth defects.

"Tung said there are no controls, and no pre-war statistics, with which to compare the present situation. But villagers in the countryside, he said, are reporting the birth of many more deformed infants, and many more miscarriages, than they are accustomed to."

Tung was on a five-week visit here sponsored by the American Friends Service Committee.

TEAMSTERS RATIFY PACT

A new three-year Master Freight Agreement covering some 300,000 Teamster members has been ratified by mail ballot. The vote showed 127,872 in favor and 45,577 opposed.

The new contract reportedly increases wages and fringe benefits by 30 percent over three years: \$1.50 in base pay, \$0.75 in benefits, and a possible \$1.25 or more in cost-of-living raises. Under the previous contract earnings were about \$9.75 per hour.

In a partial concession to steelhaulers, the Teamster officialdom agreed to count and report their vote separately.

The steelhaulers had remained on strike for three weeks after the union-wide action was called off. They were seeking better terms in the supplemental agreement negotiated for them.

Their action won improved pay for both fleet deliverers and owner-operators.

They had demanded the right to separate ratification of the pact covering them, but this was denied by top Teamster officials.

U.S. SAYS IT WILL SUE HOOKER CHEMICAL

The Justice Department and the Environmental Protection Agency said May 20 that they are preparing a civil damage suit against Hooker Chemical Company.

They said they are not under-

Quote unquote

"We're the current whipping boy. After Three Mile Island no one has anything good to say about us."

—Carl Goldstein of the Atomic Industrial Forum.

taking criminal action because it might be too hard to prove.

Civil action can drag on in the courts for years.

Hooker is the company that dumped countless tons of deadly chemical waste into the Love Canal area near Niagara Falls and kept quiet for two decades while people built homes and lived there.

Finally, after increased illness and death, hundreds of families had to be evacuated.

In New York the attorney general asked Gov. Hugh Carey for funds to launch a state damage suit against Hooker. That was a month ago, and the governor has not yet responded.

Hooker is a subsidiary of the California-based Occidental Petroleum Company. Last year, when Governor Carey was running hard for reelection, he received a campaign contribution of \$30,000 from Armand Hammer, president of Occidental.

Meanwhile, Hooker defied a congressional subcommittee by refusing to produce records concerning the contamination of Michigan water supplies by its dumping ground in Montague. Congressional probers believe the Hooker records would establish that it knew back in 1968 that it was contaminating the water.

The committee "sharply criticized" Hooker for refusing to turn over the records.

CARTER BLOCKS STRIKE

President Carter imposed the strikebreaking Rail Labor Act May 8 to head off a May 9 strike by the 2,500-member American Train Dispatchers Association. Provisions of this law postpone rail strikes for at least sixty days.

The ATDA is the only one of thirteen rail unions that has not ratified the new thirty-nine-month contract with the National Railway Labor Conference, the industry's bargaining

arm.

While the smallest of the rail unions, the Dispatchers' picket lines were expected to be honored by more than 500,000 rail workers. According to B.C. Hilbert, president of the Illinois-based union, their walkout would have halted 80 to 90 percent of the nation's rail traffic.

Hilbert reported that negotiations broke down over work rules. The union's demands include paid meal time, revised disciplinary procedures, and improved travel pay.

500 JOIN IAM PICKET

More than 500 unionists picketed the Ladish Company in Milwaukee May 8. They came to demonstrate support for 2,000 members of International Association of Machinists Lodge 1862, who have been on strike since April 11.

Ladish's 5,000 workers are organized by six other unions besides the Machinists. Prior to the strike the unions formed a coalition for mutual support.

According to IAM Lodge 1862 President Steve Kuklinski, 4,500 workers have joined the strike. Out of 200 scabs, almost all are foremen and supervisors. Kuklinski said Ladish underestimated the workers' willingness to fight and their degree of unity.

Ladish is blocking the union's wage demands with Carter's 7 percent wage guideline. "This is Carter's strike," said Kuklinski.

IUE STRIKE FIRM

International Union of Electrical Workers Local 1013 has been on strike against Ingram Manufacturing in San Antonio since March 26.

The union has charged Ingram with a series of unfair labor practices including bargaining in bad faith, bypassing the union in dealing with employees, and refusing to process union grievances.

Out of a work force of 200, 165 are on the picket lines. According to the union, the scab work force has been unable to resume production on rollers and the other heavy construction equipment Ingram manufactures.

Local 1013 was formed in 1972 but Ingram refused to sign a contract with the union until February 1975.

Local 1013 President Joe Norris is anxious to get the

'We won't work for peanuts'

By Dale Greene

ST. PAUL, Minn.—Chanting, "We won't work for peanuts," 800 striking members of International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers Local 2047 marched on the federal building here May 17.

The demonstrators, who have been on strike against Univac since May 5, hit Carter's 7 percent wage guidelines. "We can't survive on 7 percent," speakers told the rally following the march.

"Univac is hiding behind the guidelines and won't budge," union negotiator Jan Ehmke told the *Militant*. In addition, none of the company's benefit offers would go into effect until the second year of the contract.

The strikers, who produce memory banks and computers, are prepared to stay out for as long as it takes to win a decent contract. IBEW Local 2047 represents 2,700 workers, from assemblers to tool and die makers. A high percentage are women.

IBEW LOCAL 2047
PROTESTS CARTER'S
7% WAGE GUIDELINES!



Striking St. Paul unionists

Militant/Dale Green

What's Going On

GEORGIA ATLANTA

THE INTERNATIONAL ANTINUCLEAR MOVEMENT. Slides and discussion. Fri., June 1, 8 p.m. 509 Peachtree St. Donation: \$1.50. 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 SOCIALIST 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.

MICHIGAN DETROIT

SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE. Sun., June 17, 1 p.m. "The Fight for Women's Rights and the Socialist Movement." Speakers: Meg Hayes, United Auto Workers Local 600; Peggy Brundy, member of Socialist Workers Party National Committee and National Organization for Women.

Sun., June 17, 3:30 p.m. Panel on "Women at Work." Speakers: Ruth Robinson, United Steelworkers Local 2341, recording secretary for USWA District 29 Women's Council; Elizabeth Ziers, participant in Michigan Department of Labor hearings on sexual harassment in the workplace, United Auto Workers Region 1A Women's Council; Pat Wright, USWA Local 3362, Cleveland NOW Labor Task Force.

Sun., June 17, 7:30 p.m. "The Fight for Women's Rights Today." Speaker: Ma-

tilde Zimmermann, SWP national women's rights coordinator, 6404 Woodward. Donation: \$1.50 per session. \$3.50 for entire conference. For more information call (313) 875-5322.

MINNESOTA IRON RANGE

CLASS: BLACK RIGHTS AND THE LABOR MOVEMENT. FORUM: THE WEBER CASE AND AFFIRMATIVE ACTION. Speaker: Andrew Pulley, Steelworker and recent Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Chicago. Sat., June 9, 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.

MISSOURI KANSAS CITY

INTERNATIONAL DAYS OF PROTEST AGAINST NUCLEAR POWER. Speakers: representative from International Association of Machinists, Socialist Workers Party, Sunflower Alliance, others. Sat., June 9, 12 noon. John Redmond Reser-

voir, Burlington, Kansas. Transportation from Kansas City, Missouri, leaves from UMKC Univ. Center parking lot at 9 a.m. For more information call (816) 753-8754 or 753-3424.

RAPE: HOW TO STOP IT. Speakers: representatives of Socialist Workers Party; Metropolitan Organization to Combat Sexual Assault; others. Thurs., June 14, 7:30 p.m. 4715-A Troost. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (816) 753-0404.

NEW JERSEY NEWARK

LIBERATION STRUGGLES IN SOUTHERN AFRICA. Speaker: August Nimtz, staff writer for the *Militant*, has traveled and lived in southern Africa. Fri., June 1, 7:30 p.m. 11-A Central Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

NEW MEXICO ALBUQUERQUE

HOW TO FIGHT INFLATION: CARTER'S 7 PERCENT GUIDELINES VS.

THE LABOR MOVEMENT. Speaker: Chris Driscoll, member, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers Local 2112, member, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., June 1, 7:30 p.m. 108 Morningside NE. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (505) 255-6869.

NEW YORK NEW YORK CITY

TROTSKY'S CONTRIBUTIONS TO MARXISM. On the 100th anniversary of Trotsky's birth. Speaker: George Novack, author, leader of Socialist Workers Party. Sat., June 9, 7:30 p.m. P.S. 41, 111 W. 11th St. (near 6th Ave.) Donation: \$2. Ausp: New Jersey/New York Socialist Workers Party. For more information call (212) 260-6400.

NEW YORK CITY

A demonstration protesting U.S. aid to Israel and in support of the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination will be held at 12:00 noon on Sunday, June 3, at 50th Street and Sixth Ave. Sponsor: Palestine Solidarity Committee.

Hayakawa: Let the poor walk

Howls of rage greeted the gas crisis proposal by California's Sen. S.I. Hayakawa—to make the stuff so expensive most of us won't be able to buy it.

In one day his Los Angeles office received 200 calls described by staffers as "threatening."

They suggested the senator issue a "clarification."

He repeated his point, to wit:

"The genuinely poor don't need gasoline because most of them can't afford to own a car. Many do not have jobs and few of the employed poor drive to work."

And, the good senator added, the "comfortably rich" will also be unaffected by high gas prices because they "will continue to be able to buy gasoline even if it goes up to five dollars a gallon."

Here Hayakawa speaks from first-hand knowledge.

One of the "comfortably rich," he reportedly owns four cars.

While the angry response to his let-the-nonrich-walk proposal is quite understandable, people should consider that the senator—in his own hare-brained way—is merely recommending the basic capitalist form of rationing.



S. I. HAYAKAWA

word out about his union's strike.

"Big business tries to keep people in the dark," he said. "Our fight can be won only through the support of all the unions and the public."

More than 100 AFL-CIO unionists demonstrated their solidarity in a rally held outside the plant April 17.

SAFE AS CAN BE

An inspection at the Salem I nuclear plant in New Jersey revealed twenty-six damaged fuel-rod grids out of 150 that were checked. Officials claimed no radiation had leaked out.

Meanwhile, damage discovered at the Nine Mile Point nuke plant at Lake Ontario could shut down that operation for a month. Among other things, a cracked pipe was found in a backup cooling system. The replacement had been cut a half-inch too short.

And at the Comanche Peak plant now under construction in the Dallas area, federal inspectors found that up to 60 percent of certain types of welds were faulty on pipes designed to carry radioactive waste at the \$1.7 billion plant. A number of the pipes had been repaired more than once.

Puerto Rican anti-navy protest



Isabel Rodríguez, seventy-six, is hauled off during renewed protests against the U.S. Navy's use of the Puerto Rican island of Vieques for bombardment exercises. The navy, while on war maneuvers, bars the people of Vieques from good fishing grounds.

Twenty-one people were arrested May 19 for trespassing on "navy property." More demonstrations were slated.

The people had initially asked only that the navy be less rigid in shutting down key fishing grounds during maneuvers. But the navy ignored their requests, and now they are demanding it get out of Vieques altogether.

The Great Society

Harry Ring



Regular comedians—California motorists were advised by auto manufacturers that they could save gas and improve air quality by shutting off their motors while waiting in gasoline lines.

No kidding?—"U.S. studying higher gasoline profits—Action would raise prices"—Headline in the *Washington Post*.

Hot item—"I think the Three Mile Island is becoming a tourist attraction of its own. I don't think there's any question but that spot is and can be . . . a significant tourist attraction. Pennsylvania's got more visibility than it has had in a long, long time. Visibility is the name of the game when it comes to the travel industry."—James Bodine, Pennsylvania's secretary of commerce.

But it did—Dents and cracks were discovered in metal plates holding nuclear

fuel rods in place at a Public Service nuclear power plant in New Jersey. "The damage to the grids," a company spokesperson said, "is something that should not have occurred."

For your own good—Consolidated Edison, which supplies New Yorkers their gas and electricity, announced a 22 percent hike in the summer electric rate. This will boost the average bill from twenty-six dollars to thirty-two dollars. A company spokesman explained that the purpose of the rate hike was to encourage people to conserve energy.

Just poor people—A business contractor who admitted receiving \$210,000 from a government agency for work never performed was sentenced to three years' probation and a \$5,000 fine. Said the judge, "It's important to be able to support his family. I don't feel everybody should go to jail."

Women in Revolt

Suzanne Haig



Job safety & exploitation

Beginning this week Suzanne Haig, who recently joined the 'Militant' staff, will be writing the 'Women in Revolt' column. Before moving to New York, she was active in the Chicago National Organization for Women and the Committee for the Equal Rights Amendment.

In addition to reporting on women's rights, Haig helps cover the labor movement, gas crisis, and antinuclear struggle for the 'Militant.'

To avoid further contact with high levels of lead, women employed at American Cyanamid at Willow Island, West Virginia, had to "choose" between getting sterilized or transferring to lower-paying jobs.

In Kellogg, Idaho, the Bunker Hill Company, a lead smelter, demanded that thirty-one female employees receive pregnancy tests. Those who refused were fired. All women of child-bearing age, pregnant or not, were denied jobs on the basis that lead can damage the fetus.

The Danville, Illinois, plant of Allied Chemical laid off five women because the fluorocarbons used in manufacturing refrigerants could harm their offspring. After two women got sterilized in order to keep their jobs, the company announced that the chemicals were not as "dangerous" as originally believed.

There are two sides to the growing occupational safety scandal. On the one hand, the employers are using the fact that some jobs endanger women's reproductive organs as an excuse to drive them out of higher-paying jobs. It's part of their general campaign to show that women should not be treated equally on the job because they are biologically different from men.

At the same time, the bosses are doing nothing to clean up the lethal work areas they operate. And frequently the same dangers exist there for men as for women. The challenges by women workers to these deadly work conditions have helped expose the murder-for-profit attitude the employers have toward their workers.

Facts show that while certain toxic chemicals damage the fetus, others damage the fertility of both men and women.

A study of 150 men exposed to lead in a battery plant showed it had caused a decrease in fertility and increased the likelihood of birth defects in their children.

Last year, according to the May 18 *New York Times*, the University of Massachusetts Graduate Research Center in Amherst was closed temporarily after several female lab workers reported irregular menstruation. In addition, both men and women reported nausea and dizziness. The center uses toxic and radioactive materials.

Federal investigators claimed that these disorders were not the result of "occupational exposure," and university officials claimed the women were psychosomatic.

The government provides no help for women and men who are the victims. In its latest ruling on lead, the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA), under pressure from the unions, called for the temporary transfer to other jobs of men and women who want to have children. Rarely, however, do companies comply even with such minimal regulations.

The Nuclear Regulatory Commission, known since Three Mile Island as an agent of the nuclear industry, has decided not to bar women—or men—from working with radiation. Instead, the agency suggests that the employer explain the possible hazards and, if possible, allow employees trying to have children to move to other jobs.

These are solutions for the employers—not for the workers involved. For protection, workers must look to their own organizations, the unions.

The unions should begin from the premise that the workplace must be safe for all.

The United Auto Workers took this position in its fight against lead exposure for men and women at General Motors Indiana battery division. In the case of the women at American Cyanamid, the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers union reaffirmed its policy that the company must make the workplace safe for everyone.

Through their unions, workers can fight to open up all company records, to learn what are the hazards of the materials they are using. Safety committees can investigate plant conditions. They can demand that workers in unsafe areas be transferred to comparable-paying jobs. Unions can also join with groups such as the National Organization for Women to fight discrimination against women workers and to mount a joint struggle for the safety of all workers.

A. Philip Randolph

A. Philip Randolph, founder of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, died May 16 in New York City. He was ninety years old.

As a Black trade-union leader and former Debsian socialist, Randolph witnessed and was involved in some of the major historical changes in the Black and labor movements from the early 1920s to his retirement in 1968.

Before World War I, Randolph moved from Florida to New York City. It was there, particularly in Harlem, where he radicalized and joined the Socialist Party. He was an SP candidate for public office after the war.

During the war, Randolph along with Chandler Owen published *The Messenger*—a radical Black publication that reflected their opposition to the war and sympathy for the Russian revolution.

Viewed as a threat to the imperialist war effort because he urged Blacks not to participate, Randolph was arrested in 1918 but never prosecuted.

In 1925, Randolph came in contact with the workers of the largest single employer of Blacks—the Pullman Company.

The International Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters (BSCP) was organized that year and Randolph became its president.

It would be twelve years of continuous battles for union recognition before the Pullman Company signed a contract with the Brotherhood.

At one time labeled by the government as “the most dangerous Negro in America,” by the Second World War Randolph had developed anticommunist views. He supported the war. Eventually, his class-struggle perspective evaporated altogether and he became a right-wing Social Democrat closely tied to the trade-union bureaucracy.

During World War II, however, Randolph and the BSCP agitated against race discrimination in the armed forces and the war industries.

In 1941 he issued a call for a July march on Washington and built an organization—the March On Washington Movement.

Randolph sought through the march to mobilize the masses of Blacks for jobs and equality. By June, the march was building up pressure on the government.

After attempts to diffuse the planned demonstration, President Roosevelt issued a lukewarm executive order outlawing discrimination in the armed forces and the war industries.

Randolph buckled and canceled the march, to the disappointment of masses of Blacks.

Randolph made many contributions to the Black and trade-union movements. He believed in organization, teamwork, and mass action, and he applied these methods in economic as well as social struggles.

Most of all, he understood that Black



workers face exploitation both as a nationality and as toilers. In the struggle to organize sleeping car porters, he appreciated the potential strength of Black workers and their ability to bring about social change. Unfortunately, Randolph gave up his early belief that the emancipation of Blacks is linked to the overturn of capitalism. This among other things led to his political decline.

Of the many lessons that can be drawn from Black workers' struggles in Randolph's day, the one that comes to mind is the BSCP's fight against the Pullman Company

Pullman had a harsh anti-union reputation. Victimization, harassment, and intimidation were used against the union.

To outmaneuver the company spies and informers, Randolph organized mass public meetings where union supporters could make contact with one another safely, without fear of losing their jobs. Such tactics helped the BSCP and offer a useful lesson for workers organizations today.

As the class struggle heats up, Black workers are again in the forefront of union battles. We only have to look at the Steelworkers' fight for union recognition in Newport News, Virginia, as evidence.

There United Steelworkers Local 8888 is confronting the giant Tenneco oil conglomerate. Workers are facing problems of union-busting similar to those the Sleeping Car Porters dealt with more than fifty years ago.

Like the porters before them, Black Steelworkers are in the forefront in Newport News, because they see that only by fighting for a union can they safeguard and extend their rights.

—Osborne Hart

Eaton on politics

On May 11, the *New York Times* devoted a front-page lead and entire obituary page to Cyrus Eaton, Sr.

Eaton was a major industrial capitalist and a protégé of John D. Rockefeller, Sr.

His holdings included six steel corporations; the Chesapeake and Ohio, and the Baltimore and Ohio railroads; and interests in iron, rubber, coal, and utilities. The *Times* reported that Eaton “at one time sat on the boards of 40 corporations, in all of which he had, he said, substantial holdings.”

Eaton once said, “I’ll match my record as a capitalist against any of my critics.” He further asserted that “my chief interest is working to save capitalism. . . .”

It was with that basic interest in mind that Eaton approached politics.

During the 1932 presidential elections, Eaton, who was a Republican, explained why he supported Roosevelt, the Democrat.

“I realized that Hoover or any Republican couldn’t be elected, so I asked my Republican friends who among the Democrats was the soundest man who would save the capitalist system, and the

informative paper as the *Militant*, covering issues not only local but worldwide. I am only sorry I’ve become aware of the *Militant* at such a late stage. Better late than not at all, though.

It has been brought to my attention that the *Militant* is free to prisoners. I would appreciate receiving a free subscription. Thank you.

A prisoner
Pennsylvania

‘A decent outlook’

I just received my first issue of your paper. I want to thank you and everyone who helps with your prisoner fund, which makes it possible for me to receive your paper.

You know, living behind these walls can make a person’s mind go to sleep, and that is possibly the worst thing that can happen to anyone. After a few years you just give up and grow cold and do not care what goes on anywhere but here.

Your paper to me gives a decent outlook as to what is really going on outside in the world. For that I thank you.

A prisoner
Pennsylvania

Iranian exile supports rights of Palestinian people

The following letter is from Ali Shokri, an Iranian activist living in Tacoma, Washington.

Shokri defected from the Iranian Air Force in 1973 in protest of the shah’s repressive policies. At the time, he was stationed at a training base in San Antonio, Texas. He spent two and a half years underground in Canada, then returned to the U.S.

The U.S. government—in league with SAVAK, the shah’s secret police—sought to deport Shokri to certain death in Iran. Publicity around his case and growing exposure of the shah’s dictatorship prevented his deportation.

I read the coverage of the debate between Carl Gershman and David Frankel [titled “Will Sadat-Begin Pact Bring Middle East Peace?” in the May *International Socialist Review*]. It was a good debate and beautifully done by Frankel.

Since I was not present at the meeting, I hope Mr. Gershman reads my comments.

Supporting the existence of the Zionist state of Israel is like supporting a thief’s right to what he has stolen.

Gershman’s view on the Iranian revolution was also dumb. Only a person as stupid-minded as Mr. Gershman would “overthrow” the shah because “he was not as ruthless as other dictators. . . .”

answer was Roosevelt,” he declared.

Osborne Hart
New York, New York

An anecdote

Just thought I’d share a little anecdote with your readers.

The other day three co-workers and I were driving home from our jobs at Ford in Metuchen, New Jersey, when one of our tires blew out on the highway. The car skidded, spun around, and hit the guard rail. For a minute we even thought the car might explode, since the side that collided with the rail was the one with the gas tank. Needless to say, we were all pretty shaken up by the experience.

In a matter of minutes, four cars equipped with CB radios pulled up to offer any assistance they could—radioing for a towtruck, letting us use their vehicles to relax and get warm, and in general showing human concern.

Finally two police cars arrived on the scene. The cops’

Monday is Sunday

Please change my *Militant* subscription so that it will be delivered to my present address.

I look forward to the day in the week that my *Militant* arrives. It has become my Sunday.

William Gay
Versailles, Indiana

Better late than never

I am sure you get many letters of this sort. Yet, it was my pleasure to read such an

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Learning About Socialism

Exposing business secrets

One of the most jealously guarded prerogatives of the capitalist class is its control of business secrets. The operations of the giant corporations that dominate our economy are shrouded in darkness. When sudden crises such as the gas shortage strike, working people are told to take the word of the monopolies for the causes.

This issue was taken up at the founding congress of the world Trotskyist party, the Fourth International, in September 1938. The basic programmatic document adopted at that conference, known as the 'Transitional Program,' contains a section on "Business secrets" and workers' control of industry' that is particularly timely in light of the current gas shortage. Excerpts from that section follow.

Liberal capitalism, based upon competition and free trade, has completely receded into the past. Its successor, monopolistic capitalism, not only does not mitigate the anarchy of the market but on the contrary imparts to it a particularly convulsive character. The necessity of "controlling" economy, of placing state "guidance" over industry, and of "planning," is today recognized—at least in words—by almost all current bourgeois and petty-bourgeois tendencies, from fascist to Social Democratic.

With the fascists, it is mainly a question of "planned" plundering of the people for military purposes. The Social Democrats prepare to drain the ocean of anarchy with spoonfuls of bureaucratic "planning." In their cowardly experiments in "regulation," democratic governments run head-on into the invincible sabotage of big capital.

The actual relationship existing between the exploiters and the democratic "controllers" is best characterized by the fact that the gentlemen "reformers" stop short in pious trepidation before the threshold of the trusts and their business "secrets." Here the principle of "noninterference" with business dominates. The accounts kept between the individual capitalist and society remain the secret of the capitalist; they are not the concern of society.

The motivation offered for the principle of business "secrets" is ostensibly, as in the epoch of liberal capitalism, that of free "competition." In reality, the trusts keep no secrets from one another. The business secrets of the present epoch are part of a persistent plot of monopoly capitalism against the interests of society. Projects for limiting the autocracy of "economic royalists" will continue to be pathetic farces as long as private owners of the social means of production can hide from producers and consumers the machinations of exploitation, robbery, and fraud. The

abolition of business secrets is the first step toward actual control of industry.

Workers no less than capitalists have the right to know the secrets of the factory, of the trust, of the whole branch of industry, of the national economy as a whole. First and foremost, banks, heavy industry, and centralized transport should be placed under a magnifying glass.

The immediate tasks of workers' control should be to explain the debits and credits of society, beginning with individual business undertakings; to determine the actual share of the national income appropriated by individual capitalists and by the exploiters as a whole; to expose the behind-the-scenes deals and swindles of banks and trusts; finally, to reveal to all members of society that unconscionable squandering of human labor which is the result of capitalist anarchy and the naked pursuit of profits.

No office-holder of the bourgeois state is in a position to carry out this work, no matter with how great authority one would wish to endow him. To break the resistance of the exploiters, the mass pressure of the proletariat is necessary. Only factory committees can bring about real control of production, calling in—as consultants but not as "technocrats"—specialists sincerely devoted to the people: accountants, statisticians, engineers, scientists, etc.

The working out of even the most elementary economic plan—from the point of view of the exploited, not the exploiters—is impossible without workers' control, that is, without the eyes of the workers penetrating all the open and concealed mechanisms of capitalist economy.

To those capitalists, mainly of the lower and middle strata, who of their own accord sometimes offer to throw open their books to the workers—usually to demonstrate the necessity of lowering wages—the workers answer that they are not interested in the bookkeeping of individual bankrupts or semibankrupts but in the account ledgers of all exploiters as a whole. The workers cannot and do not wish to accommodate the level of their living conditions to the exigencies of individual capitalists, themselves victims of their own regime. The task is one of reorganizing the whole system of production and distribution on a more dignified and workable basis. If the abolition of business secrets is a necessary condition to workers' control, then control is the first step along the road to socialist guidance of the economy.

'The Transitional Program for Socialist Revolution,' by Leon Trotsky (269 pp., \$3.95), is available from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014, or at the bookstores listed in the directory below. If ordering from Pathfinder, please add \$.50 for postage.



'I'm sorry, Mr. Jones . . . You're not rich enough to pay no taxes.'

comforting comment? "Well, looks like you'll have to pay for a new guard rail."
*An autoworker
Brooklyn, New York*

'Right on the money'

Dick Roberts's back-page article in the May 18 *Militant* ["Oil companies hold Californians for ransom"] is right on the money. Just what we need for miners and steelworkers—the focus of our sales here this week.
*Kipp Dawson
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania*

Gift subscription

I have a friend who would very much appreciate reading the *Militant*. The money enclosed is for a gift subscription. I already receive the *Militant* and enjoy getting it.

Thanks for all the antinuke articles.

*James Early
San Rafael, California*

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Silkwood victory

Verdict a blow to nuclear industry

By Arnold Weissberg

In a sharp blow to the nuclear industry and its chief protector, the federal government, a jury in Oklahoma City awarded \$10.5 million to the estate of nuclear worker and union activist Karen Silkwood May 18.

Silkwood's parents had sued Kerr-McGee, the energy corporation for which Silkwood had worked, charging the company's negligence led to her contamination by plutonium in the days before she died. Fatal amounts of plutonium removed from the plant were found in her apartment.

Kerr-McGee offered the absurd defense that Silkwood contaminated herself with the deadly element to dramatize her contention of unsafe working conditions.

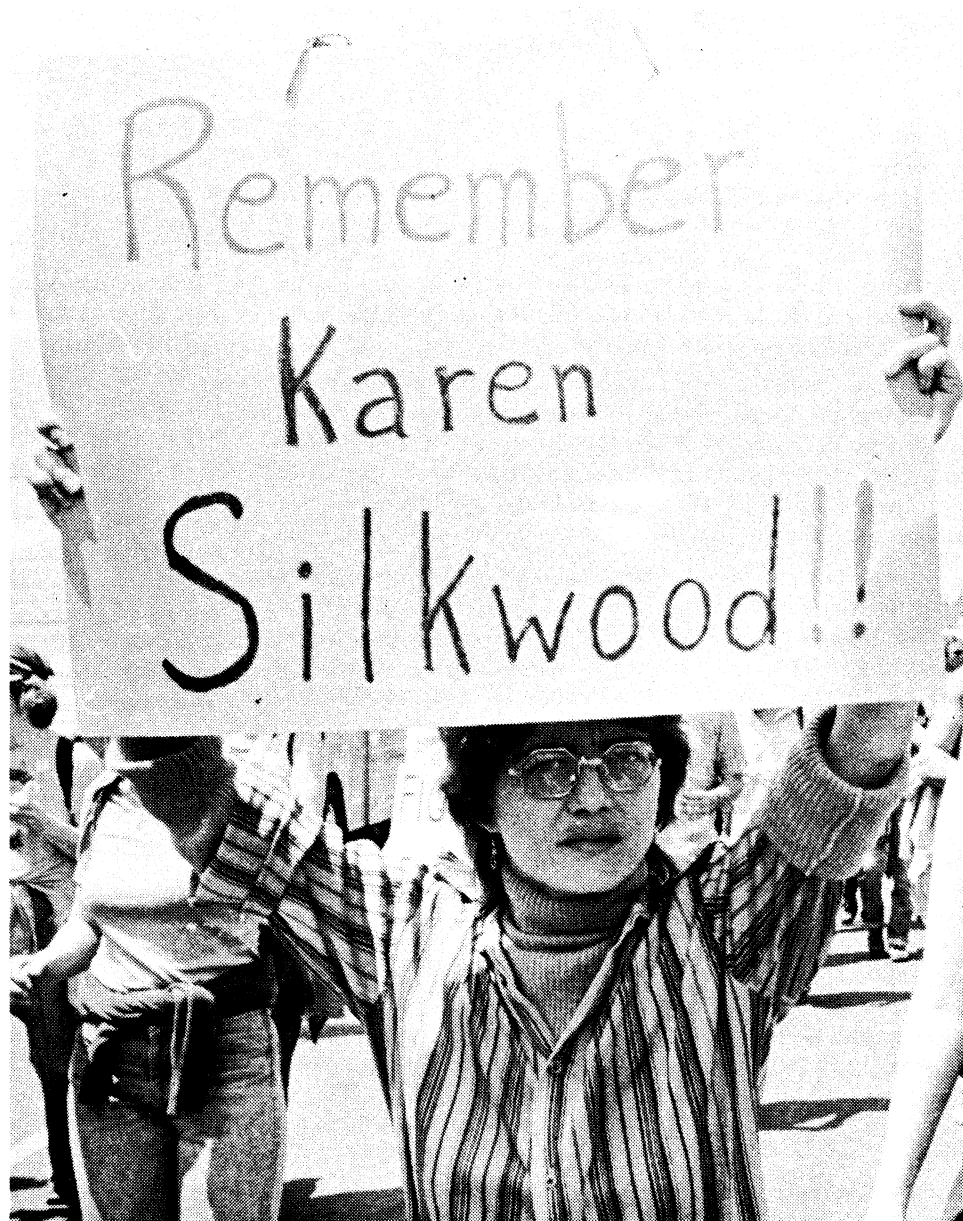
The six-person jury rejected Kerr-McGee's "explanation," finding that the company had been grossly negligent in allowing the plutonium out of the plant.

"For the first time, the American people, this jury, were able to listen to both sides, and they ruled that they have been lied to," said Silkwood family attorney Daniel Sheehan.

The verdict marks the first time a nuclear company has been held responsible for radioactive contamination outside its own facilities. It marks the growing recognition that the very existence of nuclear plants—whether or not they ever have an accident—threaten the American people constantly with deadly low-level radiation.

Silkwood's case became a cause for antinuclear groups, women's organizations, and some unions long before the Three Mile Island accident on March 28. But that event—with its dramatic exposure of nuclear dangers and government-industry lies—clearly had a major impact on the outcome of the trial.

Silkwood died in a mysterious auto crash in November 1974 on her way to meet with a reporter and a representative of her union, the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers (OCAW). She was carrying documents that would have exposed the unsafe work conditions at Kerr-McGee's plutonium fuel plant in Cimarron, Oklahoma, where she worked.



Silkwood case became rallying point for antinuclear movement, unionists, and feminists.

OCAW played an important role in keeping the Silkwood case in the public eye. The union hired a private investigator who found that her car had been pushed off the road.

OCAW Vice-president Anthony Mazzocchi testified at the trial that Silkwood was part of the union's efforts to document and publicize cancer risks, according to the May 1979 *OCAW Union News*. "No way would Silkwood

have contaminated herself," the paper quotes Mazzocchi.

At the trial, Kerr-McGee tried to hide behind federal radiation standards for its defense, claiming that the Cimarron plant had been run in strict compliance with federal rules.

This defense was also rejected by the jurors, who had seen enough of government standards at Three Mile Island.

Testimony at the Silkwood trial revealed that the Cimarron plant, which closed four years ago, was a hellhole.

Kerr-McGee showed "almost cruel, hardened disregard" for worker safety, testified radiation expert Karl Morgan. Training materials failed to mention that plutonium causes cancer, Morgan said. The company "did not care sufficiently about the employees," Morgan testified.

A former Kerr-McGee supervisor, Jim Smith, labeled the plant a "pigpen."

And another radiation expert, Edward Martell, told the jury Silkwood had "had enough plutonium in her lungs to cause cancer." Martell said federal radiation standards are "meaningless," because there is no safe level of radiation.

Kerr-McGee was further embarrassed at the trial by its inability to account for forty missing pounds of plutonium.

More than radiation safety is at stake in the Karen Silkwood case, although the trial dealt only with plutonium contamination.

Desperately afraid that Silkwood would reveal the truth about its unsafe operation, Kerr-McGee had Silkwood under surveillance. There is evidence that the FBI and local police cooperated with the company in their spying.

The spying was aimed not only at Silkwood as an individual but at the union, which Kerr-McGee bitterly opposed.

This spying puts under a cloud the very right of the union to exist.

"Even though Karen has been vindicated," an aid to OCAW's Mazzocchi told the *Militant*, "there still remain three vital questions. One, who contaminated her with plutonium? Two, who caused her death? And three, who removed the documents that we know were in her car when she died?"

"We won't be satisfied until we learn the answers to these questions."

"Karen Silkwood was a union woman whose concern was protecting the health and safety of her fellow workers. That led to her death."

"I think it vindicated Karen," Silkwood's father said after the verdict. "I never really cared about the money."

Hundreds pour into Va. Steelworker meetings

By Jon Hillson

NEWPORT NEWS, Va.—The fight to establish the United Steelworkers at Newport News Shipbuilding took another step forward as hundreds of union activists signed up to become shop stewards and organizers in a series of meetings that began May 14.

On April 22 United Steelworkers Local 8888 suspended their eighty-two-day strike for union recognition in order to reorganize and win new support inside the yard.

Some 400 members of Local 8888, many of them picket captains and strike committee volunteers during the strike, have enlisted as stewards. Their duties will include filing grievances with the National Labor Relations Board and helping to set up the union's structure inside the yard.

On May 16, nearly 500 Steelworkers

jammed into the Plumbers and Steamfitters Hall for the first meeting of the new organizing committee.

The committee is based on 8888's original volunteer organizers. They led the year-and-a-half organizing drive that resulted in the Steelworkers January 1978 election victory and provided the backbone for the strike. They will be responsible for leafleting as well as conducting recruitment and education inside the yard.

"We've started rebuilding," USWA District 35 Sub-director Jack Hower told the *Militant*. "We're signing up a lot of new people—workers who didn't go out at all and those who were hired on during the strike."

A combination of factors are helping the union recruit. Tenneco, owner of the shipyard, is doing its bit. Workers are coming over, said Hower, because

like the Steelworkers, they face "ten-hour shifts and the freezing of vacations."

Then there are the organizing efforts of Local 8888 members themselves. From "talking union" on the job, as Hower puts it, to rebutting every slander that Tenneco and its company union throw at the Steelworkers. Like the widespread lie that strikers had to pay the union back for all their strike benefits, and at 18 percent interest to boot!

"We have lunchtime meetings outside the yard," Hower said, "where we can answer questions and let people know we're around."

On May 17 the shipyard's gates along Washington Avenue were flooded with Steelworkers passing out copies of the union's strike bulletin.

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Steelworkers picket during strike.