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IRAN: THE CHOICE FOR THE LEFT

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THERE'S NO SHORTAGE OF PROFITS

There is a reason for the long lines at the gas stations. There is a reason for the high prices at the pumps. The reason begins back in the 1950s and 1960s. That was when the oil industry joined hands with the automotive industry, with construction companies and with real estate interests to produce suburban sprawl, interstate highways and gas-guzzling cars.

Simultaneously, public ground transportation was starved and fell into decline.

Nonetheless, people are told by the government today that they are the cause of gas inflation and are threatening the health of the national economy by their appetite for energy.

REDUCED

But while jets, suburban factories, and campers were being developed, the oil industry, beginning in 1957, has reduced domestic exploratory efforts for new oil.

The search for higher profits led them to foreign oil operations.

The problems generated by this were intensified by more recent profit seeking.

All the evidence points to the manipulation of the supply of oil to serve the profit motive.

How industry created this crisis

by MILT FISK

By manipulating the supply, gasoline prices rose 33% in the past year. With the aid of the government, the companies created the following situation:

● In the first four months of 1979, oil imports were higher

than for the same period in 1978, but domestic oil production was down.

● Stockpiles grew by 25 million barrels—an 8.3% increase in crude oil—from January through April, but refineries took 2.7% less oil then.



● Refineries were running at 87.2% of capacity in January, but only 84.1% in March, whereas in March 1977 they were at 90%.

It seems clear that the oil companies are waiting for higher prices.

The oil industry wants to blame the government.

The Department of Energy directed no buying on the open market when the Iranian cut-off raised open-market prices. It directed companies to increase the reserve of heating fuel this spring.

HYPOCRISY

The hypocrisy in this accusation is evident. It was the

companies' prices and profits that were raised by these directives.

DOE's Schlesinger simply created the "shortage" within which prices could be raised.

People are instinctively aware that the oil companies are engineering the crisis. But getting angry at them is not enough. So long as profits steer the society, there will be corporate manipulation.

The anger against Big Oil must get beyond rhetoric. It needs to be translated into a commitment to have done with the profit system and to organize working people to take control of the production of goods and services essential to them. □

see pages 8&9

Nuclear workers fight back

A STEELWORKER SPEAKS OUT

"There was and is discrimination"

Cynthia Hawkins, 31-year-old mother of three, is the first woman General Repair Mechanic in Kaiser Aluminum's Charmette Plant in St. Bernard Parish, Louisiana.

The Charmette plant, organized by USW's local 13000, is just 45 minutes from Kaiser's Gramercy plant where Brian Weber, industry's "son of Bakke" works. Weber has sued both Kaiser and his union, USW, for "reverse discrimination." The \$21,000-a-year lab technician is protesting his being refused by an apprenticeship program for which he was ineligible even before the affirmative action program was set up.

Cynthia Hawkins discusses Brian Weber's case and its significance for all oppressed groups.

I hear people say the words, "reverse discrimination." But for there to be reverse discrimination, there has to be discrimination first. And that's the point of the whole thing. That there was and is discrimination.

UNION

The union's good, that's the only job security we have left. But I cannot go along with the defense they used in the trial. They didn't even bring up discrimination.

The union could have easily brought in the Office of Federal Contract Complaints in the lower courts, early on. But the thing is, you have to look at why they set up the affirmative action program with Kaiser in the first place. They didn't just decide this would be a nice thing to do.

Before affirmative action only 2% of the skilled trades people in the Gramercy plant were black, while the surrounding area has a 39% black population.

No company in its right mind is going to own up to past discrimination and cut their own throats. Kaiser knew they stood a chance of losing government contracts so they acted fast and the USW got in on it. In 1974 they set up the affirmative action program together.

WOMEN

Now that's discrimination against blacks, but there's another reason why I wonder

**"ONLY
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why they didn't bring up discrimination in the trial.

What gives anyone the right to say that a woman should stay in the home to have babies? What right have I to say to my daughter, "You can be a nurse, a secretary, a saleslady, or a teacher, but now son, you can be anything."

And why does any woman work? Because of money. Because she has to. People ask me, "What you doing in a job like this, getting dirty and sweaty? Why don't you want to be a secretary and dress nice?" Money, that's why. Why should I settle for minimum wage? I need a job that pays something for my kids.

UNITY

If Weber wins this one at the top, it could mean the end of affirmative action. It would set off a rash of suits. And that won't help anybody who works.

There's a great need for unity. We have to unite as one in order to get anywhere. I recognize the needs of my



Cynthia Hawkins

sisters, white and black. I recognize the needs of my brothers, white and black. Who does it hurt when we fight among ourselves? Only ourselves.

We got to find ways to protect ourselves, our children, our friends and family against the devastating affects of discrimination. We have to do it now.

NATIONAL ANTI-WEBER MOBILIZATION WEEK

Affirmative action and anti-racist organizations have called for a national "Anti-Weber Mobilization Week" May 27 to June 2, culminating with a national anti-Weber march in Washington, June 2.

In addition to the Washington march, other anti-Weber marches on June 2 are planned for Chicago, San Francisco, Los Angeles, New Orleans, and Seattle. The marches are being organized by the National Anti-Weber Mobilization Committee.

The marches will demand that the U.S. Supreme Court overturn a Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals ruling upholding the "reverse discrimination" claim of the white Louisiana steelworker, Brian Weber. The high court is expected to rule on the case this term.

The Washington, D.C., demonstration will begin at noon in Farragut Square. In Chicago, marchers will gather at noon at the Local 65 Union Hall, 9350 S. Chicago. In Los Angeles, marchers will assemble at 11 a.m. at the Federal Courthouse. In New Orleans, the march will begin at 12:30 p.m. at Lafayette Square. □

WOMEN FIGHT FOR FREEDOM

"New determination"

SPRINGFIELD, MA—On Saturday, May 12th, approximately forty picketers, including I.S.O. members from Providence, Northampton, and Boston, demonstrated at a Mother's Day banquet held here.

The banquet was sponsored by the Pioneer Valley Pro-Life chapters. Guests of honor included Massachusetts Governor Edward J. King, Dr. Mildred Jefferson, former

president of the National Right to Life Committee, and Rep. Henry Hyde, sponsor of the now infamous Hyde amendment.

RETURN

The pickets, chanting, "Women have died because of Hyde," demanded the return of state funds for abortions, the defeat of the Hyde amendment in '79, an end to sterilization abuse, and decent

childcare for everyone who needs it.

Earlier in the day, several hundred demonstrators rallied outside the Springfield Pro-Life offices. Members of Western Massachusetts NOW and MARAL (the Massachusetts branch of NARAL) had originally planned a march and rally but were prevented from having the march after being denied a parade permit.

Both the rally and the picket

show an increased determination by women to fight for our reproductive freedom. We are tired of backroom deals with politicians that only lead to losing the small gains we've made. It's time to show the male power structure that the fight has just begun.

No More Forced Sterilizations! No More Compulsory Pregnancies!

by S.D.

STEARNS STRIKE OVER UMW SELLS OUT

STEARNS, KY—After more than three years on strike, the union miners at the Blue Diamond Coal Company's Justus Mine have officially lost.

On May 3, in a new representation election, the strikers lost the vote 110 — 0. But they fought til the last. They refused to participate in the election which was stacked against them.

ROCKS

And they forced the strike-breakers to run through a hail of rocks when they arrived to vote.

The strike at Stearns was exceptionally violent from the beginning. The strikers were forced to build bunkers along their picket lines. Company guards regularly fired at pickets with high-powered rifles.

Spokesmen for the UMW in Washington said the new election was "the best we could get. We've spent \$2 million on the strike and it just wouldn't be fair to ask the rank and file to continue to pay that kind of money."

Darrall Vanover, a leader of the strikers, said the UMW had "sold-out" the strike, but vowed to raise a fight at the union's scheduled September special convention.

In a related development, it is now official that the UMW leadership sent hired strike-breakers into West Virginia in 1977.

UMW officials have acknowledged that 54 miners were recruited in the Pittsburgh area to go to Charleston to break-up the ten-week wildcat strike that was then idling some 80,000 UMW miners.

The source of this information—long known by militants in the West Virginia districts involved—is a memo from Harry Patrick, the UMW secretary treasurer at the time.

Patrick objected to using union funds to pay the strike-breakers, but did so when ordered by the union's executive board.

FAST

Union spokesmen now say that violence was never intended but Patrick's memo reports that a "shooting match developed and it sent the boys back home to Pennsylvania pretty fast."

Patrick, who now works for the federal government in Philadelphia, ran against Arnold Miller in 1977 for the union's top spot. In office, he refused to make public the union's role in breaking strikes, and even now says he was not responsible for making his memo public. □

NO NUKES ON THE OFFENSIVE

The outpouring of opposition to nuclear power on June 2nd and 3rd was magnificent. Tens of thousands marched. Thousands were arrested.

15,000 demonstrators poured into the Long Island town of Shoreham, N.Y. alone. 300 were arrested. In Oklahoma, hundreds were arrested in two days of confrontations.

2,000 marched to the Perry plant near Cleveland, 1,200 marched to the Zimmer plant near Cincinnati. In Seattle 2,500 marched.

KILLED

In Europe, there were demonstrations in Germany, France, Britain, and Portugal. There was a monster march in Holland—some reports said 100,000 marched. In Spain, a young woman was shot and killed by police in a demonstration at the nuke near Lemoniz near Bilbao.

There can be no doubt now. These demonstrations—coming in the aftermath of Harrisburg and the 125,000 strong march on Washington—show that the anti-nuke movement is literally exploding. It has fantastic potential.

The most important thing to remember now is how young the movement is. And, just as importantly, we have to remember who the enemy is. The anti-nuke movement is taking on nothing less than the U.S. government, the giant energy monopolies and the military—not just in this country but worldwide.

Patience, then, will be required. Nukes will not be done away with simply, nor overnight. Developing tactics and a longterm strategy will also take time. We have no road-map for the struggle to come. What we do have, however, is a movement with dedication, courage, and imagination—and the point here is to begin the discussion on how to move forward.

VOTES

First, it's increasingly clear that numerous politicians, mainly democrats but also some republicans, have discovered that they can attract some attention, possibly even votes, by opposing nukes.

In Washington, D.C., California's Governor Jerry Brown was the featured speaker at the May 6 demonstration. Some booed Brown, but more applauded.

It's crucially important, now at the beginning, that the movement take a clear stand on this point. It's very good that politicians oppose nuclear power. It's about time too.

But the two capitalist parties—Republicans and Democrats—in and out of office put the nuclear program on the line. They are also responsible for and committed to the maintenance of the military nuclear arsenal—which if anything is far, far more dangerous.

The lesson of the movement against the Vietnam War—and of all important protest movements—is that there must be independence— independence from the politicians and the capitalist parties and programs they represent.

MAJORITY

Second, the movement must consciously reach out to the

majority of Americans—the millions of ordinary working people who have no interest whatsoever in this nuclear madness.

This will not be easy to do, but we must recognize that the anti-nuke movement is still overwhelmingly middle class.

Solidarity with the struggles of rank and file nuclear workers, especially those who, like Karen Silkwood, put their lives on the line, is the first step. Putting a union bureaucrat on the platform is not enough—real rank and file solidarity is needed. We have to begin now to bring the issue of nuclear power into our unions and into the rank and file movement.

The movement must also make the demand for jobs central. It's not for us to tell the government how to run capitalism effectively, but it is clear that there are energy alternatives, even now.

In the short run, there is abundant coal. But we should be clear that we want coal which is safely mined by union

members, which is scrubbed clean, and which does not destroy the landscape. Then, there is the longer term, but vital, alternative of solar energy.

Finally, the increasingly mass nature of the movement should not mean an end to civil disobedience, direct action, and confrontation.

On the contrary, only the determined, militant action of millions will stop the plans of the government and the energy giants. No elite, no matter how morally pure, will do.

MOMENTUM

Once again, however, remember that building the kind of movement we need will take time. The thing to do now is see that the momentum is not lost. There are literally hundreds of anti-nuke organizations. By the end of the summer there may be hundreds more. Get involved! Better active today, than radioactive tomorrow! □

United Parcel: UNION SAYS CONTRACT NEAR

There isn't a gas shortage at the United Parcel contract talks in Washington. Teamster union officials and UPS negotiators have spent thirty days of a contract extension preparing the poorest excuse for a contract ever seen at UPS.

SELL-OUT

The union has held no membership meetings, taken no votes authorizing the contract extension, and refused to give out any information. They have carefully engineered a sell-out.

The only source of information has been the rank and file paper, UPSurge. Now, according to UPSurge, a Tentative Agreement had been reached on the national contract as of June 1. But the union's proposals for the national contract had nothing on productivity, voluntary overtime, safety, part timers or any other major issues. These issues are being left to the area supplements which are still being negotiated separately.

By making the national contract a meaningless piece of paper, the Teamsters have destroyed any chance of united, national action against UPS. Now the important contract issues will be negotiated region by region, further

dividing and weakening UPS workers.

If UPS'ers are going to start winning they must be organized. Now and in the weeks to come UPSurge is more important than ever. UPS'ers must fight this sell-out. Vote it down, strike, and do whatever is necessary to win.

ACTION

The Steelhaulers showed that you can win if you're willing to fight and take independent action. And UPS'ers can still win, but the rank and file must fight.

What is needed is direct action, a unified membership, a committed rank and file leadership and a firm belief that victory is possible. □



PROVIDENCE, RI—300 women marched through downtown Providence on May 19, demanding an end to violence against women. The march was organized by a coalition of women's organizations, including ISO women.

FIGHTING WORDS

"I don't want a pardon, or a commutation. I want a new trial or nothing. If my life will help some other workingman to a fair trial, I am ready to give it. If by living my life I can aid others to the fairness denied me, I have not lived in vain."

Joe Hill, 1915

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CHICAGO PROTEST: SIXTIES STYLE

CHICAGO, IL—On May 22, over 2,000 students protested the award by the University of Chicago to Robert McNamara of a prize for promoting International Understanding.

The demonstrators, including many of the nearly 1,000 people who had earlier attended a teach-in on the Vietnam War, the World Bank, and Imperialism, sat down in the street, after the formal demonstration, to block McNamara's exit. The police then moved into the crowd to arrest the peaceful protesters.

RESIST

This led to nearly an hour of street fighting as the pro-

testers resisted arrest. The police arrested 25 people.

This was the largest anti-war demonstration in Chicago since the late 1960's and is indicative of the increased activity on the campuses in the last few months.

Even though many of the students were not involved in the original Vietnam War protests in the 60's, they are becoming aware of the connections between the military imperialism in Vietnam and Angola and the economic imperialism evident in many Third World countries today.

Furthermore, the students are also becoming more concerned about the draft. Many at this demonstration were



aware of the possibilities of a new draft and some had been involved in a demonstration against the draft by nearly 1,000 people a few weeks earlier at Northwestern University.

SIGNS

Despite claims by some that the student movement is dead there are strong signs that students are beginning to realize that they will have to fight to change society. □

by PETER MOORE
and BOB GOLDMAN

No nukes pack Seattle Council

SEATTLE, WA—On May 15, 1,200 angry people packed the City Council meeting and told the city to pull out of nuclear power.

Two weeks earlier, 100 people occupied the Council Chamber to demand a public hearing be held in Seattle on a bond issue to refinance three nuclear plants.

The demonstrators wouldn't allow the Council to conduct its business until it called the public hearing.

On the 15th, every speaker blasted the bond issue. They called it a rip-off that would just put more money into the

pockets of the banks, causing higher rates for everyone else.

They talked about the dangers of nuclear power. The Council seemed to listen but did not hear. A week later, it showed its colors: a victory for the bond issue, higher rates, and further investment in nuclear power.

Now we'll need an even stronger and more militant movement. In the meantime the fate of the bond issue is still held up by two other public utilities refusing to approve it.

by STEVE LEIGH



By Any Means Necessary

BLACK POLITICS IN AMERICA

THE ERA OF BAKKE



This spring black students have raised their voices. It is a welcome sound.

At Harvard, angry black students marched through Harvard Yard. At Rutgers, hundreds of blacks marched on the president's office charging "institutional racism." At Amherst College black students occupied the administration building while hundreds of other students gathered outside to support them.

These events are of importance to the black struggle.

The administrations of the colleges followed policies that many colleges want to carry out today. This is the era of the Bakke decision.

Two things will happen. Firstly, colleges will attempt to cut back on affirmative action, on the hiring of progressive third world staff members. They will try to cut back the number of black students in their schools. The second thing is that the reaction of black students to these actions will be to fight back.

What is happening is that this system, to maintain its present self and profit levels, will have to erode any gains, small as those are, that blacks made through the struggles of the late 1960s and early 70s.

The actions of the Amherst administration take place when unemployment is grow-

by TONY BOGUES

ing inside the black community. When it seems that the police have increased their brutality inside the community.

In sum it looks like the stage is being set for a time of serious struggle.

ISSUE

The issue of black students and affirmative action will play a role in the struggle ahead. Black students have always played a role in our struggles.

Many black students were involved in the days of the 60s. SNCC (Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee) was built by black students. In other words, the college campuses can become not the major but an important battlefield of white America.

If the administrations in many colleges get away with cutting affirmative action and black studies, that will be an indicator for the ruling class that they can get away with anything at this time.

If, however, there is a fight back, that will signal to the ruling class that the mood inside the black community is one of anger. The struggle therefore for the maintenance of the black studies programs and for the continuation of affirmative action is a necessary part of the struggle.

Black studies is not simply about studying about black people. It is also about the way in which we have struggled as a people to live and survive in racist America. An attack on these studies in colleges is an attack against our community.

The students of Amherst College showed that the only way to fight is by mass action. The only, and indeed best, defense is to organize masses of students to take action.

The recent events in which one of the demands of the Harvard white students was for a strengthening of the Afro-American students group, shows that any struggle that is being waged on campuses today has to deal with the issues that face black students.

CAMPAIGNS

Southern Africa Campaigns should not only deal with investments but with the attempts of the administration to cut back and to erode the gains made by blacks in the 60s. Gains, tiny as they are, must be defended.

In the coming months, the struggle to maintain affirmative action to defend black studies will have to develop. The mood for it to succeed will have to be the mood of the black students at Amherst College. "You have given us shit all year and we are not going to accept it."

Will California's Governor Jerry Brown lead the fight against nuclear power?

by
PATRICIA GOLDSMITH

*Brownian motion in physics—
"The constant zigzag movement of particles...the position of none of which can be predicted ahead of time."*

In 1976 Edmund G. (Jerry) Brown Jr. made a bid for the presidency and lost. In 1980 he may win. Recently he had been lauded in the news as the "no-nuke" candidate, the proponent of Zen, and the notion that small is beautiful.

Even Doonesbury has Duane Delacort, Carter's minister-of symbols, defecting to think up more "mellowspeak" for the Brown camp.

Examined closely, certain legislation passed while Brown has been governor has been good on the questions of energy and conservation, but only partially attributable to Brown. Or as the Sierra Club puts it, the Brown Administration, during its first four years "turned in one of the strongest environmental performances of any in American history. It is also fair to say that this is not a terribly stringent standard of comparison."

ENERGY

Alternative energy development is still one of Jerry's strongest drawing cards. In September of 1977 he signed a bill giving 55% tax credit for home installations of solar devices. He created an agency called SolarCal to supposedly oversee the development in California of solar energy, windmills and other methods as alternatives to nuclear plants.

He recently showed up at the mass demonstrations in Washington. He did not support the anti-nuclear initiative on the 1976 ballot but did support a milder package of legislation against nukes. He pushed for a ban on building nuclear power plants—until safety and waste disposal problems could be solved.

Brown can sound very good and hard hitting at times. The problem is that the public is never sure what is going to be his stand the next day, as



"WATCH ME.
I'M GOING TO
MOVE LEFT AND
RIGHT AT THE
SAME TIME"

Don't count on it!

in the case of Proposition 13. The real cuts in social services came in the areas of health, education and welfare after Proposition 13.

Brown campaigned as a freeway sceptic and a proponent of mass transit, opposing the building of the Century Freeway in Los Angeles, as well as general highway expansion. But after Proposition 13 passed, under pressure from lobbyists, Jerry took up the cause of the car, saying that "Californians had spoken." He was then the one who pushed through the Century Freeway completion.

The official Brown line seems to be that substantial water conservation in the agricultural sector, which uses 85% of the water in the state, is impossible.

But the present water price structure, with massive subsidies to industrial and agricultural users, is a disincentive to investing in such techniques as drop irrigation.

Brown campaigned in 1974 as a strong advocate of wild river protection—until people turned down Proposition 17,

which would have stopped the New Melones Dam. Then Brown turned around again and suddenly he always wanted the dam to be built.

It was in 1978 that Brown alienated himself from most conservationists by his stand on Liquefied Natural Gas (LNG). In September of that year, Brown enlisted the aid of one time Jack-in-the-Box executive, Richard Silberman, now under investigation of having possible Mafia connections. Brown threw his weight behind two California utilities to build a \$500 million LNG terminal near Point Conception.

FATHER

Brown's father and former governor, is a business partner of Pertamina, the Indonesian firm that will be a major supplier for the new facility. Brown's father's law firm, in 1976 and 1977 got \$43,000 in legal fees from the subsidiary of Pacific Lighting, one of the LNG scheme's principle partners, for advising them how to steer the site through the state government.

Pacific Lighting contributed \$2,000 for Brown's 1976 presidential campaign and Perta Oil Marketing Corp. kicked in \$21,000 for the 1974 gubernatorial race. Brown Sr.'s firm chipped in an additional \$4,500. Pertamina Corp. is in debt and providing California with LNG would help restore its solvency.

Conservationists fought the bill, but the only concession was not to build the terminal for the volatile gas near densely populated areas. The bill still prevented site veto by local authorities.

Brown is a great believer in what he calls "synecdoche," the practice in which a part of an object or person is taken as equivalent to the whole, possibly a relic of his Jesuit education.

The theory is that if we make some real changes, someone is bound to be unhappy and make a fuss. If there are not programs of significant size adopted and the administration restricts itself to symbolic gestures, people will still feel the administration is moving in the

right direction. And as Jerry said in 1974, "Just watch me; I'm going to move left and right at the same time."

RESULT

The result is that instead of increasing welfare benefits for black mothers, he appoints a black judge. Rather than opposing Proposition 13 consistently, or pouring money into education, he made public appearances with rock groups, which kids like better.

Instead of reducing some taxes, he flew tourist class. Instead of pushing for a comprehensive mass transit system or tax on gas gusslers, or even a demand for Detroit to make more efficient cars, he drives a compact car. He does in his own personal life what might be too risky to do on a large scale.

As J.D. Lorenz puts it in his book on Brown, "In the 1960s, synecdoche was called 'tokenism'. In the 1970s, synecdoche wasn't called anything pejorative; it was often the operating principle of government." □

But gays fight back S.F. COPS: "WE'LL KILL THE QUEERS"

SAN FRANCISCO, CA—Ten thousand lesbians, gay men and straight supporters took to the streets on the night of May 21. Dan White, murderer of San Francisco's mayor and popular gay councilman Harvey Milk, had gotten off with a 7-year sentence after being convicted of manslaughter.

Margaret Sloane, a black lesbian, stated, "We had hope, but we weren't really surprised. There is no justice. We must make it. If Dan White had been a black man, he would never have even made it to court." And if he had he would have gotten murder one.

The demonstration, triggered by the court's decision, was fueled by much more than that. Because of the size and openness of San Francisco's gay community, conditions of life there for gays are far superior to those in most American cities. Nonetheless, harassment, discrimination and

violence by cops are everyday life for gays.

In the case of this demonstration, according to a rally organizer, "It was not until the police and the riot squads verbally baited and then attacked the demonstrators that violence broke out." Twenty-five San Francisco Police De-

partment squad cars were burned.

Cops were quoted as yelling, "We're going to kill the queers." Not without a fight. □

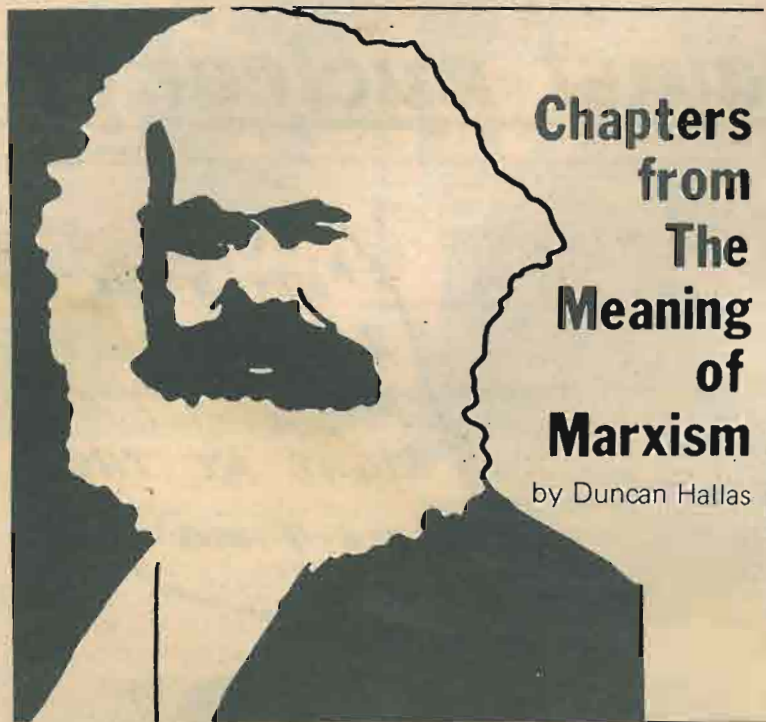
The end of postwar stability

In 1962 the United Nations published a survey which showed that about 75 billion a year was being spent on arms. This was nearly a tenth of the total world output of all goods and services and was roughly equal to the value of all exports from all countries.

Still more important "arms expenditure corresponded to about one half of gross capital formation throughout the world" (M. Kidron: *Western Capitalism since the War*, Penguin). This huge expenditure is largely concentrated in the capital goods industries—Marx's "Department 1", the very sector of the economy most sensitive to economic fluctuations.

A U.S. government report issued in 1965 summarized the effect: "The greatly enlarged public sector since World War II, resulting from heavy defense expenditures, has provided additional protection against depressions, since this sector is not responsive to contraction in the private sector and provides a sort of buffer or balance wheel in the economy."

Writing during the great depression of the 1930s, the economist Keynes ironically proposed a cure: "If the Treasury were to fill old bottles with banknotes, bury



Chapters from The Meaning of Marxism

by Duncan Hallas

them at suitable depths in disused coal mines which are then filled up to the surface with town rubbish, and leave it to private enterprise on the well-tried principles of laissez-faire to dig the notes up again (the right to do so being obtained, of course, by tendering for the leases of the note-

bearing territory), there need be no more unemployment and, with the help of the repercussions, the real income of the community, and its capital wealth also, would probably become a good deal greater than it actually is."

This is what has actually happened. Military expendi-

ture corresponds exactly, from the economic point of view, to the mining of buried banknotes. The permanent arms economy is practically applied Keynesianism. But why military expenditure?

Keynes himself remarked: "It would, indeed, be more sensible to build houses and the like." What prevents the replacement of the irrational and dangerous production of armaments by socially useful expenditure? Why not abolish poverty?

REASONS

There are a number of reasons. The famous "Report from Iron Mountain" emphasized one: "As an economic substitute for war it is inadequate because it would be far too cheap...the maximum program that could be physically effected...could approach the established level of military spending only for a limited time—in our opinion...less than 10 years. In this short period, at any rate, the major goals of the program would have been achieved. Its capital investment phase would have been completed..." There is a more fundamental difficulty. Production under capitalism is production for profit by competing enterprises. If some are more heavily burdened with "social expenditure" than

others, they will, other things being equal, be at a competitive disadvantage.

The great advantage of arms spending from a capitalist point of view is that equivalent spending is forced on competitors. A rough "equality of sacrifice" is imposed by the arms race itself. It was never more than a rough equality. "In the countries of western capitalism military expenditure...has ranged...as a proportion of gross domestic fixed capital formation from nearly 60 per cent in the U.S. to 12 per cent in Norway.

The real difference is rather less than the figures suggest because the use of the dollar as the international currency has enabled the U.S. to maintain a near permanent balance of payments deficit: that is to say the rest of the world has been giving the U.S. a near permanent subsidy. Still, the inequality of the arms burden is a growing problem. Japanese industry, for example, has expanded enormously during the arms boom—much more proportionately than U.S. or British industry—because it enjoys the benefits of the boom without having to bear more than a small fraction of its cost. This is one of the factors that is now undermining the long stabilization.

RISE

Another is the increasingly capital-intensive nature of military production. Tank production requires a lot of capital plus a large amount of skilled and semi-skilled labor. Inter-Continental Ballistic missile production requires an enormous mass of capital plus a relatively small amount of highly skilled labor. Hence the creeping rise in unemployment that is occurring throughout the West. The balance wheel is beginning to wobble.

Yet this rising unemployment goes hand in hand with an accelerating inflation. Some degree of inflation is inevitable under monopoly capitalism in the absence of big slumps. From the late 1940s to the late 1960s prices have been rising everywhere in the West by an average of 2 per cent to 3 per cent a year. A high demand for labor-power is bound to drive up prices and wages and the increases are passed on—or more than passed on.

What is happening now is quite new. Prices are increasing at an unprecedented rate at the same time as the demand for labor-power is slowly declining. Part of the explanation is the U.S. missile program, the most expensive arms program in history, which is spreading inflationary pressure throughout the system by creating a huge demand for certain kinds of scarce resources without making the corresponding demand for labor.

INSTABILITY

Another source of instability is the growth of huge international firms which can and do shift vast resources from one country to another. The tendency is to concentrate capital accumulation in a rather small number of highly developed areas—giving a further upward twist to inflation, while running down development elsewhere—giving an upward twist to unemployment.

The development of an uncontrolled credit system—the Euro-currency market—is yet another force sapping the foundations of Western capitalist stabilization.

History never repeats itself exactly. There will never be another 1929. Yet the instability of the capitalist system is reasserting itself. The long stabilization is ending.



By PATRICIA GILMAN

DIDN'T KNOW

A male-female driving team has received a letter of warning from Tri-State Motor Transit Co. for leaving a tractor-trailer carrying six canisters of enriched uranium on a Charleston, West Virginia, Kroger parking lot.

The rig was left unattended for nearly eight hours during an unauthorized stop in Charleston three weeks ago.

A spokesperson for Tri-State Transit said the truck picked up the uranium at the Good-year atomic plant near Portsmouth, Ohio, and was bound for Wilmington, N.C.

Izvestia, the Soviet News Agency, recently reported that the antinuclear movement in this country was the creation of U.S. oil companies.

According to the GAO, government bureaucrats in Washington spend over \$200,000 a year on rubber plants for their offices.

You pay for the gas

The Jockey Club in Beverly Hills is a new organization that is doing a large business from the gas crisis.

For a fee of \$150 a month, an attendant picks up your car, finds a line and waits in it for as long as it takes to get the tank filled.

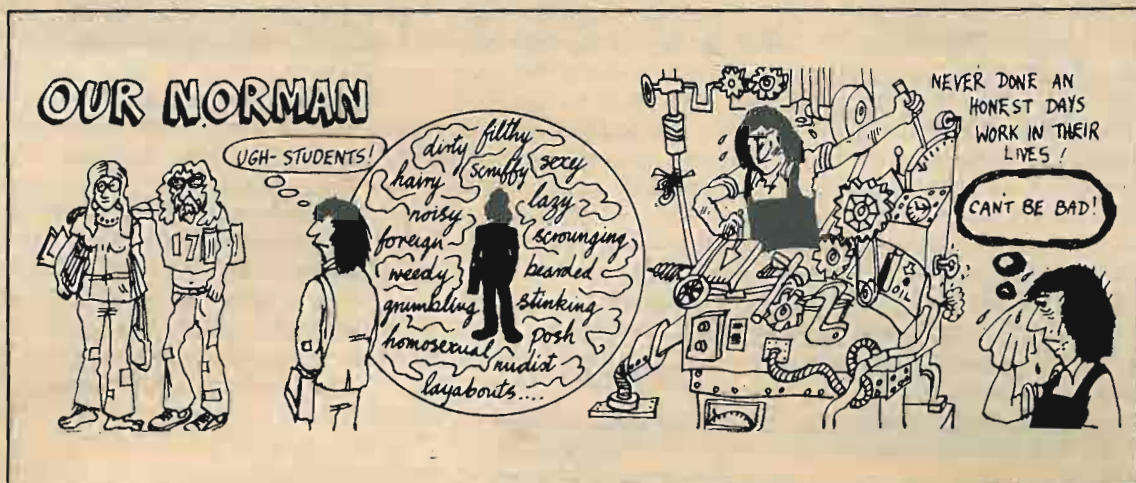
While waiting in line he washes the windshield, checks the oil and empties the ashtray. The fee does not include the gas.

Coyote, "a loose women's organization," is starting a "kiss and tell" campaign in Florida to help get the Equal Rights Amendment passed.

Coyote is asking prostitutes to name anti-ERA legislators who are their customers.

Coyote spokeswoman Darlene Lashman says the organization is also asking for the names of businessmen and lawmakers to be turned over to feminist groups for use in the 1980 election.

"It's time the good old boys got a taste of their own medicine," says Lashman.



Marijuana

From a South African textbook on criminology: "In extreme cases, marijuana can

so destroy a man's character that he mixes freely with persons of another race."

According to a recent federal report, the U.S. Senate is swimming with millionaires. Nearly one in five Senators has assets over a million dollars.

The Senate's richest man, John Heinz of Pennsylvania, has assets so large he doesn't know how much he has—but it's somewhere between \$11.2 and \$19.7 million. Last year he made between \$441,000 and \$844,000

above and beyond his Senate income.

Other charity cases include Edward Kennedy with a piddling \$1.3 to \$3 million (not counting trust funds), John Danforth with a measly \$6.9 to \$17.2 million, and John Glenn starving at \$2.1 to \$5 million.

Looks a lot like government of the rich, by the rich, for the rich.

The choice for the left: build a mass party or be crushed

May Day in Iran was celebrated by millions. In Tehran alone one million people flocked onto the streets to demonstrate.

Yet in every city there was not one, but several marches.

In Tehran two marches were held—one organized by the unemployed and supported by the left groups, the other by the Islamic Republic Party, supported by Khomeini and the religious leaders.

400,000 joined the first march with slogans that stressed international solidarity with the unemployed all over the world:

"Death to the Turkish Government that doesn't allow Turkish Workers to celebrate May Day" was chanted again and again along with: "The workers united can defeat Capitalism" and "Workers and peasants together will smash exploitation."

The march wound its way through streets where there are dozens of sweatshops employing workers from the Turkish-speaking minority.

The marchers shouted: "Long Live the workers," in Turkish and workers in the sweatshops threw open the windows, giving the clenched fist salute and showering the marchers with gifts of sweets, nuts and flowers.

THUGS

Further along their route, these demonstrators were attacked by thugs from the religious right wing groups who finally blocked the route—2000 of them, armed with clubs, knives and some with guns.

The marchers halted outside the Central Bank and held an impromptu rally. Bank employees threw small coins into the crowds as a sign of support.

The second march was bigger, joined by 600,000 and dominated by nationalist and religious slogans: "There is only one party, God's Party" and "Islam supports the workers," were the most popular.

More workers joined this religious march. The appeal of the left is still limited to the urban poor and the workers.

In the last month or so the increasing aggression of the highly nationalistic Islamic right wing has resulted in the left having to organize almost as if they were illegal.

In the Shah's day the left was savagely persecuted, yet it provided the bulk of opposition both inside and outside the country.

Many of those who now join with the religious leaders were at best passive opponents of the Shah; many were willing cooperators with his regime.

It is these people who, fearing the revolution, have flocked to the banner of Islam.

Since the insurrection which overthrew Bakhtiar, the religious movement has gone back on its promises of freedom for all—everything now has to accord with Islamic law or it is hounded.

The events of the last few months illustrate two important points.

The weekly paper of the Fedayeen, Kar, contains good short articles about a wide range of national events.

About 30,000 are distributed each week.

Kar reports on strikes, occupations of factories and other workers activities, but it tends to relegate these to middle

one half of the adults in the cities have no work.

There is no system of benefits so when the unemployed use slogans like "Starvation threatens us and our families" they mean it literally.

The weakening of central government has led to a massive revival in the movement

It must be rooted in workers' struggles, about wages, conditions, unemployment, and housing.

The new regime has, as yet, taken no steps to establish tame, state-run trade unions—the fundamentally pro-boss line of the new government is far stronger than many would have expected so early on in its life.

LINKS

At the same time the left has to link the campaign of women against the Islamic restrictions and the revolt of the national minorities with the daily struggles of the workers.

This cannot be done with simple appeals for "unity." Real links are concrete, not based on fine words alone.

A common understanding of the current situation, and the linking of these struggles is only possible if the boss-nature of the new regime is made clear.

Talking of its anti-imperialist stand is not only untrue but also blurs the class differences. Bazargan and the rest must be nailed for what they are...the leaders of the gutless bosses of Iran who want to steal the people's victory.

In the immediate future life will get harder for the left. More and more it may have to work as though it were illegal.

MASS

For this reason it cannot afford now to bind itself hand and foot to the Khomeini regime.

Inevitably there will be splits and divisions in the religious camp. Just to sit back and wait for these is the worst form of passivity.

Only those who earn their spurs by taking up all the little fights can hope to play a leading role in the next round of struggles.

An instrument must be forged to break down the isolation of the minorities, bring together the fragmented actions of different sections of the working class and poor, oppose the new regime and its policies.

This instrument is the workers party.

Only such a party can unite the struggles of the different sections of the population who are still waiting for the revolution to reach them.

Above all, the left must ditch the idea that by temporising with Khomeini they buy time. Only mass action will stem the tide of Islamic reaction:

The left has a choice: Either they sit on the margins of society where they can easily be contained or crushed. Or they choose to build a mass party of the working class. □



Fedayeen leftists at Tehran University

First, the workers and the urban poor of the major cities overthrew the Shah without mass organizations; they had neither trade unions nor political parties.

Second, the years of repression under the Shah severely limited the growth and development of socialist, as opposed to simply anti-Shah, ideas. The left even helped to spread the notion that once rid of the Shah everything would basically be all right.

LEFT

Without mass organizations the workers and the poor are easy victims for the ranting leaders of the religious wing—religion has a national network, a string of leaders at different levels.

Against this, the left has very little. In the mass struggle against the Shah, the left correctly fought together with the religious leaders.

But many failed to distinguish between support and dependence. They were already committed in theory to taking a back seat in the anti-Shah campaign.

Since Bakhtiar fell, the left groups have been able to publish papers, visit factories and organize meetings.

and back pages. The leading stories are usually about Fedayeen activities, and attitudes.

The Tudeh Party (Communist Party), produces a number of papers. In contrast to Kar, they are aimed at the intellectual market, no doubt in hope of winning support from the ranks of the government bureaucracy, the academics and the professionals.

Peykar, the Marxist break-away from the Muslim guerrilla group, the Majahadeen, publishes a weekly paper of the same name. On at least one occasion all 20,000 copies have been seized by the religious militia.

Like Kar, it is simply written and oriented towards workers.

Although it controls most of the media, and what's left of the army and police, the new regime is far from stable.

UNEMPLOYMENT

The year-long struggle to get rid of the Shah all but destroyed the economy. No oil flowed for months. Many factories were closed for lack of imported raw materials and parts.

As a result there has been a huge increase in unemployment. Between one third and

of the many minority nationalities who make up half the population of Iran.

Kurds in the West, Azari Turks in the North West, Turkomans in the North East, Arabs in the South and Baluchis in the South East have all laid extensive claims to autonomy and self-determination.

FORCE

In its attempt to rebuild the army, the Khomeini regime didn't hesitate to use armed force against rebellious minorities.

Anger and bitterness now run deep in these areas, so does the frustration that each minority feels at having to deal with the new central authorities.

The regime has temporarily swept the question of women's rights under the carpet for fear of spreading the movement that shook Khomeini in March.

Without mass organizations it is impossible for the left to mobilize widely against the moves towards an Islamic dictatorship. The building of these organizations is the key question the left now faces.

It is in the workplaces that such organization must be started.

Nuclear workers

KAREN SILKWOOD: 1946-1974

HER DEATH WAS NOT IN VAIN

On May 18, an Oklahoma City federal jury awarded \$10.5 million to the estate of Karen Silkwood, the nuclear worker and union activist who was contaminated with deadly plutonium and then murdered in 1974.

The jury found the Kerr-McGee Company negligent. This award was a bitter blow, not only to Kerr-McGee, which will appeal, but also to the entire nuclear industry. It has important implications for the anti-nuke movement as well.

ORGANIZER

Karen Silkwood was a lab technician at Kerr-McGee's fuel fabrication plant in Cimarron, Oklahoma. She was also an organizer for the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union (OCAW). She was fighting for safe working conditions.

In July, 1974, she discovered that she had been contaminated with plutonium. She followed the company's decontamination proceedings, but in November she discovered that she had been contaminated again. At the same time, secretly, she began collecting evidence on the conditions at the Cimarron plant.

After a conference with OCAW officials, she set up a meeting with a reporter from the New York Times. The meeting was set for November 13, 1974.

Karen Silkwood never made it to that meeting. On November 5, she ate a sandwich from her refrigerator. The sandwich had been salted with plutonium.

A week later, she attended a union meeting at the Crescent Cafe near the plant on the Cimarron River. She was carrying a thick brown folder—her evidence for the meeting with the reporter.

SMASHED

She left the meeting in her 1973 Honda and headed for Oklahoma City. Ten minutes later her car flew from the highway, careened 240 feet down the opposite shoulder, then went 24 feet over the edge of the road and smashed into a culvert. Karen Silkwood died and the folder disappeared.

The federal jury did not decide on the question who killed Karen Silkwood. Nor on who poisoned her. But her supporters are certain she was murdered—that her car was smashed from behind by someone who wanted her dead—probably the same person that contaminated her with plutonium.

The Kerr-McGee plant at Cimarron was known as a "hellhole." An expert witness at the Silkwood trial testified that Kerr-McGee had a "callous, almost cruel, hard-



Karen Silkwood

Socialist Worker

WHAT WE THINK

ened disregard for health." Karen Silkwood died trying to make that fact known.

How many other plants are the same? How many other workers are contaminated by "low-level" radiation? The Silkwood judgement, coming in the aftermath of the Three Mile Island "accident," hopefully will spur other nuclear workers to take up the fight for safety—and against the absurd notion that there are safe levels of radiation.

The anti-nuke movement must support these workers, and it must take up the cause of all nuclear workers. The nuclear power process, start to finish, poisons and kills workers.

● Uranium miners have been overexposed to radon gasses.

● Workers in fuel plants show high levels of cancer and leukemia.

● Workers building atomic submarines have been contaminated.

● Workers in the power plants have been killed.

● Releases into the atmosphere—either those like Three Mile Island, or the ones that don't get reported—threaten us all.

● Future generations are poisoned.

Nuclear workers have an obvious interest in stopping this. They also have the courage to do so. Karen Silkwood proved this.

CAUSE

The best thing that the anti-nuke movement can do to remember Karen Silkwood is to support the efforts of future Karen Silkwoods and to help carry their cause to other workers. A working class anti-nuke movement will not only broaden the fight against nuclear power. It will open the possibility of actually shutting down the industry—top to bottom. □

GOODYEAR:

ANYWAY TO MAKE A PROFIT

PIKETON, OH—"I'm called a chemical operator, but really I'm a glorified janitor," says Hank Lewis, a member of the Oil, Chemical, and Atomic Workers' Union (OCAW)-local 3-689.

"I mop floors almost every day. But there's a difference. The floors I mop are contaminated—radioactive."

STRIKE

Hank Lewis is one of 1,600 members of the OCAW on strike at Goodyear's big uranium enrichment plant here in Southern Ohio. The strike is about two things—a company proposal to create a labor pool which, if accepted, would destroy anything like fair job classification procedures. It is also about the cost-of-living.

The workers didn't expect a strike. One picket, John Ruby, a man with twenty-five years in the plant, said most workers, especially the older workers, were ready to vote for just about anything.

"But Goodyear wanted to strike. And that's why they made the offer. They knew we couldn't accept it," says Ruby. "We were out five weeks in 1974 and five weeks in 1976. We couldn't longer this time."

So this strike has nothing to do with radiation—certainly nothing to do with nuclear energy as a political issue.

"A Three Mile Island couldn't happen here," Lewis told me. Still, the subject inevitably comes up. Goodyear makes nuclear fuel for submarines here, and though there is no reactor, there is danger, both present and potential.

PROBLEMS

At the same time, the workers, who may well be glorified janitors, talk more like scientists. And despite everything Goodyear does to keep them uninformed, they know a good deal about the problems of nuclear energy.

A MINER TALKS

"Energy. It's all big money," says Dave Forms, Jr., a coal miner for the Cedar Coal Company in West Virginia's Boone county.

"They don't care about me or my safety, whether it's in the coal mine or downwind from some nuclear power plant. They care about one thing—production."

Dave Forms is a militant, a "radical" as coal miners are called here when they stand up for themselves. He was the president of United Mine Workers local 2524, before Cedar Coal shut his mine down, saying the coal was "too dirty" to be sold. Now he's working a new mine.

Forms is also an opponent of Arnold Miller's. He helped lead the opposition to the settlement of the 1978 strike. He's suspicious, to say the

least, of coal companies, doesn't think the rest of the industry is much better.

SWEAR

"Hell, they told us for years that there was no such thing as black lung. They just lied. There are still company doctors who'll swear it doesn't exist. They say it's cures."

And nuclear power? "What do they really know? We won't know the real results of Three Mile Island years. So in the meantime they just try to keep us ignorant."

"The companies don't care about our health and safety. They keep us ignorant so they can get their production."

A lot of coal miners in Appalachia oppose nuclear power for one simple reason.

rs: on the line



In 1976, for example, when OCAW members were on strike, Goodyear kept the facility going, using supervision and non-union employees. There are 1,400 non-union employees here, something the OCAW ought to be more concerned about.

As a result, there was at least one major release—radiation escaping into the atmosphere. One part of the plant was so contaminated that it is still shut down.

This year the supervisors are at it again. The company ordered them to show up with three days clothing when the strike began, May 3. Apparently Goodyear was concerned about their ability to get in and out of the plant—especially with pickets on duty. Also, the road had a good paving of nails and broken glass.

"They don't know what they're doing in there," says Lewis. "But Goodyear wants to keep the profits coming in." The other pickets agreed.

"When one of us is off a job three months," Lewis continued, "we have to be retrained. Some of these supervisors haven't done this work in years. That's why there was a release in 1976. There could be another one anytime now.

"You have to be retrained. You lose your tough."

DANGER

The main danger, at least in ordinary circumstances, is not radiation releases. "It's to us," says Lewis. "I know of one man who died of Leukemia. I've heard of another.

"I've had to turn down jobs. And I've turned up 'hot' on others."

Once a week, workers are given a routine "pee check"—their urine is examined for traces of radiation. When they turn up "hot"—contaminated—they are shifted to another operation.

But this is often a source of irritation—and worry. The company won't give out the



Hank Lewis

results of the test, only whether or not a certain amount of contamination has been discovered. And even then, the tests are given on Fridays. The results aren't known til Wednesdays.

"That could mean three days or more of contamination," according to another picket. "And when you're 'hot' and Goodyear doesn't have a job in your classification, they can send you home with no pay."

There are other problems. E.A. Damron came up to Ohio from Kentucky, like many people in this part of the state. He'd been a coal miner there, and he was proud of "having

1961: LEAD COFFINS

January 3, 1961, Idaho. Three young servicemen were killed in the first major reactor accident in the United States.

The Stationary Low-Power Reactor No. 1 (SL-1) in Idaho, a 3 megawatt prototype military power plant, had been shut down for work on instrumentation, and the control drives disconnected. John Byrnes, Richard McKinley and Richard Legg were detailed to reassemble the drives. This required a central control rod to be lifted just 10cms and coupled to the remote driving mechanism, a straightforward procedure the three had carried out many times.

The refit was completed. Then, for unknown reasons, the control rod was pulled out of the core. The official report suggests that the control rod was stuck, and that Legg and Byrnes tried to heave it up manually. When it came loose it rose, not 10cms but nearly 50 cms.

Almost instantly the core went supercritical and the fuel fried itself. The resulting explosion blasted a slug of steam at the reactor roof. The reactor vessel rose 3 meters, right through the pile cap. Legg and McKinley were killed instantly; McKinley's body impaled in the ceiling. Byrnes was cut down by a withering flash of radiation.

Automatic alarm systems brought emergency squads but even before they reached the reactor their radiation dose meters were reading off-scale.

Two rescuers rushed into the wreckage and dragged Byrnes out, but he died on the way to the hospital. The other two bodies had to be removed from the reactor room with remote handling gear. All three were so radioactive they weren't safe for burial—in lead-lined caskets placed in lead-lined vaults—until 20 days later.

walked many a picket line with a shotgun."

Damron told me that he was worried about another by-product of the operation—contaminated oil. "The oil is just dumped out on the property. I know it gets into the water, and once it's in the water, it's got to get into the river."

And there's more. Although there is no reactor, chemical operator said he thought there was always the potential of bigger trouble—a chain reaction. "It could happen, if the valving was done wrong."

Are these workers anti-nuke? They should be, and I suspect many are. They were happy to hear of the settlement in the Karen Silkwood case. And they suspected that

Goodyear was just as bad as Kerr-McGee, possibly worse.

"Big money people aren't above putting people in the ground," said Damron.

LIVE

But they also have to have jobs, and jobs aren't that easy to find. Therefore most are prepared to live with contamination.

We didn't even talk about the end result of their jobs—the submarines which burn the fuel, the destruction machines capable of putting an end to all life.

But I would recommend that the anti-nuke movement support this strike—possibly even take up a collection for the strikers at the International Days of Protest on June 2nd, and 3rd.

Because they are also victims of the vicious cycle of nuclear energy—the workers' poison themselves, the plants poison the earth and the atmosphere, and for what? Fuel for the ultimate destruction.

And at the bottom of it all, Goodyear makes profits. And that's what this strike is all about—Goodyear's profits. Nevermind the lives of the workers and the safety of us all.

JOB

The anti-nuke movement should also see that the fight for an alternative to nuclear power includes a fight for jobs.

And one day, this support might be repaid. For these people, the "glorified janitors," are the ones with the firsthand knowledge of the companies and the product—just as Karen Silkwood was.

And they have the power, if they choose, to stop reactors. And the cycle. □

S ABOUT NUCLEAR POWER

and Dave Forms is the first to admit this. But he doesn't like the argument that nuclear power will save coal miners' lives.

"What good will nuclear power do me if I don't have a job? What am I supposed to do, lay down here and die? We're afraid of nuclear power. We'll have a combination of Western coal and nuclear power, and then we'll have ghost towns here again, just like in the fifties.

"Anyway I don't believe nuclear power is safe. I don't like the idea of getting black lung. I don't like the sight of all the old men around here, walking along a few steps, then hanging on to some parking meter, wheezing, trying to catch some breath.

"I hate to think of it, maybe

I'll have black lung when I'm forty. But I won't be passing it on to my daughter, I can't pass it on to her.

"Radiation, that'll be around forever. And I don't believe they know what they're doing anyway. We had to fight tooth and nail just to start finding out about the results of coal dust—they'll do the same with information about radiation.

"We could mine coal safely. They just won't let us. We could deal with coal dust. They told us for thirty years that there was no way to keep the dust down. Now we know we can.

"We'll have to do it ourselves though. We'll have to decide on safety. With the companies, it's always production first, safety if we have the time." □



Dave and Jessica Forms

We need a fighting movement

Dear Socialist Worker,

I liked your coverage of nuclear power in the last issue (May) very much. I agree that involving workers in the movement is vital. It is at work that we can shut down parts of the economy and force the nuclear industry to give in and finally give up. This is clearly shown by the Australian movement against uranium mining.

However, you seemed almost to imply that the militancy of the movement is irrelevant; that the only important thing is whether or not workers are involved. I disagree very strongly with this perhaps unconscious implication.

It does matter how strong, large and militant the street and site demonstrations and

occupations are. The war in Viet Nam was ended at least partly because of the strong, militant movement at home against it. The European anti-nuclear movement has stopped the construction of some plants by militant occupations.

In the U.S. the movement is at an impasse because of the failure of pacifist occupations to win any concrete gains. This failure leads some people to urge less militancy in the movement—from abandoning occupations to lobbying and support for "anti-nuclear" politicians. These liberal arguments have gained much support in the movement.

At this critical point, socialists should not seem to abstain on the question of how

militant the movement should be. The turn away from militancy is helping to lay the basis for the attempt by liberal politicians to control the movement and keep it in channels that won't threaten the established order. If we are to oppose this attempt we must argue for an independent militant approach—from work stoppages to confrontations and occupations.

Just having workers involved will not solve the problem of which political direction the movement should go. They too will be faced with the conflicting arguments. The politicians will try to convince workers to rely on them and not the strength of the movement or their own economic power as

workers. Even after workers join we will have to argue for organizing at work with the aim of work stoppages and other direct action against nukes.

There are those who say that turning to workers means making the movement less radical, so as not to turn people off. We should argue strongly against this. To be successful the movement must of course turn to workers. But it must also increase its militancy.

If the movement doesn't act decisively to end nuclear power, who is in the movement matters very little.

Steve Leigh
Seattle, WA

UPS WORKER "I LIKED WHAT I READ"

Dear Socialist Worker,

I am an employee of UPS and I bought a couple of Mary Deaton's pamphlets, "How to Beat the Big Brown Machine." My fellow co-workers liked what they read, and so did I.

About our contracts, the Teamsters have left us in the dark again. When it expired November '78, the union waited until almost the end of December to tell us to vote. They said to "accept what money they (UPS) give us because Carter might freeze wage levels." We ended up with a 60¢ raise and a promise that all UPS Teamsters throughout the nation would have their contracts dealt with at a national level when the short-term contract was to expire April 30, 1979 (midnight).

Well, now the mixed-up shop stewards say we must: (1) Vote to become national, and (2) wait until they receive further word concerning our contract. At the same time the L.A. Soto Hub runs understaffed, and has been blown out by volume every night!

The majority of the workers expect to be sold out again. The union and UPS only seem concerned with "the profits," and not our safety or health. (Yet they tell us that the contract will mainly be negotiated on the basis of safety and health!)

The International Socialist Organization was here not too long ago circulating Mary Deaton's pamphlet "How To Beat the Big Brown Machine." So far everyone who has read it has agreed with what she has to say, and many of us can tell you of other stories UPS would like to keep quiet: accidents, both minor and fatal; firings; speed-ups; volume peaking; company harassment—the list is long.

Right now the management is putting on the "phony" good guy image in hopes of the workers not deciding to strike. (The last time we voted in December 1978, we almost had a strike. But because of the confusion brought on by the Teamsters, we ended up with more volume—and a lot of the time we had no 2nd or 3rd breaks.)

Management right now is making promises of transfers to many of the workers, but where will they be when the contract is finalized and it is time to collect on their promises? To hell with them—striking is the only way we can make them listen to us but the workers still need more confidence. Only time will tell.

I ask you please not to print my name or address because of possible retaliation by UPS their scabs, or even the union. Spread the word to UPSurge—we are interested.

Thank you
a Los Angeles UPS worker

Letters

Write to Letters, Socialist Worker
P.O. Box 18037 Cleveland, OH 44118

UMW: HELP DRAW THE LINE

Dear Brother/Sister:

On April 23, 1979, Bill Lamb was shot by an assailant while enroute to an I.E.B. meeting in Washington, D.C. Despite taking bullets in the arm and leg, Lamb is still intent in assuming his seat on the International Executive Board of the United Mine Workers. He is also determined to fully uncover and expose certain financial irregularities within the International Union.

Brother Lamb was removed from his position as I.E.B. Representative of District No. 6 last August for alleged financial irregularities. The official charge levied by Miller was insubordination. Miller, however, did not afford Lamb a trial under the U.M.W.A. Constitution. The President of the Mine Workers also failed to file any formal charges with the Department of Labor, and in no way contested Lamb's eligibility to run for election to his unexpired term. Could it be that Mr. Miller had no supporting evidence for his charges?

Bill Lamb was removed from office for politically motivated reasons. He was falsely and libelously labeled as a crook by the Miller regime because he opposed them on several major issues. Brother Lamb has in fact saved the union money. He refused the pay raise the I.E.B. voted itself after the last contract. He did not claim the \$30 a day per diem for eating expenses, paid for his hotel bills, and refused to use the gasoline credit card that was issued to him. Lamb is one of the most honest and committed unionists associated with the U.M.W.A.

The membership of District No. 6 re-elected Lamb to his unexpired term by a larger margin than he was previously

elected by. This was despite open and active campaigning against Lamb on the part of Arnold Miller. Yet Miller saw fit to suspend Lamb a second time, on the same trumped-up charges, a week before the first I.E.B. meeting he was to attend. Lamb was shot on his way to that meeting. His attorneys attempted to appear in his behalf but were denied admittance to the meeting by Mr. Miller.

Shortly after the 1978 Coal Strike, Miller made several well-publicized statements to the effect that he would go to any extent to rid the U.M.W.A. of dissidents. How far does he intend to go to stop those in search of the truth? Miller removed Lamb from the I.E.B. not because of Lamb's finances but because—1) Lamb was an open critic of the Miller regime, 2) Lamb played an effective role in opposition to the 1978 Contract, 3) Lamb testified against Taft-Hartley, over the objection of Miller, and 4) Lamb was engaged in an investigation of questionable financial practices on the part of the International.

It is time that we the membership draw the line on how far Miller can go in stifling dissent. It is time that we the membership declare ourselves in favor of Democracy and in opposition to tyranny. District No. 6 has been without a voice on the I.E.B. since last August. This same injustice could be inflicted upon your elected officials. Unless we can preserve our basic democratic freedoms, we will forfeit our once prestigious position in the Labor Movement.

Legal action is now being taken to assure Bill Lamb's seat on the International Executive Board. Compliance is being sought with Sec-



Rank and file miners appeal for support

tions 102 and 609 of the Labor Management Reporting and Disclosure Act. Subsequent action, to disclose the true financial condition of the U.M.W.A., and stop the continued waste of our union's assets, will also be initiated. Currently, an investigation by the Department of Justice into the Anthracite Pension Fund is being conducted. Brother Lamb was instrumental in initiating this investigation.

Your help is Needed! Our attempt to protect the membership's rights and assets through the Courts has been, and will continue to be expensive. For these reasons the BILL LAMB DEFENSE FUND was established to off-set the cost of the above mentioned activities. Trustees for the Fund are: Ted Bertz, a former International Auditor from District No. 6; Frank Thurman, the former Director of

Compac from District 17; Dave Moe, President of Local 1829 in District 31; Nathan Paine from District 29; and Tony Bumbico, Vice-President of Local 1473 in District 6. Legal matters are being attended to by James Klimanski of Washington, D.C. and Staughton Lynd of Youngstown, Ohio.

Your monetary assistance is desperately needed to pursue these law suits. Help draw the line! Declare yourself a protector of the rights and property of all U.M.W.A. members. Send your contribution today to the:

Bill Lamb Defense Fund
P.O. Box 381
St. Clairsville, OH 43950

Help us uncover what's wrong with the U.M.W.A.!

Fraternally yours,
Tony Bumbico, Trustee
Bill Lamb Defense Fund

"no power greater"

by BARBARA WINSLOW



"With no gods and no masters"

"No Gods—No Masters," proclaimed the first issue of the "Woman Rebel." Its editor was Margaret Sanger, who urged women to "look the whole world in the face with a go-to-hell look in the eyes; to have an ideal; to speak and act in defiance of convention."

The *Woman Rebel* was launched in March, 1914 to "stimulate working women to think for themselves and build up a fighting conscious character." Women, it said, were enslaved "by the machine, by wage slavery, by bourgeois morality, customs, laws and superstitions."

The *Woman Rebel* raised the issues of women's liberation, "the marriage bed is the most degenerating influence of the social order, of life in all its forms—biological, psychological, sociological—for man, woman and child."

AIM

Furthermore, "It will be the aim of the *Woman Rebel* to advocate the prevention of conception and to impart such knowledge in the columns of this paper."

Margaret Sanger was the major organizer and builder of the birth control movement in the United States.

In her early years she was a revolutionary feminist. Sanger joined the NY branch of the Socialist Party in 1910, and became the New York women's organizer. She was identified with the left wing of the S.P., and associated with members of the I.W.W., in particular, William "Big Bill" Haywood.

At this time, women played a key role in the socialist movement, and important strikes such as the garment workers in New York City, the Lawrence and Paterson garment strikes, involving tens of thousands of women and children, made the issue of women's oppression impossible (even by male socialists) to ignore.

Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, for example, recalled a women's

MARGARET SANGER AND THE FIGHT FOR BIRTH CONTROL

meeting during the 1913 Paterson strike. "Carlo Tresca, the I.W.W. organizer made some remarks about shorter hours, people being less tired with more time to spend together and jokingly said "more babies." The women did not look amused. When Haywood interrupted and said, "No, Carlo—we believe in birth control—a few babies, well cared for! The women burst into laughter and applause."

Sanger began her fight for reproductive freedom by writing a series of articles in the *Socialist Call* entitled "What Every Woman Should Know."

The articles were to educate working women about sexuality and reproduction. The Post Office found the subject matter unmailable under the repressive Comstock Laws, and so, under the column head, "What Every Girl Should Know" was a large blank box with the words "NOTHING," "by order of the Post Office Department."

WARN

An incident in 1913 transformed Sanger's life.

As a nurse, she had seen many women die. One woman, Sadie Sachs had been suffering from a childbirth

related illness. Her doctor warned another child would kill her. Sachs pleaded with the doctor for information on how to prevent conception.

"Tell Jake to sleep on the roof" was the reply.

A year later, Sanger was called in to save a woman's life. But it was too late. Sadie Sachs had died from a botched up self-induced abortion.

"I was resolved" wrote Sanger, "to seek out the root of the evil to do something to change the destiny of mothers whose miseries were as vast as the sky."

Working women were involved in the movement. Elizabeth Gurley Flynn wrote Sanger that "one girl told me the woman in the stockyards district in Chicago kissed my hand when I distributed your pamphlet." Thousands of working women poured out their sufferings to Sanger as and begged her for literature.

CLINIC

In 1916, Sanger with others opened a birth control clinic in the Jewish/Italian immigrant Brownsville section of Brooklyn. In less than two weeks over 1,000 women had visited the clinic.

Prison guards were violent against the birth control



her commitment to both socialism and feminism diminished.

There were a number of factors which led to this. The most important was the fact that the socialist movement was victimized in the repression of World War I and Red Scare that followed. Sanger also responded to the combined hostility to birth control of sections of both the socialist and feminist movements and these factors isolated the birth control radicals from the working class movement.

So Margaret Sanger then separated the struggle for birth control from the working class, feminist socialist movement.

And by the 1920s she had come to regard birth control as a way to protect society from the unfit. She adopted the racist belief of Eugenics—that white middle class reformers would decide the reproductive destiny for the working class and racial minorities.

NARROW

When Margaret Sanger opted for a narrow conservative, middle class approach to birth control, she of necessity also abandoned her struggle for reproductive freedom as part of a movement for women's liberation and socialist revolution.

Still her early work, and that of thousands of other birth control pioneers, always points to the importance of building a working women's movement, in which both workers' control and reproductive freedom are primary goals. □

WHERE WE STAND



WORKERS' CONTROL

Workers create all the wealth under capitalism. A socialist society can only be built when workers collectively seize control of that wealth and democratically plan its production and distribution according to human needs instead of profit.

The working class is the key to the fight for socialism. Freedom and liberation will only be achieved through the struggles of workers themselves, organizing and fighting for real workers' power.

REVOLUTION NOT REFORM

The capitalist system cannot be patched up or reformed as some union leaders and liberal politicians say. Capitalism is based on the exploitation of workers. No reforms can do away with this exploitation. The only way workers can come to control society and create a system based on freedom and a decent life for all is by overthrowing capitalism and replacing it with revolutionary, democratic socialism.

A WORKERS' GOVERNMENT

The present state apparatus (federal and state governments, the courts, army and police) was developed to maintain the capitalist system. This apparatus cannot be taken over as it stands and converted to serve workers. The working class needs an entirely different kind of state based upon mass democratic councils of workers' delegates.

Supporting the present state apparatus is a vast network of propaganda—newspapers, radio, television, movies. Workers are bombarded daily from all directions with capitalism's point of view. The working class needs its own sources of information. To help meet this need, we are dedicated to building a newspaper that the working class can trust and use in their fight against the present system.

FIGHT OPPRESSION

Capitalism divides the working class. It pits men against women, whites against blacks. Capitalism fosters and uses these divisions to prevent the unity necessary for its destruction. As capitalism moves into crisis, oppressed groups—blacks, women, latins, Native Americans, youths, gays—suffer most. We support the struggles of these oppressed groups.

We oppose racism in all its forms. We fight segregation in the schools and housing and against racist firings and harassment. We demand freedom for all political prisoners.

We fight for women's liberation. We are for equal pay for all women workers. We fight for an end to forced sterilization and for free abortion. There should be free quality child care for all who need it. We fight for the opening up of jobs for women and an end to sexual harassment and firings. We are for an end to discrimination and harassment of sexual minorities.

We support the independent organization and struggles of oppressed people to strengthen the working class struggle for socialism.

RANK AND FILE ORGANIZATION

The unions today are largely business machines that long ago stopped fighting seriously for the interests of the working class. Business union leaders either act as brakes on workers' struggles, or as police, delivering workers into the hands of the bosses. We fight in the unions to change this.

To make the unions fight for workers' interests, power must be built on the shop floor. This can only happen if the rank and file organize themselves independently of the union bureaucrats. We work to build rank and file organizations in unions and companies wherever we are employed.

INTERNATIONALISM

The working class has no nation. Capitalism is international and that is why the struggle for socialism must be world-wide. A socialist revolution cannot survive in isolation.

We champion workers' struggles in all countries, from Portugal and Spain to Chile and Puerto Rico, from Palestine and Eastern Europe to China and India. We support all genuine national liberation struggles. We call for victory of the black freedom fighters in Zimbabwe and South Africa. We oppose all forms of imperialism and oppose sending U.S. troops anywhere in the world to impose U.S. interests.

Russia, China, Cuba and Eastern Europe are not socialist countries. They are state capitalist and part of one world capitalist system. We support the struggles of workers in these countries against the bureaucratic ruling class.

REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

The activity of the ISO is directed toward the initial steps of building a revolutionary party in a working class that is today fragmented and cut off from socialist ideas. Revolutionaries must be involved in the day-to-day struggles of workers and other oppressed groups at the work places, in the unions and in the communities. We build every struggle that will strengthen the self-confidence, organization and socialist consciousness of workers and the oppressed.

As the working class movement gathers strength, the need for revolutionary leadership becomes crucial. We are part of the long process of building a democratic revolutionary party rooted in the working class. Those who agree with our stand and are prepared to help us build toward revolutionary socialism are urged to join us now.

Join the International Socialist Organization

For more information about the International Socialist Organization (ISO) please write to Box 18037, Cleveland, Ohio 44118

ISO NEWS

What's ON

BOSTON

Colin Barker speaks on **Why You Should Be A Socialist.**
Sunday, June 10, 7 p.m.
595 Mass Ave.,
Cambridge, MA
Call 876-7529 for information.

FROM HERA PRESS



Buttons 50¢

an i.s.o. pamphlet

WHY YOU SHOULD BE A SOCIALIST

by CAL WINSLOW

"Why You Should be a Socialist," \$1.00 from Hera Press, Box 18037, Cleveland, Ohio 44118

I.S.O. FUND APPEAL

The contributions are starting to come in for our \$2,000 appeal. But not fast enough.

We have to have this money by the end of June. Why? We have to pay for a new processor for our typesetter. We have to pay to have our copy camera repaired.

We also want to publish an important pamphlet on black liberation this summer.

So please, take the time to send in a check. And be generous.

Branches and members at large must have their full assessments in by the end of the month.

Checks can be made out to the International Socialist Organization, Box 18037, Cleveland, Ohio 44118. □

100's already sold

HELP BEAT THE BROWN MACHINE

Mary Deaton's pamphlet, "How to Beat the Big Brown Machine," has been a big success. At least so far.

A Los Angeles UPS driver wrote us asking for 17 copies. He said, "My fellow co-workers liked what they read and so did I."

In Providence, R.I., ISO members sold 45 pamphlets on a single shift—in just one morning. In Cleveland, more than fifty copies have been sold, at both the east and west side hubs. In Los Angeles, fifty have been sold. In Seattle, an ISO member sold a dozen at his local union meeting—Teamster local 174.

These pamphlets will be a big help to UPS workers, especially now, with the national contract being negotiated. They will also be a big help to us—they explain the case for socialism to workers who work for one of the most tyrannical sets of capitalists in the country.

So get out and sell these pamphlets. Or go out again. This month is key. Strike or no strike, there is a lot of interest.

"How to Beat the Big Brown Machine" is available from Hera Press, P.O. Box 18037, Cleveland, OH 44118. □

"The philosophers have merely interpreted the world. The point is to change it."

- Karl Marx

If you want to help us change the world and build socialism, join us. There are ISO members and branches in the following places:

Berkeley, P.O. Box 4580
Berkeley, CA 94704

Bloomington, P.O. Box 29
Bloomington, IN 47401

Boston, MA, 595 Mass Ave.
Cambridge, MA 02139

Brattleboro, P.O. Box 64
Brattleboro, VT 05301

Charleston, P.O. Box 1748
Charleston, W. VA 25310

Chicago, P.O. Box A-3698
Chicago, IL 60690

Cincinnati, P.O. Box 8909
Cincinnati, OH 45208

Cleveland, P.O. Box 18037
Cleveland, OH 44118

Dayton, Box 166, Wright Brothers Station
Dayton, OH 45409

Detroit, P.O. Box 2596
Dearborn, MI 48123

Gary, P.O. Box 1941, Glen Park Station
Gary, IN 46409

Indianapolis, P.O. Box 2191
Indianapolis, IN 46206

Los Angeles, P.O. Box 477
Lynwood, CA 90262

New York, P.O. Box 302
New York, NY 10011

New Haven, CT, Box 383
Branford, CT. 06405

Northampton, P.O. Box 284
Northampton, MA 01060

Philadelphia, 3909 Spruce
Philadelphia, PA 19104

Portland, P.O. Box 03285
Portland, OR 97203

Providence, P.O. Box 3961; Brown Station
Providence, RI 02912

Seattle, P.O. Box 9056
Seattle, WA 98109

Washington, D.C., P.O. Box 2115
Washington, DC 20009

reviews

TRB



“Politics is everyday life”

by CHRISTINA BERGMARK

“Politics isn’t party broadcasts and general elections, it’s your kid sister who can’t get an abortion, your best mate getting paki-bashed, or sent down for possessing one joint of marijuana.”

“If music can ease even a tiny fraction of the prejudice and intolerance in this world, then it’s worth trying. I don’t call that ‘unnecessary overtones of violence.’ I call it standing up for your rights.”

Britain’s Tom Robinson Band puts on a very unusual concert. It isn’t that their music is non-offensive, non-sexist or even non-racist. Rather the music is consciously anti-racist, anti-sexist, pro-gay rights and militant as hell.

In the course of a two-month American tour the band visited 32 cities with a somewhat cool reception. Recording on a label unavailable in most

American shops, playing music at odds with the usual American fare, and having virtually no exposure at all on the U.S. scene all contributed to the less than smashing reception for the group. It’s a shame that such a band, strong on revolutionary militance and equally strong on rock n’ roll, has so little hearing in this country.

There is, however, a small, enthusiastic following. In Cleveland TRB managed to get a section of the crowd to its feet, moving people the most with their more political pieces.

STRONG

The strongest songs from the first LP, *Power in the Darkness*: “Up Against the Wall,” “The Winter of ’79,”

and “Better Decide Which Side You’re On,” were featured early in the concert.

DEATH

“Blue Murder,” a cut from their new LP about a man beaten to death by cops in a police station, featured some lovely lead guitar work by Danny Kustow.

But it was “Good to be Gay” that marked the turning point of the concert. Most of the audience remained immovable, but the core of people relating to the music were swept into the energy and outrage of the music from this point onwards, building up to “Don’t Take No for an Answer” and “Ain’t Gonna Take It.”

The anger and outrage, central to TRB’s music, make the band what it is. TRB has been one of the main builders of Rock Against Racism, which started up in Britain and recently has begun to get some footing in this country.

In regard to Rock Against Racism, Tom Robinson told Socialist Worker, “The main value of it is that it is local people putting on a concert by the local people, for the local people. We’re not just setting things up for the maximum number of people possible. At this point a lot of people don’t want to hear what we have to say. That’s no reason to stop saying it.”

“The solidarity around people working in Rock Against Racism is a powerful thing.”

“If you’re talking about any kind of socialism at all, you’re talking about people running their own lives from the bottom up. You’re not talking about people telling other people what to do and what not to do. People should delegate the power up cause that’s where the power really comes from—from the bottom.”

“We don’t have time for any of this ‘star’ rot. It should be like, ‘You’re good at this thing,’ or ‘You spoke best, so why don’t you go ahead with it.’ We have to rely on each other. We’ve got no room for stars.”

PRIDE

“You know, one thing I want to say is that Gay Pride Week is coming up the last week in June. With 7 years for Dan White in San Francisco, and the Anita Bryant types still crawling around, it’s important to be right out front. I’ve got a single out about Gay Pride Week called ‘Never Gonna Fall in Love Again.’ It’s a blatant pop song, not rock n’ roll. You can disco to it—that’s where most gay bars are.”

“Politics is everyday life for rock fans, for everyone who hasn’t got a cush job or rich parents. If we fail, if we all get swallowed up by big business before we achieve a thing, then we’ll have to face the scorn of tomorrow’s generation. But we’re gonna have a good try.” □

Chicago’s Lincoln Park • June 9 • 11 to 11 p.m.

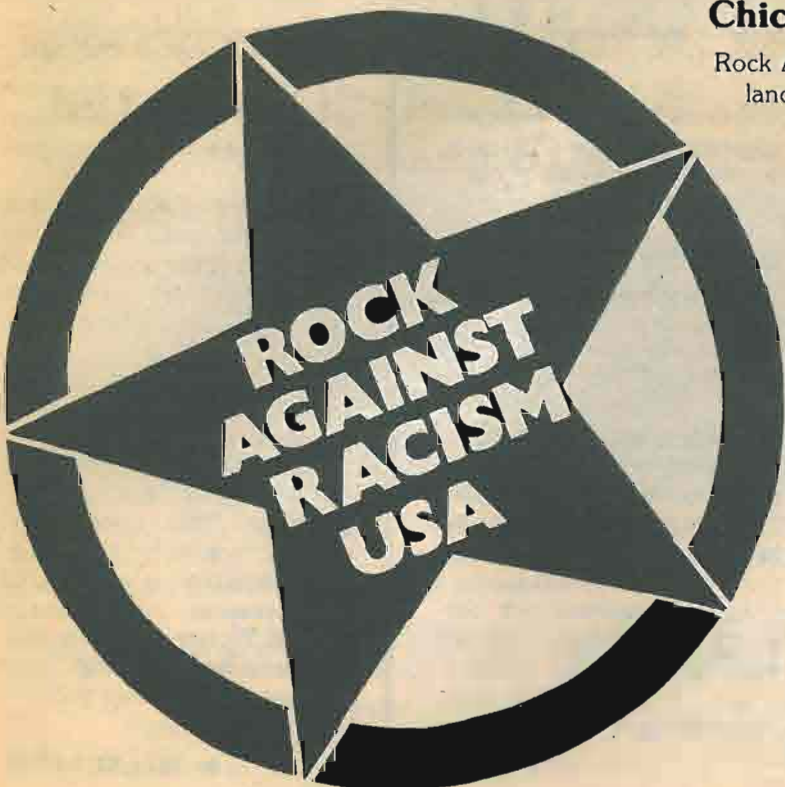
Rock Against Racism, formed in England in “the hot summer of ’76,” has landed in America. The movement, which arose in response to a wave of violence and a growing neo-Fascist party called the National Front, has been such a success that among young British bands you are either Rock Against Racism or you’re not.

Rock Against Racism USA is just beginning to get a footing. The crucial test will come June 9th in Chicago’s Lincoln Park.

The scene of everyone’s favorite police riot is also one of America’s most segregated major cities. During a riot last year a Chicago cop shot two Latino youths in the back — the cop’s name is clear. Through Chicago’s back alleys and public parks march America’s most publicized Nazis.

On June 9, the Tom Robinson Band and musicians of all types — funk, punk, salsa, blues, Latin blues and jazz — will give Rock Against Racism USA the kickoff it needs to present an alternative — a militant alternative to the right-wing scum and their racist violence.

By opening an offensive not just against organized racists, but against the whole system of control — schools, police, television and the nuclear family — Rock Against Racism can set a new beat for the coming decade — the beat of revolution.



BOSTON RACISM

BOSTON, MA—On April 30, as I was walking on the second floor hallway at the Gavin School, I noticed a sticker on the door of another teacher's classroom, Mr. Steven Barrett. The sticker was for the South Boston Hockey team, sponsored by the South Boston Marshals.

The South Boston Marshals is a local, community based, vigilante organization. It originally came into existence as a direct result of South Boston's heated demonstrations and protests against busing a few years back.

KNOWLEDGE

The Marshals have a track record for violent opposition to busing, to any black administrators in education, and for being outright racists. They are no different from the Ku Klux Klan or ROAR. On the strength of this knowledge, I personally took the liberty of tearing the sticker off the door.

I spoke to Mr. Barrett and explained my feelings that this kind of sticker had no place in school, should not be allowed in school, and that I thought it was highly unprofessional. Mr. Barrett suggested that the Marshals being racists was my own personal feeling. His views about the Marshals were in direct opposition to my own. However, our subjective conversation is secondary to the previous racist actions taken by the South Boston Marshals.

On the walls of my classroom, I had posters of Dr. Martin Luther King, President Kennedy, Louis Arm-

strong, and the 1968 poster of three black Olympic gold medal winners holding up their fists expressing to the world, black people's loss and mourning for Dr. King who had just been assassinated.

Incidentally, several of these posters were sent by the School Committee itself to various schools to put up for historical recognition. These posters were hanging for approximately five months without any incident.

I was not in school on May 1, 1979. However, when I returned to my classroom on May 2, 1979, I was greeted by the absence of all the posters, with the exception of President Kennedy's. All the black posters were torn off the walls. I felt and still feel very strongly that this was an obvious and deliberate racist action and that it should be dealt with on all levels throughout the school system.

by **LOUIS SHEPPARD**

Cops in conflict

BLACK POLICE LEAD "A WALK FOR JUSTICE"

CINCINNATI, OH—Leading 1,200 marchers, the Black Police Association (Sentinels) took a "walk for justice" here to the city Council.

Crowding into an expanded meeting room, the demonstrators came to demand a halt to outbursts of overt racism by the Cincinnati police—and its toleration by the city leaders.

SHOOTINGS

The events leading to the march and confrontation with the Council are numerous and long standing. But the most dramatic were several shoot-

ings by white cops of unarmed black suspects. And the racist response of the Fraternal Order of Police (F.O.P.) to recent cop killings.

Elmer Dunaway, the F.O.P. president, went to the press with a statement that if he had arrested the suspect accused of shooting a white cop, the "s.o.b. would never have made it to the jail."

The racism of his sentiments was clear for everyone to see.

Recently, Dunaway led a contingent of white cops to the City Council meeting and de-

manded increased fire power—in the form of 357 magnum pistols, hollow point bullets, and sawed-off shotguns in the front seats of all cruisers.

In addition, the F.O.P. intimidated the Council into paying for its reactionary one day strike—then it threatened more action if the demands for increased fire action were not met.

The F.O.P. is also demanding the immediate reinstatement of a white cop suspended from street duty after shooting an unarmed black youth in the back.

GRABBED

One example of the racist atmosphere was this: J.C. Johnson, the president of the Cincinnati NAACP, was grabbed by his tie by a white cop in full view of the Council and a live TV audience and yanked to the floor.

Johnson had ripped up a racist sign reading, "Eliminate prison overcrowding: electrocute the killer bastards."

Now Johnson is charged with incitement to riot and assault—charged by a white cop!

The Sentinels have taken the lead in moving to stop this upsurge of racism. They have come out strong against the demand for increased fire-power. They also demand non-token upgrading and hiring of blacks in all areas of the department.

Out of 950 cops in Cincinnati, only 68 are black. The city is 30% black.

Out of 135 promotions in the last three years, only three have gone to blacks.

According to Wendall Young, the president of the Sentinels, blacks are excluded completely from nine full sections of the police department.

PLEDGE

The Sentinels also pledged that they will not be involved in putting down an uprising, should one occur in the black community.

All the contradictions that face black cops in this society face the Sentinels. We would not want to minimize these in any way. The Sentinels are cops.

Still, at this time in Cincinnati, the black police have stepped forward in the fight against racism. They should be supported. But not uncritically. This opportunity, created in part by the Sentinels, should be used to build a movement in Cincinnati against racism—a movement independent of both the government and their police—whatever the color. □

by **BILL ROBERTS**



An Opinion

John Anderson is a lifelong militant and socialist. He was formerly president of UAW local 15 in Detroit.

Only an industry-wide strike can win in auto

When the UAW held its 1979 National Bargaining Convention in April the oil crisis had not yet appeared as a threat to auto production and sales. The decline in car sales had only begun. Now, six weeks later, there has not only been a continuing decline in car sales due to a growing recession, but a crisis has developed in the production of gasoline. This will make the recession worse in the auto industry.

RETIREES

At the time of the Convention it was reasonable to ask for COLA for retirees, a shorter work week and increase in wages and new fringe benefits. The Teamsters having broken Carter's wage guidelines of 7 percent, the UAW was expected to do the same.

With the big and standard size cars piling up in the dealers show rooms and only small cars, domestic and

foreign selling well many auto plants have been forced to close or sharply reduce production.

With the gas crisis threatening to spread nationwide and the recession becoming more of a reality every day, one must ask—what chance has the UAW of making any gains at the bargaining table?

The 1970 GM strike lasted 67 days. It not only exhausted the UAW strike fund, it put the union heavily in debt. The Corporation loaned the union money to finance the strike. The re-establishment of COLA in the contract gave Woodcock a secure hold on the membership.

With today's inflation the UAW's strike fund of \$270 million will be no match for GM's billions and their inventory of unsold cars.

The threatened bankruptcy of Chrysler and the record profits of GM and Ford creates another problem for the negotiators. Chrysler's SUB fund

is nearing the point where it will no longer pay benefits to the unemployed Chrysler workers. Some Chrysler workers are reaching the end of their unemployment compensation.

STRATEGY

Faced with these problems the UAW leadership must adopt a new approach to bargaining with the Big Three. It must adopt the strategy of the steel and coal unions; it must change from its present one-at-a-time strategy to industry-wide bargaining. Only a crisis in the industry will force the Big Three to grant the demands made at the April Bargaining convention.

Neither the International nor the local leadership is making any attempt to prepare the workers for the struggle they must face if they are to win their demands. Interest in the union is at a low ebb. □

RUBBER CONTRACT

Union is on the wrong track



Peter Bommarito

AKRON, OH—After 19 days of working with no contract, 8300 members of the United Rubber Workers struck Uniroyal on May 9. The strike was called only when the legal maneuvers preferred by URW bureaucrats failed to bend the government wage guide.

Uniroyal is the target company in the URW's national contract negotiations covering 55,000 workers in the rubber industry.

AGREEMENT

Bargaining with Uniroyal, in the period between the con-

tract and the strike was conducted in court. The URW and the AFL-CIO sued the government when a tentative agreement with Uniroyal broke down in mid-April. The agreement would have stretched the 7% wage guide to match April's Teamster settlement.

URW president, Peter Bommarito, blamed government pressure for the failure so he asked a federal court for a restraining order. Bommarito even promised to obey the guideline if the union lost the case. The judge ordered further hearings so Bommarito

called the strike.

Bommarito didn't want a strike. The AFL-CIO thinks they can beat the 7% in court and the rubber contract is their big challenge. Bommarito has a personal reason as well. He is going to retire and wants to be remembered in the rubber industry as a nice guy.

The URW was hoping for a short strike but the time wasted in court allowed Uniroyal to stockpile. Now that Uniroyal is struck, Bommarito may learn that the company men aren't nice guys. Uni-

royal, since the 1976 contract, has laid off 30% of its workforce.

PART

The striking rubber workers deserve support. The bureaucrats who run the union have made it difficult to win the strike through court delays and choosing to strike only a small part of the industry.

The alternative was expressed by a picketing rubber worker in Detroit, "The union is going about it in the wrong way. We should pull all of them out—not just us." □

City workers shake Worcester

WORCESTER, MA—A long calm in municipal labor relations was shattered in Massachusetts during the first two weeks in May by a large demonstration followed by a strike in Worcester by Local 495, SEIU.

Local 495 represents over 1,800 municipal workers including sanitation, hospital workers, librarians, airport and park workers. It is the largest bargaining agent in the city representing 40% of the city's non-teaching employees.

STORM

On May 1, after three months of negotiations, a picket line around City Hall was called in order to press for a better contract and to demand no layoffs and no cutbacks.

Nearly 1,000 workers then stormed City Hall and took over the City Council meeting. After three hours, the crowd left the council chambers chanting "Strike! Strike!"

Despite efforts by the union leadership to hold back the workers and drag through mediation, by Tuesday, May 8, hundreds of workers were beginning to wildcat.

The leadership could no longer hold back the rank and file. On May 9 and 10, 98% of the union members were on strike.

Mass pickets were set up at Worcester City Hospital, the library, and the landfill area. Twenty-four workers were arrested: 20 who staged a sit-in at the entrance to the landfill area and 4 who were attacked by police at the hospital.

Within hours of the beginning of the strike, the city had received a restraining order

from Superior Court and an order from the state Labor Relations Board demanding the workers return to their jobs. Both orders were ignored by the strikers.

AGREEMENT

On Friday, May 12, the strike was called off and a tentative agreement was presented to the membership for a vote. This agreement called for a two-year contract with 5% wage increases this year and next, and a 5% retroactive increase from July 1978, when the union's last contract with the city expired.

The union had been demanding a 10¼% increase the first year, 8% the second, and 9½ retroactive. The membership quickly rejected this agreement and went back out on strike.

On Sunday, however, a new bargaining committee secured somewhat better wage increases and the agreement was accepted by the membership, ending the strike.

The struggle is just beginning for Local 495. Though they got only a mediocre contract, the municipal workers demonstrated for the first time their power to shut down the city of Worcester.

There was widespread public support for the strike from almost every other union in the city to Hispanic groups.

EXAMPLE

The rank and file has also shown the union leaders that they will no longer put up with the passivity and lack of representation they have received in the past. It will serve as an example to all other public workers in Massachusetts. □

by WAYNE STANDLEY

COURT UPHOLDS ABORTION BAN

BOSTON, MA—The U.S. Supreme Court has upheld an attack by the right wing in Massachusetts against working class women.

The ruling supports a bill introduced by two racist and sexist politicians in Boston.

The bill, which outlaws Medicaid funds for abortions unless the life of the mother is

threatened, was passed by the Massachusetts legislature, but was held up in the state courts.

Governor Edward King, a right wing Democrat, said, "I am pleased that the Supreme Court has upheld our state's law restricting the spending of state monies for abortion." □

'We can't live on 7 percent'



URW strikers in Chicopee Falls

CHICOPEE FALLS, MA—"They want us to be the scapegoats" but "we're just trying to keep up with inflation." "We can't live on 7%." That's how members of United Rubber Workers Local 11 on the picket line at the Chicopee Falls tire plant explained what is at stake in their strike against Uniroyal.

The pickets saw themselves on strike against the government as well as Uniroyal. Two days before the contract expired, Carter's wage guidelines encouraged the company to withdraw a tentative agreement with the union. The new contract would have been the same size as the recent Teamster settlement.

As one striker explained, "We can't shut down the country like the Teamsters, so the government stepped on us." The union responded by pulling out Uniroyal's 8,500 production workers. Despite the fact that Teamsters are hauling Uniroyal rubber and supervisors are trying to keep production going, a picket captain at the Chicopee Falls plant described the morale of the strikers as "the best" and expressed the Uniroyal workers' determination to break Carter's guideline in these words: "If they're going to give it to the Teamsters, then they're going to have to give it to all of us, that's a principle." □

COAL GIANT DECLARES WAR

PITTSBURGH, PA—Consolidation Coal Co., the nation's largest coal producer, has announced its intention to break with other major coal producers and negotiate future contracts on its own.

This decision could mean the end of the Bituminous Coal Operators Association (BCOA) as the major industry bargaining agency and also the end of a single, national contract for the United Mine

Workers.

The BCOA was set up in 1950, under pressure from John L. Lewis. Consol's decision will undoubtedly further weaken the strength of the UMW. □

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PAPER OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST ORGANIZATION

STOP THE "RIGHT-TO-LIFE" STOP THE BOMBERS!

DEFEND ABORTION RIGHTS

They call themselves the "right-to-life" movement. In fact, they are anti-life.

The "right-to-life" movement is in the forefront of the attack on women's rights—and first and foremost they want to take away the right to a free and legal abortion.

They will use any means. In Cleveland, Ohio, they firebombed an abortion clinic, while an operation was in progress. The clinic was destroyed. A dozen people barely escaped with their lives.

BOMBS

They have firebombed clinics in New York, in Columbus, in Akron. They invade clinics, they chain themselves to operating tables. They harass patients and doctors. They threaten and intimidate.

The "right-to-life" movement is not just anti-abortion. It also opposes birth control and sex education. It is right-wing, with close ties to racist and anti-union organizations.

The "right-to-life" movement is organized and growing. Now they are the third party on the New York state ballot—behind the democrats and republicans.

**ALL OUT
JUNE 23**

They must be stopped. And this is the importance of the national demonstration against the "right-to-life" in Cincinnati on June 23rd.

Now, for the first time, there is a grassroots movement to oppose the "right-to-life," and Cincinnati, where the "right-to-lifers" are holding their national convention, is the target.

On May 5, representatives from national and local groups who oppose the "right-to-life" movement met at Antioch College in Yellow Springs, Ohio, to plan a united demonstration on June 23rd.

The meeting was called by ARC—the Cincinnati Abortion Rights Coalition, a group which has been opposing "right-to-life" activities in Cincinnati for the past year now.

Representatives came from organizations in a dozen cities, including: Philadelphia, New York, Boston, Buffalo, Pittsburgh, Akron, Cleveland, Columbus, Cincinnati, Dayton, Toledo, Yellow Springs, St. Louis, Bloomington, Indianapolis, Detroit and Chicago.

The day long meeting worked out the details of the demonstration, the demands, the speakers.

Now the point is to build this demonstration. Already, busses have been chartered in Akron, Buffalo, Chicago, Dayton, Detroit, and Pittsburgh. Carloads will be coming from as far away as Boston and New York.

So you should be there too! And see that others come with you. Get people on to the busses. Organize carpools and caravans. Bring banners and signs.

SHOW

This demonstration can be important. It can show the "right-to-lifers" that they cannot get away with their campaign against women unopposed. And it can be a step in rebuilding a radical, militant women's liberation movement.



More than forty organizations have endorsed the Cincinnati demonstration. The following is a partial list: Abortion Rights Coalition—Cincinnati; Committee for Abortion Rights and Against Sterilization Abuse (CARASA)—Buffalo; Akron NOW; CARASA—New York; Midwest National Lawyers Guild; Emma Goldman Health Clinic—Chicago.

National Reproductive Rights Network (R2N2); Reproductive Rights Task Force—New American Movement (NAM); Union WAGE; International Socialist Organization (ISO); Madison Committee on Reproductive Rights; Cleveland Abortion Rights Action League (CARAL); Feminist Women's Health Center—Atlanta; Revolutionary Student Brigade—Kent.

Pro-Choice Action Coalition—Cleveland; American Civil Liberties Union—Cincinnati; Committee to Defend Reproductive Rights—San Francisco; Freedom of Choice—Ohio; Freedom of Choice Coalition—Cincinnati; St. Louis Pro-Choice Group; NAM Health Commission—Detroit; National Committee on Women's Oppression; National Lawyers' Guild; Chicago Women's Health Center; Women and Children's Rights Coalition—Portland; Chicago Women's Health Task Force.

"What She Wants"—Cleveland; Abortion Action Coalition—Boston; Abortion Rights Movement—Washington, D.C.; Feminist Congress—Cincinnati; Toledo Medical Services; University of Cincinnati Women's Center; Women's City Club, Cincinnati; AFSCME Local 217A, Cincinnati.

For details contact: ARC, 2699 Clifton Ave., Cincinnati, OH 45220, (513) 861-5933, 231-3491

Demonstration

Assemble: 2:00 p.m. at Washington Park, 12th and Race Streets
March: through downtown Cincinnati

Rally: Serpentine Wall. 3:00 p.m.

Music: Meg Christian, feminist musician and songwriter

Speakers: Rhonda Copelon, lawyer for the Center for Constitutional Rights; Fran Kissling, founder of the Federation of Feminist Health Centers; Helen Mulholland, president, Religious Coalition for Abortion Rights, Ohio; Celia Petty, Cincinnati Abortion Rights Coalition.

Cincinnati Ohio