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RESIST

a call to resist
illegitimate authority

June 30, 1976 - 720 Massachusetts Avenue, Room 4, Cambridge, Massachusetts #105

US \$\$ IN SOUTH AFRICA

(United States investment in South Africa is growing at an alarming rate, tripling in size over the last decade from \$500 million to \$1.5 billion. This carries grave implications for the future United States foreign policy in a period of great change in Southern Africa. The following article written by Paul Irish of the American Committee on Africa in New York City highlights two of the most important proposed investments: by Caltex and Kennecott, which would increase U.S. investment in South Africa another 20%.)

KENNECOTT'S INVESTMENT PLANS IN SOUTH AFRICA

Kennecott Copper Corporation, the largest domestic producer of copper, recently announced participation in a new \$300 million venture in the development of iron and titanium bearing beaches on the north east coast of South Africa. Public attention was first drawn to this by Kennecott's 1974 Annual Report which explained that Quebec Iron and Titanium Corporation (Q.I.T.), a company controlled by Kennecott was exploring participation on this venture. The project will have 30% ownership by the South African government's Industrial Development Corporation (IDC) and 30% by the Union Corporation, a South African mining company. Kennecott will control 40%. Recent conversations with Kennecott will indicate that the company will have operational control only in the smelting operation, while the South African corporation will control the mining operations.

Kennecott has indicated that the venture is intended to provide QIT's European markets with titanium pigment used extensively in the textile, art and paper industries. The South African government, however, may be enthusiastic about developing this source of titanium for other reasons. One of the metal's primary values lies in its use in military and commercial aircraft. Because of its light weight, great resistance to corrosion and high melting temperature, it has been extensively used in making compressor blades for jet engines, leading edges of the wings, fire walls, and the skin of aircraft designed to travel at or near supersonic speeds. In 1971, the United States used 84% of the titanium produced domestically for these purposes.

what's to celebrate?

July 4

While millions of Americans watched the parade of tall ships (along with the torture ships and warships of 22 nations up the Hudson River) or crowded into Philadelphia to hear Gerald Ford or listened to the 1812 Overture along the banks of the Charles River in Boston, Massachusetts, 42,000 of us marched through the streets of a black community in North Philadelphia to a nearby park in solidarity with the demand for a bicentennial without colonies and for a free and independent Puerto Rico.

We came from all over the country: we were black, white, native american, Latin American and Palestinian; we were gay, we were feminists and socialists. Our banners spoke of the fight to end forced sterilization of women in the U.S. and in Puerto Rico; to stop the racist attacks from Boston to South Africa; to defeat the Compact of Permanent Union and to free Iureida Torres and Susan Saxe. The constant interweaving of music and art with politics throughout the day was a significant reminder to us all of the need for cultural tools in our political work.

There was not theoretical or strategic unity among the 42,000 in Philadelphia. However, even a momentary alliance for the 4th raised the possibility of people of different races, colors, sexes and sexuality being able to confront and push out the tensions which exist among us to better struggle for a unity which clarifies rather than obscures the political work ahead of us.

Our coming together helped us feel a new strength which has often suffered from the degree to which the movement has been splintered and in some instances stymied over the years. We challenged the often made statement on the part of the media and the government that we aren't capable of mobilizing to offer an alternative message to what exists in this country today. We exposed the masquerade and revealed the underlying truth behind our nation's 200th birthday. In Struggle,

Madge Kaplan - for Resist

(continued on page 2)

The area around Richards Bay is nearly exclusively within the KwaZulu Bantustan. The area north of the town was part of the Bantustan (reservation) until excised from the KwaZulu in February, 1975 when the immense value of the deposit was brought home to the South African government. In 1969, the white population of Richards Bay was confined to a village of approximately 100 residents. Today it is a town of 4,000 whites, and is expected to double this year. Official projections plan for a population of 100,000 white residents by 2000. This new operation is not labor intensive and will therefore provide little work for Africans in the area. With the South African government as a partner the operation will undoubtedly follow strict apartheid laws on employment, unions, wages.

The form of investment involved here is highly beneficial to South Africa. Kennecott brings its technological knowledge and its developed overseas market to the deal.

In this way, the technology is appropriated by the South Africans, a significant resource is developed in a country which at present has only a limited market for the use of titanium, and the investment aids South Africa with her current balance of payment problems. It will also aid in the expansion of Richards Bay, the largest harbour in South Africa, and facilitate the government's plans to use the harbour as a major outlet for the coal fields of the Transvaal.

By the end of 1975, \$400 million has been spent on providing the rail links with the interior and developing the harbour and other improvements at Richards Bay.

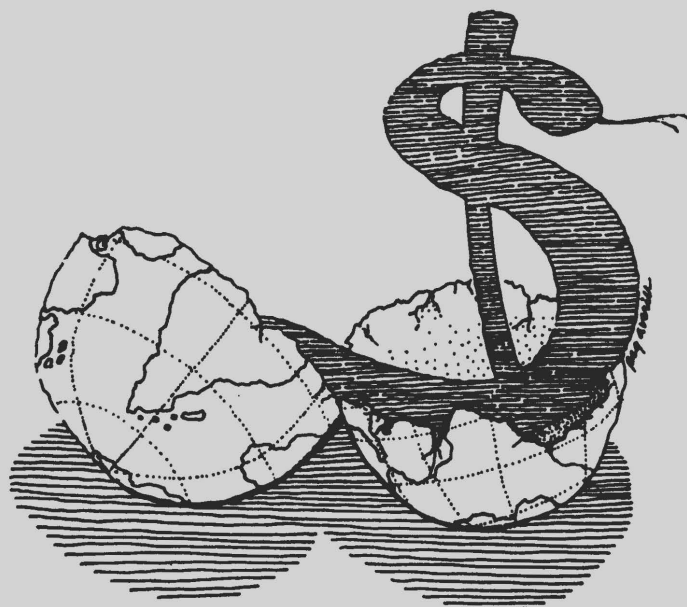
CALTEX'S EXPANSION IN SOUTH AFRICA

In 1975 Caltex announced a \$134 million expansion of its Milnerton refinery outside Capetown. Scheduled for completion in July 1978, the new facilities will increase the refinery's capacity to 100,000 barrels of crude oil per day, double the present capacity, and also increase the production of motor and other light fuels from a given volume of crude. The major units involved will be a new crude distillation plant, catalytic cracking facilities for making gasoline and sulphur removal and recovery facilities. Caltex's proposed investment represents a massive increase in U.S. petroleum investments in South Africa, giving Caltex over 2/3 of the U.S. petroleum stake there.

Caltex did not build a refinery in South Africa until 1966 and its investments have grown significantly since that time. However, between 1962 and 1972, its total number of employees fell considerably from 2400 to

1830. The number of Africans in the Caltex work force fell as a proportion of the total labor force, from 32% to 22%, while white employees increased their predominance from 56.5% to 66%. The total number of jobs for blacks in 1972 was only 607, an insignificant number when compared to the \$100 million investment at the time. There is no protection for black workers faced with dismissal. There are no trade unions or "work committees" among the employees of Caltex in its South African operations.

As in every industrialized country, the oil industry in South Africa is of crucial importance to the economy. Although oil comprised only 26% of South Africa's energy resources at the end of 1973, which is less than other Western countries, its importance has been increasing, concentrated in the vital transportation sector. In addition, oil is an essential raw material for a variety of important industries, providing the basis of plastics, fertilizers, asphalt and other petro-chemical products. Recognizing the importance of this industry, the South African government has established a high degree of control over the oil industry in the Republic. Since 1967, foreign oil companies have been required to: 1) make their refineries available for processing crude products from any source, when excess capacity is available; 2) ensure that the major proportion of their earnings remained in South Africa to finance the future expansion of the industry; and 3) be prepared to produce specialized petroleum and oil products required for strategic and other logistical reasons irrespective of the commercial potential.



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DOMINICAN REPUBLIC: Part II,

some Predictions

(This is the second part of a two-part article on the present situation in the Dominican Republic. It originally appeared in Libertad, a clandestine publication of the Dominican Popular Movement. It has been translated from Spanish by Jose Terrero and Ken Hale of Resist.)

THE ROADS THAT CANNOT BE TAKEN

Not all roads can be taken. In our country the national majorities want a peaceful way out. But the government has prostituted the mechanism by means of which that result could be obtained --that is to say, the mechanism of universal suffrage. Hence, nobody can expect that the government will quietly permit a democratic electoral process.

Of course, that does not prevent the people from struggling for and demanding the holding of free elections and the creation of conditions for a peaceful solution of this crisis. A solution which would find its political expression in the respect for human rights and civil liberties, as well as in the effective functioning of the mechanisms which would insure the implementation of those liberties and rights. The people must not cease to demand the full complement of democratic rights.

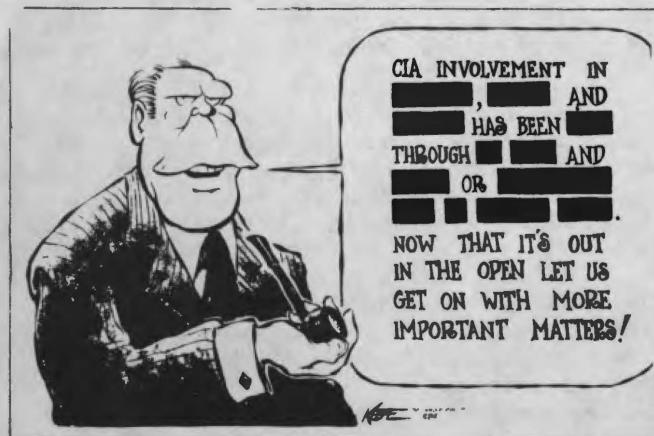
However, reformism continues to make it clear that it will not permit its peaceful displacement. And those who have imposed this state of affairs bear the sole responsibility for determining the road which the Opposition forces must take in order to achieve power. Whether through peace or through violence, it does not depend on the Opposition. It is the government that determines the means.

Our people's longings for liberty and progress are incompatible with the predominance of the ruling cliques. And only this clique is responsible for the road the Opposition will have to take. We are sure of one thing: the politics developed by Balaguer constitute the greatest obstacle to the realization of a policy of National Harmony.

The Dominican Popular Movement understands that harmony is a necessity, but not harmony between the Opposition and the government; rather, harmony among all the forces of opposition in confronting the regime.

And we raise the flags of harmony, the flags of the Unity of the Opposition.

And there is no other option. We are compelled to prepare ourselves to resist to the death the unlawful holders of political power who will try to defend--with blood and fire, jail, terror, and the lash--their continuity.



THE ROLE OF THE LEFT

The next democratic government that emerges will not represent the interests of the leftist leadership, but the left must get ready to participate in it. The left is compelled to participate in the next democratic solution, regardless of the transitoriness and/or precariousness of the possible results.

The left must make the basic effort to realise the organized participation of Popular Forces and for the complete clarification of the crisis that is unfolding now and of the coming critical juncture.

Of course, the left cannot limit itself to work for the next step, without making sure that it is heading towards the growth and consolidation of the socialist tendency. This requires that the left reduce its sectarianism and be able, at least, to protect the general strategic objectives for which it struggles, so that its participation in a transitional democratic government will serve to gather strength in the fundamental direction of our movement. Moreover, it should serve to clarify the tactical character of the unity of the left with the rest of the Opposition, and it should help the masses to understand even better the spirit with which they must participate in the struggle for the overthrow of reformism.

What is possible after Balaguer is a democratic coalition government, but within the framework of capitalism, a government that will not be able to solve the traditional ills which the people suffer but that will not be as inhumane as the present one, nor as ready to permit the unbridled exploitation of our resources. And depending upon the degree of participation of the left, the socialists will have the opportunity to build enough strengths to allow them to struggle toward the goal of asserting their leadership in the political process.

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UFW STRUGGLE CONTINUES

(The following piece comes to us from the United Farm Workers regional office in Boston: ten full-time volunteer workers who are part of the national boycott effort organized since 1965 by the United Farm Workers Union. Over the years, Resist has supported UFW organizing projects in cities throughout the United States.)

This November California's voters will cast their ballots to decide if that state's farm workers will finally be "guaranteed" free union representation elections in the fields. Free elections are a right which most other workers in this country have had for forty years, and one that California's farm workers enjoyed for five months, beginning last September. But because the workers' choice of union, the United Farm Workers, AFL-CIO, was winning big at a great majority of the ranches, the growers and their allies in the Teamsters Union sought to put an end to the election process. They enlisted the support of their Republican (and rural Democratic) friends in the state legislature and combined to block the further funding of the California Labor Relations Act (CALRA). In February the elections came to a grinding halt. In the previous five months almost 400 elections had been held. The UFW won almost 70%. In the past 4½ months no elections have been held. All hearings on unfair labor practices stopped long ago. All employees of the Agricultural Labor Relations Board (ALRB) have been laid off. November's Farm Worker Initiative is an attempt to revive the whole process.

The exclusion of farm workers from the National Labor Relations Act in 1935 is indicative of recognition given them on both the federal and state levels. Farm workers have also been excluded from minimum wage, unemployment insurance, and workman's compensation laws to name a few. Those few laws which do cover farm workers are rarely enforced. For example, California has some of the strictest child labor laws in the country. It is outlawed. And yet a quarter of the work force are children under 16. Nationwide, over 800,000 children are presently harvesting our food.

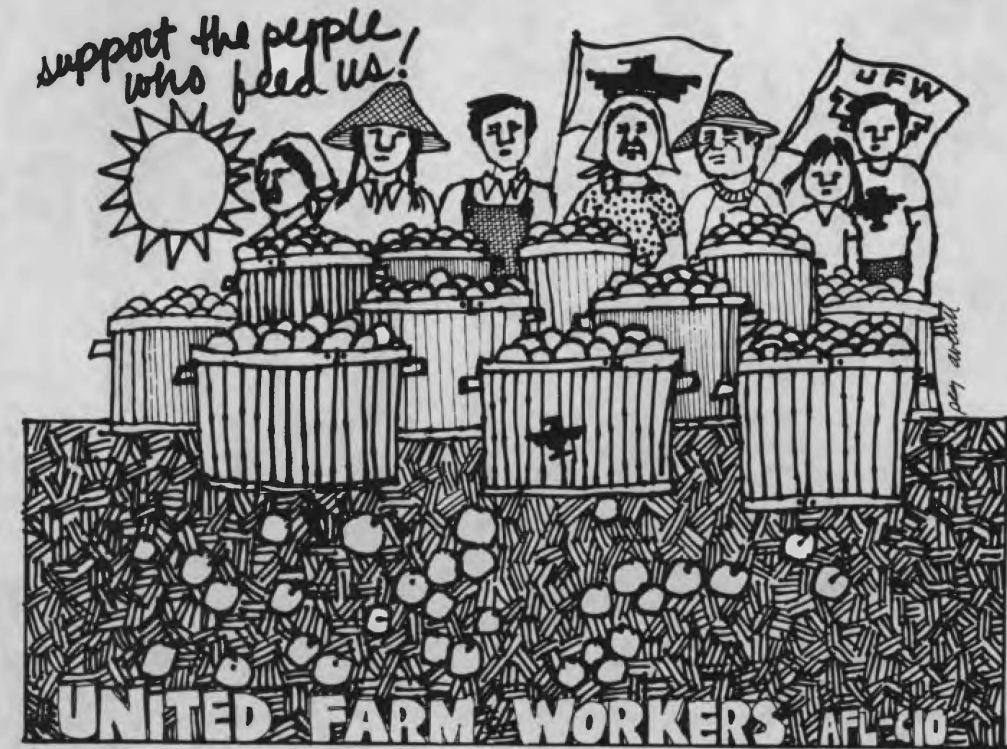
In 1970 a team of lawyers found that as many as 83% of California's farms were in violation of state laws requiring sanitary toilets for workers. More than 88% did not even provide safe drinking water. In addition, farm workers are exposed daily to massive amounts of lethal pesticides. They are on the crops, in the air and in the water. Skin and eye irritations, nausea and cramps are all too common among farm workers. There are 800-1000 pesticide-related deaths each year while respiratory diseases among farm workers are 250% higher than the national average. These brutal living and working conditions result in a life span of just 49 years for farm workers while the rest of us live to 72.

The first concrete advances towards changing all of this were started in 1962. Cesar Chavez, a farm worker who was born in Yuma, Arizona started organizing a union for farm workers in Delano, California. Chavez was not merely trying to organize an industry which had a notoriously violent past, but was undertaking a lifelong battle with a 9 billion dollar-a-year corporate structure called agribusiness. He knew that a portion of this corporate power had to be turned over to the workers, that anything short of radical change would be next to worthless. And he knew that the recognition of farm workers' rights could come about only through nonviolence.

Over the next three years Chavez talked to thousands of workers about organizing a farm worker association. In 1965, in solidarity with a Filipino farm worker group, the first major strikes for a livable wage and humane working conditions began in the grape fields of California. The strikes were successful but the workers were victims of large-scale violence, court injunctions and the use of strikebreakers, many illegally brought in from other countries.

So Chavez went to another form of economic pressure: the boycott. Hundreds of farm workers left the fields and went to every major city in the country to rally support from the American public for the striking workers in California. The people responded. Many women and men joined the workers as full-time volunteers at salaries of \$5 a week plus room and board. Consumers were refusing to purchase table grapes from California. By 1969 a quarter of the American public was honoring the boycott. And in 1970, through the intense pressure of the boycott, union contracts were signed with 85% of the table grape growers in California. For the first time farm workers worked with dignity. Children were no longer in the fields. Growers were now contributing towards a medical plan. Five health clinics in California and one in Florida have been established. The use of pesticides was tightly controlled--by the workers. Workers now applied for jobs through a democratic hiring hall. Cold water and toilets were provided in the fields.

All these gains were taken away three years later. In 1973, with the expiration of the UFW contracts, growers invited in the Teamsters Union and new contracts were signed without any vote among the workers. These new contracts did away with the pesticide protections, the medical plan and the hiring hall among other provisions, and children were back in the fields. Fifteen thousand workers walked out on



strike in what became known as the bloody summer of 1973. Over the course of the summer nearly 4,000 workers were jailed and over 200 were seriously injured, 44 by gunshot. The grower-Teamster violence culminated in August when, in a span of two days, two UFW strikers were killed, one clubbed by a sheriff's deputy, the other shot by a strikebreaker.

With this rash of violence in the fields, the union decided its only choice was to bring the message back to the cities, and the boycott machinery started up again. Grape growers, lettuce growers and the Gallo Wine Company were on the boycott list; all had signed "sweetheart" contracts with the Teamsters. The boycott gained active support from churches, labor unions, community organizations. Donations included everything from food and money for California, to cars and offices and housing for boycott volunteers.

By Spring of 1975, the dent the boycott was making in growers' profits was so great that, for the first time, both the growers and Teamsters were willing to accept collective bargaining legislation for farm workers. This took the form of the Agricultural Labor Relations Act. With the full endorsement of growers,

the Teamsters Union, the United Farm Workers and the Governor, the Act was signed into law in May and took effect last September.

But the ALRA was to live a short life. Scores of elections and hundreds of hours spent deciding unfair labor practices exhausted the appropriated funds after just five months. And because the grower-controlled minority in the legislature is preventing the further funding, the UFW is resting all its hopes on the passage of the Constitutional Initiative in November. If passed this referendum would receive guaranteed funding. Political muscle in the capitol would no longer benefit those who have been forever antagonistic to the rights of farm workers. Any changes in the law would come only with the consent of the voters. If, in November, California's voters agreed to allow farm workers their democratic right to vote, perhaps this first step towards social justice will become more than just a dream for all farm workers in the not-too-distant future.



Phila. Plain Dealer/cpf

"Dominican Republic" cont.

THE PRESENT TASKS

The most urgent task is to attend to the tragic conditions of the movement. Imperialism and the government will require intense preventive repression that will allow them to condition the environment for the implementation of their next phase. And nobody knows when this repression will be unleashed.

The fact that this trap is set for the Opposition compels the latter to prepare itself so that the development and conclusion of this crisis does not worsen the ills from which we Dominicans suffer. Nobody can believe in a government that breaks up a trade-union organization, putting in jail its main leaders for supposedly being in contact with Claudio Caamano and Toribio Pena Jaquez (members of an unsuccessful 1973 guerilla effort), when, having imprisoned the guerillas, the military chiefs verify that the guerillas did not go out of the area where they were arrested and that, consequently, they could not establish contact with the political and trade-union leaders unjustly accused.

Meanwhile, the leaders of the CGT (General Confederation of Workers), and other revolutionaries, have been in prison for more than four months. With the CGT leaders and the other revolutionaries involved in that case, the pretext of the landing (by Caamano in March 1973) was used, but to continue in the government, Balaguer will appeal to whatever is necessary, be it justifiable or not.

While the reformists and the yankees are sharpening their knives, the Opposition cannot keep on sleeping.

We must bestir ourselves now, bringing together the common points of all the Opposition with respect to: 1) defense of national sovereign-

ty and independence, and the rescue of our resources from the American multi-national corporations; 2) the most urgent economic and social changes which Dominican society demands; 3) restoration of civil liberties and Human Rights--most urgently needed are the cessation of arbitrary persecutions, the release of political prisoners, and the return of the exiled.

However, there is an aspect of the political panorama that cannot wait any longer; to wit, the coordination of the demands for immediate economic and social recovery and the strengthening of mass organizations.

We must not lose any time in getting on with the struggle for the right to form trade-unions and for the strengthening of the workers' trade-union organizations.

We must not lose any time in getting on with the task of stimulating and aiding the organization of the peasant masses and farm workers that demand land, minimum wages, or protection and assistance.

We must not lose any time in pressing our demand for the release of political prisoners and for the return of the exiled.

We must not lose any time in advancing our struggle for a general wage increase in the interest of all workers, public (civilian and military) and private.

We must not lose any time in advancing the struggle in support of the demand for a larger budget for the Autonomous University of Santo Domingo and for national education as a whole.

We must not lose any time in assembling the peoples' complaints relating to the lack of water, the lack of electrical services, and inflation.

The more dispossessed the masses are, the more they suffer the plagues which reformism has

fed. It is the masses who must pressure all opposition parties to lay aside their sectarianism and be capable of working in unity to stop reformism.

The Dominican Popular Movement, faithful to its long unitary tradition, will take the necessary steps to insure that the sectors of the Opposition which are ready to struggle to cease to remain inactive. The DPM will knock on all the doors so that the gravity of the times in which we live will be understood and so that we can halt the continuation of the present regime.

Everybody desires a bloodless and peaceful change, but from the present government nobody can expect anything but the edges of its bayonets, the barrels of its guns. That is why harmony is a necessity, a necessity in the heart of the Opposition, in order to make possible the gathering of forces that will detain "continuism" (i.e., the continuation of the present regime).

To the extent that Dr. Balaguer's government remains in power--and by that means continues to facilitate imperialism's control of our people--to that same extent it closes all the doors and compels the people either to submit or to rebel.

However, the people cannot continue struggling divided. Every isolated protest is drowned, while discontent grows unchecked--this demands the coordination of all forces. The longer this coordination is delayed, the stronger reformism becomes.

And from the unitary endeavor which the Opposition must carry out, we cannot exclude any sector that could offer something to that crusade. And, most important, both the government and the Opposition know that, for the next regime in this country, we must take the armed forces into account; but there is growing evidence that the armed forces do not have a unitary policy in relation to the present situation.

Balaguer has used them for his continuist ends, permitting the enrichment of the most loyal and committed men through the repressive functions which continuity has needed, but the majority of members of the armed forces does not escape the hunger and suffering which ten years of reformism have produced. That is why the armed forces cannot remain on the sidelines of the great discontent that shakes the country from end to end, nor can they remain on the sidelines of any democratic solution to the present crisis. Class struggle is also acted out in the very core of the armed forces.

And this situation of the armed forces is an ingredient that makes the national situation more explosive and charged. Nobody in this country is unaware of this fact, and it is the hope of a great part of the people that the armed forces could act as an institution in defense of the best popular interests.

The Opposition must understand that only as the popular forces are organized can it prevent the government and imperialism from dominating this crisis and imposing a bloodier continuity.

Sectarianism and division are the best allies of Balaguerist continuism, which could perpetrate itself on a new river of blood and terror--a river of blood and terror from which Unity of the Opposition could save the people.

Reformism and imperialism are sharpening their knives, and they should not be allowed to catch us either sleeping or divided.

The government's tactics with sectors of the Opposition seek to neutralize them and to gain time for a new offensive.

Balaguerist continuism is incompatible with the future of this country and with the best interests of the people.

Only Unity of the Opposition can impose the necessary government of coalition that will save the Motherland from the ruin into which continuism is leading her.

Rectification, Struggle
and Unity
Dominican Popular Movement
, Marxist-Leninist Party



cpf

"South Africa" cont.

Caltex has assisted the South African government by breaking the 1973 oil embargo against South Africa called by the Organization of African Unity and by executing a complicated series of "swaps" to allocate more Iranian crude oil to South Africa.

This new investment serves the interests of South Africa in three ways: 1) it provides a major source of capital inflow which is of crucial importance at this time when the price of gold is declining and South Africa is faced with a squeeze in her balance of payments; 2) it will provide a significant savings in South Africa importation of crude oil, since more of the required refined fuels can be produced from a given volume of crude; 3) it strengthens the identification of the company with the interests of South Africa. In response to Caltex's new investment, other major oil companies may be expected to increase their investments so as to enable them to keep pace with Caltex and not lose a competitive advantage in South Africa.

GRANTS.....

Here on the last page of the Newsletter we always list the names of the organizations - together with some general information about them - that have received grants from Resist during the course of the month just ended. However, this month there is but one organization to list because we have been hit worse than ever by the summer money drought:

CAMBRIDGE TENANTS ORGANIZING COMMITTEE
595 Massachusetts Avenue
Cambridge, Massachusetts 02139

CTOC is the largest organizing collective in the area and has been for a number of years. It publishes a monthly newsletter but would like - in order to become a more serious challenge to the established press - to publish a community weekly with a wide range of coverage. Resist's grant to CTOC is to aid in the purchase of a typesetter for their weekly newspaper project: a resource which will also be available for use by other left groups in the area.

Monthly contributions from our regular pledges flow steadily in each month. It is our irregular contributors who have fled for the summer. You could help us out by becoming an irregular (or regular) contributor starting right now. Or better yet, become a Resist pledge. The more pledges we have, the more nearly we can predict our financial condition and ability to provide consistent support over the long run; the more pledges we have, the more coherent the organization, the closer the bonds among all the people involved in Resist.

Of course, we will appreciate any response of yours to this plea of ours. There are a great number of organizations whose requests lie waiting for us to act on: a wide ranging set of groups on the left that depend on Resist for support and whose needs do not disappear with the onset of summer. Please be as generous as you can.

