

The ORGANIZER

The Newspaper of the
Philadelphia Workers'
Organizing Committee

X-923

July 1978
VOL.4 NO.7

THE BAKKE DECISION: A STEP BACKWARD

In a 5-4 decision the Supreme Court sent Alan Bakke, the now famous symbol of "reverse discrimination", to medical school. In a contradictory ruling, the court knocked down the University of California at Davis' medical school quota for minorities but held that race is a valid factor in determining admissions when used as a remedy for past discrimination. Thus the court, while rejecting "quotas", upheld the constitutionality of affirmative action.

CONFUSION ON RULING

The confusing ruling reflected the divisions in the court. Justices Burger, Stewart, Rehnquist and Stevens held the Davis program violated the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which prohibits racial discrimination in education. Justices Brennan, White, Marshall and Blackmun argued that racial classifications were constitutional as a means of combatting discrimination and thus upheld the Davis program. Justice Powell took a middle ground which supported affirmative action in general while opposing the quota system at Davis. His opinion became the official view of the court.

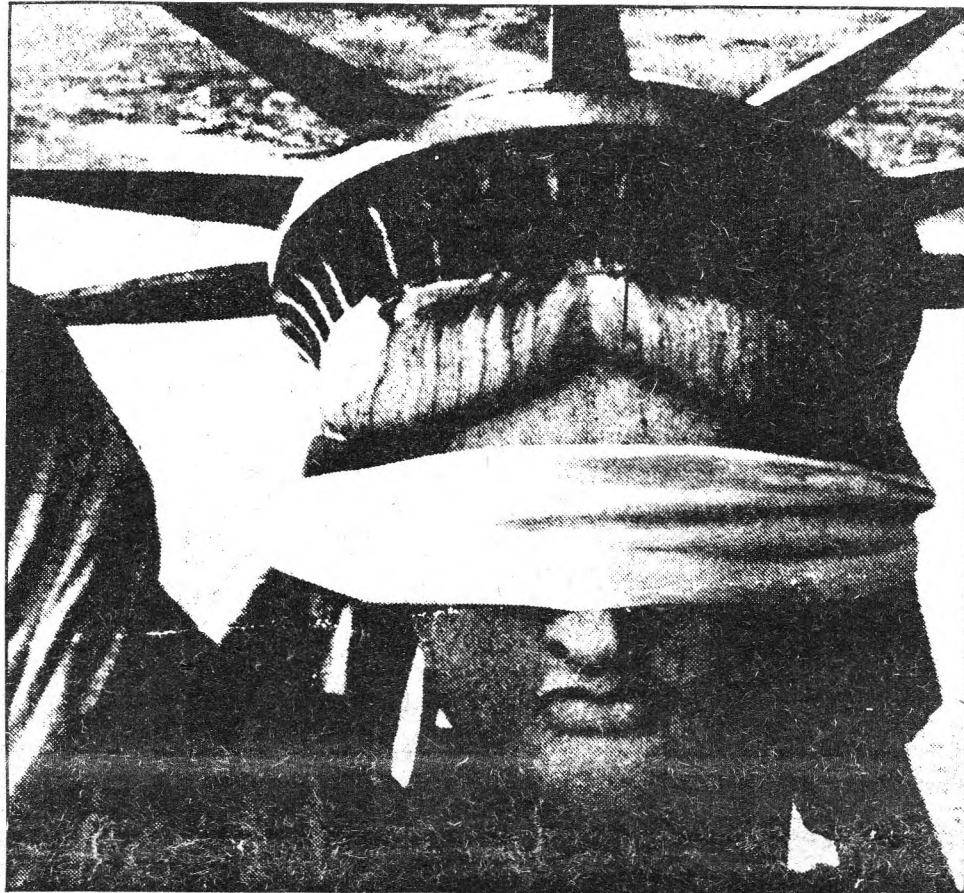
Given the contradictory ruling, many on both sides of the issue claimed a victory. Frank Rizzo was drooling over the prospect of taking his meat ax to the city's affirmative action programs-- "Quotas are over, that's the way I read it", Rizzo said. Joe Rauh, long-time establishment liberal, spoke for those civil rights forces who insist on looking on the sunny side. "I think we won... the racists who wanted to turn back the clock on minority progress have received a stunning blow." The Carter administration, which has waffled on the issue all along was especially pleased with the court talking out of both sides of its mouth.

Attorney General Bell hailed the decision as "...a great gain for affirmative action."

From other quarters, including the Supreme Court itself, the mood was more sober. "I fear that we have come full circle", said Justice Thurgood Marshall, expressing a prevailing concern among civil rights leaders that the Court is in full retreat from the positions it took in the 1960's in favor of racial equality. Both Operation PUSH Chairman Jesse Jackson and Georgia state legislator Julian Bond saw the decision as a signal for opening up a broad attack on affirmative action programs. A center city secretary, who got her job as the result of an affirmative action program, spoke for many workers when she said, "I'm sure glad I'm not out looking for a job now."

What are the legal implications of the Court's decision? Optimists predict gains for affirmative action. Others say things will remain much as they are now. But the simple fact is that by ruling against quotas, the Supreme Court definitely weakens the whole concept of affirmative action. Specific quotas are the teeth of an affirmative action program. Without them, with race simply one of a number of factors that admissions committees and by extension employers must consider, minority applicants have to trust "the good will" of those who make these decisions.

Affirmative action is necessary in the first place precisely because racial discrimination is systematic in US institutions. 400 years of history show that it would be foolish to expect universities, employers and the government to provide equality on the basis of "good will." Real guarantees are needed. The Supreme Court majority in its decision ignores this logic.



FREEDOM AND JUSTICE: Still not in sight for Black, Latin and Asian Americans

But history also shows the court's interpretation of the Constitution is subject to the pressures of the organized masses. From the 1890's to 1954, the Court held the Constitution justified segregation. Under the pressures of the civil rights movement the court threw out this "separate but equal" doctrine and in a whole series of rulings struck down discriminatory laws and practices. Now the Court is moving backwards. How the present ruling will be interpreted and implemented will depend largely on how successful

the forces for equality are in organizing a mass movement to defend affirmative action.

The day following the decision, on several hours notice, 200 people gathered at City Hall to protest the Bakke ruling. Prior to the decision thousands staged local demonstrations and marched on Washington. Building the movement in defense of affirmative action is more important now than ever before.

In This Issue:

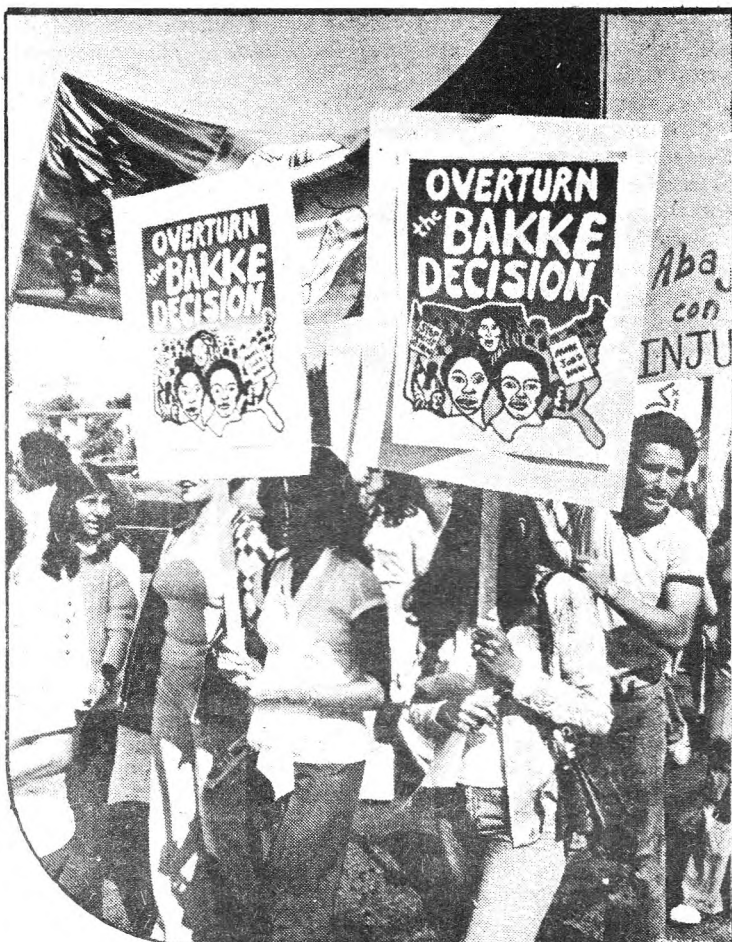
**The Tax Revolt-
Who Wins? p.4**

**Budd Workers
Oppose Rizzo p.6**

**Hospital Unions
and Health Care p.7**

Horn of Africa p.8

Economy Still Sick p.12



Guardianphoto by Neal Cassidy

Silber, Newlin Debate on Party Building

by JOHN REED

Four hundred people attended a debate on the main tasks in party-building between Irwin Silber, *Guardian* Executive Editor, and Clay Newlin representing the Philadelphia Workers Organizing Committee. The June 23rd debate was sponsored by the New York *Guardian* Club and continued the exchange of views between the two organizations.

The speakers expressed general unity on a number of points. Both agreed that the central task facing revolutionaries was the resuscitation of a viable vanguard party for the US working class. They agreed that previous party-building efforts, particularly the Revolutionary Communist Party and the Communist Party Marxist-Leninist, (formerly the Revolutionary Union and the October League) had been run aground by dogmatism with little chance of sailing again. Both stated their identification with the emerging anti-revisionist, anti-dogmatist trend.

In the context of this agreement the speakers developed their differences. First, they differed over the essence of party-building. Newlin argued that party-building was essentially a question of joining revolutionary theory with the advanced elements of the working class and oppressed nationalities.

This process divides into two inter-related tasks which must be pursued simultaneously: 1) the independent elaboration of Marxism-Leninism for the US and 2) winning over the advanced workers. The fusion of these two would be accomplished primarily by theoretical struggle and thus communists should concentrate their energies on the theoretical struggle at this time. Just as the down-playing of theory leads to economism, Newlin asserted, the denigration of the role of the advanced workers in party-building bows to the spontaneity of the revolutionary intellectuals and inevitably produces voluntarism.

Silber argued that the struggle for political line was the essence of party-building. Pointing out that only political line can provide the foundation for communist unification, Silber advocated that revolutionaries should focus their energies on the development of a "general line for the communist movement, and then proceed to unite Marxist-Leninists and form the party.

Maintaining that only a party could fuse communism with the working class movement, Silber said that to argue for fusion in the party-building period inevitably leads to reducing communist tasks to "practical integration in workers struggles," and, thus, economism.

RELATIONSHIP OF THEORY TO PRACTICE

A second point of disagreement was over the relationship between theory and practice in the party-building period. Comparing the party-building process to the "open period" immediately prior to a party congress, Silber argued that theory is primary. He asserted that our main task was to resolve questions of line and formulate policy and thus theoretical work must be given precedence over practice.

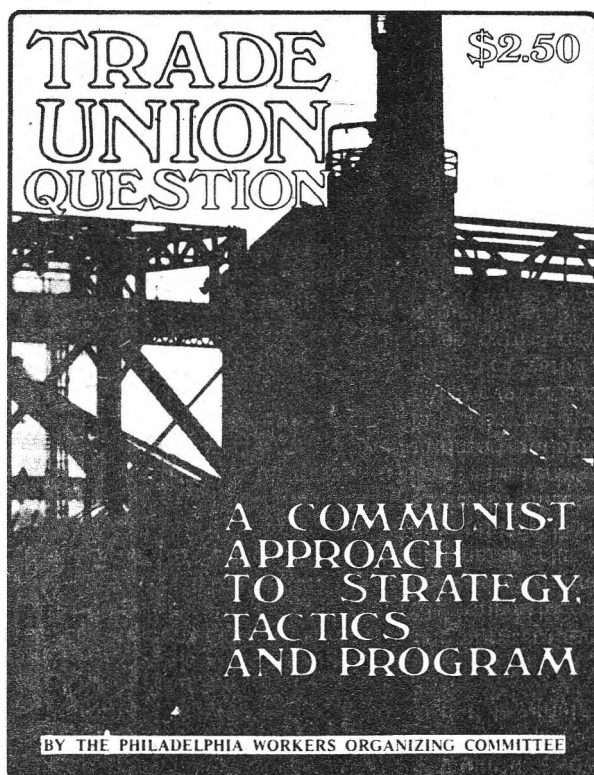
Newlin maintained that theory could no more be primary in relationship to practice in party-building than it could in any

strategic period of communist activity. Practice, he asserted, must remain primary for two reasons: 1) the practice of fusing communism to the class struggle in the US defines both the questions theory must address and the order in which they should be taken up, and 2) practice still provides the sole verification for revolutionary theory.

The question of the main opportunist danger facing the communist movement was a third point of disagreement, but the differences were only indicated. Silber asserted that the right danger had come to the forefront in the party-building movement, manifested particularly in the "fusion strategy". Newlin said that "left" opportunism was still the main threat, as exhibited in the continued influence of the ultra-left party-building line espoused by the *Guardian* and others. (Implied were different conceptions of the communist movement; Silber seemed to feel that the ultra-left forces stood outside the communist movement, whereas Newlin indicated a broader view.)

Those attending the debate were generally disappointed by it. Most said that they felt both Newlin and Silber focused too much of their initial presentations on reviewing their general positions, instead of developing the differences between

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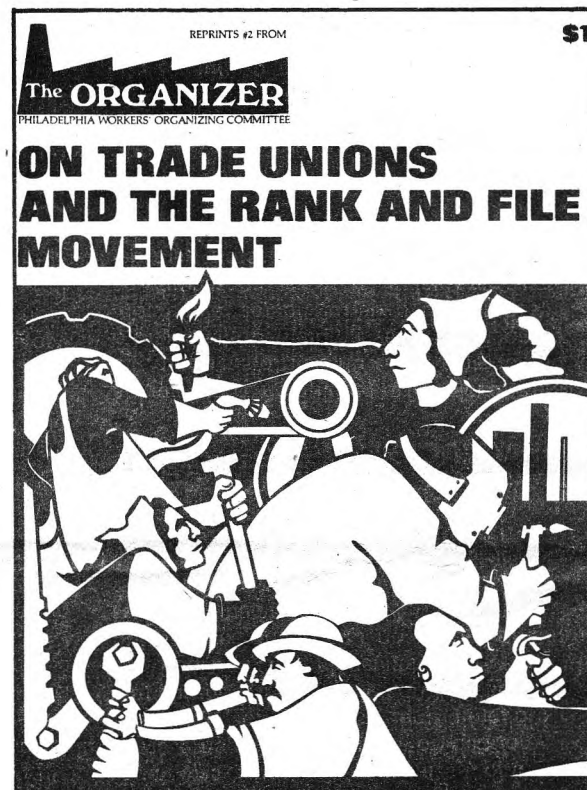
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Philadelphia Workers' Organizing Committee

Who We Are



The PWOC is a Communist organization, basing itself on Marxism-Leninism, the principles of scientific socialism. We are an activist organization of Black and white, men and women workers who see the root causes of the day-to-day problems of working people as the capitalist system itself. We are committed to building a revolutionary working class movement that will overthrow the profit system and replace it with socialism.

We seek to replace the anarchy of capitalist production with a planned economy based on the needs of working people. We want to end the oppression of national minorities and women, and make equality a reality instead of the hypocritical slogan it has become in the mouths of the capitalist politicians. We work toward the replacement of the rule of the few -- the *Organizer*, July '78, page 2

handful of monopolists -- by the rule of the many -- the working people.

The masses of people in the US have always fought back against their exploitation and today the movement in opposition to the monopolists are rapidly growing both in numbers and intensity. What is lacking is the kind of political leadership that can bring these movements together, deepen the consciousness of the masses, and build today's struggles into a decisive and victorious revolutionary assault against Capital.

To answer this need we must have a vanguard party of the working class, based on its most conscious and committed partisans, rooted in the mass movements of all sectors of American people and equipped with the political understanding capable of solving the strategic and tactical problems that present themselves on the difficult road to revolution.

The PWOC seeks, in conjunction with like-minded organizations and individuals throughout the US, to build such a party -- a genuine Communist Party. The formation of such a party will be an important step forward in the struggle of the working class and all oppressed people to build a new world on the ashes of the old.

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In this Issue:

Guardian Debate	p. 2
Labor Round-Up	p. 3
Proposition 13	p. 4
Pennsylvania Taxes	p. 4
Charter and Rizzo	p. 5
Budd Workers and Rizzo	p. 6
Red Lion- Health and Safety	p. 6
UAW Official Exposed	p. 6
Unions & Health Care	p. 7
Horn of Africa	p. 8
Teacher's Caucus	p. 10
Equal Rights Amendment	p. 10
Crisis in Zaire	p. 11
CP-ML on Zaire	p. 11
Economy Still Sick	p. 12
Myths About Communism	p. 13
Nuts & Bolts	p. 14
Espanol	pagina 1

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Labor Round-up

City Workers Set to Strike

Faced with the prospect of massive layoffs or wage cuts for some members, District Councils 33 and 47 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME), representing some 19,500 city workers, are preparing to strike. As one AFSCME member put it: "The city isn't giving us any choice." The city workers contract expires July 11th.

The Rizzo administration is beefing up the police department at the expense of other city workers and vital services. Both city workers and the public are slated to pay for hiring 400 additional police and a \$19.2 million wage and benefit package recently awarded to the police as a result of binding arbitration. To pay the bill the administration plans to lay off some thousands of city workers, which will naturally lead to cutbacks in service.

In their most recent contract offer the city offered to reduce the layoffs in exchange for union agreement to cut wages of all those city workers whose pay is higher than that for comparable jobs in the private sector. The union promptly rejected this "offer." When City Managing Director Hillel Levinson suggested the union might change its mind after studying the proposal, a union negotiator commented: "If we change our minds we'd have to be put in an insane asylum."

AFSCME is demanding a one year contract with wages and benefits comparable to the 9% boost awarded the police. "How can the city justify cutting our wages while giving the police a big raise?" one city worker said. In the minds of AFSCME members the fact that some city workers make slightly more money than those with similar jobs in the private sector is no justification for a wage cut. "Workers in the private sector should

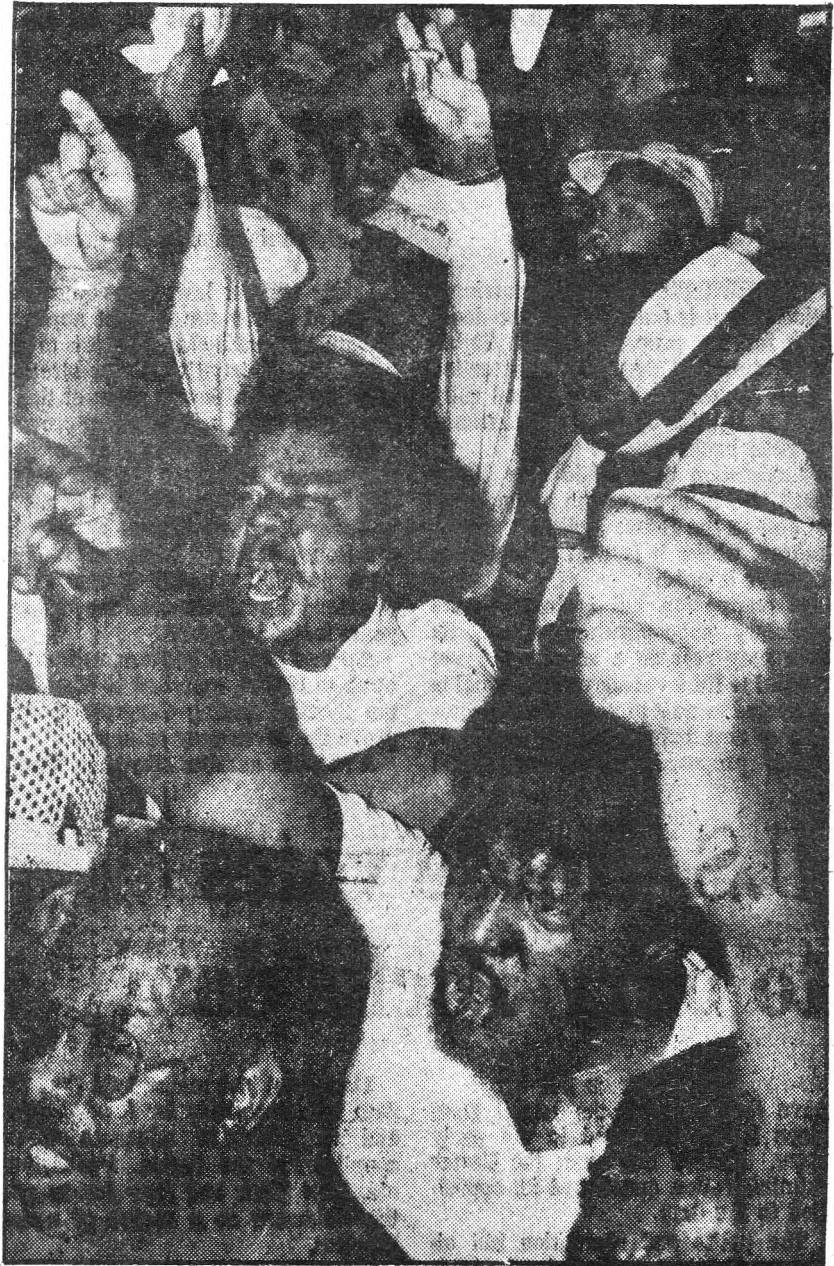
get more money. Many of them aren't unionized and that's the problem", said an AFSCME officer.

With inflation heating up AFSCME members need a decent wage increase to maintain their standard of living. As part of its attempt to isolate the city workers from the public, the city has made much of the fact that the average wage for city white collar workers is \$17,436 per year, but relatively few city workers are white collar, and the average is pushed up by the few highly paid professionals (like doctors at \$40,000) on the city employment rolls. Blue collar workers for the city make an average of \$11,267.

As we go to press, strike votes have been scheduled and the union appears determined to meet this serious challenge to its existence. District Council 33 President Earl Stout has indicated that the union will strike to stop the layoffs and win a decent contract. Stout is under pressure from the rank and file, and his policy of a political alliance with the Rizzo administration is in shambles following a poor contract last time round, the closing of PGH and this most recent attack.

Stout may still expect he can trade support for the charter change for a better contract. But the rank and file has seen the past results of these short-sighted deals. The key to winning a better contract is united strike action and winning public support.

The Rizzo Administration's attack on city workers is a prelude to what we can expect with the teachers this fall. The "not a dime more" stance of Rizzo is a threat to the whole labor movement and to working people generally who need decent public services. If AFSCME members strike we must all stand behind them.



Philadelphia Inquirer / SARA KRULWICH

City workers roar their approval of strike authorization

Labor Moving on Apartheid

Recently in San Francisco, Detroit and Chicago, trade unionists came together to take action against the United States' involvement in apartheid South Africa.

On June 10th in San Francisco, the Trade Union Conference on Southern Africa organized by the Southern Africa Liberation Support Committees of Longshore Local 10 and Warehouse Local 6 of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) took place. One-hundred thirty two largely rank and file delegates representing 64 local unions

adopted the following program of action: — the removal of union funds invested in corporations doing business in South Africa or Rhodesia.

—the boycott of goods to and from countries with white minority regimes, particularly South Africa.

—the organization of a local boycott of the Krugerrand, the South African gold coin.

— to urge union members to withdraw personal accounts from banks that make loans to South Africa, and to contribute one dollar a month to the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU).

— to encourage unions to set up South Africa support committees and to join community support activities.

Besides ILWU, other locals participating included Teamsters, United Auto Workers (UAW), United Steelworkers, bus drivers, Engineers and Firemen of United Transportation Union, United Electrical Workers, International Association of Machinists, American Federation of County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME), Retail Clerks, American Federation of Teachers, Service Employees International Union and Clerical and Allied Service Workers.

Barry Silverman, ILWU research director, spoke about how to divest funds from a company doing business in South Africa, particularly pension funds.

John Gaetsewe, the General Secretary of SACTU spoke to the delegates and received standing ovations. Gaetsewe said, "The people of Angola and Mozambique have made a great step forward for their

people and for all Africa. They have shown us the way." And he pointed out, "There is not one single company operating in South Africa that belongs to the Soviet Union or Cuba." He concluded, "To destroy apartheid we need your support. What should you do? Give support to liberation movements in South Africa and neighboring countries. Oppose US investments in South Africa."

The following weekend John Gaetsewe addressed a public meeting at the Trade Union Leadership Hall in Detroit, organized by a committee of trade unionists called the Ad Hoc Committee Against Apartheid. That weekend in Detroit Gaetsewe was also on radio and television and addressed several union meetings including AFSCME and UAW.

CHICAGO MEETING

In Chicago that weekend, a group of trade union leaders sent a letter to President Carter and Secretary of State Vance demanding that the US break all ties with the Republic of South Africa, and denounced the large US corporate and bank investments in South Africa.

Some of the unions signing the letter were Seafarers International, Amalgamated Meatcutters, United Steelworkers District 31, United Electrical Workers District 11, the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, the local American Postal Workers Union and the local Service Employees International Union.

The Chicago trade unionists also organized a demonstration, picketing the South African consulate and circulating petitions calling for the closing of the consulate.

And during the last weekend in May at the seventh annual convention of Black Trade Unionists, the convention urged support of the Organization of African Unity and majority rule in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia), and called upon all trade unions to withdraw bank accounts from banks that invest in or lend money to South Africa.

Latrobe Steel Strike Settled

In Latrobe, Pennsylvania, ten months of continuous solidarity by members of United Steelworkers Local 1537 forced Latrobe Steel, subsidiary of Timken Corporation, to back down on attempts to roll back seniority rights and increase productivity at the expense of safety and working conditions.

In February, members of the local had rejected by a vote of over 1000 to 1 a "final offer" by the company that included the company's right to eliminate all practices it considered unproductive and wasteful.

Management tried all the tricks to try and break the strike; a barrage of newspaper propaganda to try and influence public opinion and win support away from the strikers, and various efforts to divide the strikers and form a back to work movement. But the strikers solicited and received the support of working people and all the unions in the area, and the split in the ranks of the strikers the company was watching for never happened.

Cracks began appearing in the hard line of the company, and finally in May they made another "final proposal" threatening to close down if it wasn't accepted. This one included the basic steel economic settlement and eliminated the management's rights proposal. Influenced by the threatened closing, Local 1537 members ratified it 688 to 271. Although many felt they could have gotten more, the local won 13 of the 22 proposals they struck over, and overall the contract was a victory for the strikers.

The Latrobe strike shows that even a local, if it stands as one, and goes after and gets the support of working people, can stand up to a big corporation and win.

Detroit to Durban

COMMON STRUGGLE



Prop. 13

Big break for working people?



Forces behind Proposition 13 are hardly friends of the working people. They are overlapped with the ultra-right John Birch Society and the union-busting right-to-work committees.

On June 6th, Californians passed Proposition 13, the now famous amendment to the California Constitution which reduces existing property taxes by 57%. The California tax revolt stimulated nationwide phenomena with similar measures now pending in dozens of other states.

The passage of Proposition 13 marks a significant victory for the growing right wing which authored the proposal and organized the campaign for its passage. By tapping popular dissatisfaction with high taxes which is linked to the backlash against national minorities and women, the right is propelling itself into a strong position to influence public policy and capture positions at all levels of government.

WHY IT PASSED

The reasons for the overwhelming 2 to 1 endorsement of Proposition 13 in the face of well organized opposition from labor, business, civil rights organizations and environmentalists are easy to discern. First of all, Californians pay huge prop-

erty taxes. Property assessments have spiraled along with California's real estate boom.

The plight of Bob Ramet, a 60 year old freight foreman for the Port of Oakland typifies the plight of many of California's small property owners. In the last 12 years, Ramet has seen the taxes on his 50 year old, two-bedroom house jump from \$400 to \$2,500. Ramet faces the prospect of paying over \$200 a month property taxes on a retirement income.

In Southern California on the eve of the vote on Proposition 13, property owners received tax bills that were on the average up by 120% and in some cases registered increases of 1,000%. Many undoubtedly saw the passage of Proposition 13 as a question of economic survival and voted for it regardless of the consequences.

At the same time, racism in the form of the perception that Blacks and Chicanos are the recipients of expensive social services which they "don't deserve" is a major factor in the tax revolt. "It's those social services for the colored, the Mexicans and so forth that annoy the heck out of me... Who wants to pay it all in taxes that go for things like that?", a California woman told *Newsweek*.

Finally, many voters doubted the truth of predictions of massive cuts in services if the tax amendment passed. "I find it about as believable as everything else you hear out of Sacramento or Washington," one man said. Still others saw Proposition 13 as a vehicle to express their general disgust and alienation with the government. Laurie Jonas, a legal secretary who rents a \$300 a month apartment, will not get any tax relief. "I voted for Proposition 13 to watch the politicians squirm. They deserve it," she said.

THE MEAT AXE FALLS

While some politicians may squirm a bit, it is the working people, particularly the poor and oppressed nationality communities, who are going to bear the brunt of Proposition 13. Services will be cut to the bone, with the main blow being directed

at education. Local schools will lose an estimated \$3.7 billion in aid. Many will be forced to close. Those that remain open will be forced to eliminate all summer programs, bi-lingual education, remedial and enrichment programs, extracurricular activity, and will be forced to enlarge class size.

Polls indicate that Californians are overwhelmingly opposed to any cuts in fire-fighting and police services and the politicians are naturally prepared to hack away at virtually everything else before touching these departments. Still, cuts in these "bottom line" services seem inevitable. Mayor Bradley of Los Angeles has announced plans to lay off 1,080 police, 1/7th of the department. Fifty-eight of 128 fire stations are to be closed.

Cutbacks this year will undoubtedly be cushioned to some extent by the existence of an estimated \$4 billion state surplus left over from previous years, so that the real crunch may not be felt until next year.

Public employees are the most direct casualties of Proposition 13. State Assembly Speaker Leo McCarthy says that 75,000 municipal workers and 76,000 federally funded workers will be fired. Seventeen thousand school teachers in Los Angeles have already received dismissal notices.

Along with lay offs, public employees face wage cuts. In negotiations with Los Angeles' 70,000 city workers, the administration is calling for the union to give up a scheduled 5% wage increase and allow the county to cut its contribution to the health and dental insurance fund. If the union says no, the county is threatening to lay off 12,000 workers.

WHO WILL BENEFIT?

While the 55% of Californians who live in their own homes will receive some immediate relief in the form of rolled back taxes, the remaining 45% who rent will receive no benefits. Furthermore, in the long run homeowners will lose out too. Tax assessments are limited under the new amendment to annual increases of 2%. But when a property is sold, the assessment may be revised with no limita-

tion. Since a home exchanges hands on the average every seven years, many of the advantages of proposition 13 will be lost.

The real beneficiaries of Proposition 13 are the wealthy. Of the estimated \$7 billion tax cut, \$4 billion will go to businesses and landlords. The windfall to the monopolies is huge. Pacific Telephone and Telegraph will save \$130.2 million, Standard Oil, \$13.1 million and Lockheed Aircraft, \$9.5 million. Landlords will reap substantial returns which they will be under no obligation to pass along to tenants. Since corporate and commercial properties change hands much less often than private homes, the long term benefits of the tax cut will be more lasting for business. Wealthy individuals will be less affected by cutbacks in services. Many rich people, for example, already send their children to private schools.

Finally, Proposition 13 shackles the state's ability to raise other taxes. Formerly new taxes could be adopted by a simple majority of the state legislature whereas now it will take a two thirds vote. This means measures like a more progressive state income tax or higher taxes on corporate profits will be that much more difficult to pass.

PROSPECTS FOR RIGHT AND LEFT

The forces behind Proposition 13 are hardly friends of the working people. Howard Jarvis, the co-author of Proposition 13, has been linked with the ultra-right John Birch Society. The National Taxpayers Union, a force nationwide for measures like Proposition 13, overlaps with the union-busting "right to work" committees.

The dominance of the organized right in the leadership of the tax revolt raises the possibility of a coming together of the various rightist movements into a powerful coalition for reaction. Both the right wing anti-abortion lobby and the National Taxpayers Union call for a national constitutional convention to introduce amendments around their respective issues. A convention of this sort dominated by these forces could gut the constitution of its democratic content. The extreme right stands in a strong position at the present time to capture the Republican Party and make a serious bid for national political power.

This danger underlines the need for the left to project a clear anti-capitalist tax program that can appeal to the overtaxed working class and middle class and undercut the initiative of the right. Millions of people must be brought to understand that the choice does not have to be between taxes and services. It should and can be between the tax burden falling on the working people or the rich and the monopoly corporations.

Clearly a simple defense of the status quo, the liberal welfare state, will not stem the tax revolt. But a well organized campaign around an anti-capitalist program over time could isolate the right and transform the tax revolt into a progressive movement against monopoly capital.

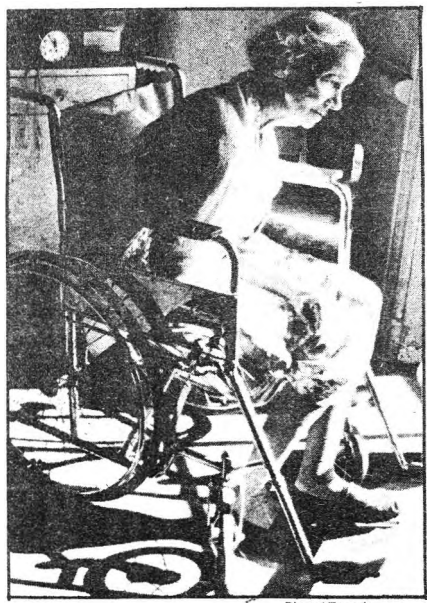


Photo Trends

It is the working people, particularly the old, the poor, and the oppressed nationality communities who will bear the brunt of Proposition 13. Services will be cut to the bone.

Tax revolt hits Harrisburg

In the wake of the passage of Proposition 13 in California, tax reform is hot on the agenda in Harrisburg as in state capitols across the country.

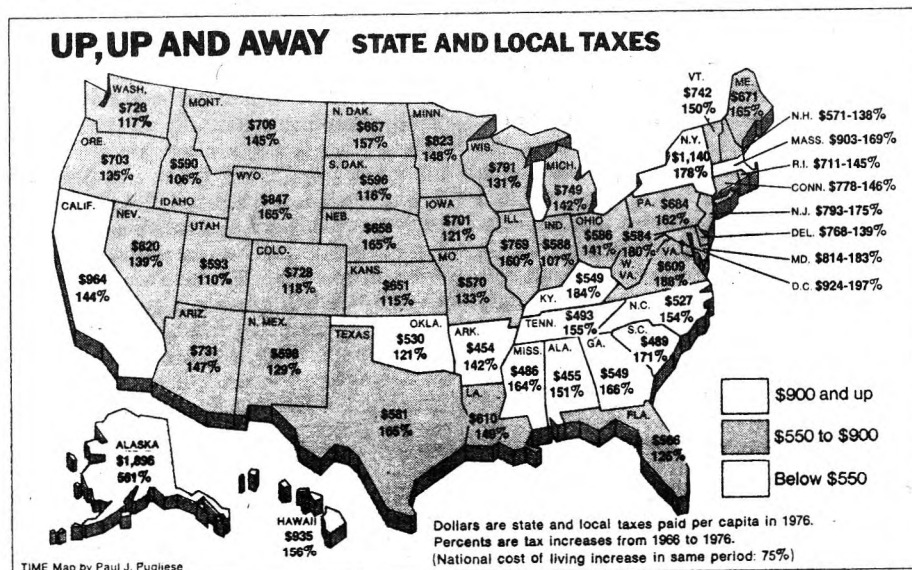
Property taxes in Pennsylvania are low in comparison with the rest of the country.

In 1975, Pennsylvania ranked 34th among the states. The average property tax in Pennsylvania is \$176 compared to \$415 in California and \$446 across the Delaware in New Jersey. Alaska tops the list with a whopping \$1,048. Still, property taxes have increased by 100% over the last ten years and are a major burden to homeowners on fixed incomes, particularly senior citizens. The constitutionally mandated funding of public schools is a sore point. This means that legitimate opposition to higher property taxes translates into starving the schools of needed funds.

Organizer, July '78, page 4

A number of bills and proposals are now floating around in Harrisburg. State Senator John Stauffer (R-Chester) is pushing a bill to gradually eliminate the use of property taxes to support public schools in favor of local income surtaxes. Stauffer's bill would place no limits on the taxing power.

While Pennsylvania currently has no provision in its constitution to allow voters to directly amend it as in California, legislation is currently before the house that would allow such initiatives. The National Taxpayers Union, particularly strong in Montgomery and Bucks Counties, is lobbying for a bill to restrict property taxes to a flat 1%. Yet another bill would freeze state spending and property taxes at their current level. Finally, Philadelphia's Hardy Williams has introduced a bill that would replace property taxes with a more progressive state income tax.



Business Not Banking on Frank

by JOE LEWANDOWSKI

The stars will not be with Frank Rizzo on November 7 when Philadelphia voters will most likely decide upon a city charter change that would allow him to run for a third term. At least that is the opinion of the "Astro-Profile" recently published in the *Philadelphia Daily News*. Rizzo's astrological chart shows "limitations in the areas of finances and friends."

But you don't have to be an astrologer to see that the stars haven't been shining for Frank in the past few weeks. The stars we are talking about don't twinkle or form constellations of rams, bulls or scorpions. These stars are the bright lights of the Main Line and Chestnut Hill, the so-called "movers and shakers" of the business and banking establishment. Recent events have shown that they have decided it is time to "move and shake" Rizzo right out of City Hall.

BUSINESS OPPOSITION

In June, three prominent business-civic groupings announced their opposition to a change in the City Charter. It was not so surprising that the Committee of 70, a "good government watch-dog" group of businessmen and lawyers announced its opposition to the third-term amendment. The Committee has had run-ins with the Rizzo administration in the past over numerous instances of official corruption, patronage abuses and voting irregularities.

A little more surprising, and more revealing, is the opposition that the Charter change is facing from two other groupings of corporate heavyweights. One, the Greater Philadelphia Partnership, is the "activist" wing of the business establishment. It is often at the center of corporate plans for commercial development and it coordinates its planning with local and state governments.

Even more significant is the formation of an ad hoc umbrella organization called the "Charter Defense Committee" which pulls together the front line of Philadelphia's blue-blood leadership. Included in this committee is Thatcher Longstreth, president of the Chamber of Commerce, and the very influential Richard C. Bond, outgoing chairman of the John Wanamaker stores and a previous Rizzo supporter.

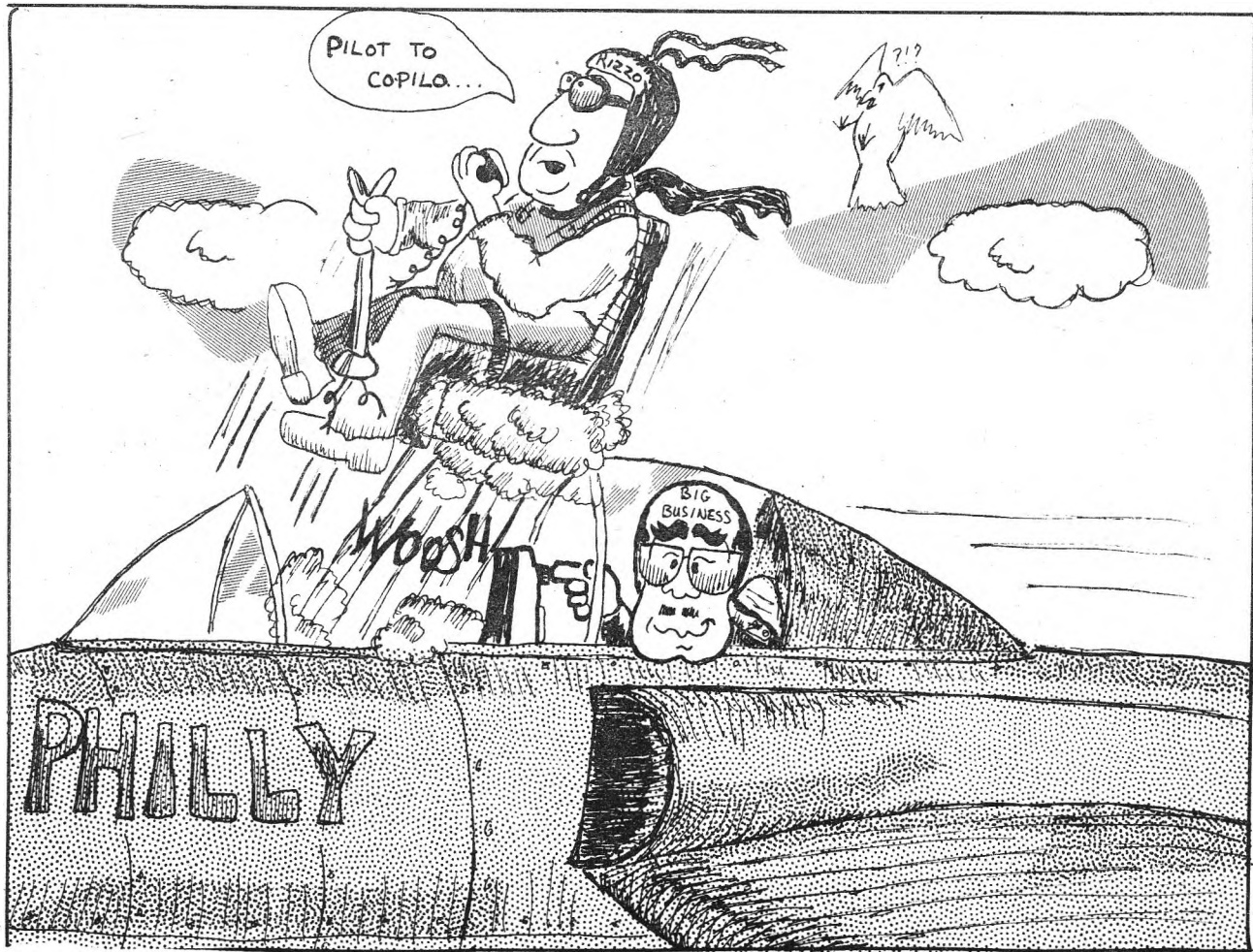
Also included on the fourteen member steering committee of this group is James F. Bodine, executive committee chairman of the First Pennsylvania Corp., and William S. Fishman, board chairman of ARA Services Inc. Fishman was a "substantial" contributor to Rizzo's 1971 campaign.

The Charter Defense Committee has promised to raise a quarter of a million dollars to finance an advertising campaign to defend the present two-term limit on the mayor's office.

This unusual display of ruling class unity in opposition to a third term for Rizzo will probably have little direct effect on how Philadelphia voters will cast their ballots in November. Pronouncements by the ruling elite of the Main Line usually don't hold much water in the wards of North Philadelphia, Kensington, South Philly and West Philly. Rizzo, of course, knows this and has said as much.

But Frank Rizzo can't be sleeping very well these nights. The Charter change issue has given the ruling circles an opportunity to make its break with Frank without openly opposing him. All of the groupings swear that they are not taking a stand for or against Rizzo, but merely taking a stand for "good government."

Nevertheless, the result for Rizzo will be less money, probably a lot less money for his campaign coffers. It could also mean that even if the charter change was approved, Philadelphia's ruling circles may decide to sabotage his candidacy before the 1979 election.



Banking and business interests push the eject button on Rizzo's charter change ambition. Maybe Rizzo will finally figure out who is in the driver's seat.

It's pretty clear that the ruling class is, at the present time anyhow, opposed to a third mayoral term in principle. They didn't learn that "principle" in a high school civics class, however. For them it is a practical matter. Philadelphia's City Charter gives the mayor's office a great deal of power, more than is accorded mayors in any other large city.

There is the real danger, from their point of view, that the mayor could establish a power base on his own through the patronage system, the manipulation of city contracts, the use of police power and

through political popularity based on demagoguery. They see these developments in the Rizzo administration and they have decided that such developments threaten "enlightened" corporate control of city government and may have serious impact on their own business interests.

At the same time the corporate blue-blood's opposition to Rizzo is carefully qualified and conditional. Thatcher Longstreth and the Chamber of Commerce crowd have a genuine fondness for an administration that has cut taxes on big bus-

iness and poured millions of the tax payers' dollars into downtown urban renewal and commercial development. If worse came to worse, they could certainly live with another Rizzo term.

With his now famous "white rights" speech in Whitman Park, Frank Rizzo embarked on a political course that diverges from the game plan of the city's corporate elite. Rizzo has cast his lot with the national right-wing revolt. Rizzo wants to become a national spokesman in the fight against busing, affirmative action, the death penalty, fair housing laws and a host of other issues. (Frank has a certain problem in championing the tax revolt, having raised local property taxes by 30% two years ago).

As the mayor of the nation's fourth largest city, Rizzo is in a much stronger position to promote his national ambitions than as a private citizen. Rizzo's new course means heightened racial polarization and jeopardizes the city's relations with the federal government. This is what makes the big boys in the corporate board rooms nervous. At this point in time they are not prepared to go the route of extreme reaction represented by Rizzo and the New Right.

As one business leader told the *Inquirer*, "There is a feeling out there that as long as the city keeps fighting knockdown, drag-out battles with the federal government, and as long as we keep hearing harsh rhetoric about ethnic wars, that it's not going to be possible to turn the economy of this city around."

THE BATTLE AHEAD

The ruling class opposition to the Charter change probably has come too late to have much impact on Rizzo's decision to publicly support such a change and thus announce his candidacy for a third term. Despite the fact that Rizzo has avoided a direct endorsement of the charter change effort, he has clearly committed all of his political resources to it. He has already made his move, and with an ego three times the size of the Tincum Swamp, Rizzo won't back off now.

The real opposition to Frank Rizzo's ambitions, however, does not come from the corporate board rooms overlooking Center City. It comes from every neighborhood and community in the city. Next month we will take a look at this grass-roots opposition to Rizzo and we will also examine how a badly divided labor movement regards Rizzo's attempt at a third term.

SWIM PARTY & FUND RAISER

Saturday July 15

WORKERS' RIGHTS LAW PROJECT
PICNIC AND SWIM PARTY
FUND RAISER

SATURDAY, JULY 15 1-9 PM

8120 New Second St.
Elkins Park, Pa.

The Worker's Rights Law Project is holding a picnic and swim party fundraiser on Saturday, July 15, 1-9 PM, at 8120 New Second Street, Elkins Park, Pa. All are urged to come and have a good time, and also help raise much needed money for the project. A \$2 donation includes platter and beverage.

The Law Project is an organization of workers and legal people who are committed to providing workers with access the legal information needed to combat

such problems as race and sex discrimination, harassment, unjust firings, health and safety violations, contract violations, etc.

We all know that legal help can be very expensive and that often we're forced to drop our legal battle just because we can't find the right lawyer or can't afford to pay for it. The goal of the Project is to provide quality legal aid to Rank and File activists at a cost they can afford. By coming together to make this possible we can start to support each other when the problems happen. We can learn from each other's struggles and build from each experience.

Tickets and raffles are being sold now or can be bought at the picnic. For more information or to get tickets and raffles, or leaflets about the picnic, call the Workers Rights Law Project - LO3-1388.

music games food drinks

UAW Official Exposed

Joseph (Yank) Robinson, a United Auto Workers international service representative and a member of UAW Local 92 (Budd Red Lion) has had some of his non-union business activities highlighted in the press the past few weeks. Robinson, a man who normally likes to be in the limelight, isn't too happy about the exposure he is getting.

The Philadelphia *Daily News*, in a four part series, detailed many questionable activities Robinson has engaged in as head of the North City Area Wide Council.

The *News* claims that Robinson may have misused federal anti-poverty funds by diverting a portion of them to his own business activities. The newspaper gives one example of Robinson purchasing a boiler, with Model Cities funds, for a ballroom he rents.

He is also in trouble with the federal government for failing to pay over \$2000 deducted from employees' paychecks for 1977 Social Security and income taxes. The city controller's office has been investigating Robinson's practices and the chief of special investigations has stated that he believes there has been a serious violation of the law.

The *Daily News* contends that Robinson runs the North City Council in a dictatorial fashion and hasn't allowed new elections since he took office in 1973, even though federal guidelines call for elections every two years.

Despite charges against him, Robinson has had no trouble with the city agencies like the Redevelopment Authority because he is a Democratic Party Committeeman and a Rizzo supporter. Both he and his son, Joseph Jr., contributed \$1000 to Rizzo's last campaign. Robinson allied himself with the Rizzo faction in order to get backing for Joe Jr.'s unsuccessful campaign against Councilman Cecil Moore in 1975.

The *Daily News* further states that Robinson bought 23 houses from a program run by Councilman Harry Janotti as part of a housing renovation program.



Joseph Robinson: business empire

The houses were purchased for \$14.50 each. They were supposed to be completely renovated, then returned to the community at a reasonable price, usually through a lease-purchase agreement. His tenants complain that instead, Robinson made only superficial construction with aluminum siding, paneling, and cheap carpeting at a cost of not more than \$500 a piece. They say that he is asking up to \$9,500 for houses which still suffer from major defects in plumbing, heating, and electrical work.

The *News* stated that Robinson runs a minor business empire, and that some of his wheelings and dealings as director of the North City Council have paid off handsomely to his other business interests. The *News* also revealed that Robinson recently pleaded guilty to charges of deceptive business practices, tampering with public records, and theft by deception in connection with a security agency which he ran for a short time. He received six months probation in a special rehabilitation program.

Many of the workers at Budd's Red Lion plant who know Robinson said that these charges came as no surprise to them, that they are well aware that Robinson has a weakness for easy money. As international representative Robinson plays a major role in contract negotiations and in settling major grievances. The two questions on the minds of most workers were, If he can "take" so easily from the federal government under cover of fighting poverty, how much is he getting from Budd? Also, what is the UAW International going to do about Joe Robinson?

NIOSH Visits Budd Red Lion Plant

On June 15th and 16th, the National Institute for Occupational Safety and Health inspected the Red Lion plant of the Budd Company in Northeast Philadelphia. The inspection came through the initiative of workers in the automotive division who had filed a "Request for Health Hazard Evaluation." This form of petition by which workers can call on NIOSH to investigate their workplace. The petition from Red Lion carried 25 signatures, including two stewards.

Mr. Walter Chrostek and an associate toured the automotive departments, which produce chassis for AMC and Ford cars and trucks. They took bulk samples of all oils and chemicals used in the plant, did an on-the-spot inspection of ventilation and respiration facilities, and interviewed over 75 workers affected by the fumes and smoke from welding. The problem of fumes and smoke is particularly bad, because the company refuses to clean the metal which is quite greasy, before it is welded.

The samples will be tested and the interviews evaluated by NIOSH to determine the chemical composition of the substances, and the harmful effect which may result from welding them. In three or four weeks a NIOSH crew will return to more thoroughly test the air quality at each station on the assembly lines.

These tours are one more step in the struggle of automotive workers at Red Lion to secure a safer place to work. As long ago as 1975, a steward in the assembly Department 111 filed a grievance protesting the excess oil and grease. In the grievance, he complained of eye irritation, breathing problems, skin rashes and other physical effects.

In February 1978, another grievance was filed by six workers on the B shift who did not know of the previous grievance. They cited exactly the same problems resulting from smoke and fumes. In addition to filing the grievance, the workers went to the Philadelphia Project on Occupational Safety and Health (PHILAPOSH) which suggested that they contact NIOSH. Shortly thereafter, the request for an inspection was submitted.

At the same time, the 1975 grievance reached the fifth step of the grievance procedure. At this point, according to the contract between the UAW and the Budd Co., the union has the right to strike. However, the grievance committee immediately voted the grievance to arbitration, not even considering seriously the strength that the right to strike gives the union.

The union is still maintaining pressure on the company to settle the grievance. The request is simple: clean the chassis rails and other parts before they are welded.

While the Budd Co. had money to spend on a clean up campaign for the recent visit of the new German owners of the company, so far they can't come up with a cent to save the health of their workers who produce their profits. This is clear to the rank and file, and also to the leadership, who are not about to stop fighting.

In the last few years of the economic recession, many companies, not just Budd, have tried to save money by cutting corners on health and safety. Red Lion workers, however, are ready to say that their health is not negotiable.

UAW Local 813 Turns Thumbs Down on Rizzo

While the labor big-wigs of the city's central labor council are having trouble making up their minds on how to respond to Frank Rizzo's concealed bid for a third term through changing the city charter, auto workers at the Hunting Park Budd plant made it crystal clear where they stand.

According to the *Concerned Members Bulletin*, the newsletter of the Concerned Members of UAW Local 813, the membership voted at their April meeting to send Rizzo a letter calling for his resignation because of his racist speech at Whitman Park. The motion, made by a member of the Concerned Workers, was adopted unanimously.

The newsletter summed up the arguments for the motion pointing out that:

"Rizzo was trying to stir up race hatred in order to turn the white voters' eyes away from his own failure as mayor-- a huge tax increase for homeowners after promising not to raise taxes and giving businesses a tax cut, a bankrupt school system that gets less city money than in most other big cities, and racism in giving out housing rehabilitation money which the US government now may withdraw Organizer, July '78, page 6

from Philly. When it comes to corruption Rizzo offered Pete Camiel a deal in the bathroom and then failed a lie detector test about it, fired Lyn Abraham from the Redevelopment Authority for refusing to hire Democratic party hacks, and got a \$400,000 house from a city contractor for \$100,000. But Rizzo has not and will not do anything that really benefits either white or black people. Has he even slowed down the drain of jobs from the city? No. Has he cut down on crime? No. But he wants white people (2/3 of the voters in Philly) to forget all that and let him be mayor forever. That would hurt everyone in Philadelphia, not just black folks."



"I think the safety record of our plant is excellent - especially when you consider how dangerous it is to work there."



FRANK RIZZO, accused of being a racist, retorted "that don't bother me."

UNIONS HURT HEALTH CARE ?

NO! Hospital Unions Care About Patients Too

by ELIZABETH DOBBS

One of the first charges by administration against unionization of hospital workers is that unions show no regard for patient care. Dire predictions are made about how patient care will deteriorate because of the unions' lack of concern for high professional standards and the abandonment of patients in the case of a strike. Meanwhile, hospital administrators nobly proclaim their dedication to the care of the sick. Let's examine these charges in light of the facts.

What do unions do to maintain or improve "high professional standards"?

TRAINING AND WORKING CONDITIONS

Many unions have training and upgrading programs for their members. 1199-C, National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees provides an opportunity for all their members to acquire or improve professional abilities by offering full tuition and 80% of the member's salary for furthering his or her education. Refresher courses and conferences are organized as well. Many Pennsylvania Nurses Association contracts provide for paid time off to attend clinical conferences as well as a voice on hospital patient care committees. The PNA serves as a collective bargaining agent for many RNs and LGPNs.

In many cases, the union has fought for better working conditions which improved the ability of workers to carry out their jobs effectively. In the same way that the number of students in a classroom has a direct relationship to how well a teacher is able to teach, so it is with nurses. The number of patients for whom a nurse is responsible directly affects the quality of care which is provided each patient. One of the key demands of RNs in San Francisco during



contract negotiations in 1974 was a provision for "the participation of staff nurses in assessments of patients' daily needs for nursing care, and the basis upon which nursing personnel are assigned"

The issue of staffing is a serious one with nurses. Mandatory on-call duty, excessive weekend duty, shift rotation doubling back and being pulled to units which require care for which they are not trained are a few of the examples of staffing problems. Facing the kind of speed-up typical of the assembly line, harried nurses are lucky to provide minimally safe care. The time needed to really plan and carry out comprehensive care is the "impossible dream" for most nurses. Overwork, lack of training and real concern for patients is forcing nurses to seek the protection of a union. While the demands for improved wages and benefits should not be underplayed, the quality of patient care is directly addressed in the contract demands of nurses for improved staffing.

A good example of where real concern for the patient lies is present in the Chicago nurses' contract struggle in 1976. Hospital management wanted to retract sick pay for the first day off due to illness thus forcing nurses to work with patients during the most infectious phase of an illness. Economic gain, not concern for patients or nurses was the hospital's primary consideration.

The charge that unions are "unprofessional" is used particularly to undermine the efforts of nurses to organize. More and more professionals are joining the ranks of the organized—teachers, social workers and even college professors. What these people are learning is that calling oneself a professional does not necessarily mean professional wages, working conditions, fringe benefits or respect. Unorgan-

ized workers, professionals or not, are witnessing the gains won by the unionized and are following their example.

strike is never done on a whim and is used by unions only as a last resort. One RN involved in a recent successful strike at a New York hospital had this to say:

"Nearly eight months had passed since we opened collective bargaining in good and we still didn't have a contract. If the hospital absolutely refused to take us seriously, if it was the only language they would understand—we'd have to strike... We took a preliminary strike vote, gave the prescribed ten-day notice and... we walked out."

Hospital management is given every opportunity to negotiate an agreement. There are many instances of hospital workers working months without a contract while waiting for management to sit down and bargain. In the end, a strike is the only weapon which workers have to force the hospital to recognize their demands.

In the final analysis, it is not unions which are an obstacle to quality patient care but hospital management itself. "They (the administration) say they want patient care, but they don't make it possible", is the comment of one frustrated nurses' aide. Hospital administration demonstrates its lack of concern for patients through understaffing, assigning of untrained personnel, prohibitively high cost of care and a general disregard for the input of its employees on questions of improving care.

DIVIDE AND RULE

The charge that unions are anti-patient care is just one of many ways which hospital management tries to confuse and divide its employees. Professional jealousy and the stratification of jobs along strict racial and sex lines contributes to the difficulty of workers reaching an understanding of their common grievances. RNs are resented by LGPNs and so on down the line. The lowest paid, least skilled jobs (housekeeping, dietary, etc.) are relegated to Black and other minority workers. Sexism, racism and professional jealousy are all used by the hospital to counter efforts toward unionization. Inevitably these divisions among hospital workers serve the interests of management at the expense of a united work force.

Despite the efforts employed by management, hospital workers are organizing in ever-increasing numbers. We must build this trend and encourage that consideration for patient care be an aspect of our contract negotiations in the interests of a united and healthy working class.

Silber-Newlin Debate

continued from page 2

them as well as the concrete implications of those differences. It was only during the brief 15 minute rebuttals that the clash of views really began to emerge.

In addition, the question and answer period did not really serve to advance either side of the argument. Only a few questions focused on party-building and these were interspersed between queries on trade union line, relationship between racism and sexism, etc. The session was also successfully disrupted numerous times by a string of long-winded outbursts delivered by members of Spartacus League, a Trotskyist organization.

Hopefully, the Silber-Newlin debates will continue since the first round did not really serve to take the exchange beyond what had already developed in written polemics.

STRIKES AND PATIENT CARE

Another aspect to the charge that unions are anti-patient care is that they encourage workers to strike—thus abandoning their patients. This charge must be combatted because of the impact it has on the public at large as well as the hospital workers themselves.

An AFL-CIO official states, "Only 2% of all negotiated settlements involve a strike." This fact alone dispels the myth that voting for union representation inevitably leads to a strike. More important than this fact, however, is that calling a

PWOC Political Committee Statement The Horn of Africa



HORN OF AFRICA

The following statement was issued by the Political Committee of the PWOC and represents its analysis of the present situation in the Horn of Africa.

As Ethiopia prepares its offensive against Eritrea, all anti-imperialists are faced with the responsibility of making an analysis of the complexities of the struggle in the Horn of Africa and producing orientation that can guide our activity. In approaching this task we must be clear on what our criteria are. The overriding consideration in the Horn, as elsewhere, is what resolution will most advance the general anti-imperialist struggle. The various questions that arise in relation to the Horn—the character of the Dergue, the nature of the Eritrean national struggle, etc.—all must be evaluated in this light.

The left is clearly divided in its analysis of events in the Horn. Some, notably the Communist Party USA, the Workers World Party, and the Communist Labor Party basically subscribe to the Soviet line which holds that the Dergue is Marxist-Leninist, Ethiopia is socialist, and all those who oppose it, including the Eritrean liberation movement, are doing the work of reaction and imperialism. Others, namely the organizations which uphold China's international line, characterize the Dergue as a fascist regime and a pawn of Soviet social imperialism. They support the left opposition within Ethiopia to the Dergue, the various national movements within the old Ethiopian Empire and supported Somalia in its war with Ethiopia over the Ogaden.

Progressive international opinion, which largely backed Ethiopia in relation to Ogaden, is more divided in terms of its attitude toward Eritrea. While only a few progressive countries, liberation movements and parties back Eritrea fully, there appears to be growing reservations about a military solution.

THE DERGUE: MARXIST OR FASCIST?

Central to any perspective on the Horn is the question of the character of the Dergue. The two opposing viewpoints, the one that holds that it is Marxist-Leninist, the other that it is fascist are both one-sided and false characterizations of a contradictory phenomenon. These characterizations serve to rationalize a pre-conceived policy rather than illuminate the actual nature of the Dergue.

There seems to be little question that the Dergue has carried out a genuine anti-feudal, democratic revolution in Ethiopia. Acting in response to the mass movements unleashed by the fall of Haile Selassie's reactionary government, the Dergue carried out sweeping democratic reforms. The age old system of feudal land tenure was abolished by the nationalization of the land and its division among the peasantry. An extensive program of nationalization of banks, insurance companies, manufacturing and

commercial businesses was carried out. Mass associations of peasants, workers and women were formed in conjunction with these reforms.

At the same time the evidence does not point to the conclusion that the Dergue is carrying through a democratic revolution of a new type, that is, a revolution that on the basis of the worker-peasant alliance and proletarian leadership will go over to the socialist revolution. Rather, the democratic revolution in Ethiopia is stalled and appears to be degenerating. While on paper committed to a transition to civilian rule and basic democratic rights, the Dergue has, especially since 1977, launched a ruthless terror aimed at its left opposition. Left elements who collaborated with the regime played a central role in the mass associations, and were a major factor in the Dergue's progressive policies were purged and suppressed in that year. The mass organizations appear to have become increasingly bureaucratized. The extent and arbitrariness of the so-called "red terror" would hardly seem conducive to developing the democratic content of these forms.

But the real Achilles heel of the Ethiopian revolution is the national question. No amount of Marxist-Leninist rhetoric can obscure the basic chauvinism of the Dergue's attitude and policy toward the various oppressed nationalities of the old Ethiopian Empire. From the beginning the Dergue's slogan has been "Ethiopia First", its policy the maintenance of the "territorial unity and integrity" of an empire built on force and annexations. While the Dergue is committed on paper to some limited forms of autonomy for the different nationalities, its actual practice in relation to Eritrea, where the right to self-determination is absolutely clear, is a better indication of the regime's real attitude. Mengistu consistently refers to the Eritrean liberation struggle as "separatist banditry". The Dergue persists in regarding Eritrea, which was forcibly federated with Ethiopia in 1952 and annexed outright in 1962 as a "province of Ethiopia."

The fruits of the Ethiopian revolution are being squandered by the Dergue in the colonial war against Eritrea. The political and economic tasks associated with the consolidation of the democratic revolution and a transition to socialism are incompatible with the national policy of the Dergue.

WASHINGTON, MOSCOW AND ADDIS ABABA

The international realignment of the Dergue is no proof of its socialist character. It does not even guarantee that it will be a stable anti-imperialist force. In fact, it is the Dergue's colonial policy more than anything else that seems to have determined its alignments. In 1976, well after it had carried out its radical democratic program of land reform and nationalizations, following the failure of the offensive against Eritrea, the Dergue turned to US imperialism and Zionism for

aid. The US responded by providing the largest dollar amount of weaponry in its 24 years of aiding Ethiopia, including F-5 starfighters and M-60 tanks. Israel trained a 20,000 man elite unit for anti-guerrilla war known as the Flame Brigade. In December of 1976 the Dergue went to Moscow and obtained an even better deal, an open-ended promise of aid, which now comes close to \$1 billion, mostly in military hardware. The Soviets also provided 1,000 advisors. Three months later the Dergue broke off ties with the US and formally aligned itself with the Soviet camp.

But both Washington and Addis Ababa appear to be keeping their options open. The Agency for International Development continues to give grants to Ethiopia. In May of 1977 the International Monetary Fund gave the Dergue a loan of \$57 million. At least as of last year Israeli personnel was still involved in training Ethiopian troops. The Dergue thus does not appear to have irrevocably severed its ties with imperialism and it is certainly not inconceivable that at some future point it could reverse its international alignment. A failure to carry through the tasks of the democratic revolution makes such a possibility all that much more likely.

PETTY BOURGEOIS NATIONALISM

If the Dergue is neither M-L or fascist, then what exactly is it? The Dergue appears to be a petty bourgeois nationalist formation with kinship to similar formations like Nasserism in Egypt and the Ba'ath Socialist regimes in Syria and Iraq. These regimes represent a bureaucratic and military strata of the petty bourgeoisie whose aspirations are circumscribed by imperialist domination. In the absence of an organized worker peasant alliance with proletarian leadership, these forces dominate the anti-imperialist struggle. While such forces have begun the democratic revolution, none have successfully effected a transition to socialism. The bureaucratic, petty bourgeois "socialism" that is the product of these movements does not provide a stable foundation for such a transition and invariably there is backsliding and degeneration. Ethiopia under the Dergue appears to have much in common with Egypt under Nasser. Both countries carried through real but partial social revolutions. Both regimes suppressed their left opposition and monopolized power in the hands of a bureaucratic-military elite. Both countries aligned themselves with the Soviet Union and adopted a general anti-imperialist stance. The fate of Egypt after Nasser illustrates the instability of these formations, their vulnerability to renewed imperialist penetration.

ERITREAN NATIONAL QUESTION

The other central question in relation to the present crisis in the Horn is the nature of the Eritrean national movement. The Dergue, while recognizing some elements of a national question in Eritrea, insist

that given the overthrow of the reactionary Selassie regime and the present "socialist" nature of Ethiopia, that Eritrea remain part of Ethiopia. It might be one thing if the Dergue opposed secession while recognizing the right of Eritrea to secede. But clearly that is not the case since the Dergue is carrying out an annexationist policy and denying Eritrea's right to self-determination.

The USSR echoes the Dergue on this point. Again, while acknowledging a national problem, the Soviet theoreticians argue that it is "an internal Ethiopian question and up to the Ethiopians to decide." This is a strange notion coming from so-called Leninists. We would have thought that the question of secession was up to the Eritreans to decide.

The Dergue and even some of its left critics see the Eritrean question as the problem of an oppressed nationality within Ethiopia and belittle the Eritrean claims to nationhood. But the facts do not support such an argument.

Like other African nations, Eritrea's nationhood is a product of colonialism. Prior to the occupation of Eritrea by Italy towards the end of the 19th century, Eritrea had known invasion and partition by many conquerors and had enjoyed only brief periods of relative independence. Like Ethiopia, Eritrea was not and is not a homogeneous nation but a country with many nationalities, languages and religious groups. It was the colonization of Eritrea by Italy which created the modern political and territorial entity of Eritrea. The experience and resistance to colonialism shaped the national consciousness of the Eritrean people.

The Dergue seeks to win support for its annexationist policies by playing on the OAU nations' hostility toward secessionist movements. Early in its existence the OAU agreed that borders inherited from colonialism must be maintained. Any other policy would open a Pandora's box since in Africa no state is made up of only one nationality, and many ethnic groups cross national boundaries. Imperialism has exploited secessionist movements, as in Katanga and Biafra, and thus the OAU policy has the support of progressive as well as neo-colonial African states.

This is why Ethiopia had almost unanimous support in the Ogaden war with Somalia. Somalia's claims to territory in both Ethiopia and Kenya are a clear violation of OAU policy. But Eritrea is not the Ogaden. Eritrea was a distinct colony, first of Italy, and after World War 2 of Britain. The forcible merger of Eritrea some 26 years ago with Ethiopia was done under the auspices of the UN with the backing of western imperialism.

Ethiopia's outright annexation of Eritrea some ten years later cannot be justified in terms of respecting the boundaries inherited from colonialism. If anything, it is Ethiopia's policy of annexation which contradicts this principle. The nearest thing to an analogy in Africa is the case of Namibia. The former German colony of Southwest Africa is now forcibly held by South Africa which gained control of it by being designated trustee by the League of Nations. Namibia's right to independence does not contradict OAU policy nor does Eritrea's.

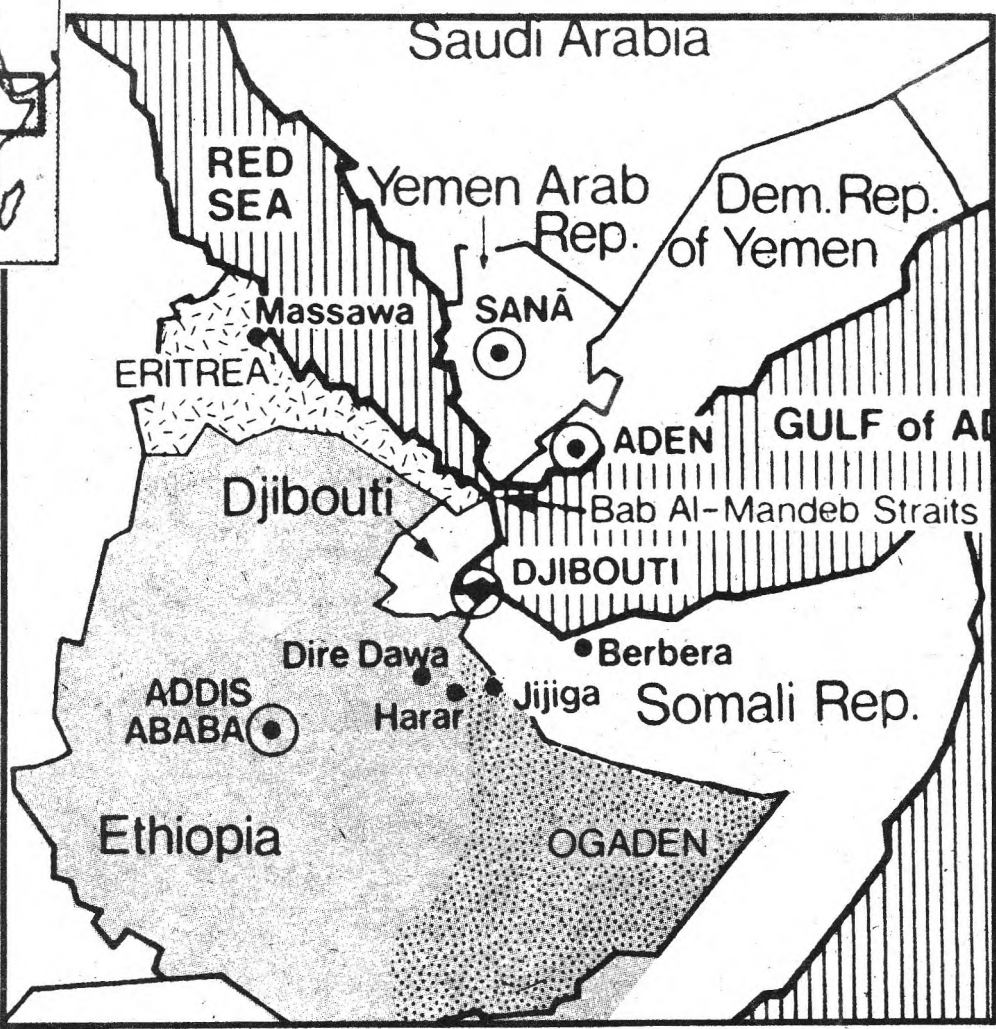
PAWNS OF REACTION?

The final argument of the Dergue and its supporters is that the Eritrean national movement is a pawn of imperialism and Arab reaction. On the surface at least this would seem to be the strongest card in the Dergue's deck. Saudi Arabia, the Arab Emirates, and the Sudan support Eritrean independence. The Sudan has also been the principal backer of the Ethiopian Democratic Union (EDU), the right-wing feudal opposition to the Dergue.

According to a number of correspondents, the State Department is consider-



Ethiopian militiamen in Addis Ababa last year before being sent to fight in the Ogaden conflict.



Thus it is possible that the Dergue's present charge that the Eritrean movement is a pawn of reaction could become a self-fulfilling prophecy. Clearly the way to insure that Eritrea's aspirations for independence are not put to the uses of imperialism is to insist that the Dergue recognize the legitimacy of those aspirations and withdraw its armies.

ROLE OF USSR AND CUBA

The key to a progressive solution of the conflict in the Horn is the attitude and policy of the Soviets and Cubans. Without the massive military aid the Dergue presently receives from the Soviets, the regime could not long hold its remaining positions in Eritrea, let alone launch a major offensive. The involvement of Cuban troops as well as being militarily significant provides greater legitimacy for the Dergue owing to the well deserved prestige of Cuba in anti-imperialist circles.

At this point there have been contradictory reports as to the involvement of Cuban and Soviet personnel in Eritrea. The fact that the offensive has not materialized seems to indicate reservations on the part of the Dergue's allies. Nevertheless, having backed Ethiopia in the Ogaden at the expense of their ties with Somalia, the Soviets are undoubtedly reluctant to jeopardize relations with the Dergue by attaching conditions to their aid.

Ethiopia provides a far more substantial foundation for Soviet great power ambitions in the area than either their former ally, Somalia, or their other present ally, South Yemen, both of which are smaller and weaker. The present Soviet position is a product of a policy which subordinates proletarian internationalism to the needs of great power rivalry with US imperialism.

At the same time, it is probably wrong to think that the Soviets are urging the Dergue toward a military solution in Eritrea. It is more likely that they are the captives of the Dergue on this question than the other way around. A non-aligned, independent Eritrea appears to be something the Soviets could live with. The argument that the Soviets require port facilities in Eritrea to replace those they lost in the break with Somalia is not that compelling. The Soviets are presently using the port of Aden in South Yemen, directly across the gulf from their former base at Berbera. It is not at all obvious why this is not a suitable alternative.

The Soviets were clearly reluctant to back a military solution in the Ogaden. Only their diplomatic efforts to win support for a federation of progressive states in the Horn and Gulf areas met with failure did they support an Ethiopian counter-offensive.

The Soviets are under increased pressure to abstain in the event of a full offensive. South Yemen recently reversed its policy, withdrawing its troops from Ethiopia and once again extending base areas to the Eritreans. Syria and Iraq have also been vocal in their opposition to an offensive. Given that these countries are important allies of the USSR, the Soviets cannot simply ignore this pressure. It is also possible that the Soviets are encouraging these moves from behind the scenes in order to restrain the Dergue without appearing to be directly interfering.

There has been much speculation that Cuba has serious reservations regarding the Dergue's Eritrean policy. Observers have noted Cuba's former ties with the EPLF, the fact that EPLF has supported Cuba's role in Angola, and the silence of the Cuban press in relation to criticism of the EPLF.

There have been reports of a visit to Havana by an EPLF delegation and of divisions within the top party leadership. At the same time, the Cuban party has been an enthusiastic and largely uncritical booster of the Dergue's Marxist-Leninist pretensions. At best it is a risky business to predict what Cuba's ultimate attitude will be.

If Cuba does back an Ethiopian counter-offensive, we must not hesitate to criticize this serious mistake. But we must not fail to distinguish between this and the progressive role Cuba is playing elsewhere in Africa.

OUR TACTICS

Anti-imperialists must call on the Soviet Union and Cuba to withhold their aid to the Dergue pending the regime's abandonment of its plans for a military solution, and its recognition of Eritrea's right to independence. Simultaneously we must raise the slogan "US Hands Off" — we must understand that US imperialism will inevitably seek to turn any Soviet reluctance to back the Dergue to its own advantage, and develop our tactics accordingly.

We also must take care to distinguish our attitude from those who routinely back any measures that have the effect of weakening the Soviet Union to the benefit of US imperialism. This is particularly important in the present context — where the Carter administration and its allies in NATO are seizing on alleged Soviet and Cuban "subversion" in Africa to mount a campaign aimed at bolstering neo-colonialism throughout Africa (see article on p. 1).

A strong international expression of support for Eritrea, support which is clearly framed in the context of opposition to imperialism, is what is presently called for to prevent a setback for revolutionary interests in the Horn of Africa.

ing backing Eritrean independence as well. Clearly this support is based on preventing the development of further Soviet influence and protecting the joint interests of the oil sheiks and US imperialism.

But on closer examination, this argument is not so compelling after all. The character of the Eritrean Liberation Movement itself must be taken into account. There are three distinct liberation organizations, the Eritrean Liberation Front (ELF), the Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF), and the ELF-PLF.

The armed struggle was launched against Ethiopia by the ELF in 1961. The ELF was dominated by bourgeois nationalist elements who subordinated the armed struggle to diplomatic maneuvers, failed to fully mobilize the masses, and played down the class struggle. As a result the movement made only limited gains.

The EPLF grew out of an opposition within the ELF and broke with them in 1970. While on paper the programs of the two organizations were similar, in practice, the EPLF sought to develop a policy of people's war, developing mass organizations of workers, peasants and women, building schools, clinics and consumer co-ops and carrying out a policy of land reform in the countryside.

The ELF sought to crush its rival, resulting in a civil war which lasted until 1975. Since then there has been a cease fire and limited cooperation between the two groups. Recently an agreement was reached calling for the eventual merger of the fronts. This is to be a protracted process to allow for ironing out the major differences between the two.

The ELF-PLF was a split off from the EPLF. Headed by Ousman Sabbe, former head of the EPLF foreign delegation, ELF-PLF represents the extreme right of the movement and has close ties with Arab reaction.

Of the three organizations, the EPLF appears to be the largest and strongest with three times the members of ELF. ELF-PLF is very small and holds only a small area of territory along the Sudanese border. Over the last year ELF has apparently suffered significant defections, mainly to the EPLF, but some to the ELF-PLF as well.

The EPLF calls for a policy of self-reliance. It does not seek or accept aid from the reactionary Arab bloc or the imperialists. It seeks to develop support from anti-imperialist forces. In the past EPLF has received assistance from Algeria, Cuba and China, but today receives no concrete aid. Only the PLO and the Polisario Liberation Fronts among anti-imperialist forces actively back Eritrea, but neither provides economic or military aid.

The ELF receives aid from Iraq and Syria, while the ELF-PLF gets money from the Arab Emirates and the Saudis.

Thus the reactionary forces have not backed the whole liberation movement, but only those sections which they consider reliable allies who would insure that an independent Eritrea would not be a threat to their interests. The ELF-PLF is weak and discredited. When the ELF and the EPLF announced their merger agreement they also called for the ELF-PLF to disband within 60 days or be crushed.

The ELF's potential for penetration by reactionary forces may still be a question mark, but the merger and apparent growing hegemony of EPLF would seem to lessen this danger. EPLF itself gives every indication of being a mature and tested revolutionary force with proven independent bearings.

INDEPENDENCE KEY TO ERITREAN REVOLUTION

Given this, at the present time there is no basis to conclude that the Eritrean movement is a pawn of imperialism or that an independent Eritrea will strengthen the hand of Arab reaction. The present balance of forces within the Eritrean national movement make it far more likely that, given the chance, Eritrea would emerge as a non-aligned revolutionary force. With an independent Eritrea emerging out of a protracted liberation struggle with a mature revolutionary leadership, there is reason to believe that the Eritrean revolution will go deeper and prove more durable than the top down revolution of the Dergue.

Furthermore, the resolution of the Eritrean national question will provide the best framework for the Ethiopian revolution to go forward. Only a democratic solution to the national question can offer the political context and the economic capacity to move forward toward socialism.

As long as the Dergue is able to disorient the masses with national chauvinism, squander their blood and the fruits of their labor in a colonial war, real democracy, let alone socialism, cannot be anything more than a hollow slogan.

Finally, the future of the Eritrean movement cannot be separated from the policy of the Dergue and its international backers. The commitment to a military solution and annexationism can only serve to push the Eritrean movement in the direction of reaction. It is to the credit of the EPLF that they have resisted this. But a protracted Ethiopian campaign with Soviet weaponry and possibly Cuban troops will tend to strengthen the hand of those who argue for an alliance with any forces willing to aid the movement.



The women of Keren, Eritrea, took to the streets to demand equality and the abandonment of feudal, sexist ideas. In a mass demonstration led by the fighters of the Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF), over 4000 women demanded: "Let women be organized, politicized and armed."

ERA

Faces Threat

by SARA MURPHY

The Equal Rights Amendment, which guarantees women equal rights under the law, is in a crisis. With three states still required to pass the Amendment before it is ratified, the Illinois legislature voted against ratification twice last month.

Since Illinois was the last northern industrial state to consider the ERA, its defeat there puts the future of the Amendment in jeopardy. The National Organization for Women (NOW) is planning a march in Washington July 9, to pressure Congress to extend the ratification deadline, which is now March 22, 1979. It is critical for broad forces to mobilize and rally to support the ERA for this action.

The "Stop ERA" campaign led by Phyllis Schlafley has spread rumors, lies and fear about the effects of the ERA. We've heard that legal equality for women means the end of the American family and that public restrooms will be open to both men and women. In the midst of this fear campaign, it is important to step back and read the actual text of the ERA:

"Equal rights under the law shall not be abridged by the US or by any state on account of sex."

In other words, the ERA would make any state or federal legislation which discriminates on the basis of sex unconstitutional. As things stand today, it is not in violation of the US Constitution for women to suffer unequal treatment by the law.

Although the AFL-CIO now supports ratification of the ERA, for many years it did not. Its justification of this sexist stance was that the ERA would wipe out

protective legislation that working people and their unions fought for years to institute. This is not the case, however.

What the ERA will do is to call all such laws into question. This will open the door for extending laws that truly protect women workers to protecting men as well. In states where women get two breaks and men get one, for example, both men and women ought to get two breaks. And restrictions such as weightlifting ought to be decided on the basis of job ability and not sex, so that men do not have to do jobs that are too heavy and unsafe. At the same time, laws such as Nevada's statute restricting working women to lifting under ten pounds, which clearly prevent women from doing all kinds of work, would be abolished.

Of course only a well-informed and united labor movement can guarantee that this happens. Men and women of all nationalities must unite to support passage of the ERA and extension of protective legislation.

The movements of the oppressed nationalities also have a stake in seeing that the ERA is passed. For the right-wing forces to defeat the ERA would be a setback for all democratic-minded people and for the struggle of minority people for equality. And while the defeat of the ERA would come down on women from all walks of life, it would affect national minority women the most severely.

The ERA, in one form or another, has been before the US lawmakers since 1923, and women still do not have equal rights in our "justice" system. If the deadline for ratification is not extended and the right-wing ERA opponents forced



March in Washington July 9. 100,000 people demonstrate to support extension of deadline for ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment.

into retreat, the Amendment is likely to die unratified. Women's inferior status will continue to be sanctioned by the US Constitution.

If the ERA is this straightforward, then why all the scare tactics about the disintegration of family life and co-ed restrooms? The leaders of the "Stop ERA" movement know these fears are unfounded. They and their powerful and rich backers are using every trick in the book to try and preserve women's unequal status in this society.

These are the same rich and powerful backers of the Bakke decision which attacks affirmative action programs, of the Hyde Amendment which denies Medicaid funds to poor women seeking

an abortion, of the union-busting campaign which is trying to institute "right to work" laws throughout the Midwest, and of anti-democratic legislation such as the S-1 bill before Congress.

The powers that thrive on inequality among poor and working people. They grow rich on the extra profits they make when women and national minority workers receive low wages. They laugh all the way to the bank while men blame women, and whites blame Blacks, and we fight each other for the crumbs.

It's critical that all working people unite behind the women of this society and support full equality for them. The ERA is one step in that direction.

PFT Ranks Face Uphill Struggle

by JACK OWENS

On June 13th, the Pennsylvania Legislature overriding a Shapp veto, sent \$14 million back to the empty coffers of the Philadelphia school system. School Superintendent Michael Marcuse promptly announced, with much fanfare, the restoration of some highly visible budget cuts -- especially varsity sports. No amount of publicity, however, can hide the glaring fact of a remaining \$54 million deficit to be made up through demolished programs and the layoff of 2700 employees. Nor has it done little to deflect the rising anger of the Philadelphia community and rank and file teachers led by the School Employees Action Caucus (SEAC).

UNION BUSTING, PHILLY STYLE

At the heart of this latest crisis is the need for Philadelphia's major banks to protect their "investment" in enormous school loans. Crucial to continuing bank profiteering is the destruction of the 21,000 strong Philadelphia Federation of Teachers (PFT). To achieve this goal, the School Board is demanding that the PFT allow the layoffs through increased class size and the elimination of teacher preparation time -- provisions won in the bitter strike of 1972.

In addition, the Board wants to freeze wages, eliminate health and welfare benefits, seniority rights and other vital provisions won in the past. The Board's proposals in June, 1978 are identical, down to the last comma, to those first presented in October, 1977. Not only is the School Board refusing to negotiate, it is asking the PFT to commit suicide!

With the city broke, a 30% tax increase to his credit and a charter fight looming ominously in November, Frank Rizzo is desperately attempting to scapegoat "greedy" teachers and city employees in

a last-ditch effort to keep his floundering political career afloat. He is using his in the building trades unions to try and isolate the PFT. He must, at all costs, prevent the labor solidarity which threatened an unprecedented one-day general strike in support of the PFT in 1972.

PFT RESPONSE

In response to this all-out frontal assault, the PFT seems painfully slow to react. While PFT President Frank Sullivan and chief negotiator John Ryan are, so far, standing firm on class size and prep time, and are beginning to organize for a strike within the PFT, they have failed to reach out to the public in any substantial way beyond placing a few ads in the papers.

While teachers are clearly not to blame for the increasing deterioration of the schools, they are the most visible and accessible representatives of the system and often must bear the brunt of escalating parent anger and frustration. The blatant racism of the School Board and the city has made these tensions even more acute in the minority communities which provide 62% of public school children and must bear the major brunt of cutbacks.

Rather than tackling the question of racism and attempting to build unity between parents and teachers, the PFT leadership has ducked the issue and has remained aloof from the community.

Rather than mounting an aggressive grass roots organizing campaign, they have urged letters to Harrisburg. And with a potential disaster staring them in the face, Sullivan, Ryan and company have often seemed more concerned with stifling rank and file initiative within the PFT than with the survival of the union. For instance, the general membership, at their April meeting, passed a resolution calling for a city-wide teacher-community support demonstration on May 24. This was quickly amended by the leadership to read that an action should take place

"before the end of school", leaving the details to the Executive Board. No demonstration was ever called.

SEAC

SEAC is emerging as the leading voice of the PFT rank and file. SEAC has consistently fought for the interests of the rank and file. In 1977 they led a successful fight to amend the PFT constitution to give full union rights to laid-off members. They oppose the Bakke decision and support desegregation through busing. Their program around the present crisis includes maintenance of prep time and the current class size, protection of all programs and all jobs, across the board raises and increased federal, state and city funding, not at the expense of other social services.

They are attempting to mobilize the PFT rank and file and are committed to building an active coalition with community groups. Plans call for organizing community forums, street speak-outs and articles in the neighborhood newspapers.

SEAC's job is being made easier by the fact that important groups like the Parent's Union are applying essentially all of their pressure on the School Board to engage in honest negotiations. This is in marked contrast to 1972 when the Parent's Union took an anti-union stand.

Groups like the Philadelphia Council of Neighborhood Organizations and the Northwest Task Force on Public Education have taken strong pro-union stands with others likely to follow as the real enemies of our children -- the banks, the School Board and the city administration increasingly reveal themselves.

This blossoming alliance between teachers, non-teaching employees and the general public must be consciously and actively built in every neighborhood in Philadelphia. The future of our children-our future- depends on it!



ZAIRE IN CRISIS

by JENNY QUINN

"Massacre in Zaire!"
"100 Whites Slaughtered"
"Black Mercenaries Murder Unarmed Whites!"

In late May and early June, headlines like these were splashed across the front pages of papers all over the country. By the middle of June they had been replaced by the Cold War cries of National Security Adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski: "Soviet-Cuban Threat to International Stability", "Soviets Behind Zaire Invasion", "New Cold War?"

These two sets of headlines lay out pretty clearly two messages we are supposed to accept: 1) that Black Africans wantonly murder whites (one white life is worth ten Black ones); 2) Soviets and Cubans are behind the social upheaval in Zaire, which justifies US arms build-up and intervention in Africa.

MASSACRE IN ZAIRE: NOTHING NEW

That white residents were killed in the mining town of Kolwezi is true but it is not the whole truth. It is not clear who killed them. Some accounts attribute the killings to Mobutu's troops who are known for their lack of discipline. A provocation aimed at discrediting the rebels, the forces of the Congolese National Liberation Front (FNLC), cannot be ruled out. Other accounts say the whites were killed by FNLC troops who broke discipline and went on a looting spree.

Either way, this event needs to be placed in context. Moral outrage from the Western governments is the height of hypocrisy. The European colonialists butchered thousands of Congolese. These "civilized" whites punished stealing by Africans, in the days of colonial rule, by cutting off the hands of the accused. While the press played up the white deaths, the deaths of Black civilians in Zaire inspired no massacre headlines or editorials. This kind of reporting is tailored to play on racial fears and obscure the real issues.

INVASION OR REBELLION?

The so-called invaders of Shaba province were of the Lunda tribe which is the major ethnic group in Shaba. Even most western journalists admitted that the local population around Kolwezi appeared to support and aid the rebels. Why did they receive this support?

Shaba province is one of the most mineral rich parts of Zaire, which as a whole is extremely rich. But the people there are malnourished, working long hours and making almost nothing. Zaire's 40 million people live in a country which produces 90% of the world's cobalt (no jet has ever flown without cobalt) and where copper and other valuable minerals are abundant.



French Foreign Legion soldier interrogating Black citizens in Shaba province, Zaire. The French and Belgians are major co-partners with the US in the exploitation of Zaire.

But the average Zairean eats so poorly that according to the UN, he or she only gets half the protein necessary to maintain decent health. A case of the measles would kill most Zairean children. In Shaba province a child's diet is mostly manioc — a starchy root with little protein, but it helps to quiet their hunger pangs.

At the same time, President Mobutu is one of the richest men in the world. He owns houses in almost every world resort. He started out as an army officer, but by collaborating with large multi-national corporations to protect their investments with military might, he was able to rise in power. In 1965 he staged a military coup and installed himself in office.

By playing middle-man for the CIA and other western intelligence agencies and companies, he was able to make a big profit on channeling money to FNLC during the war in Angola. An ex-CIA agent who was in charge of Angola operations in 1975 said that Mobutu went so far as to pocket \$1.5 million; he was supposed to pass on the use FNLC.

Mobutu stays in power through corruption and repression, sending troops against his opposition wherever it arises. He seems to think there is no limit to how far he can go in selling the people of Zaire down the river. He actually sold the northeastern section of Shaba to the West Germans, who run it as if it were a separate country. They use it for a testing ground for cruise missiles and have installed a surveillance system which can keep tabs on most of Africa.

On top of all this, Zaire is so far in debt to the western powers that one American businessman said, "When you loan money, the other party is in debt. When you loan this much money, you become a partner."

The French and Belgians, as major co-partners in the exploitation of Zaire have the same essential interests. The strategic location of Zaire in the heart of Africa is

another consideration. Zaire has been a key base for exporting counter-revolution to Angola. It's continued subservience to western imperialist interests is critical to thwarting the movements towards a genuinely independent Africa.

Thus the western powers moved quickly to bail out Mobutu. On June 6, top US Belgian, French, British, and West German officials met behind closed doors to decide Zaire's military and economic fate, and to decide Mobutu's future. The decided to exchange \$100 million in emergency aid, plus \$1 billion over the next two years, in return for Mobutu's last shred of political independence.

According to the *Christian Science Monitor*, "Key decisions will be made by Western councilors, distributed through such important sectors as the national bank, the mining industry, transport, communications and defense." A western official in Paris told the *New York Times* that "all participants agreed that Mobutu had to be given one more chance because there was simply no alternative to him as President, but that he would be made to understand that it was his last chance and that he had no choice but to accept supervision, a shadow government."

This is consistent with the way in which the western powers have dealt with Zaire all along, although it is more extreme. Until 1960 Zaire was a colony of Belgium. When it won formal independence, Patrice Lumumba, a nationalist democratic leader, became its first prime minister. The CIA became worried right away. Although Lumumba was not a communist, he was open to trade with the socialist countries.

The CIA recommended to Eisenhower that he be assassinated, and evidently Eisenhower approved, because two plans were worked out. When this was revealed in 1976, the CIA made a big deal out of the failure of their attempt. But the CIA coached Mobutu's troops who captured Lumumba and turned him over to the Katangese secessionists who killed him.

The US also supported, both politically and economically, Mobutu's coup in 1965.

SOVIET-CUBAN THREAT?

Through its hardliner Zbigniew Brzezinski, the Carter administration has been beating the drums about a "Soviet-Cuban" threat to Africa, touching off speculation about a renewal of the Cold War. In part this talk represents a cover for US intervention on behalf of corporate interests and puppets like Mobutu. But it also represents real concern about the declining position of the US in relation to the USSR in Africa and elsewhere.

Brzezinski's talk about Soviet-Cuban aggression in Zaire glosses over several key facts. No evidence of direct Soviet or Cuban involvement in the Shaba events has been produced by anyone. Far from encouraging an "invasion" of Shaba, Cuba's Fidel Castro and Angolan President Neto have both said publicly that they sought to restrain the FNLC and Neto has recently closed the Angola-Zaire border to the rebels.

Mobutu and his US backers are hardly in a position to cry about foreign-backed invasion when they are supporting the subversion of Angola by basing counter-revolutionary guerillas on the Zaire-Angola border.

Finally, while the US government howls about Cuban troops in Africa, it discreetly supports the 14,000 French troops fighting in Mauritania, Chad, and elsewhere in Africa.

THE WEST'S STAKE

With hundreds of millions out in loans and over \$2 billion invested in mineral extraction, it's clear why the Carter administration as the voice of the monopoly corporations is rallying to the support of Mobutu.

US propagandists obscure what is at the heart of the struggle in Zaire, as it does in South Africa, Namibia, and Zimbabwe. On one side are the neo-colonial forces, who act as agents of western capitalism and are backed by the big imperialist powers. On the other side are the forces of national liberation — who want to develop Africa for Africans. Because these forces are aided by the Soviets and Cubans, their cause is no less legitimate. Was the American War for Independence in 1776 less genuine because it received aid from France?

This is the real issue in Africa today. The US government's racist scare stories and anti-communist propaganda are attempts to obscure their design to keep Africa under the thumb of imperialism.

CP-ML on Zaire Spreading the Word for Brzezinski

by JENNY QUINN

"Soviet-Cuban backed Katanganese mercenaries have launched their second invasion in 14 months into the copper rich Shaba province of Zaire." The *Daily News*? No, *The Call*, organ of the Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist). It is no accident that the *Call* article with the exception of an occasional, obligatory Marxist phrase, reads like a Zbigniew Brzezinski speech. It does not bother the leaders of the CP-ML that at a time when the Carter administration is raising the roof about Soviet-Cuban "invasions" to justify expanding imperialist intervention throughout Africa, its newspaper is providing them with ammunition. Parrotting the line of the most anti-Soviet imperialists is a working principle of these "revolutionaries" and "internationalists."

Internationalism for the CP-ML means a

blind defense of the foreign policy of the People's Republic of China, no matter where it leads them. China has been aiding Zaire since the early seventies and has recently stepped up its support. For China and thus for the CP-ML, the Soviet Union is the main danger in the world today. In the name of combatting this danger, alliances with even the most unsavory anti-Soviet forces is the order of the day.

Both the Chinese and the CP-ML describe the efforts of the Mobutu regime aided by French legionnaires and Belgian paratroopers to suppress the Shaba rebellion as the "defense of national independence." That Mobutu's regime, which is owned lock, stock and barrel by imperialist interests, can be characterized in these terms is the height of cynicism.

How can France, formerly a colonial

power in Africa and presently the West's gendarme on the continent with troops in half a dozen countries, promote the national independence of Zaire? To China, French intervention in Shaba last year was a prime example of the growing unity of the Second World (Western Europe, Japan) and the Third World (Asia, Africa and Latin America) in the struggles against hegemonism. (From *People's Daily*, November 1, 1977.) To portray this imperialist power, one of the biggest oppressor nations in Africa, as a friend of national independence is truly amazing.

The Call is sensible enough to realize the truth about Mobutu will only embarrass them so they ignore his regime and focus on the FNLC, the so-called Katanganese "mercenaries."

They blindly equate the FNLC with the Katanganese rebel army of Moïse

Tshombe which was active in the late fifties and early sixties. Tshombe's rebel army fought for the secession of Shaba from the newly independent Zaire, formerly the Belgian Congo. They fought against the progressive and democratic national movement led by Patrice Lumumba, and in fact killed Lumumba after the CIA handed him over to them. After Mobutu came to power in 1965, he was able to virtually wipe out the Katanganese secessionists, although some fled into Zambia and Angola.

Not a great deal is known about the FNLC and thus its revolutionary credentials are open to speculation. But it is clear that the FNLC of today is not the Katanganese secessionist movement of almost 20 years ago. The bulk of the FNLC leadership and rank and file were young children in 1961. The surviving remnants of the secessionist forces have since fought with the MPLA and been subject to anti-imperialist political influences. The FNLC insists its aims are not secessionist but rather to overthrow the Mobutu regime throughout Zaire. While any number of question marks remain, to portray the FNLC as "invaders" and mercenaries cannot be justified.

The Economy: Still Sick ... But the Worst is Yet to Come



by JOHN REED

"The dollar was the downhill champion of 1977", said a Zurich banker who had no interest in either skiing or skateboarding. He was referring to the steep decline in the value of US currency against the monetary units of the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) and Japan — the two healthiest economies in the capitalist world. Last year the dollar lost 12.5% of its value against the German mark, and a whopping 22% against the yen.

The dollar's troubles mean more than higher martini prices for Americans travelling abroad. The weakness of the dollar is a good indicator of the woes of the world's capitalist economy as a whole.

The history of the 1970's has been one of currency gyrations, uneven trade deficits and surpluses, faltering world trade and general economic stagnation — all signs of fundamental instability. Beginning with the dethroning of the dollar as the leading international currency in 1973, through the world's longest and deepest post-war recession of 1974-5, and up to the present day, the brokers of international finance have been unable to make any progress in resolving the economic crisis. In fact, all signs point to a gradual increase in its severity.

Since 1973 the finance ministers of the US, Britain, France, FRG, Italy and Japan have been laboring to bring some

semblance of order to currency exchange rates. Initially they allowed the various monetary units to fluctuate against one another within fixed limits but that soon had to be abandoned. For the past few years anarchy has reigned in international markets with only an occasional attempt by a country's central bank to prevent dramatic shifts in currency values. While the capitalist ministers are convinced that freely fluctuating exchange rates breed economic instability, for the present they have all but given up any attempt to stabilize monetary transactions.

MOUNTING TRADE DEFICITS

Payment and trade imbalances show no sign of moderating. 1978 has been the sixth year in a row in which a handful of countries have run large surpluses leaving the rest of the world in a situation of worsening debt.

Last year while Japan registered a record \$10 billion surplus, the FRG over \$3 billion, and Britain, for a change, had a minute positive balance, France and Canada were left with substantial deficits; but the largest deficit was suffered by the US. In 1971 the US suffered a trade deficit for the first time in this century and has been in the red every year since except 1973 and 1975. The 1977 imbalance, however, set a new record of \$31.4 billion, and is expected to be even higher this year.

Much of the hope for correcting this situation has rested on the current "Tokyo round" of the international talks on tariffs and trade. But these talks have been dragging on for four years and no real progress has been made.

While all the leading capitalist countries subscribe to the equation between free trade and economic growth, their actual practice in recent years has been to erect import quotas and tariff restrictions. As the example of the price referencing system on steel imports adopted by the Carter administration this spring shows, the slide towards protectionism continues.

Efforts to stimulate economic growth have also met with little success. In early 1976 the 24 nation Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD, which includes among its members most countries of Western Europe, the US and Japan) vowed to coordinate plans for economic expansion. Since a world capitalist growth rate of 4.5% was needed just to keep unemployment from rising in the OECD countries, it was agreed that they would collectively sustain a 5% advance per year for the rest of the decade.

In 1976 the target was reached with expansion of 5.2%. But in 1977 the rate dipped to 3.5% and it is expected to be well below 3% this year. All this has put the economists in a gloomy mood; they agree that prospects for an economic rebound are slim and that renewed stagnation — if not recession — is likely.

What makes the economic wizards even more depressed is the state of the US economy. Since the US accounts for 40% of the capitalist world's industrial output, a healthy US is an essential condition for world growth. But the US is suffering a case of acute stagflation — economic stagnation coupled with high inflation.

U.S. SNEEZES — WORLD CAPITALISM GETS PNEUMONIA

While the White House has been waxing euphoric about the surprising decline in unemployment, it is readily apparent that, like Carter himself, the dip is more smile than substance. It is true that as of March 1978 unemployment stood at 6.2%, 1.2% below the level of a year earlier, but even that figure is just a few tenths of a percentage point below the 6.8% and 6.7% of the sharp recession years of 1958 and 1961. Moreover, a "mere" 6.2% still means that well over 6 million people who are actively looking for jobs can't find any.

The decline of the unemployment rates has not been evenly distributed among whites and national minorities. While the unemployment rate has declined 20% from March 1977 for white men, 25% for white women and 12% for white youth, it has slipped only 11% for Black men, a piddling 3% for Black women, and not at all for Black youth.

Since the rates listed by the US Dept. of Labor systematically understate unemployment by excluding all those who have given up looking for work, the actual jobless rate is much worse. Estimated rates for real unemployment are 10% in general, 20% for all minorities, 60% for Black youth, and between 70 and 80% for minority teenagers living in urban areas. Hardly an encouraging picture for what the bourgeois economists characterize as a "boom" year!

Despite the fact that unemployment remains near peak levels, prices are beginning to rise again. The rate of increase in consumer prices accelerated from 4.8% in 1976 to 6.8% in 1977 and has approached double digits in the first half of 1978. In February the Consumer Price Index stood at 188.4 (1967=100) which means that it presently takes \$18.84 to buy what \$10 would have purchased in 1967. For a number of commodities the index shows even greater advances over the past ten years: \$10 of medical care now costs \$21.32; of food, \$19.71; of housing, \$19.50; and of utilities and gasoline, \$21.78. If inflation continues to advance through 1978 at the rate it has moved in the first few months, at year's end a 1978 dollar will be worth 48 cents compared to a 1967 dollar.

US dependency on oil imports is also growing rapidly. From five million barrels of oil imported daily in 1972, consumption is up to 8.5 million barrels daily and it is projected that this figure will reach 12 million barrels by the end of the decade. This year the bill for oil imports will come to over \$40 billion, a figure which will not only further strain the US trade deficit but also add renewed impetus to inflation. And according to reports from the recent meeting of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries in

Geneva, the price of a barrel of crude oil will be raised from 5-10% on January 1, 1979.

BELT TIGHTENING VS. PUMP PRIMING

The slightest dip in unemployment, the continued growth of oil imports, the trade deficit and the resurgence of inflation taken together have caused the White House to revise its assessment of public enemy number one. In his January economic report to Congress, Carter had specified unemployment as the main target of his economic program, advocating a \$25 billion tax cut to stimulate growth of industry. He has already been persuaded to shave \$5 billion off his original proposal. And since a tax cut would fuel inflation, Blumenthal, Secretary of Treasury, has begun to waffle on the question of whether any tax cut is advisable at all.

The inevitable result of this change in administration tactics will be to aggravate the apparent slowdown in the US growth rate. In the first quarter of 1978 industrial production did not advance at all. And while this is partly the result of the United Mine Workers' strike, few economists expect the US to equal last year's growth of 4.5%.

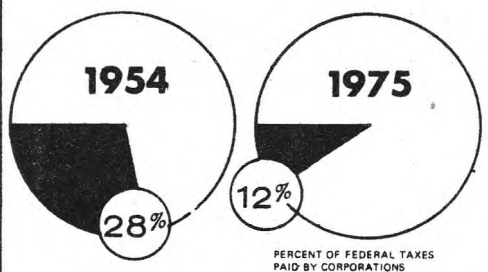
Lower expectations for growth are also clearly reflected in the investment plans of business. Even when it assigned an artificially low rate of inflation to its calculations, the Commerce Department estimated that the real gain in outlays for new plant and equipment would only be 5.9%. According to the *New York Times* this figure is "much lower than believed necessary to support the designed growth rate for the economy..."

Slackened growth of course, will tend to encourage higher unemployment as well as further undermining the OECD efforts to achieve its commitments. But it is important to note that the US ruling class has no choice but to press for a downturn in the economy. Renewed inflation can only serve to aggravate both the trade deficit and the decline of the dollar. By raising the prices of US commodities it makes US exports even less competitive than they are presently. Obviously, less competitive exports mean a larger trade imbalance but they also yield renewed pressure on the dollar. Potential buyers are naturally reluctant to accept the currency of a country if they have no desire to purchase its exports.

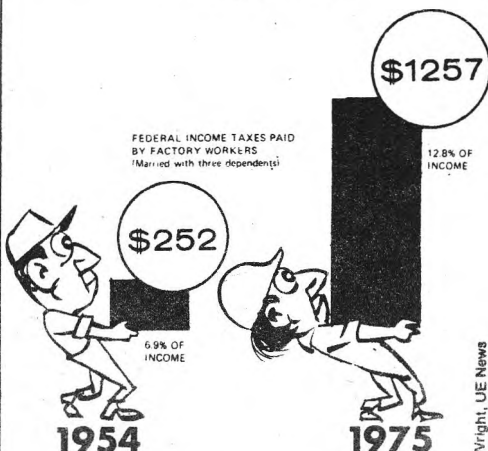
Thus the immediate prospects for the US economy are the same as those for the capitalist world as a whole — heightened stagnation and probable recession. With the "recovery" from the worst recession since the 1930's only some 34 months old, the US is again entering the "bust" phase of its economic cycle.

But since the US economy is in much worse shape, the difference from 1975 is significant. Unemployment is higher, the trade deficit more imbalanced and world economic conditions even more unstable. The 1975 recession started with 4.6% unemployment which soon reached 9% with massive layoffs and economic hardship. What will happen when the 1979 recession begins with 6%?

As corporate contribution to cost of government shrinks...



...workers' tax load grows



SOURCES: WALL STREET JOURNAL AND BUREAU OF LABOR STATISTICS



Myths about Communism



Cuban workers in the Luis Melian can factory

The Cuban People: The Engine of the Revolution

by JIM GRIFFIN

If the socialist countries are repressive dictatorships in which a handful of party members rule over everyone else then it must follow that at the first opportunity the masses of people would rise in revolt to overthrow this tyranny. Or at the very least we would expect that the people would be unwilling to fight on behalf of socialism. After all, police state methods might hold a people in check for a time, but they cannot motivate millions to heroic sacrifices.

The capitalist class has had difficulty reconciling its view of socialism as one big concentration camp with the reality that workers in the socialist countries have performed almost super-human feats in defense of this system. Time and time again the capitalists have been victims of their own propaganda.

THE REVOLT THAT NEVER HAPPENED

In Cuba, once it became clear that the Cuban people were out to make a real revolution and break the hold of the US monopoly corporations over the life of the island, US policy makers moved rapidly to bring down the revolutionary government. They imposed an economic blockade aimed at bringing Cuban industry, which was dependent on US materials and spare parts, to a grinding halt. They were confident that the economic hardships would bring the Cuban people to their senses and lead them to dump Fidel. Instead Cuban workers by both great effort and ingenuity fabricated new parts and kept old machines running with makeshift repairs.

The US encouraged Cuba's doctors, engineers, technicians and administrators to leave, promising them wealth and privilege. Thousands of them did so. The US government was confident that the exodus of these elements would disorganize and ruin the Cuban economy. Instead, unskilled workers replaced the technicians in the factories and learned their jobs by taking classes after work. Second year medical students taught first year medical students. Ten thousand classrooms were set up in peasant huts, union halls and the abandoned homes of the rich. Thousands volunteered to teach and in one single year illiteracy was eliminated.

Having failed at sabotage, the US turned to an outright military solution. The CIA

trained army of right wing Cubans and backed by the US navy and air force, these mercenaries launched the Bay of Pigs invasion. US intelligence reports confidently predicted that the Cuban people would rally to support this attack. Instead, these so-called liberators were given a rude welcome. They were crushed in 72 hours by a revolutionary militia of factory workers, farmers, clerks and housewives.

The US efforts to bring down the revolution were not without their effects. There was serious economic dislocation—shortages of machinery, spare parts, consumer goods and skilled labor. These problems made life harder for the Cuban people. But by and large, the Cuban people willingly accepted the long lines at the stores and enthusiastically volunteered to work overtime and on weekends. They did so not because they were threatened or intimidated, but because they understood the revolution was theirs. It had to be de-

fended. It had to be built.

The politicians in the US and the crowd in the state department and CIA have never managed to understand this because of their deeply ingrained cynicism. To them, the workers, be they in Cuba or the US, are just so many mindless cattle who can be manipulated with a proper combination of carrot and stick. It never sinks through to these people that workers might understand what their real interests are and act on them.

THE PEOPLE ARE THE ENGINE OF REVOLUTION

For any socialist revolution democracy is not an abstract question. Democracy is not simply a matter of the subjective desire of those who led the revolution to see the masses achieve the broadest and fullest participation in determining the revolutionary order. More than this democracy, is the essential condition of the revolution's forward motion. The defense of the revolution, the development of production, the forging of new values—all the tasks associated with building a socialist society demand democracy. To the extent they are pushed aside the revolution will wither. The development of the Cuban revolution illustrates this logic.

To reorganize the Cuban economy, defend the revolution from foreign and domestic enemies and realize the broad social goals of the revolution a massive and well coordinated effort was needed. New organizations based on the masses of people were required.

One of the first of these was the Committees for the Defense of the Revolution (CDRs) formed in 1960. The original impetus for the CDRs was the activity of CIA backed counterrevolutionaries who were burning cane fields, shooting peasants and teachers, looting stores and even planting bombs at public rallies. The defense of the revolution was not left in the hands of the police but was taken up by the masses themselves. Organized on a block by block basis in every community the CDRs grew to 4.8 million members by 1976 (eight out of ten Cubans over the age of 14).

After the initial threat of counter-revolution had passed, the CDRs turned to other tasks. They organized massive health campaigns, going door to door to persuade women to get pap tests, get children vaccinated and to solicit blood donations. They organized neighborhood clean ups and food co-ops. They mobilized people for volunteer labor like cutting sugar cane.

The activity of the CDRs was not limited to organizing services. They organized neighborhood meetings to discuss new laws and air grievances about local problems ranging from food distribution

to surly sales people. Contrary to the notion that people in socialist countries are afraid to criticize officials or government policy, CDR meetings regularly air such criticism and insure that it is forwarded to the appropriate source for action.

THE STRUGGLE FOR EQUALITY

The Cuban revolution from the beginning has been committed to the abolition of racial and sexual inequality. The oppression of Cuba's Blacks and mulattoes and the degradation of Cuba's women was one of the pillars of the old order. One of the first acts of the revolution made racism a crime. Segregation in education, housing and public accommodations was outlawed and discrimination became a punishable offense. Racist textbooks were removed from the schools and libraries. The new generation of Cuban children, both Black and white, were taught the proud history of the rebellion of Cuba's slaves and their participation in the struggle for independence.

The Federation of Cuban Women, with over 2 million members, actively works to insure the promise of full equality for women. In this effort the federation has the active support of other Cuban organizations and the whole national government. Fidel Castro characterized the struggle for equality as "the revolution within the revolution."

The main task has been to draw Cuban women into production. Before the revolution women were largely excluded from employment except as domestic servants and prostitutes. Today over 25% of Cuban women are working and are found in substantial numbers in all walks of life. The new Cuban family code, which was widely debated in every factory and neighborhood, establishes full equality under the law for women and requires that men share equally in the work of maintaining the home.

(continued on next page)



WORKERS' VOICES

"We didn't see any time clocks."

The following accounts of life in Cuba are drawn from three short pamphlets written by US workers who visited and worked in Cuba:

The following accounts of life in Cuba are drawn from three short pamphlets written by US workers who visited and worked in Cuba: A Steel Worker Visits Cuba by Reese Lloyd, Workers in Cuba by Elizabeth Conner, and Cuba—No Place for Racism by Aquil Balogun. All are published by the Socialist Union of Baltimore and are available from them at PO Box 4334, Baltimore, Md. 21223.

"WE DIDN'T SEE ANY TIME CLOCKS"

We didn't see any time clocks in any of the factories that we visited. One thing I really noticed was that the workers worked at a comfortable pace. They didn't drive themselves. There were no bosses running around policing the workers to make sure they were working every moment, like here. I didn't see any supervisors standing at the time clock to make sure the breaks were exactly ten

minutes (like in my factory). The factories were also kept clean because the workers took pride in their factories.

CUBAN TECHNOLOGY

Whenever a machine broke down, as we worked, there was an instant gathering about it, 30-40 theories on how to fix it, Cuban workers' repartee. They would take apart and put together the moving parts, and within minutes, Cuban technology had triumphed, and the machine was back in production. "Cuban technology?" responded one worker, "I guess it's a US made machine held together with Soviet, Chinese, Bulgarian, French, English and (East) German parts, and a Cuban who can put them all together and make it produce."

PUNISHING RACISM

I was very interested in the kind of penalty someone might receive for openly exhibiting racist behavior. I was told about a Cuban who had uttered a racial slur against a black Cuban. This black then went to his neighborhood "Committee

for the Defense of the Revolution." One of the functions of the CDR is to keep harmony in their neighborhoods.

A people's tribunal, attended by the entire neighborhood, was held concerning the conduct of the Cuban who made the slur. What was determined as a just penalty for his racist behavior was that he would write a research paper on the contributions of Afro-Cubans to Cuba. Then he would have to read it to the whole neighborhood.

CHE'S MACHINE

During a break, a Cuban worker said he wanted to show us a machine no longer working: it was a small green stamping machine with a hand-lettered sign fixed to it. "That was Che's machine," he said. "When Che Guevara was minister of economy he used to come to this factory every Sunday to do his volunteer work. Che was a hard worker. After his death, the workers voted to retire that machine. Then realized that Che would not like that. So we kept it running 'til it broke down completely, THEN, we retired it..."

"You know, when we learned Che had been murdered in Bolivia by the imperialists, one million people went out into the streets of Habana. What was so strange was the silence. I can't describe it— one million people in absolute silence."

NUTS & BOLTS

Nuts and Bolts will be a regular feature in the Organizer. Its purpose will be to arm rank and file organizers with information and analysis that can be of practical value in the struggle on the shop floor and in the unions. Basic labor law, parliamentary procedure, and health and safety information are some of the technical areas we will cover

in future columns. Also, we want to deal with problems in building rank and file caucuses, starting an organizing drive and other practical concerns that face workers in their struggles with the employers. If you have a problem or a question that we can help answer, write Nuts and Bolts, c/o The Organizer.

THE RIGHT TO STRIKE

by DUANE CALHOUN

The right to strike is the backbone of trade unionism. The victories of the labor movement—the eight hour day beginning in 1886, the first union contracts in the auto, electrical and steel plants in the 1930's, pensions in the early 1950's—all of these gains came through strikes. Realizing this, the employers have sought to limit this right as much as possible ever since the earliest days of the union movement.

WHAT TO EXPECT

For workers who strike, particularly rank and filers or stewards involved in a wildcat, it's important to know what to expect from the company and the courts, and how to best protect yourself from getting fired when the strike ends. This is a brief guide to your right to strike during the life of the contract. Because of the vagueness of the law and the different factors that enter into each case, there are no hard and fast rules here and only general guidelines. Before going into action, check with a knowledgeable labor lawyer (The Worker's Rights Law Project, 1425 Walnut St., LO3-1388, can help you).

Remember too, that while the law is stacked against us, it is not absolute and must give way before the power of the organized rank and file. If you have the strength and unity, you can tell the employers and the courts to stick their laws, like the miners did with Carter's Taft-Hartley injunction.

Legally, there are two things that determine your right to strike: your union contract, and the National Labor Relations Act (NLRA—also called the Taft-Hartley Act). (Note: the NLRA doesn't cover farm workers, government employees or workers at non-profit hospitals. Other laws we won't cover here apply to these workers. The principles are basically the same, though.)

There are three basic kinds of strike clauses in union contracts: a spelled-out right to strike over grievances, a contract that doesn't say anything at all about strikes, and most common of all, the no-strike clause that requires binding arbitration of all unresolved grievances.

WITH THE RIGHT TO STRIKE

Having the right to strike over grievances spelled out puts you in the strongest position, but only a few contracts have this. Some unions also have the partial right to strike, for certain types of grievances, such as safety or production quotas. Having the right to strike in the contract protects you pretty well against being fired, except for rare instances where your strike is considered illegal under the NLRA by its nature. Examples of such illegal strikes are all sit-down or stay-in strikes, or walking out in order to force

your employer to stop doing business with another company that your union has a dispute with (called a "secondary boycott").

If your contract makes no mention of strikes one way or the other, you're in a weaker position. This is the type of contract the coal miners have. For years this was considered almost as good as a right to strike clause, but that's changed in the last few years. Now, most arbitrators and judges (but not all) have ruled that simply having a grievance procedure in the contract implies a no-strike clause.

NO STRIKE CLAUSE

The no-strike clause is found in one form or another in most union contracts. This clause usually pledges that there will be no "strike, slowdown, picketing, or other interruption of production" over unsettled grievances, and that such grievances will be settled by "final and binding arbitration by an impartial referee." Even if your contract specifically prohibits only "strikes", nearly all arbitrators and judges will interpret that to include slowdowns, sick-outs, mass overtime refusals, union meetings called on company time, refusing to handle "hot cargo" (work produced by scabs at another plant that's on strike), or any other organized disruption of production.

Since firing a whole department, shift, or plant would mess up their production, companies will almost always single out for discharge the strike leaders, as well as any union officials who took part, letting the others off with milder penalties. Both arbitrators and courts will usually allow them to do this. Stewards and other union officers who lead (or even take part in) a wildcat can count on being singled out for the heaviest penalties, unless a promise of amnesty is part of the settlement.

LEGAL WORK STOPPAGES

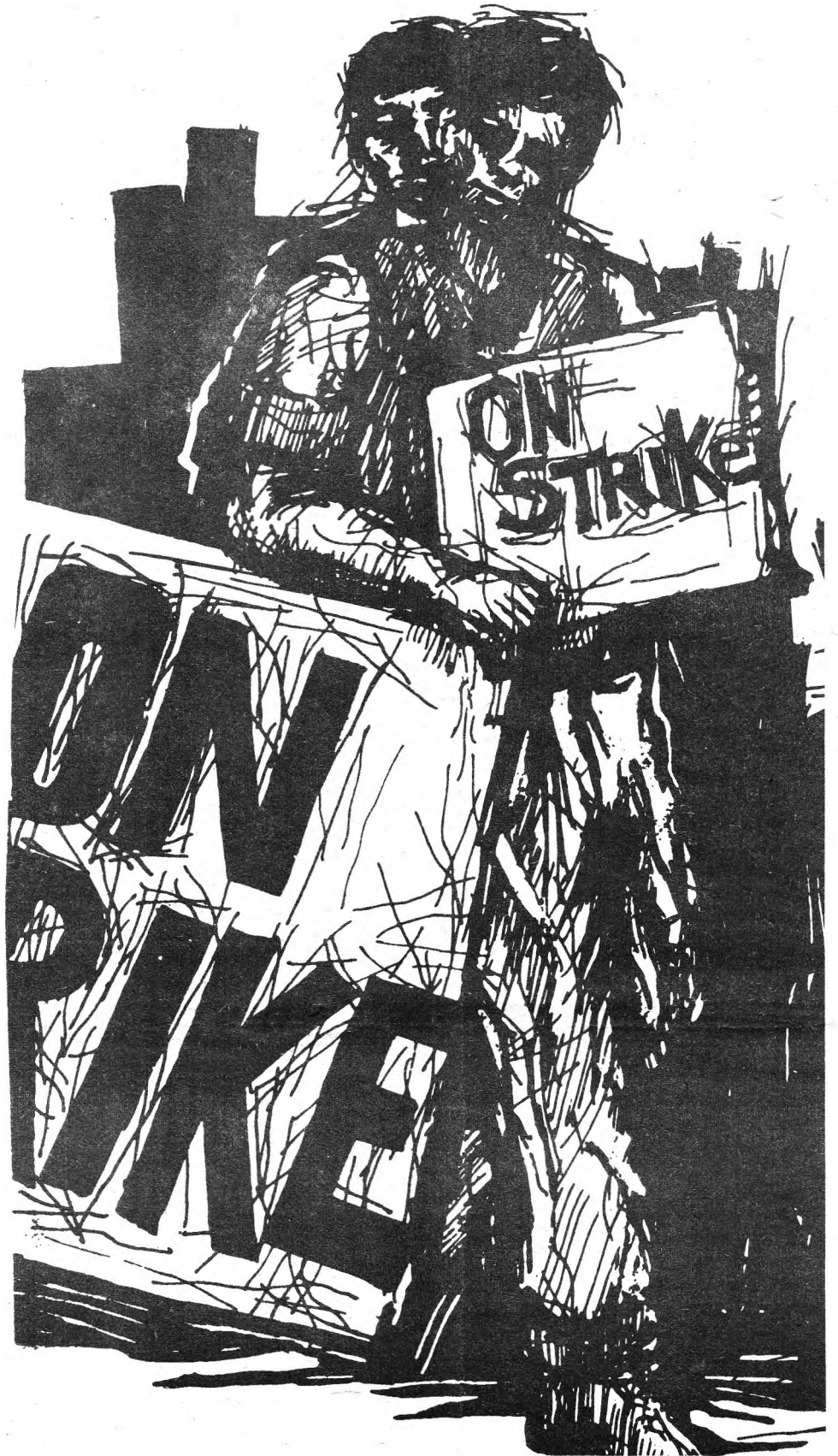
There are a few cases where workers do have the legal right to refuse to work, even though the contract has a no-strike clause. All of these cases require plenty of proof, and are hard to win. And even if you do win, you may be out of work for a long time.

The first exception is that you may refuse to work under conditions that you feel are "abnormally dangerous to your health or safety." There are a number of things that you must prove to use this defense: that the condition was "abnormal" and not one you commonly work under every day, that you honestly believed that your health or safety was in immediate danger, and that your refusal was intended to protect yourself from harm, and not an attempt to pressure the company into settling a dispute over some other issue.

criticized the failure to move at a faster pace.

Before the revolution the Cuban trade unions were dominated by gangsters and bureaucrats. In 1959 the unions held their first free elections in 15 years, sweeping these elements out into the street.

Unlike unions in the US which negotiate with the employer over wages and working conditions, the Cuban unions determine these questions themselves. There are no bosses to negotiate with. The



Strikes called to protest certain kinds of "unfair labor practices" by your employer may also be legal despite a no-strike clause. Some examples are strikes to protest the firing of a union official discharged for performing their duties as an employee representative, or in protest of some instances of "refusal by the employer to bargain in good faith" with the union.

A third exception is that individual workers usually have the right to refuse to cross a picket line set up by another union at your workplace, when two unions represent different groups of workers at the same workplace.

The last and strongest exception is in cases where you're able to force manage-

ment to give you a pledge that no reprisals will be taken against any strikers, as part of the strike settlement. A written agreement signed by the supervisor of the unit is best, but a verbal agreement is OK if there are plenty of witnesses. Arbitrators and judges generally uphold these pledges.

These and other mass organizations provide an important means through which the people participate in both shaping and implementing policy. They are like conveyor belts through which the needs, desires and criticisms of the masses are brought to the government and simultaneously the policies of the state are brought into contact with the people.

Workers in the US are accustomed to union meetings in which only a handful of workers attend. In Cuba over 3 million workers attended meetings to discuss the problem of loafing and absenteeism. (This in a country whose population is 8 million.) More than one and a half million participated in meetings and delegate elections for the 13th trade union congress. These meetings, far from being rubber stamp affairs, are lively and often heated, debating the full range of issues facing working people.

But what exactly does the Cuban state consist of? And what about the Cuban Communist Party? Who belongs to it and what role does it play? These questions will be addressed in our next article.

unions have a broad authority over questions related to production.

Full equality is still a goal rather than a reality. Only 15% of the top positions in administration are held by women and women are unequally represented in the party and high government positions. There is a shortage of day care centers which is holding back further employment of women. Many men still retain backward "macho" ideas. The revolution does not try to sweep these shortcomings under the rug. Fidel himself has sharply

CUBA

(continued from previous page)

Organizer, July '78, page 14