

# Crisis Deepens Between the US and Iran

by Kevin O'Hare

As we go to press, Carter has just made suggestions that US military force might be used in Iran. He has ordered that the aircraft carriers Kitty Hawk and Midway assemble with 18 other ships off the coast of Iran, as a show of the flag in the area. The 20 ships would carry about 15,000 sailors. Although the Iranians have freed 13 hostages, 49 remain captive. The Khomeini government has threatened to try at least some of them as spies if the US does not hand over the Shah who is still in a hospital in New York.

The Justice Dept. is investigating the status of some 100,000 Iranian students in the US, with the intention of deporting any whose papers are out of order. Many Iranians in this country are frightened and are staying off the streets. American demonstrators have beaten Iranians.

Yet as the crisis deepens, many Americans are taking a second look. Although most disagree with the tactics used by the Iranians in taking hostages, many would agree that the Shah should be sent back to Iran. He is recognized to have stolen billions of dollars of Iranian wealth and to have been responsible for the deaths of tens of thousands of people. He certainly does not need to be in the US for medical treatment which is available in many other countries — only through the intervention of the banker David Rockefeller was he allowed to come in the first place.

Many Americans also are disgusted by the Klan-like attacks on Iranian students in this country. And finally, many oppose any US military intervention in Iran — such intervention, as is admitted by the government, has little chance of freeing the hostages and would instead be a punitive attack on Iran tending to support all of the Shah's old allies there.

## THE SHAH — U.S. CONNECTION

The background to the recent events goes back to 1953, when the CIA spent \$18 million to overthrow the popular Mosadeq government which had nationalized Iranian oil. The CIA persuaded some officers in the Iranian army to oust Mosadeq and install the Shah. The Shah in

return promptly signed agreements to give US companies a large role in exploiting Iranian oil. In 1957 the Shah, again with the help of the CIA, set up the SAVAK, one of the most hated secret police in the world.

SAVAK is estimated to have murdered tens of thousands of Iranians during the 20 years of the Shah's tyrannical rule. The SAVAK was notorious for its torture techniques, and was active in the US against Iranian students with the permission of the US government. The Shah welcomed \$1 billion in US investment, and by 1978, 70,000 Americans were living in Iran, 1000 of them at the Embassy. Iran was the main US ally in the Mideast, and an ally of Israel in its wars against neighboring Arab countries.

The Shah himself accumulated a fortune estimated to be more than \$1 billion. On New Year's Eve 1978, Carter hailed the Shah, in a toast: "Iran, under the great leadership of the Shah, is an island of stability in one of the more troubled areas of the world. This is a great tribute to you your majesty, and to the respect, admiration, and love which your people give to you."

Peanut Jimmy seems to always know how to stick his foot in his mouth. One year after his now famous toast to the Shah, the Iranian people overthrew the tyrant and sent him fleeing abroad. Henry Kissinger urged the US to grant him asylum, but this was seen to be too much of an affront to the Iranians. Kissinger had to settle with getting the Shah into near-by Mexico.

US-Iranian relations worsened throughout this year, and most Americans left Iran. The Embassy staff was cut to 70, recognizing the possibility that the Embassy could be occupied. Then on Oct. 22 the Shah was admitted to a NY hospital for treatment for cancer, despite the awareness on the part of the US that this would provoke Iran. David Rockefeller, head of Chase Manhattan Bank which holds large amounts of Iranian deposits and which was a leader in lending money to the Shah over the last 20 years, insisted — and David Rockefeller has a lot of power. Kissinger no doubt also intervened.



A demonstrator in Tehran, Iran holds an anti-Carter magazine cover which reads: "This devil-like Carter/Must by our own hand be destroyed/May his life reach a dead end/and the CIA go into the void."

The Iranians saw it as an attempt to gain legitimacy for the Shah and the prelude to possible US moves to put the Shah back in power in Iran. On Nov. 2 Iranian students occupied the Embassy in Tehran. The Embassy staff, in a prearranged plan, destroyed most of the incriminating documents; it is inevitable that some Americans in the Embassy were in fact spies — the CIA commonly uses embassies abroad as headquarters for intelligence operations, especially in hostile countries.

On Nov. 4 the Bazargan civil government resigned in Iran, and Khomeini and his Revolutionary Council, a largely

secret body, took direct control of the country. Khomeini pronounced his support of the students and demanded the return of the Shah and the stolen billions.

## STALEMATE

A stalemate ensued. On Nov. 12 Carter decided to stop buying Iranian oil at about the same time the Iranians decided to stop selling it. Iranian oil accounts for about 4% of US consumption, and undoubtedly the oil industry will take advantage of the situation to raise gas prices even more. On Nov. 14 the Iranians decided to withdraw their money from US banks, and Carter promptly froze the funds. The Iranians have total foreign reserves abroad of about \$12 billion, of which \$8 billion is deposited in US banks, half in the US and half in US banks abroad. The Carter move to freeze Iranian assets upset world money markets.

Many other Arab oil countries are concerned about their US deposits and probably will tend even more to exchange dollars for other currencies. The move also caused Iran to promise that soon it would no longer accept dollars for payment of any of its oil, a prediction which upset major European and Japanese importers, and further eroded the dollar.

The Iranians are likely to sue the Europeans to force release of Iranian funds in US banks in Europe, opening up a thorny legal and political question for the Europeans. Finally, the \$500 million US investment remaining in Iran will be jeopardized.

(continued on page 10)

In  
This  
Issue

Violence in the Schools p.4

Fighting Runaway Shops p.6

Ku Klux Klan Killings p.7

Starvation in Kampuchea p.10

Three Mile Island Report p.14

The ORGANIZER

Philadelphia Workers Organizing Committee

# The Way Out of the Iranian Crisis

The present crisis in Iran is yet another instance of US imperialism's chickens coming home to roost. The US people are rightly concerned that the US citizens presently held hostage are released unharmed. To take diplomatic personnel hostage violates long accepted principles and practices governing international relations and has been condemned by most governments throughout the world, irregardless of their stand on the issues that separate the US and Iran.

Yet these things cannot be allowed to obscure where the fundamental responsibility for the crisis belongs. The US government is reaping the whirlwind for decades of support for the Shah. The CIA put the hated Shah in office and US government and monopoly interests propped him up with billions in foreign aid and investment. The Shah ruled by torture and repression, aided by US efforts to create and train the SAVAK, the dreaded Iranian police. US weapons were used to cut down Iranians who rose up in resis-

tance to the Shah. The Shah was not only a bloody dictator, but a master of greed and corruption. He put billions of dollars created by the labor of Iranian people in his own Swiss bank accounts and foundations.

The hatred the Iranian people feel for the US government is the product of decades of US support for the Shah and the demand that this criminal pay for his deeds is just. The hypocrisy of the Carter administration's stand that the Shah was brought to our country for "humanitarian reasons" is underlined by the total absence of humanitarian concern for the victim's of the Shah's torture chambers and firing squads on the part of the US government. "Humanitarian" sentiment did not stand in the way of trying the Nazi war criminals at Nuremberg or extraditing mass murderer Adolph Eichman. The Shah should get the same treatment. Not only is this best from the standpoint of the safety of the hostages — it is in the interests of creating true friendship between the US and Iranian people.

The stirring up of war sentiment among the US people and the moves of the Pentagon in preparation for possible military intervention are extremely dangerous. These developments must be seen in the context of a far broader attempt by the Administration to create a base of public support for US military adventures abroad. We don't need another Vietnam. There is no fundamental contradiction between the people of the US and the people of Iran. The contradiction is between the US monopoly capitalists and their drive to maintain their world position and the aspirations of the Iranian people for genuine independence. No US citizens should shed their blood in the Middle East to protect the profits of Exxon, Texaco, Gulf and the rest of the monopolies.

Finally the growing racist hysteria against Iranians in the US and the trampling on basic democratic rights by the actions of US authorities is another dangerous feature of the present crisis. This

ingoism and racism coincides with the intensification of racist violence symbolized by the KKK. Measures taken by the government to "punish" Iranians erode our basic constitutional rights and can be turned against other nationalities and US citizens.

To end the present crisis we call for the US people to unite in calling for three things:

**BRING THE SHAH TO JUSTICE — RETURN HIM TO IRAN.**

**NO MILITARY INTERVENTION — STOP THE WAR THREATS.**

**STOP THE RACIST PERSECUTION OF IRANIANS IN THE U.S.**

Left and progressive forces must work to organize the broadest mobilization around these demands and let the US government know there is no "national unity" for aggression against Iran.

## Letters To The Editor...



Dear Organizer,

I find that the *Organizer* has information in it which I don't come across in other newspapers here — not only information about the US, but international news as well.

Keep it up!

J.K.  
London, England

Dear PWOC,

Myself along with about 80 prisoners that gave testimony in the totality class action civil rights suit "Ruiz et. al. V. Estelle et. al." were allowed to transfer, if they chose to, to federal custody to serve out their remaining sentences as per Judge Wm. Wayne Justice's Court Order in response to the numerous complaints from the prisoner witnesses that testified against TDC (Texas Dept. of Corrections). Yours truly was placed in administrative segregation for six months, for no given reasons, prior to the transfer to the Feds.

I enjoy reading and reading and studying the *Organizer*, and look forward to receiving future issues. Aluta continua!

Yours in solidarity,  
name withheld

Dear comrades,

I'd like to take this opportunity to commend you all on your excellent work — work which is affecting not only people in Philadelphia, but all over the country. The other day, a guy I'm working with picked up a copy of "On Trade Unions and the Rank and File Movement" at a Providence, R.I. bookstore. He was very impressed by your work also, and liked your ideas. Having that pamphlet, and being able to talk to him about it will make our work much easier around here.

After reading the "Independent Political Action" pamphlet, I'll be showing it to him (if he didn't already order one himself). I'll try to send you some feedback on both pamphlets.

Keep up the good work!

In struggle,  
R.D.  
New Bedford

Dear Organizer,

Perhaps the only two people who benefitted from the exchange of letters in the August issue were ourselves. The publication of the letters forced us to deepen our criticisms and we found more unity than disunity in our analyses.

This is not the place to detail all the errors that we made, but two essential criticisms need to be stated: 1) the original article was not an all-sided analysis of the tax reform campaign in Michigan, and 2) the original letter sent to the *Organizer* did not aid in understanding or deepening analysis on tax reform in Michigan. Also, we are critical of ourselves for the primitive level of the struggle, and for subjecting the readers of the *Organizer* to a debate they would find difficult to follow — let alone understand.

In the future, we look to jointly deepening our analysis of the tax revolt and the future of independent political action in Michigan.

Fraternally,  
Jim Jacobs, DMLO  
Sam Stark, DSC

## The 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 capitalist system itself as the root cause of the day-to-day problems of working people. 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 mouth of the capitalist politicians. We work toward the replacement of the rule

of the few — the handful of monopolists — by the rule of the many — the working people.

The masses of people in the US have always fought back against exploitation, and today the movements opposing the monopolists are growing rapidly in numbers and in intensity. What is lacking is the political leadership which can bring these movements together, deepen the consciousness of the people, 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 on the difficult road to revolution.

The PWOC seeks, along 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.

### Subscribe!

Enclosed is:

- ( ) \$5 for a regular one year subscription
- ( ) \$10 for a first class mail subscription
- ( ) \$3 for unemployed or retired
- ( ) \$1 for prisoners

NAME.....  
ADDRESS.....  
CITY.....  
STATE.....ZIP.....

Enclosed is \$5 for a Gift Subscription:

NAME.....  
ADDRESS.....  
CITY.....  
STATE.....ZIP.....

Send to:

*The Organizer*, c/o PWOC  
Box 11768  
Philadelphia, Pa. 19101

All orders must be prepaid.

Bulk and foreign rates available on request. Back issues \$.50 each.

**CHANGE OF ADDRESS:**

*Third Class Mail is not forwarded!*

To keep getting your *Organizer*, please send us your new mailing address along with your old address label.

### In this Issue:

Labor Round-Up.....	p. 3
Violence in the Schools.....	p. 4
Legacy of George Meany.....	p. 5
Shutdowns.....	p. 6
Ku Klux Klan.....	p. 7
OPEC Enters the 70's.....	p. 8
Heating Oil Campaign.....	p. 9
Public Power is Cheaper.....	p. 9
Starvation in Kampuchea.....	p. 10
Egypt, Israel, Palestine.....	p. 11
Apartheid in South Africa.....	p. 12
CLS Workers Strike.....	p. 13
Three Mile Island Report.....	p. 14
Abortion Rights Week.....	p. 15
Third World Gays.....	p. 15
Frank Corso Interview.....	p. 16
Sports Shorts.....	p. 17
PWOC on Fusion.....	p. 18
SWP and the Elections.....	p. 19
The Mel King Campaign.....	p. 19
Buscado KKK.....	p. 1

#### SUSTAIN THE ORGANIZER

Sustainers receive their *Organizer* first-class mail and may send a free sample to a friend each month. (Beginning in August the *Organizer* will initiate a sustainer's newsletter)

I'd like to sustain the *Organizer* at \$5, \$10 or \$25 a month.

NAME.....  
ADDRESS.....  
CITY.....  
STATE.....ZIP.....

# Labor Round-up

## Teamster Groups Merge

by a member of Detroit Teamster Local 299

The two main Teamster reform groups formally merged on Saturday, November 3rd, at the national convention of Teamsters for a Democratic Union. The Professional Drivers' Council (PROD) joined Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU) at the three-day convention held on the campus of Eastern Michigan University in Ypsilanti, Michigan. Together, the combined membership now numbers almost 10,000 rank and file Teamster members and their spouses.

This unity move, and the other events at the convention, meant that the convention was a success for its 500 participants and for the over two million other rank and file members of the Teamsters union. This is important, because recent contract defeats in the Freight, Carhaul and UPS contracts threatened to demoralize the membership and derail the reform movement. Instead, the convention took the line that the reform struggle would be a long one and that we must dig in for the tough battle ahead.

Pete Camarata, TDU candidate for Frank Fitzsimmons' post of International President of the union in the 1981 I.B.T. convention, expressed this determination when he said, "There's not going to be any coup in the Teamsters Union in 1981. Everybody here knows it is gonna be 10, 15 or 20 years down the road and there's no guarantee they're going to get any return."

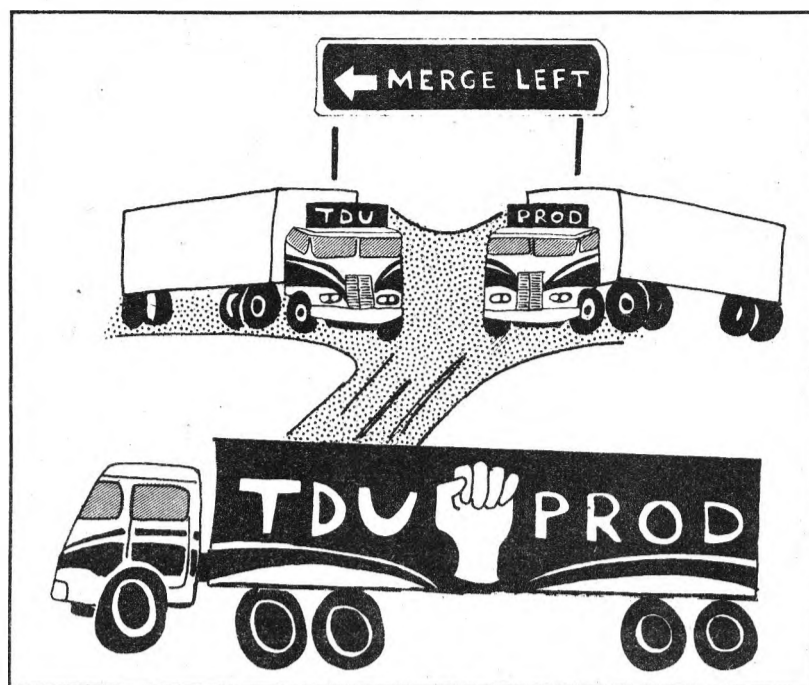
This determination to build unity for the long fight ahead is what the convention was all about.

The convention adopted the TDU Steering Committee's resolution of direction for the coming year, which said that the thrust for the next year would be toward concentrating on by-laws and other reforms at the union locals, "on building local chapters, and developing more local rank and file leaders."

It is this approach of rank and file organizing on the part of TDU which finally led to the PROD-TDU merger. PROD had a very different history. It began in the early 70's as a Ralph Nader project against Teamster official's abuse of power and union funds. PROD was mainly an effort to reform the union from the outside, and it always relied on lawsuits and lobbying, as well as some education of the rank and file. After TDU's birth in the 1976 contract fights, certain PROD leaders were hostile to TDU as a rival organization, and even red-baited TDU activists.

Eventually, however, TDU's record of organizing from the inside of the union, among the rank and file, convinced PROD to join forces with TDU. The PROD national conference on Labor Day voted overwhelmingly to merge.

Another important and positive development at the TDU convention was the stated commitment to extend TDU organizing to areas of the union other than trucking. The IBT's own figures state that only 25% of the union



members are involved in transportation and trucking. The remaining 75% are in other areas such as warehousing, service work, clerical, manufacturing, food processing and public sector work.

TDU's main organizing work to this point was in trucking. This meant that TDU did not do a very good job of speaking to the problems of national minority Teamsters and women Teamsters, who are concentrated in the non-trucking sectors of the union. The Steering Committee's resolution for the coming year's direction stated, "many of these sections of our union have sub-standard agreements. Many involve discrimination against minorities and women Teamsters who are treated as 'second class.' TDU

chapters should strive to reach out and involve all Teamsters — through organizing, education and solidarity efforts."

Many of the people at the convention stressed their commitment to see that this resolution is implemented by the Steering Committee and by the national newspaper, *Convoy*. A workshop on how to organize these workers drew about 5 times as many participants as it did at last year's TDU convention.

If the membership of the newly expanded TDU is able to see this commitment through and build a solid base of unity embracing all Teamsters, the future will look bright for reform in the I.B.T.

## Connecticut Strikers Take on Cops, Courts, Scabs

The following article is based on an account in *New Unity*, a working class newspaper in Springfield, Mass. *New Unity* is published bi-monthly. Subscription is \$5.00 for 10 issues. Write *New Unity* at Box 891, Springfield, Mass., 01101.

Members of Lodge 609 of the International Association of Machinists (IAM) — 1,350 strong — have been on strike since July 15 at the Winchester gun plant in New Haven, Connecticut. Winchester is a division of the Olin Corporation. The strike symbolizes much of what workers across the country are up against as we enter the 1980's.

To maintain their high rates of profit the monopolies want higher productivity or in plain language, speed up. This is the issue that prompted the Olin strike. The company is trying to change the contract and get a new productivity clause that will force workers to produce at faster rates. The union, in a leaflet aimed at the New Haven community, explains: "Work-

ing conditions at Olin would be intolerable. It would give the corporation unbridled authority to establish and enforce quotas on every worker without proper regard for such allowances as personal time, fatigue, unavoidable delays... The IAM cannot and will not agree to this unabashed attempt to return working conditions to the Dark Ages."

The only thing that stands in the way of corporate efforts to turn back the clock to the Dark Ages are the unions and thus, not surprisingly, the current productivity drive is coupled to union busting. In the Olin strike management has resorted to the use of scabs to break the strike. In October, 85 "permanent replacements" were hired and brought into the plant under heavy police guard. The majority of the Olin strikers are Black and most of the strike breakers are drawn from the most oppressed strata of the Black community, unemployed youth, a cynical and racist attempt on the part of Olin to pit the employed against the jobless.

The day after the hiring of the strike breakers, hundreds of strikers were joined by workers in other shops and community supporters in a massive picket line which prompted New Haven Mayor Frank Logue to close the plant as a "danger to public safety." This victory was overturned by a pro-company judge a few days later.

### HERE COMES THE JUDGE

As in so many strikes, the courts and the cops are important weapons in the hands of the employers. The courts obliged the bosses with a Taft-Hartley injunction at the beginning of the strike limiting mass picketing. The Judge went Taft-Hartley one better, ordering the strikers to wear armbands so that the cops could identify them and demanding that they sign a police department roster when they reported for picket duty. He also ordered all spectators to stay outside a 500 foot radius of the plant, an order that angered the surrounding, mostly Black neighbors who have homes and buy from stores

inside the radius. The workers, aided by the ACLU, were able to get these features of the judge's order rescinded.

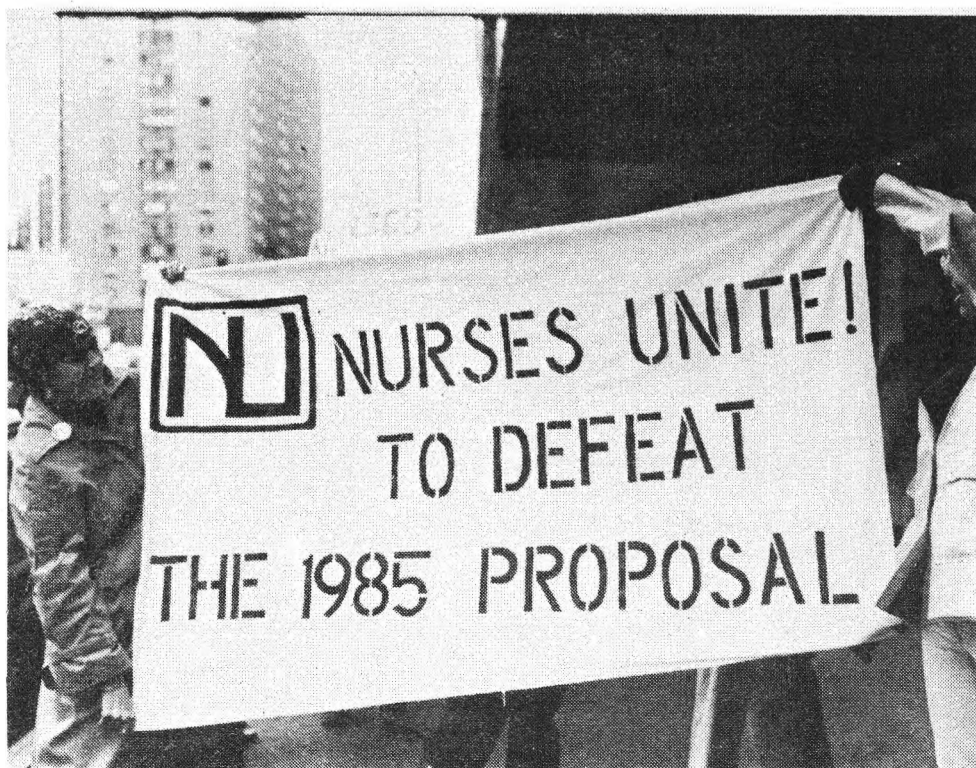
To protect the scabs, the New Haven police department has deployed 200 cops in full riot gear. Many workers have been arrested and beaten. The union is demanding that all legal charges and company disciplinary action be dropped as a condition of settling the strike. Eighty six workers are affected by company and police action.

In the face of the combined power of the Olin Corporation and the state the strikers have gained broad support from other workers and the community. Both local union leaders and rank & filers have joined the picket line. One of the people arrested was the president of a machinist local at the North Haven Pratt & Whitney plant. A rally and march in support of the strikers, sponsored by the Greater New Haven Central Labor Council and the Community Labor Alliance, drew 3,000 participants.

## Nurses Demonstrate Against the 1985 Proposal

On November 3, fifty LPN's and RN's picketed in front of the Philadelphia Sheraton Hotel where the Pennsylvania Nurses Association (PNA) was holding its annual convention. The demonstrators were demanding that PNA withdraw its 1985 Proposal. The proposal, which the state nurses associations are seeking to introduce into the state legislatures, would require all RN's to have a baccalaureate degree and all LPN's to have an associate degree. The nurses are protesting this because it would cause considerable hardship for working nurses who can't afford to quit their jobs and pay for an expensive college education.

Also, many hospitals are using the guise of "professionalization of staff" as an excuse for laying off LPN's and replacing them with RN's. Given that in Philadelphia most LPN's are Black and that no affirmative action programs exist in most nursing schools, the proposal promotes racism and inequality. The PNA Convention voted to look into some of these problems before taking further action. The protest was part of an on going campaign by Nurses Unite! and is part of a broad national movement to defeat the 1985 Proposal.



# Violence in the Schools

by Linda Hagopian

Last winter the Philadelphia CBS affiliate, Channel 10, did a news special entitled "Havoc in the Halls." Newscaster Bill Baldini wove a story of violence and havoc wreaked upon innocent school teachers by the "bad apple" students of the Philadelphia school system. School violence is something which we hear more and more about, from graffiti and vandalism to student attacks on teachers. "Havoc in the Halls" provides a good example of how the news media projects the problem in our schools.

On this news special almost all the teachers who were interviewed were white, working in schools with a predominantly minority student population. The clear implication was that student violence against teachers means Black students attacking white teachers and other school employees. It is similar to the media projection that rape in the cities mainly means Black men raping white women, a statistically proven falsehood. This only serves to fan racial fear and to reinforce racist stereotypes.

## THE WHOLE PICTURE

Violence does exist in the school system, but to look narrowly at those instances which occur between Black students and white employees does not tell us the whole story. Without looking at the whole picture of school violence and at the causes for it, we cannot really come up with the solutions for it.

What about the problems of minority teachers in white communities? During the recent transfers of faculty members for racial balance in Philadelphia, many Black teachers were placed in Northeast Philadelphia in largely white communities. In these cases, the lack of support, and sometimes hostility, from parents, administrators and students often leaves individual teachers alone and vulnerable and unable to do their job. One Black teacher spoke of staying late at her workplace in a white community, leaving as it was getting dark. On the short walk to her car, she was stopped and harassed by neighborhood people who made it clear that they didn't want her in the neighborhood. How many white teachers have faced harassment in the Black community? The fact is that for many years, white teachers have taught in the Black community and rarely if ever, faced this kind of treatment.

At another school, where the school population is largely Black and Hispanic,

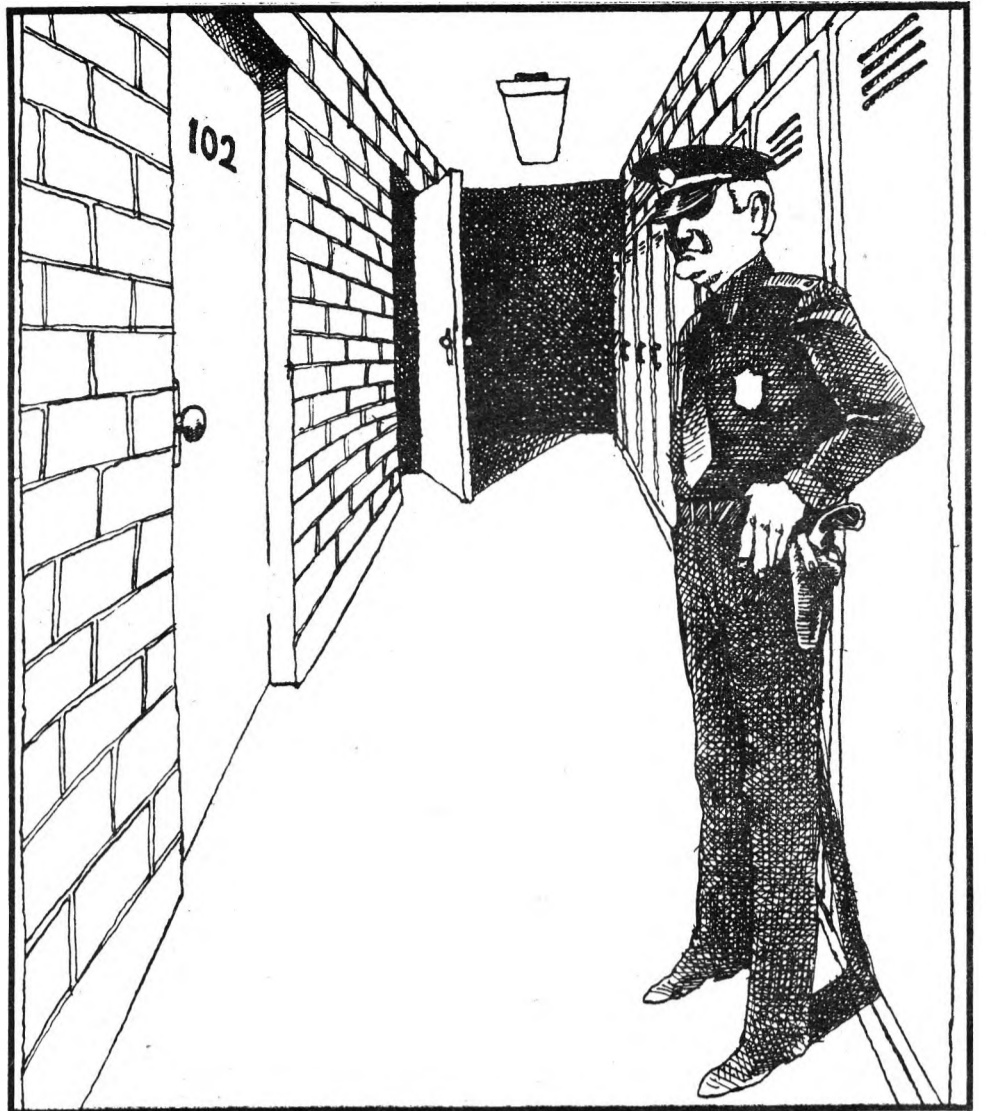
though the surrounding neighborhood is white, a group of students returning late from a class trip were surrounded by whites who called out racial slurs and hurled objects at them. Recently, the Parents Union of Philadelphia held an all day conference on school violence. One focus of the discussion was on violence against students. Despite laws to the contrary, discipline sometimes takes a physical form in the schools.

## THE VIOLENCE OF POOR EDUCATION

Another aspect of violence discussed at this conference is more subtle. The physical and educational conditions in the Philadelphia schools are rapidly deteriorating. These conditions are particularly evident in schools in the poor and minority communities, and they play a significant role in students' attitudes towards school, the educational process and the teachers. Each year educational supplies — from textbooks to paper — decrease. The physical plants are unsafe and unsanitary. This year three schools in the Black community had to be closed for lack of heat. When the students in one West Philadelphia Jr. High returned to school in September, 400 windows were broken. After layoffs among custodial and maintenance personnel, there just aren't enough people to clean and maintain the schools. Because of shortages in educational funds, programs are regularly cut back. When reading scores are down, aides are placed in the schools to give special attention to students. But as soon as this begins to pay off and scores go up, the reading aides are pulled out.

Despite the fact that education is put forward as the way to "make it" in this society, the reality which poor and working people, particularly Black and Hispanic, face is quite different. Yet this is never examined by such programs like "Havoc in the Halls" as a form of violence against students and young people or as a possible cause of student behavior. We cannot blame the victims for the conditions which face them. The fact of the matter is that not only are the conditions in minority schools deteriorating, but in the communities as well. Increasingly, money goes into renovating Center City — while the neighborhoods become more run down. Employment and the possibility of future economic security is very slim.

In 1978, 19% of all Black men in Southeast Pennsylvania were unemployed. Unemployment among Blacks in Philadelphia was four times the national average this past year. And among Black



youth, unemployment is up around 40%. Yet none of these factors are put forward in relationship to what is going on in the schools. We cannot look at the school system in isolation from the environment around it.

## THE ROLE OF RACIST ATTITUDES

Because of racism in our society, whites have been taught racist ideas about Black people over the years. Whites are encouraged to believe that fundamentally Blacks are not as interested in education and are not able to compete intellectually. Because white teachers in the Black community bring these ideas with them, they have not always been able to provide Black students with the educational tools that they need and have not taught pride in Black history and identity.

For teachers who are really trying to teach, the unavailability of supportive services and essential education resources and materials, as well as the large class sizes, make teaching increasingly difficult for all teachers in minority communities. The School Board has never taken any real responsibility for educating its employees about these issues or involving the communities in the education of its students.

It was not insignificant that the TV show "Havoc in the Halls" came out at a time when the voluntary desegregation plan was being put into effect. Rather than build our community's understanding of desegregation and how it can improve the educational system, shows like this only serve to increase the fears of white parents. "Havoc in the Halls" and other shows which distort and sensationalize the issue of violence in the schools actually encourage white parents to resist desegregation rather than work with Black and Hispanic parents so that all the schools can be improved.

Most recently, as a result of an alleged rape of a young student and the apathetic attitude of the principal, parents at the Harity School in West Philadelphia have been forced to demonstrate to demand protection for their children. This white principal had told the Black child "not to mention rape," because it was not a "proven" thing. Is this what would have been said to a white child? Like other Black parents all over the city, these parents are aware of the need for improved security measures to protect the children of our schools. Demanding increased security and the removal of the principal, these Harity parents have thus far been unable to budge the school board, which has turned a deaf ear on their demands.

Apparently, the security of Philadelphia students, at least in the Black com-

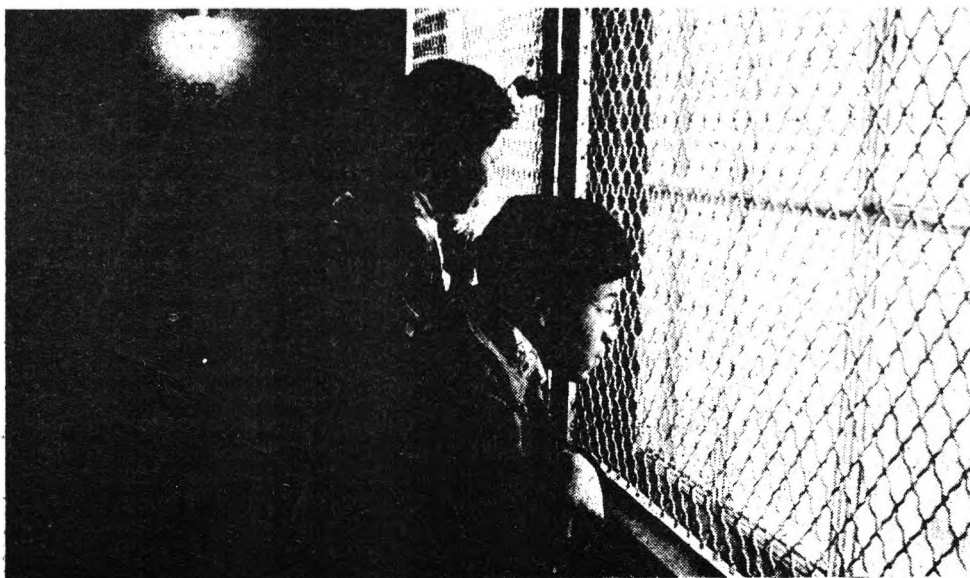
munity, is not number one on the School Board's agenda. When these parents demonstrated and blocked the doors to make their demands heard, they were threatened with injunctions and jail. (Note: On Nov. 25 at 4:35 AM, the Philadelphia Sheriff's Dept. entered the school and imposed a court-ordered injunction on the parents. Some of the demonstrators left, but the eight who remained were arrested.) Yet when white parents sat in the halls of Frankford High, not only were they treated respectfully, but their children were given the right to go to those schools in the city which have most benefited from the academic scrutiny and resources of the Board of Education rather than go to the local, largely Black high schools. But when the Black parents actively seek to affect changes which will protect their children, they are not taken seriously and have to continue to fight for their demands.

## TOWARD REAL SOLUTIONS

What solutions are usually given for the problems of violence in the schools? "Havoc in the Halls" talked about the "bad apples" of the school system that need to be dealt with and about the necessity of prosecuting those individuals responsible for the acts of violence. But given the fuller examination that we have made here of the problems in the schools, it appears that this solution is not sufficient. Other solutions which are often offered are: 1) placing more police in the halls of our schools; and 2) establishing more special discipline schools in each district.

School workers and parents need to work together to demand real solutions. First of all, school employees do need to be protected from danger and be able to work in a safe environment. In fact, our children need to be guaranteed a safe environment as well, where they can learn as much as possible. Rather than disciplinary settings and cops, the School Board must commit itself to having a sufficient number of staff at each school. Instead of laying off supportive personnel, the School Board should be hiring more teaching and non-teaching aides. In recent cutbacks of school workers, many security personnel have been lost. These are people who are trained to work with students and school workers, as well as to protect school children from any potentially dangerous situations or individuals from outside the school.

Building a better school system must include educating school workers and the communities they serve that the problems we face today are not the result of a few "bad" Black students. Both parents and school workers have an interest in finding real solutions and in creating a safe, healthy environment where learning is the primary objective.



Deteriorating, understaffed schools are a form of violence against our children, who are deprived of their right to a decent education.

# The Legacy of George Meany

by Duane Calhoun

"It may interest you to know that I am President of this great organization that has such tremendous power, and I never went on strike in my life, never ran a strike, never ordered anyone else to run a strike, and never had anything to do with a picket line.

"In the final analysis, there is not a great difference between the things I stand for and the things that the leaders of the National Association of Manufacturers stand for."

—George Meany, December 1956

At the November 1979 AFL-CIO Convention, George Meany stepped down from the AFL-CIO presidency. The 85-year-old former plumber had been president of the federation for 27 years, and was the number two man in the American Federation of Labor for 12 years before that.

George Meany didn't stay at the top for all those years without representing powerful forces in the American labor movement. Meany was the main spokesman for the labor bureaucracy. This bureaucracy is made up mostly of top level union officials, the small number of people (mostly white men) who run the unions in peace and harmony with the interests of big business. They may make a little noise about a wage increase, or give a few radical-sounding speeches, but these bought-off officials never really challenge the bosses of the profit system.

Meany was paid as an executive, not as a worker — \$110,000 a year, plus expenses. Back in 1955, when he had just become president of the merged American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO), the *New York Post* described the lifestyle of this working-class leader: "In Washington George Meany is driven to work each day by a uniformed chauffeur in a sleek Chrysler belonging to the AFL. When he prefers to drive himself he gets into a Cadillac once presented to him as a memento of a testimonial dinner in New York.

"Meany owns a comfortable home in the middle-class suburb of Bethesda and belongs to a country club. His suits are made to order: his colorful waistcoats come from London. He is knowledgeable about French wines, and he is reputed to have turned back a filet three times running at La Cremaillere in Paris." When a reporter recently asked him how large his union pension would be, Meany replied that he didn't worry about it because he had done "very well with investments."

The labor bureaucracy can afford to be so cooperative with the corporate elite while ignoring the needs of union members because they seldom, if ever, face election by the union membership. While even the most reactionary local union president must have some support from the ranks to stay in office, not so for Meany and company. Meany is elected by convention delegates, themselves full-time union officials who are either appointed by other union officials or elected by still another set of delegates. In such elections, the rank and file has little real voice.

## BEHIND CLOSED DOORS

Ever since the founding of the National Civic Federation in 1903, the top corporate executives have been sitting down behind closed doors with the conservative business unionists, seeking "labor-management peace". Recently, these organizations have had present or former government officials as heads, and have a vague, semi-official status. Very few people even know they exist, and almost no one knows what they decide. That's usually secret.

George Meany has been a member of every one of these committees formed in the last twenty years. Currently, he is a

member of the Labor-Management Group, along with the Board Chairmen of General Motors, General Electric, Dupont, US Steel, Bechtel Corp., Mobil Oil, and First National City Bank. Other labor members include Fitzsimmons of the Teamsters, Kirkland of the AFL-CIO, and Abel of the Steelworkers; the UAW's Doug Fraser was a member, until he resigned in anger over the defeat of the Labor Law Reform Bill last year.

Meany's personal history says a lot about the history of the labor bureaucrats over the past fifty years. He was born in New York City in 1894, the son of a local Plumbers' Union president. He first joined the union in 1915, and became its Business Agent in 1922. At that time, less than one in five American workers belonged to a union, and almost all of these were concentrated in the building trades and other skilled crafts.

In these years a deal was struck between the corporations and their friends in the National Civic Federation, never put on paper, but clear to the eye. The craft unions were to be left more or less alone, as long as they did not help the millions of unskilled workers to unionize.

When an organizing drive was mounted in the steel industry in 1919, the union was crippled and the strike broken when the AFL officials kept delaying the start of the campaign, held back money for expenses, and signed contracts with the steel companies for the skilled craft workers, who then crossed the picketlines of the striking laborers. Some rank and file skilled trades workers refused to scab on their fellow workers by crossing picket lines; they were kicked out of the unions and fired by the steel companies. This was the reality of the AFL when Meany began his rise to power.

In 1934, when the Depression was at its worst, Meany became president of the New York State Federation of Labor, the largest of the state labor federations. Once again, the unskilled millions in steel, auto, rubber, trucking, retail trade, and other industries were trying to organize unions. And again, they got precious little help from the AFL.

Workers in one workplace would be pushed to the flash point by wage cuts, firings, or other injustices, and would organize a strike on their own. Sometimes they had the help of communist workers with long years of experience in industrial unionism. When they contacted the local AFL office for aid, they would be assigned to a "Federal Local", and charged initiation fees that often were more than they made in a whole day. Then the Federal Local would be broken up, and the various craft unions would take the workers into their locals. By 1937 the AFL had just 5000 more members than it had in 1923.

## THE CIO YEARS

But some unions did manage to get organized under the AFL banner and keep their "one employer, one union" industrial structure. And some of the established AFL unions that had large numbers of unskilled workers — the United Mine-workers; Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers; Brewery Workers; Clothing Workers, and others, began to react to rank and file pressure and take organizing more seriously.

Meanwhile, workers belonging to the Communist Party (and to a lesser extent other radical groups) were beginning to see some success in their ten year campaign for industrial unionism. Many of these communist workers were in positions of leadership in the newly organized local unions. These forces came together under the leadership of John L. Lewis and the UMW to form the AFL Committee on Industrial Organization. This committee, formed in 1935, organized more workers into the AFL in two



Robert Epp/Inquirer

George Meany, president of the AFL-CIO for 27 years, was the nations' top labor bureaucrat and friend of big business.

years than the old craft union bureaucrats had in fifteen.

Less than a year later, ten unions were expelled from the AFL for these "crimes". These ten included nearly one-third of the AFL's membership. George Meany, like most of the craft union officials, stayed with the AFL when the split came.

After the split, the AFL spent more time trying to wreck the CIO than to organize the unorganized. A memo explaining this technique was sent out to all local officers of the International Association of Machinists by President Arthur Wharton on April 30, 1937:

"Since the Supreme Court decision upholding the Wagner Act many employers now realize that it is the law of our country and they are prepared to deal with labor organizations. These employers have expressed a preference to deal with the AFL organizations rather than Lewis, Hillman, Dubinsky, Howard and their gang of sluggers, communists, radicals and soap box artists, professional bums, expelled members of labor unions, outright scabs, and the Jewish organizations with all their red affiliates. . .

"...our well-known policy of living up to agreements gives the employer the benefits he is entitled to receive from contracts with our organization, and it also places us in a position to prevent sit-downs, sporadic disturbances, slowdowns, and other communistic CIO tactics of disruption and disorganization." This is the kind of Judas Iscariot that George Meany chose sides with.

## ANTI-COMMUNIST INTERNATIONALISM

In 1940 Meany was promoted to the number two spot in the AFL, Secretary/Treasurer. Already known as one of the AFL's most active political lobbyists and organizers, Meany was soon to put these talents to use in international politics. Meany was a member of the first AFL International Labor Relations Committee, formed in 1943. He was also active in the AFL's "Free Trade Union Committee", first organized by Jay Lovestone of the Ladies Garment Workers.

From that time on, Meany worked closely with Lovestone, and when Meany became AFL President in 1952, Lovestone became his top foreign policy advisor. The "Free Trade Union Committee" was supposed to be organizing trade unions in Europe, "free" of communist influence.

Years later, CIA agent Thomas Braden told the *Saturday Evening Post* about some of the details of Lovestone's union organizing "In 1947 the Communist Confederation Generale Du Travail (CGT) led a strike in Paris which came very close to paralyzing the French economy. A takeover of the government was feared. Into this crisis stepped Jay Lovestone and his assistant, Irving Brown. With funds from the ILGWU, they organized Force Ouvriere, a non-communist union; when they ran out of money they appealed to the CIA. Thus began the secret subsidy of free trade unions which soon spread to Italy."

This same agent described how Force Ouvriere was then used to break the strike of the French workers. The CIA-AFL team also financed goon squads drawn from the ranks of the Corsican mobsters who dominated the international heroin traffic. But then George Meany has always believed in uniting with anyone, so long as they oppose communism.

Right after World War II, most of the world's unions came together in a single international federation, the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU). This was an obvious threat to the total control of the corporations, especially the multinational giants that were coming to dominate the capitalist world's economy after the war.

Not only did the AFL refuse to join this "communist-dominated" federation, it set to work right away to destroy it. Within three years, working with CIA-front unions like Force Ouvriere, Meany and other AFL "international relations specialists" were able to organize a split in the WFTU. The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, ICFTU, was the answer of Meany and the CIA to the WFTU. Twenty years later, when the ICFTU began to do joint bargaining with the WFTU, Meany pulled the AFL-CIO out of that organization too. If that meant the employers could play one union off against the other, so be it.

## MEANY AND CIVIL RIGHTS

During the 1950's one of the biggest social issues in the US was the fight of the Black people for full equality. George Meany made a speech at the founding convention of the AFL-CIO (the merger was possible because the left had been kicked out of the CIO) on just this subject.

(continued on page 17)

# SHUTDOWNS: How to Fight Them and Win



by Duane Calhoun

When the Ingersol-Rand Corporation threatened to move its Millers Falls Tool plant from Greenfield, Massachusetts to the South, one Millers Falls worker made this analysis of plant shutdowns: "Your work makes the company richer and richer. Then they're rich enough to move out...A hundred years of labor comes back to bite your ass. It's just more of the same."

Think about it — where did they make the money to build that new plant in North Carolina, or South Korea? When a plant gets too old, is it right that the stockholders walk away with three or four or ten times their original investment in their pockets, while the workers walk away without a livelihood and with half or less of the pension they should have gotten? And how many places will hire a 50 year old machinist? We think the answers to these questions are pretty clear.

What's not always too clear is what can be done about a plant shutdown. The corporations and their mouthpieces usually favor some kind of welfare-for-the-rich scheme, like government loan guarantees (like Chrysler is getting, where taxpayers pick up the bank tab if the company goes under), or tax breaks for business. An Ohio business organization, the Cleveland Growth Association, has even admitted that "tax abatement is not an incentive to prevent a (plant) relocation from Ohio to Alabama or Texas..." Government stock purchases is no answer either — all that does is drive up the value of the stockholders' shares at the taxpayers' expense, while the old owners keep their control and their profits.

Public ownership is another alternative. Coal mines, asbestos fabricating plants and plywood factories have all been taken over and run by workers or worker/community groups, as a way of preventing these plants from closing down. A fairly good plan for public ownership and community control has been put together by a Youngstown, Ohio coalition of clergy, labor and community groups, to take over and re-open the Campbell Works of Youngstown Sheet & Tube, closed in 1977 by the LTV Corporation.

The biggest problem with this kind of solution to plant closings is that in most cases local communities don't have the money, the connections or the borrowing power to compete successfully against the giant corporations that dominate nearly every American industry. There are ways that better fit most workers' situations. These aren't just ideas that sound good on paper but could never happen in the real world — all of them have been used before by workers somewhere. With a little thought, one or more can be tailored to fit your plant or community.

There are three basic kinds of shutdowns: either the company wants to increase its current profits by running away from union wages and working conditions, they want to get rid of a plant because it doesn't fit in with the kind of product they want to specialize in, or the plant is losing money.

In the case of a runaway from the union, the problem is to find a way to force the company to keep the plant open — they *can* afford it. In the second kind, large conglomerate corporations buy out smaller firms, keep the plants they want, and close the ones they don't for tax write-offs. Many of these plants were profitable before the buy-out, and have been re-opened and operated profitably by smaller capitalists, without the loss of union wages and conditions. In the third type, plants are closed because they're losing money. Possibly the plant is old and outmoded, the management is incompetent (Dun & Bradstreet estimate that 40% of bankruptcies are due to bad management), or the market for the product has disappeared (coal stoves or auto frames, for example). These are the hardest of the three kinds to save, but it has been done.

## CONTRACT CLAUSES

The most effective short-run protection against shutdowns is the right language in your union contract. The best anti-runaway clause is like the one negotiated by Teamster brewery workers and the Schlitz Co. in 1965: "There shall be no layoffs, except for lack of work." In other words, layoffs are permitted if sales drop off, but layoffs are illegal if production is transferred to another plant. This clause successfully held off a runaway shop for almost ten years, and when the company finally tried to move out right after a contract was signed in 1971, an arbitrator ordered them to stay open for the full three years of the agreement.

Another clause that has been used by the Clothing Workers, Distributive Workers, and the United Electrical Workers is: "No work now performed by union employees will be moved beyond a 40 mile radius of City Hall. In the event of a plant movement within this area, all employees shall have the right to transfer to the new location, and the terms of this contract shall continue to apply in full." That clause is a good one when the company has an old, outmoded building — it allows them to move to a better location while protecting the workers' rights.

A different approach is to undercut the company's reason for moving, by making a shutdown very expensive — more expensive than renovating the plant or bringing in new work to replace lost contracts. Such a clause would require high severance pay, such as two or three weeks pay per year of seniority with an eight week minimum. Severance pay agreements of one week's pay per year of service are pretty common in basic indus-

try, but this isn't enough to really deter the company.

If the severance pay agreement is part of a Supplementary Unemployment Benefits Plan (SUB), as it is in most UAW contracts, then the company has already paid out this money and it's worthless as a deterrent. Workers in Italy have won severance pay agreements of up to eight months pay for every worker. If the company stays, this clause doesn't cost them a dime. But it does make a shutdown less likely and compensates workers somewhat for their lost seniority if the company does close.

## LAST RESORTS

When a plant is on its way out because there's not enough work (because customers stop buying the product, or switch to a competing company), the union can demand that new work of other kinds be brought in to replace the lost contracts. This demand is the focus of a struggle at Lucas Aerospace in England, where workers (with the help of some engineers) have come up with a plan for other kinds of products that could be produced at Lucas when its military contracts run out.

Moss Evans, General Secretary of the Transport & General Workers Union of England, said of the Lucas workers' plan, "We also have to admit that some people in the trade union movement initially found the plan hard to support. The fact that the committee (of rank & file workers and stewards — Ed.) at Lucas was not an official trade union body was the source of this initial nervousness. However, the British shipbuilding and machinist unions did eventually see the sense of the 'alternative work' approach." A similar solution has been proposed by the Blue Ribbon Group of Local 92, a rank & file caucus at the threatened Budd Company Red Lion plant in Philadelphia.

If all else fails, workers who are going to lose their jobs should get some compensation for their loss of seniority, and some help in finding a decent job. Besides severance pay, this means one or two years of trade school or college, paid for by the company, supplementary unemployment benefits on top of state benefits, paid medical insurance for at least a year, and the right to transfer to other company plants with moving costs paid.

If there's a possibility that a bankrupt company's plants could be bought up and operated by another company (likely to happen with most of Chrysler's plants if they go under), then the union should demand a strong "successor" clause. This clause states that anyone who buys the plant must accept the union contract as well, including seniority. Such agreements have gotten harder to enforce in court in recent years and some political muscle may be needed to back up the successor clause. Agreements can also be made with other companies in the indus-

try for preferential hiring of those workers whose plants don't reopen.

## TACTICS

Obviously, employers aren't going to volunteer any of these things. And forcing them to sign on the dotted line can be pretty hard if the company is on the verge of closing. By that time they probably already have a new plant in Singapore or Winston-Salem, ready to run. They can beat a strike by hiring outside contractors to ship their machinery and stock to the new location. In such cases, more militant action is called for: a blockade or sit-down strike. A big push for public support is a key part of any such action, to make it harder for a judge to come down on the strikers. Such actions are hard to organize and harder to maintain, but they have been pulled off successfully, both here and in Europe (see "Cornering Rheingold", the *Organizer*, Vol. 4, No. 10).

In the case of plant shutdowns, an ounce of prevention really is worth a pound of cure. Workers at the Schlitz brewery won their first anti-runaway clause in 1962, nearly ten years before the company made its move to close the plant. The workers knew about the new automated plants Schlitz was starting to build down South, and decided to make their move while a strike could still hurt the company. As it turned out, the threat was enough. Schlitz caved in right before the strike deadline and gave the workers what they wanted. The lesson is clear: don't wait until the company already has your non-union replacement ready to punch in at a new plant a thousand miles away — by then it may be too late.

## POLITICAL ACTION NEEDED

In the long run, political organization and federal laws will be more effective in protecting workers from shutdowns than any union contract could be. First of all, this means organizing the non-union workers into unions and helping them win decent contracts, in the South as well as overseas. Right now the UAW spends only 2% of its budget for organizing, when half of all industrial workers are non-union and thousands of UAW members (especially in auto parts plants) are threatened with runaway shops. And the UAW is more serious about organizing than most.

In many countries it's illegal to strike, and union organizers face official harassment and jail. Most all these countries are US government allies, like South Africa, Indonesia, Argentina, Chile and Haiti. As long as the US government gives guns and money to these reactionary governments, they will be able to suppress unions and thus maintain sweatshop wages there. And as long as there are sweatshop wages somewhere, there will be runaway shops. As Henry Ford II put it, "In South Korea, Taiwan, and Indonesia we see an attractive supply of cheap

(continued on page 17)

## Five Murders in Greensboro, N. C.

# Klan Violence Escalates

On November 3, five more deaths were added to the long list of victims of violence by the Ku Klux Klan committed in defense of racism and white supremacy. Four demonstrators (three white men and a Black woman) were killed when a Klan and Nazi convoy opened fire on an anti-Klan rally of 100 people in Greensboro, North Carolina. Another demonstrator, among the ten additional people who were wounded, died later. Far from being an isolated incident, this Klan attack is the most recent example of a national trend of increased Klan activity and violence, not only in the South but in every region of the country.

Newspaper and TV accounts have minimized the significance of Klan violence and the threat posed by the Klan. The whole incident has been portrayed as a confrontation between extremists of the left and the right in which both sides share responsibility for the deaths. The editorial posture of "a curse on both your houses" obscures and plays down the role of the KKK and promotes anti-communism. At the same time, the adventurist tactics of the Workers' Viewpoint Organization (now the Communist Workers Party) which organized the demonstration play into the hands of those who take this view.

### WHAT REALLY HAPPENED

The murders took place at the Morningside Homes housing project where the crowd, roughly half Black and half white was assembling. The demonstrators came mainly from cities around North Carolina. Cars and a van loaded with whites drove into the area and began taunting the crowd with racial slurs. The demonstrators responded by chanting "Death to the Klan." A Klansman got out and fired a shot into the air, after which several CWP members, according to some reports, also fired shots into the air. A reporter's eyewitness account tells what happened next:

"A dozen or more Klansmen loosed a barrage directly into the center of the crowd, not more than 20 feet away. They used pistols, rifles, shotguns. The killers fired relentlessly, never pausing to reload or survey their work. . . They didn't really have time to aim for specific targets, they simply fired broadside into a crowd, including children too young to understand such hatred."

At the time of the shootings the nearest police were over a block away, a fact the law enforcement authorities have acknowledged. Greensboro Police Chief William E. Swing dismissed widespread criticism of the police with the remark that the Klan "had every right to be there" and that "no laws had been violated". Yet earlier the police had promised to guarantee the safety of the demonstrators and were supposedly under orders to keep both the Klan and the CWP under close surveillance.

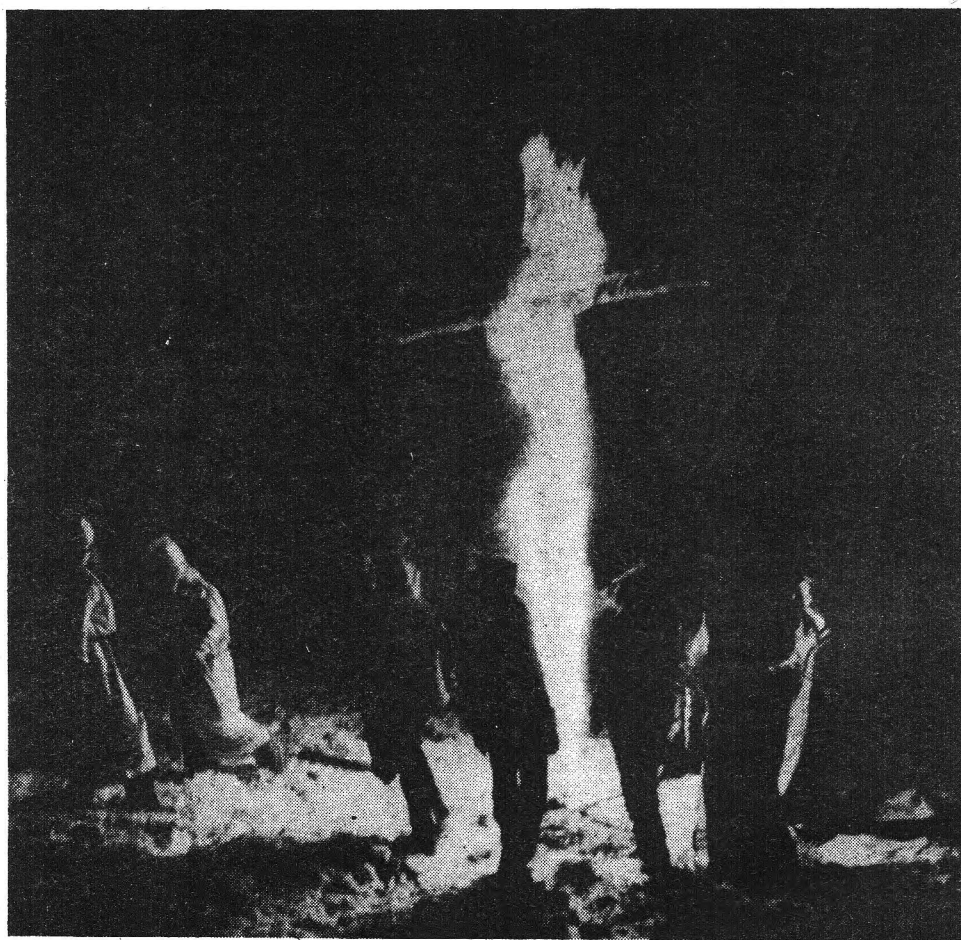
The Klan and Nazi convoy which entered the area was visibly armed and it took no great imagination to grasp what they were there for. The notion of a conspiracy or complicity on the part of law enforcement with the Klan draws credibility from a history in which cops and sheriffs have long looked the other way when it comes to Klan terror. The Klan and other right wing, para-military groups have also recruited heavily from law enforcement agencies.

Immediately following the incident 12 people were arrested and held without bond on charges of first degree murder and conspiracy. Two more were added the following day. Among those arrested are Klan members and Nazis who recently formed a "United Racist Front". A leader of the Invisible Knights of the KKK, the most active Klan faction in North Carolina, denied his group's involvement. Nazi leader Harold Covington was more forthright, admitting that his members were there to hold "a peaceful protest against the communists." Covington reacted to the slayings by saying: "I regret that 12 good men are in prison facing murder charges. As for the "reds", they are the scum of the earth and I don't care about them".

Also charged were three members of WVO-CWP including march organizer Nelson Johnson for "incitement to riot". The indictment of the anti-Klan demonstrators bolsters the view that the responsibility for the killings must be equally shared between the Klan and the CWP or worse yet that the anti-Klan demonstrators "got what they deserved".

### REACTION TO INCIDENT

Progressive opinion was universal in denouncing the Klan's murderous acts, the police handling of the demonstration, and the general inaction on the part of



The burning cross — a longtime symbol of the Klan's racist terror.

local, state and federal authorities in dealing with the rising trend of right wing terrorism. Joseph Lowery, president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, directed a call to President Carter to take action against the Klan, noting that "the intensity of their violence is a grave threat to this country." Local civil rights leaders pointed out that the Klan felt able to commit murder in broad daylight because they have been able to get away with a whole series of outrages in North Carolina for years and particularly in recent months.

Most anti-Klan and community activists were also critical of the provocative and adventurist tactics employed by the CWP which had challenged the Klan to attend the march and engaged in much rhetoric about "smashing their heads". Many community residents believed the staging of the march through the Black Morningside Homes housing project

under these conditions showed an arrogant and irresponsible indifference to the needs of the community.

The CWP repeated this error when it staged a funeral march the following weekend, adopting a march route through the projects in spite of a request from Black community leaders to stay out. Because of confrontationist mentality and tactics, the CWP has been unable to organize many beyond its own ranks to participate in its anti-Klan actions. The CWP funeral march drew an estimated 500 people. CWP is also planning "a long march" from Greensboro to Washington DC. Broader left and progressive forces held a major protest in Greensboro on the weekend of November 17th.

The rise of Klan activity is the most violent and extreme expression of a general right wing attack against labor, women, gays, and most centrally against Blacks and other oppressed nationalities. While the Klan has duped some poor and working whites to serve as its storm troopers, this cannot be allowed to obscure the fundamental way in which the Klan is an agent of the monopoly capitalists.

The fight back against the Klan must be linked concretely to the fight against right-wing reaction — the attacks on affirmative action, busing, reproductive rights, labor's right to organize, etc. We must make the point that the Greensboro killings are not some new outrage, but one of a series of atrocities that date back to Reconstruction. We must counter the anti-communist slander that equates so-called left-wing extremism with advocates of racial genocide such as the Klan. At the same time we cannot gloss over the role of ultra-left and adventurist forces like the CWP. Within the anti-Klan movement, the sort of playing at revolution represented by their approach must be sharply combatted.

Our aim must be to build the broadest possible movement in opposition to the Klan. In relation to Greensboro we must demand that the indictments against the anti-Klan demonstrators be dropped. We must demand the swift apprehension and conviction of all those responsible for the killings. There must be a full investigation and accounting of the police role in the Greensboro incident. Finally, the Greensboro case must be linked to a general call for effective action to stop the Klan across the nation.

## Terror in white Sheets

In the days of post Civil War Reconstruction and afterwards, the white-sheeted terror of the Ku Klux Klan was used systematically to deprive Black people of their democratic rights — burning, looting and lynching to intimidate all those who opposed white supremacy. During the civil rights movement of the 1950's the Klan again launched a campaign of terror to deny the most elementary rights to Black people. Between 1954 and 1965 the Justice Dept. found the Klan responsible for these among other acts of terror:

- 70 bombings in Georgia and Alabama
- 30 Black churches bombed in Mississippi
- 10 racial killings in Alabama
- the murders of civil rights workers Schwerner, Goodman and Chaney, the Rev. James Reeb and Viola Liuzzo

Today the Klan says it has changed its methods and favors peaceful persuasion. But look at just a few facts:

- In February, 1978, Klansmen invaded the office of an anti-apartheid activist in Virginia and carved the letters KKK in his stomach with a knife.
- In January, 1979, a new home of a Black family in Deer Park, N.Y., was

burned to the ground after a cross burning.

— In June, 1979, two men in KKK robes attacked a Black newspaperboy in Dorchester, Mass. with bows and arrows.

— In February of 1979, 200 Klansmen with sawed off shotguns in Decatur, Ala. surrounded the cars of eight Black members of the SCLC and opened fire on one of them.

Hundreds of similar incidents could be cited. Klan terror is not limited to Blacks and those who promote racial equality. Two years ago in Harlan County Kentucky, the KKK joined with the coal operators in trying to bust the strike of mostly white coal miners. Last year the Klan launched armed "patrols" along the Rio Grande border, threatening to murder Mexicans and Mexican-Americans who crossed it. The Klan remains violently anti-Semitic, shown by their much publicized attempt to march in Skokie, Illinois where many of the survivors of Hitler's death camps live.

The Klan is becoming more open. Recently two foremen at a Detroit General Motors plant showed up for work in their sheets. This new openness combined with continuing terror is a threat to the interests of all of us.



# OPEC Enters the 1970's

by Jim Griffin

In the 1960's an abundance of cheap Middle East oil, which was produced at a cost of 10 cents per barrel, and the entrance of a number of newcomers to the oil industry combined to drive down the world market price of crude oil. From \$2.00 a barrel at the beginning of the decade, the price sank to \$1.25 per barrel by 1970. The Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) was formed in 1960 to protect the interests of the oil producing nations, focusing particularly on preventing a sharp decline in revenues owing to falling market prices.

While OPEC's general posture of moderation did not allow for any challenge to the basic relationship between the Big 7 (the major oil companies) and the oil producing nations, the new organization did succeed in its modest and immediate aim of protecting oil revenues. Through negotiations with the oil companies OPEC prevented cuts in the posted price for crude oil. (The posted price is the price on which the oil producing nation's share of revenue is based).

Since market prices were falling, OPEC's defense of the posted price caused a decline in profits per barrel for the oil companies. Nevertheless, increased production and sales enabled the oil companies to boost their net earnings by 62% between 1960 and 1970.

### OPEC TURNS LEFTWARD

Big oil had always depended on the power of the imperialist governments to insure that its interests predominated over those of the oil producing nations. Thus the political, economic and military power of the US government had effectively turned back the Iranian challenge to the western oil companies in 1953 by intervening to oust Iran's progressive Mossadeq government and put the pro-imperialist Shah back on his peacock throne. The shift in the world balance of power, represented most dramatically by the defeat of the US in Vietnam, imposed new limits on the exercise of US power. Also the rise of a movement within the US opposed to foreign adventures and intervention placed a further check on Washington's ability to dictate events in favor of big oil.

These events coincided with an intensification of Arab nationalism. Israel's military defeat of the Arab nations in

1967 with the backing of US imperialism strengthened the hand of radical Arab nationalism. Conservative, pro US Arab leaders were propelled by the anti-Zionist anti-imperialist sentiments of the Arab masses toward a posture of Arab unity and had to avoid at all costs the appearance of capitulation to the oil companies.

In 1969 King Idris (the pro-western feudal King of Libya) was overthrown and power passed to Colonel Muammar elQaddafi, an anti-imperialist Arab nationalist. Qaddafi's actions set the context for OPEC in the 1970's. Prior to his taking power, Libya and Algeria had been involved in protracted and unsuccessful negotiations to gain a few more cents per barrel. Qaddafi rejected the timid tactics of his predecessors and took a militant posture in the negotiations.

Qaddafi took advantage of a strong bargaining position. With a small population of 2 million people, Libya was in a better position to weather the effects of a Western boycott, should it be employed, than the more populous oil producing nations. Large reserves of low sulfur crude, which was in ever greater demand, and a location close to the European market were two more factors in Libya's favor. Finally much of Libya's oil was being exploited by smaller, newcomer companies like Occidental Petroleum which were heavily dependent on their Libyan operations and thus lacked the flexibility of the Big 7 in resisting the demands of the oil producing nations. Qaddafi and the Algerians were able to utilize these factors to secure increases in the posted prices well beyond those demanded earlier and well beyond those that the oil companies indicated they could pay. Qaddafi was able to do this in part because he threatened to force the companies to reduce production if they refused to accede, a new and important tactic in OPEC-oil companies negotiations.

### WHY THE BIG 7 WENT ALONG

Another factor in the success of the new militancy employed by Qaddafi was the refusal of the Big 7 to come to the aid of the minor companies who bore the brunt of the Libyan demands. Occidental Petroleum, according to oil industry insiders, was prepared to resist the Libyan demands, but to do so it needed an agreement with the major oil companies to provide crude from their world wide sources should Qaddafi reduce or shut

down Occidental's Libyan supply. The majors refused with the predictable result that Occidental gave in to Libya's demands for higher prices.

Libya's success set the stage for the 1970-71 Teheran negotiations in which the oil companies agreed to raise posted prices sharply for all OPEC oil. Qaddafi's achievement meant the other OPEC producers could hardly demand much less. And by giving into Qaddafi the oil companies were in a weak position to resist the rest of OPEC. From all indications the oil industry majors did not even try. Taki Rifai, a oil expert for Libya and a participant in the Teheran talks, gave this account:

*The attitude of oil companies vis-a-vis claims for higher prices changed strangely during the crisis period. In the early Libyan negotiations in January-February 1970 a top executive of a leading major oil company operating in Libya stated that since his company was forced to accept a price increase, all it could afford would be about a 5 cents per barrel increase, beyond which the company would lose money in its Libyan operations. A few months later, the same major company spontaneously announced unilateral price increases of much greater magnitude, not only in Libya but also at the Eastern Mediterranean, where it was not subject to any specific claims.*

Rifai goes on to say:

*...the front of oil companies did not show any significant resistance to OPEC claims, and the Teheran negotiations almost seemed to be 'club discussions' for drawing up the details of a formal agreement rather than to challenge its basic components. The oil companies were there to sign, not to fight.*

Why this "strange change?" Were the companies sudden converts to the ideas of fairness or generosity in dealing with the nations they had throttled and cheated for so long? Hardly. To a certain extent their behavior can be chalked up to a pragmatic recognition of the new realities in the balance of power. Yet there is more to it than this.

Essentially, the oil majors did not simply give in to higher prices, but they

came to adopt the aim of higher prices for foreign crude as a measure in their own economic interest. In some part this policy was dictated by a desire to eliminate or minimize competition. This explains why the majors were willing to allow Occidental to face cutbacks in its supply of Libyan oil. The majors also understood that in the US the 70's were going to see a growing shift to greater dependence on imported oil. Higher prices for this oil would strengthen their position vis a vis the minors who depended more on domestic production. Finally the majors had invested heavily in other sources of energy including coal and uranium. Higher prices for oil would stimulate production and prices for these and other energy commodities.

The majors were also concerned that the US oil import quota law would be lifted. This law kept the price of domestic crude about a dollar a barrel over that of imported oil. By driving the price of foreign crude up to level of US crude the threat this posed to the major's profits could be eliminated. The negotiations between the companies and OPEC achieved this goal between 1971 and 1973.

### STRENGTHENING THE OIL CARTEL

To insure that higher posted prices were matched by higher market prices the major oil companies had to strengthen their monopoly position, namely their control over supply and prices. The Teheran agreement of 1971, while allowing for eventual majority ownership of production by the producing nations, left the control of oil supplies firmly in the hands of the major companies. It did this through the device of buy-back agreements which prohibited the oil producing nations from selling their oil to anyone but the major companies.

Simultaneously, to strengthen the bargaining position of the majors, the US Justice Department removed the anti-trust restrictions on the companies negotiating at Teheran. This enabled them to present a common front, and, in effect, conceded them the right to fix prices. The companies were to reap enormous advantages from this opportunity. Through the London Policy Group, a committee of the oil majors, the companies were to "cooperate" on an unprecedented scale to further their monopoly position and profits. As the National District Attorneys Association noted in 1974, "Not only are the oil companies showing monopolistic tendencies in petroleum production and sales, but they are also attempting to gain control over the entire energy industry."

The success of the oil monopolies new policy in relation to prices for foreign crude was rapid and dramatic. In 1969 the market price was at a low of \$1.25 a barrel with 10 cents going for the costs of production, 95 cents to the governments of the oil producing nations and 20 cents for oil company profits. By the middle of 1973 the market price had doubled to \$2.50 a barrel with \$1.50 going to the oil producing nations and 80 cents to the oil companies. While the revenue per barrel of the oil producing nations rose by 60%, the oil companies increased their profit per barrel by a whopping 400%.

As these figures make clear the first wave of OPEC-negotiated price increases were hardly to the disadvantage of the oil companies, but on the contrary served their aims very nicely. Big Oil's propaganda, which portrays them and the rest of us as victims of OPEC's "greed", just does not square with the historical record.

This series will be continued in the next issue of the Organizer.



Oil monopolies agreed to pay higher prices for OPEC's crude oil to drive out smaller competitors and get higher profits.

The New Yorker



## Coalition Forms to Fight High Prices

# Heating Oil Campaign Fires Up

by Jack McCullion

The winter of 1979-80 has arrived, and along with it comes the home heating oil "crisis." The price of home heating oil in the US has skyrocketed since last winter, from \$.49 to \$.85 a gallon. Some predict the price will reach \$1.00 a gallon by January, 1980.

### WHO GETS HURT?

What will this mean for a working class already strapped with double-digit inflation and a steady erosion of real wages? It will certainly mean even less of those rare "extras" — a movie, a good cut of meat, a weekend trip. For the poorest of the working class — the unemployed, the elderly, and particularly, the minority communities — the large jump in heating oil prices will mean choosing between "heating or eating" for many, and will mean death for some. The *New York Times* reported that last year more than 200 people across the country died from a lack of heating fuel. With prices as high as they are now, this year's "body count" will dwarf last year's figure.

Entire families will burn to death in fires caused by desperate attempts to heat their homes with space heaters, ovens or anything else that might keep them from freezing. And the racist nature of this heating oil "crisis" will begin to become clear when the overwhelming majority of the fires and freezing deaths occur in the minority communities, the areas of highest unemployment and the least ability to pay the oil companies' price.

In sharp contrast to this situation, the oil companies are making a "killing." Exxon's third quarter profits were up 120% over last year's, Texaco was up 211%, while "poor" Gulf was up only 97%. All this when workers are held to 7% wage increases or less.

People across the country are growing more and more angry and frustrated at the open, bold-faced thievery of the big oil companies. They are not being fooled by government/big oil publicity campaigns which blame the "greedy Arabs" or the "wasteful consumer." They know damn well who the victims are and who the thieves are. Demands are being raised from the big cities to the small towns for a rollback of prices, a freeze on profits and even for the nationalization of the oil industry.

Most folks don't buy Carter's "energy Plan" either. It comes as no big

surprise that his "Windfall Profits Tax" got watered down to near nothing by a bunch of Congressmen who receive large campaign contributions from the oil companies. What most working people are worried about is not who to blame, but what to do about it. It sometimes seems that the oil companies are so powerful that nobody can stop them. But the oil companies are not all-powerful. They are vulnerable to the power of masses of poor and working people who are united and organized around a single purpose. Just a unity and organization has begun to take shape here in Philadelphia.

In September, the Coalition for Public Ownership and Control of Oil (POCO) began to plan how to fight the heating fuel crisis and its effects on working class people. POCO is made up of the Tenant Action Group (TAG), Germantown Association for Safe Power (GASP), Philadelphia Workers Organizing Committee (PWOC), Consumer Education and Protective Association (CEPA), and a number of concerned individuals.

POCO believes that the only possible solution to the whole energy crisis is the nationalization of the oil monopolies under democratically elected management. This is the only way the people can ever hope to have any control over energy policy.

But POCO also fights for more short-term reforms, and for that reason has advocated that the oil refineries in Philadelphia be taxed, in order to give a heating fuel rebate to the people this winter. This summer, the multi-racial community organization ACORN came up with the same idea, and began grassroots organizing for the tax, including a demonstration that closed down ARCO's headquarters for several hours.

During the early fall, POCO worked with the Program Committee of the "Coalition to Elect the Human Rights Slate," helping draft the energy platform of independent mayoral candidate Lucien Blackwell. Mr. Blackwell endorsed the idea of a refinery tax rebate during the campaign, and is expected to be a strong ally of the people's struggle inside City Council.

### CAMPAIGN FOR A REFINERY TAX

Early in November, a number of local community organizations met and decided to form a coalition to fight for fuel rebates for this winter. Called Campaign for a Refinery Tax (CART), the



UTILITY COMPANIES  
SHOULDN'T BE ALLOWED  
TO CUT OFF HEAT  
BECAUSE OF INABILITY TO PAY!

new coalition intends to have a bill introduced in City Council this January, which would tax Philadelphia's two oil refineries (Gulf and Arco) and use this money to give rebate checks for heating fuel to low and moderate income people.

Groups represented at the first meeting of the coalition included ACORN, Philadelphia Council of Neighborhood Organizations, Kensington Joint Action Council, Tenant Action Group, Consumer Action Northeast, Southwest Germantown Association, Citizen/Labor Coalition, and the Coalition for Public Ownership and Control of Oil (POCO). Since then, the Black Political Convention has endorsed CART also. Some organizations had to take the question back to their membership before formally joining the new coalition, but most are expected to join.

According to Keith Forsyth, a member of POCO's steering committee, "The oil monopolies can easily afford this tax. They pay a much lower property tax rate on their refineries than you pay on your house. A tax of \$.25 on each barrel of crude oil they refine would raise about \$30 million a year, enough to give half the families in Philadelphia a \$100 check to help with this winter's heating bills." In 1977, the city imposed a tax on the oil refineries, but it was repealed after just one year, under pressure from the oil companies.

Another member of the POCO steering committee told the *Organizer*, "We're

talking about taking \$30-40 million away from the oil monopolies, the most powerful corporations in this country. They aren't going to just give up that kind of money without a fight, and they have plenty of friends in local government. No one organization has anywhere near the power we'll need to win. We have to have the organizations of the Black and Puerto Rican people involved in this campaign in order to win; these are the communities that are going to be hurt the worst, and these are the communities that have shown the most fight against the system.

"We also need the labor movement, because the unions have tremendous power, if they would only use it. We need a movement that is strong enough to make City Council more afraid of the people than they are of the oil companies." Meetings with City Councilpeople, a city-wide petition campaign, sending public speakers to community meetings, and demonstrations against those politicians who refuse to support the tax, are some of the tactics that CART plans to use.

For more information, or to join the campaign, contact CART, c/o Coordinator Eva Gladstein, Tenant Action Group, 1411 Walnut Street, Room 826, 19102, or call 563-5402.

For more information about POCO, contact POCO, 2534 Brown Street, Philadelphia, 19130, or call 684-2159.

## Public Power is Cheaper

Skyrocketing energy costs have made the subject of public ownership of the energy industry, including nationalizing the giant oil monopolies, a growing political question in the US. Much of the argument against public ownership rests on the prejudice (carefully cultivated by private industry) that publicly owned enterprises are inefficient and that private capital does the job better and cheaper.

The facts, however, do not support this argument. In the case of electric utilities there already are a substantial number of publicly owned enterprises ranging from municipally owned power companies to the vast federal projects like the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA). Thus the question of which is cheaper is not a matter of remote speculation, but can be answered by comparing the operation costs of private and public utilities.

Taking into account all utilities on a national scale, municipally owned operations deliver power to their customers at a cost 25% below that of private companies (see table). The single biggest reason for this difference is that 11 cents on every dollar paid to the private utilities goes to pay dividends to the stockholders. It is precisely these dividends that attract capital in the first place. Without them there would be no logic to private investment in utilities in the first place. Thus

they must be seen as a necessary and inevitable feature of private ownership. Municipally owned utilities, of course, have no stockholders and pay no dividends. That 11 cents on the dollar is passed along to the consumer in the form of lower rates.

As the table indicates, municipally owned utilities retain almost twice as much of their earnings as the private firms. These retained earnings generally go to finance improvements and expansion. The publicly owned utilities thus put far more into investments that can produce more abundant and efficient power than their private counterparts.

Another significant comparison is the costs of operation. The publicly owned companies spend considerably less per 1000 KWH to produce and distribute electricity. This is even more significant when we take into account that many municipally owned companies are in small towns and rural areas where the relatively higher costs and lower profits involved in producing and selling power kept private capital out. Studies indicate, contrary to conventional wisdom, that the public companies spend less on internal bureaucracy, less on executive salaries, less on political donations, and less on public relations than the private utilities.

Municipally owned companies pay lower taxes and can finance their operations through tax free, low interest loans. Thus the difference in costs between the public and private firms in this area do not represent real savings to the consumer since the taxpayer makes up this difference. Taking this into account, public power still represents a savings of 18% on the average electric bill for the consumer.

As long as there is an economy dominated by a private market and privately owned enterprises, the value of public

ownership for working people is strictly limited. Publicly owned firms are buffeted by inflation, the boom-bust cycle and all the other features of a capitalist economy. Nor is public ownership in and of itself any guarantee that working people will get a better deal. Nationalization in some instances has worked so that the capitalist class gets a subsidy in the form of lower prices for necessary commodities, while the working class picks up the bill either in the form of higher prices or taxation. But the case of the electric utilities shows that public ownership can represent a real and tangible gain for the masses of working people.

### PRIVATE AND MUNICIPAL ELECTRIC RATES, 1971

	Private	Municipal
Cost to consumer per 1000 KWH	\$16.43	\$12.18
Used by companies for:		
Dividends	1.84	—
Retained Earnings	0.68	1.26
Operations	9.72	8.52
Operations	9.72	8.52
Interest	1.58	1.24
Taxes	2.61	1.16

Source: URPE, devised from Brom & Kirshner

# STARVATION THREATENS KAMPUCHEA

by Kevin O'Hare

The Kampuchean (Cambodian) people themselves are in danger of extinction. From a population of eight million ten years ago, Kampuchea (Cambodia) today is down to a population of four million, to a large degree the result of the massive bombing of the country by the US. But today the Kampucheans face a new kind of crisis: starvation and disease. The UN estimates that 2.5 million Kampucheans are in danger of starving to death. Kampuchea is occupied by up to 200,000 Vietnamese troops, fighting against 30,000 troops under the direction of Pol Pot. Pol Pot controlled the country with his Khmer Rouge guerilla army from 1975 until early this year, when the Vietnamese took over the country and installed the Heng Samrin government.

By last March it was apparent that the country faced famine. The Vietnamese invasion made crop planting difficult. Fighting went on between Pol Pot troops and the new regime under Heng Samrin, disrupting agricultural work. Tens of thousands of Kampucheans who had been forcibly moved from the cities to the countryside by the Pol Pot regime took off, trying to get back to their former homes. Rice seed was eaten rather than planted. As a result, only 10% of the land was cultivated, and now almost no food is available in the country.

The pressure was first felt in neighboring Thailand, where some 100,000 Kampucheans went in search of food and to escape from the fighting in western Kampuchea, the stronghold of the remainder of Pol Pot's army. The Thai regime was afraid of the Vietnamese army on their border and was willing to help even Pol Pot, who had earned an international notoriety for his ultra-left "revolutionary" practices. Indeed, the Thai regime permitted the Chinese to arm Pol Pot's remaining guerillas using Thai supply routes.

But Thailand was unwilling to accept so many refugees into an already poor Thai economy, with no prospect that the Western countries were going to eventually take the refugees off their hands. So in June the Thai government sent 45,000 Kampucheans, against their will, back into Kampuchea.

A sanctimonious and hypocritical West reacted with outrage, and the issue of the Kampuchean refugees began to loom even larger in the world press than that of the Vietnamese refugees. As word of imminent starvation spread, international agencies like the Red Cross and the US offered food aid to Kampuchea, and little by little the Western countries began to pledge aid.

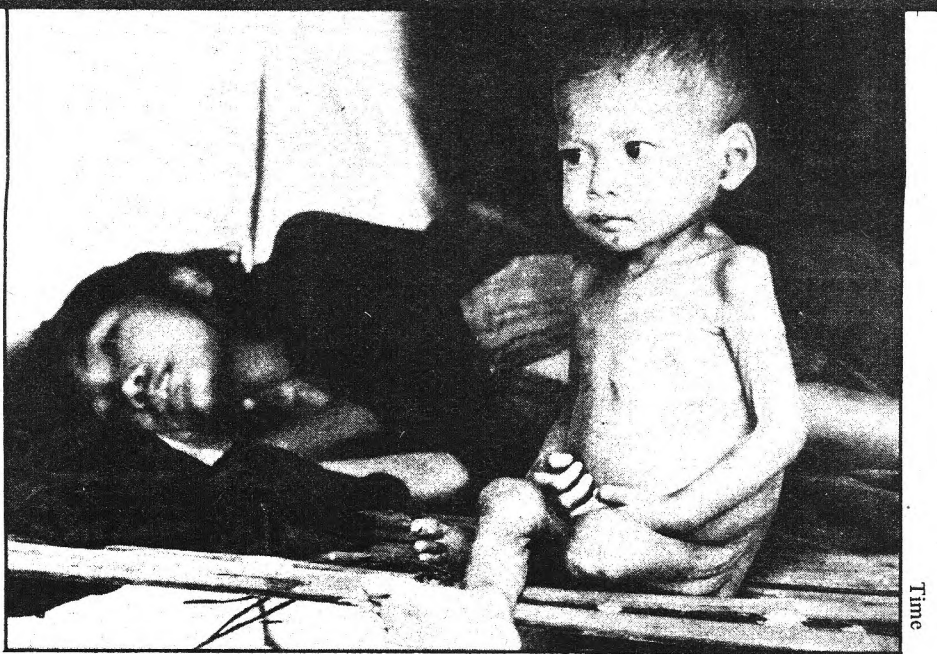
## U.S. MIXES FOOD & POLITICS

In the US almost everyone has gotten into the act. Rosalyn Carter visited Thailand to see the Kampuchean refugees. President Carter asked the people of the US to donate money every weekend in November, through their churches, to aid Kampuchea. Joan Baez appeared with Sen. Kennedy to raise money for Kampuchea.

A group of Senators has visited Phnom Penh, asking the Vietnam-backed government to permit food to come into the country by truck from Thailand. Congresswomen also made the trek to Phnom Penh, seeking again to get the authorities there to ease the bottlenecks. A bi-partisan group of 68 Congressmen have called for a joint US-Soviet airlift of food. And the issue has become part of the US presidential campaign. Kennedy has attacked Carter for moving too slowly on offering aid. The next day Carter pledged \$70 million in food for Kampuchea.

Internationally, the situation has improved. In late November 51 countries pledged over \$200 million through the UN. Thailand has agreed to accept, temporarily, 250,000 new Kampuchean refugees who are currently camped near the Thai-Kampuchean border. And food has finally, months too late, begun to be delivered to the starving. About 500 tons a day is reaching Kampuchea through five flights a day to Phnom Penh, and through ships to the only Kampuchean port at Kompong Som, and on barges up the Mekong River. At least 1000 tons a day is needed.

So far the Heng Samrin regime has vehemently resisted the most effective method, sending food via truck from Thailand; Phnom Penh fears that such aid via Thailand would fall into the hands of the Pol Pot forces. The Vietnamese and their Kampuchean allies are



International relief may come too late for many victims of famine in Kampuchea.

currently engaged in a dry season offensive against what is left of Pol Pot's army. Denied international recognition, Phnom Penh wants to wipe out Pol Pot during this offensive, and gain international acceptance.

The roadblocks Phnom Penh has put in the way of rapid relief efforts have hurt its already poor reputation. The UN, after defeating resolutions last January and February to censure Vietnam for its invasion of Kampuchea, last month called for Vietnam to withdraw, and continues to give the Kampuchean seat to Pol Pot's representative.

The Soviet Union, which backs the current regime in Phnom Penh, has claimed that it has already sent 200,000 tons of food. Western observers estimate actual Soviet deliveries at 40,000 tons, most of these destined to feed the Vietnamese troops. Until recently, Moscow has been playing down the extent of the famine.

## BIG POWER CONTENTION

The problems in delivering the aid, and Phnom Penh's reluctance to allow relief agencies any independent role in distributing food, stem from the fact that the balance of power in Southeast Asia is in the balance as well as the fate of millions of starving people. The Soviet Union backs the Phnom Penh government, which is composed of a group of Kampucheans who have been associated with Hanoi since the founding of the Indochinese Communist Party in 1930. This group went into exile in Hanoi in the early '50's, breaking with the rest of the Kampuchean Communist Party which decided at that time to cooperate with the new government of Prince Sihanouk.

Known as the Khmer Hanoi, this group took power behind the guns of the Vietnamese troops last January. The Chinese, of course, back the Pol Pot forces, or, increasingly, anyone who can mount an effective fighting force against the Vietnamese.

The Kampucheans themselves, have long term antagonisms towards the Vietnamese, and the Thais, both of which have a history of grabbing parts of Kampuchean territory. Cambodia has been shrinking at the expense of its neighbors for centuries, and Khmer nation (Kampuchean) nationalism is intense.

As for the US, it also wants to help anyone who will fight the Vietnamese. Funneling food through Thailand has meant in effect supplying Pol Pot and preventing Vietnam from fully occupying Kampuchea. Much of the relief food sent so far (the US has sent \$27 million of the pledged \$70 million) has gone to supply Pol Pot troops. However, increasingly a number of alternative Kampuchean military forces are appearing on the Thai border who are willing to some degree to fight the Vietnamese. The US has been quick to help them out, although indirectly.

Most prominent in the field so far are the forces controlled by the former Kampuchean leader Prince Sihanouk, who has formed the Confederation of Khmer Nationalists — a group which includes former officials of the US-imposed Lon Nol government which toppled Prince Sihanouk in 1970. China has allowed Sihanouk to act freely from his home in Peking, and the Confederation was founded in North Korea which is another friend of Sihanouk. Peking is also reported to have given \$1.2 million to General Dien Del, a former commander under Lon Nol who visited Peking last spring and is now also fighting the Vietnamese.

The US, which bears the major responsibility for bringing Kampuchea into the Vietnamese war when it placed Lon Nol in power and subsequently invaded Cambodia in 1970, is still playing a major role. The US is sending food to Phnom Penh through international agencies, but it is also making sure that food goes through Thailand, and that Thailand offers a secure base for any military resistance to the Vietnamese.

# Iran & the US...

(continued from page 1)

Back home the government started collecting papers on Iranian students, and jingoism and racism — prompted by the US bourgeoisie at all times and certainly always just beneath the surface — flourished. "Patriotic" demonstrations called for nuking Iran and deporting all Iranians in the US. One Iranian in Houston was quoted in the *NY Times*: "I am afraid to go out — I am afraid someone would kill me." Other Americans reacted against such harassment of Iranians.

After participating in an anti-Iranian demonstration in Houston, one American woman was quoted, "I was just mad like everyone else. But things got into a Ku Klux Klan-type rally. People were yelling 'kill the Iranians!' A lot of good that would do Americans over there. You could feel a mob thing growing. One guy burned a flag, and then the next one trumped him by hitting a passing person

who looked like an Iranian, and it went on." All the bourgeois politicians have either encouraged or been silent on this kind of racist chauvinism — only the left has denounced it.

Meanwhile, numerous efforts were made by other governments to free the hostages. The PLO tried and failed. The Pope also intervened, and was publicly rebuked by Khomeini, who asked why the Catholic Church had never criticized the Shah during 20 years. Most governments around the world have opposed the taking of the hostages, although many agree that the Shah should be sent back to Iran. Khomeini, who clearly inspires the students in the Embassy, reacted to international disapproval of his tactics by releasing 13 hostages, all either women or Blacks. Khomeini released the Blacks because of their oppression in the US, but he released the women because of Islam's

"respect" for women. Several Blacks and women remain as hostages because they are still under suspicion as spies.

## CONTRADICTIONS IN IRAN

Many observers have pointed out that while the goal of the students holding the hostages is a good one, the specific tactic used may not be. The leftist Fedayeen organization in Iran, for example, has refused to publicly support the takeover, although neither has it criticized it. Others have pointed out that, although the Shah should be deported to Iran and made to stand trial for his crimes — Khomeini's attacks on imperialism are motivated in part by a desire to divert mass attention from the problems of Iran. One thousand demonstrators protesting unemployment, for example, marched on Nov. 12 in Tehran — unemployment is estimated at 25%.

In another example where Khomeini has used the takeover to obscure some of

his more reactionary policies, the students at the Embassy claimed to have found documents proving that the rebellion of the Kurds this past August was all due to a US plot. And the crisis has brought forward into public view for the first time, members of the Revolutionary Council whose views are certainly not revolutionary. For example the new Economic Minister Bani-Sadr has emerged as a principle advisor to Khomeini.

This young French-educated economist is a devout Moslem with an apparent desire to take Iran back to feudalism: "If we follow the iman (Khomeini), society will return to the era of the Prophet, or at least to the time of the 16th century Safavid Dynasty under which the life of man was assured from birth to death." Khomeini himself, of course, has during the crisis once again given evidence of his own religious mysticism. "We are a nation of 35 million and many of these are looking forward to martyrdom" — such was Khomeini's response when asked about possible US reprisals. Khomeini has also continued to maintain, against all

## The Camp David Accords

# Palestine, Egypt and Israel

by Kevin O'Hare

Nearly nine months ago, Egypt and Israel signed a separate peace at the Camp David accords. At that time, Carter, Sadat, and the Israelis all hoped that the other Arab nations would follow Egypt's lead and eventually make their peace with Israel, the Palestinians would be isolated, and stability would finally come to the Middle East.

It hasn't turned out that way. The other Arab countries, including moderate Jordan, have condemned the Camp David accords and thrown Egypt out of the Arab League. The Palestinians have become less isolated, and PLO leader Arafat has met with the prime ministers of Spain, Austria, and Germany. Israel's position in the US has been weakened by Andy Young's dismissal and the movement of Black America toward greater ties with the Palestinians.

Israel's massive bombing of civilian targets in Lebanon with American F-15's has also given it a bad image, as has the continually increasing Israeli settlement on the West Bank.

### LEBANESE HOT POINT

Lebanon has been a focal point of conflict in the region. Israel has installed a 2000 man right-wing militia force in southern Lebanon, just south of the zone controlled by 5700 UN troops. North of the UN are the Palestinians.

Throughout July and August Israel carried out systematic bombing raids on the Palestinian inhabited areas. The bombing caused hundreds of civilian deaths, among both Palestinians and Lebanese Arabs. Many natives of the region had to desert their homes. The city of Tyre, formerly 100,000 people has been reduced to 10,000. The bombing has been carried out with US F-15's, contrary to Israeli-American agreements limiting the use of the F-15's to defensive purposes. The Israelis reason that the Lebanese raids are "defensive" in that they are responses to Palestinian raids. This is the same logic used by the US to justify bombing civilians in North Vietnam during the Vietnam War.

The bombing raids have led to three dogfights between Israeli and Syrian planes. The Syrians have been in Lebanon to maintain peace ever since the civil war ended in 1977. The Syrian Air Force has not interfered with Israeli reconnaissance flights over Lebanon, but responded to the continual bombing raids. So far the Syrian Mig-21's have been outclassed by the Israeli planes, and nine Migs have been shot down while the Israelis have lost only one or two planes. But the fighting has concerned the US, which arranged for a fragile cease-fire in September. Like all cease-fires in Lebanon, this one probably will not last.

available evidence, that the US was behind the occupation of the Moslem holy shrine at Mecca in Saudi Arabia — thereby attempting to rally the whole of the Moslem world in a crusade against the infidels, symbolized by the US.

Nevertheless, despite Khomeini's backward views on a number of questions, and despite our disagreement with the specific tactic of holding US hostages, the solution to the crisis lies in meeting the just demands of the Iranians. The Shah should be deported and tried, just as the Nazi war criminals were tried after WWII. And we must call for an end to the shameful harassment of Iranian students in this country. We must also oppose any US military intervention in Iran.

As we go to press, the issue of Iran is about to be debated in the UN. It is possible that an international forum where Iran put forward its case will help lead to a negotiated settlement and an eventual release of the hostages. Furthermore, it is likely that the Shah will leave

The Christian right-wing militia in southern Lebanon continues to launch mortar attacks on UN and Arab positions to the north, and prevents the UN troops from occupying all of southern Lebanon, which is the only way to stabilize the area. The Christian militia, of course, is completely controlled and armed by Israel.

Israeli intransigence in Lebanon could, like Israeli intransigence on the West Bank, be ended by the US, if the Carter administration saw fit. The US has been pouring \$2 billion into Israel each year since the 1976 war, one billion in military aid. Israeli Defense Minister Weizman visited Washington in September and asked for a doubling of military aid from the US.

Meanwhile, the Israeli-Egyptian agreements reached at Camp David continue to be carried out. Israel has returned about 10% of occupied Sinai to Egypt since the March peace treaty was signed. By December Israel is expected to have returned 50% of the occupied Sinai, including the valuable Alma oil fields in southeastern Sinai. A temporary crisis in the Sinai accords occurred when Israel refused to continue to allow UN troops in the Sinai to oversee the handing back of territory. The crisis was resolved when the US agreed to put its own troops in the area to oversee the agreement.

### WEST BANK SETTLEMENTS

But the Camp David accords have hit a snag on another front. The accords called for Egypt and Israel to work out an agreement for the Israelis to withdraw from the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip. A plan for Palestinian autonomy in these two occupied zones was to be worked out. Egypt's prestige in the Arab world, at an all time low, depends on its ability to get Israel out of the West Bank and Gaza, with the Palestinians remaining and having substantial control of these areas. But Israel has no intention of giving the West Bank and Gaza Strip back to the Palestinians who live there.

One sign of Israel's refusal to yield on the question of Palestinian self-determination has been its continued policy of settlements in the West Bank. Ever since Israel occupied the West Bank in 1967 both Israeli religious fanatics and Israeli military men have agreed that Israelis should settle in the West Bank, an area which some Israelis consider was given to the Jews by God. That view is shared by Israeli Prime Minister, the right-wing Menachem Begin. As a result, 41 Israeli settlements have been established on the West Bank, and more are on the way.

Often these settlements are actively opposed by the Palestinian Arabs in the

the US shortly, despite the fact that Henry Kissinger advised him not to leave unless directly asked to do so by the Carter administration. The State Department, which has never explained why the Shah was admitted in the first place, continues to maintain that the Shah's leaving is entirely up to the Shah and his doctors. And a Congressional committee has promised to open an investigation into the Shah's finances.

Despite such signs that the crisis may be defused, the situation remains volatile. Right-wing US politicians are calling for retaliatory strikes on Iran as soon as the hostages are freed. Food shipments from the US to Iran, accounting for about 25% of Iran's food supply, have been stopped by a longshoremen's work stoppage and exporters' reluctance — and the crunch is beginning to be felt in Iran. Carter continues to talk about eventual military action. Many scenarios are possible. In the long run, however, the sensational events of the last few weeks must not be seen in isolation from the shameful US role in support of the Shah for the last 25 years.

area, and the Israelis that inhabit them are heavily armed. Begin has continued to allow new settlements during the current period when Egyptian-Israeli talks on Palestinian autonomy on the West Bank are going on. Although there are only a few thousand Israelis on the West Bank so far, compared to almost one million Palestinians, the Israeli aim is to populate the area with loyal citizens. Israel was founded on the basis of displacing Palestinians, and that policy is continuing. And now, over US protests, the Israelis have lifted a 12-year-old ban which prevented Israelis from buying Arab land on the West Bank.

There are disagreements among top Israeli officials about the government policy of encouraging more settlements. In late October Foreign Minister Moshe Dayan resigned in protest over Begin's hard line on the Palestinians. Dayan favors an end to the settlements and increased contact with the Palestinians themselves. Dayan's resignation, which threw the Begin government into an internal crisis, was quickly followed by an Israeli Supreme Court ruling in favor of Arabs who were protesting the confiscation of their land for a settlement. As we go to press, Israeli cabinet officials are debating whether or not to obey the ruling of their own Supreme Court. Eventually they decided to obey, but at the same time agreed to create a number of new settlements.

In a recent incident which has once again pointed out that the Israeli's have no intention of granting any real autonomy to West Bank Palestinians, Israel arrested the Palestinian mayor of the West Bank town of Nablus. He was charged with sympathizing with the PLO and was ordered deported to Jordan. The charges were based on a report of a private conversation the mayor had, with an Israeli official, a report which was later admitted to have been factually incorrect. Subsequently, in an act of solidarity, all 25 Palestinian mayors on the West Bank resigned in protest. The Israeli Army will have to administer the West Bank directly, and clashes with the Palestinian population have already begun. Furthermore, there is now absolutely no chance that any Palestinians from the West Bank will join the Egyptian-Israeli talks about the future of the West Bank.

### BLACK-PALESTINIAN TIES

Official US protests have really put very little pressure on the Israelis to change their ways, given the close ties of

the US government with the Israeli government and US hostility to the Palestinians. But a new development, the increasing support of the Palestinians by Black Americans, could have an important effect on US public opinion and eventually on Israeli policies.

Carter's dismissal of Andy Young as UN ambassador, for having met with a representative of the PLO, was resented by Black Americans. Since Young's dismissal, Black American leaders have been voicing increasing support for the PLO. The SCLC and Jesse Jackson have taken public stances in favor of Palestinian self-determination. A delegation from the SCLC went to the Middle East in September, and was followed closely by a visit to the area by Jesse Jackson. Begin and most top Israeli officials refused to see Jackson despite private urging by President Carter.

On the other hand, Jackson was received by Egypt's Sadat, by PLO leader Arafat, and by Syrian President Assad. Jackson has called for the US to open talks with the Palestinians, while at the same time encouraging the Palestinians to join the Israeli-Egyptian peace talks — something opposed by both the PLO and Israel. Both SCLC spokespersons and Jackson have linked the Palestinian struggle with the civil rights movement in this country. Overall, this development of closer ties between Black Americans and Palestinians is one of the most important and positive developments in relation to the Middle East in some time.

The Palestinian question remains at the heart of Middle Eastern instability. Only self-determination for the Palestinians, and a defeat for the reactionary Israeli policies which are backed by US imperialism, can bring peace to the Middle East. There are a number of factors which could change Israeli policies, short of another war in the area. One is the strengthening of the Israeli opposition movement which calls for government concessions to the Palestinians. With inflation running at 100% in Israel, and with Begin's own right-wing coalition falling apart internally, there is a possibility that the more left-wing forces in Israeli politics can force a change in Israeli policy.

Of course, another possibility is a change in the continued support of Israel by the US government. It is our job in this country to build public support for the Palestinians and end the \$2 billion a year US subsidy of the Israeli government.



The Palestinian question remains at the heart of Middle East instability. The photo above was taken at a Palestinian refugee camp in southern Lebanon.

# The Sullivan Principles: Fake Opposition to Apartheid

by Belinda

"...the issue of power is at the core of the Black demand for change in South Africa. Africans are not struggling and dying to reform or improve apartheid. They want nothing less than the abolition of the system and the establishment of a new state based on full popular participation. To propose change in any lesser terms is trivial and irrelevant."

— Jennifer Davis, white South African  
April, 1977

The "Sullivan Principles," hailed by US corporations as a step forward for South Africa were originally proposed by the Polaroid Corporation in 1970. Polaroid's position ran as follows: we detest apartheid, but if we cut ourselves off from South Africa we end our chances of exercising influence to change this policy. Thus we carry on business and use our influence to raise the salaries of non-white employees, initiate programs to "train non-white employees for important jobs" and commit a portion of our profits to encourage education. "We hope other American companies will join us in this program. Even a small beginning... can have a large effect in South Africa."

Rev. Sullivan, a Black minister who besides being director of Opportunities Industrialization Center (OIC) is a member of the General Motors board of directors, expanded on Polaroid's position by putting forward the following principles:

1. Non-segregation of the races in all eating, comfort and work facilities.
2. Equal and fair employment practices for all employees.
3. Equal pay for all employees doing equal or comparable work for the same period of time.
4. Initiation of and development of training programs that will prepare, in substantial numbers, Black and other non-whites for supervisory, administrative, clerical and technical jobs.
5. Increasing the number of Blacks and other non-whites in management and supervisory positions.
6. Improving the quality of employees' lives outside of work in such areas as housing, transportation, schooling, recreation and health facilities.

On the face of it, the principles seem reasonable enough — implementing them has been a different question. (Even getting them accepted was a struggle.) Sullivan, who in the past has been heard to say that US corporations probably ought to withdraw from South Africa altogether, spent 18 months persuading 12 corporations to accept the principles—

surely a testament to the fundamental reluctance of US corporations to oppose apartheid at any level.

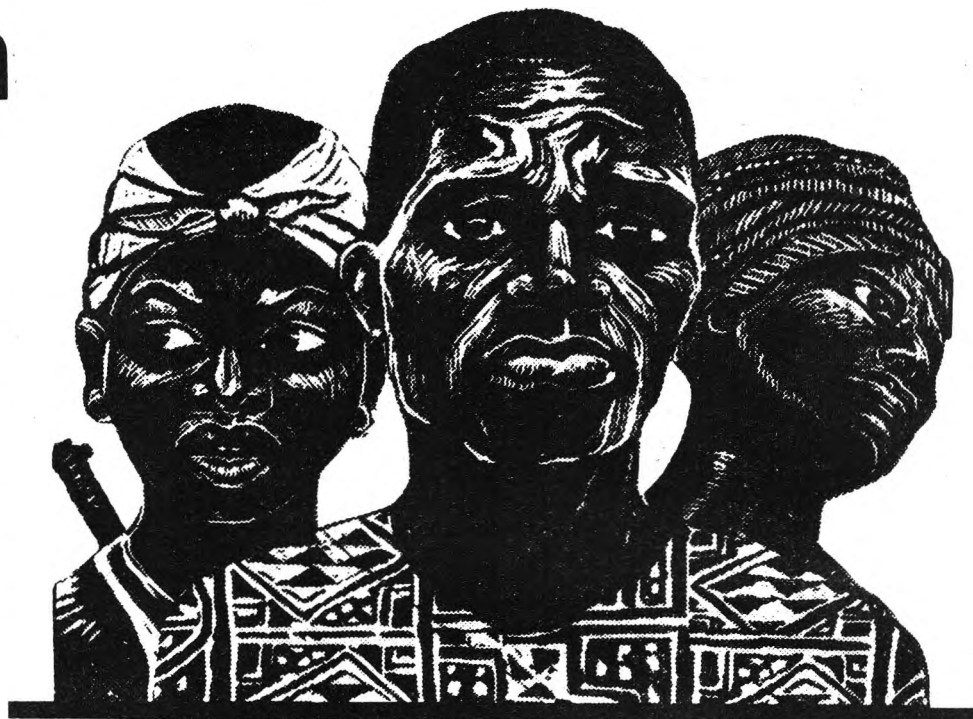
Despite the Reverend Leon Sullivan's claims that his principles could be a "tremendous force for change and a vital factor in ending apartheid," the principles serve, in fact, as part of a strategy to perpetuate the corporate status quo in South Africa. There is a fundamental contradiction between the demands of South African Blacks and the needs of US corporations, a contradiction obscured by the Sullivan Principles. On the surface, the principles seem like a step toward equality for Blacks in South Africa. The catch lies in what is excluded rather than in what is included. There is no demand for any change in the fundamental structure of apartheid, no demand for Black political rights. And, closer to home, there is no commitment to negotiating with Black trade unions and no demand that the government recognize these trade unions. Such measures would at least move in the direction of conceding real power to Black workers.

## ILLUSIONS ABOUT CORPORATIONS

Perhaps the most damaging effect of the Sullivan Principles is the impression they give that reform is possible in South Africa, and that US corporations have the will and the power to improve the condition of South Africa's Black majority. US corporations have been attracted to South Africa because it has a highly controlled labor force — a labor force that provides profit averaging 20% as compared to only 6% in the US.

The Sullivan principles do not change this fact. Sophisticated companies are quite willing to make workplace alterations and even to recognize company unions, but they are not prepared to allow militant unions with the power to represent the real needs of the workers. They will argue with the government over the right to use more Blacks as skilled workers, but they will not confront the government over apartheid.

Apartheid is a tightly meshed system of total dispossession that deprives Blacks of their citizenship, freedom of movement, land ownership, organizing rights, and education. The whole purpose of the system is to maintain the Black population as a vast reservoir of powerless, cheap labor, to be used when, where, and if the bosses decide. It is the apartheid system that keeps US corp. in South Africa, because apartheid makes profits.



As US involvement has expanded, conditions for Blacks have grown worse. US corporate investment has nearly tripled in the last ten years, now approaching \$2 billion — one-fifth of all foreign investment in South Africa. US bank loans now account for about 25% of all South Africa's foreign loans. US presence provides jobs for about 100,000 people (a mere 1% of the official work force) including 70,000 Africans, coloureds and Asians.

While US corporate investment has grown, so has the systematic dispossession of 20 million Africans who make up over 70% of the population. The cornerstone of this dispossession is the bantustan policy. Under this system, 13% of the land area is allocated to 80% of the population, divided among eight "tribal groups." The ultimate in Black dispossession, the bantustan policy is a strategy guaranteed to supply the economy with a constant source of cheap Black labor power. US corporations, with or without the Sullivan Principles, are unwilling to challenge the bantustan system. It is a telling statement that these principles could be implemented fully within a system that maintains white power and Black subjugation.

If we stop to think about corporations' roles here at home, it is easy to see how much of a sham the Sullivan Principles are. US companies have always managed to avoid close scrutiny of their operations — particularly here at home. Blacks and other oppressed national minorities know that even with the weight of federal equal opportunity legislation on their side they have often been unable to force company compliance. And as workers, we all know what a battle it is — particularly if our shop is unorganized — to gain even the smallest victories. As workers, we have never found that corporations are interested in our welfare. Why should things be different in South Africa? Because a Black minister says that they should be? Obviously not.

There can be no equality of opportunity in a country where one group of workers is excluded from education on the basis of skin color; is forced to live under exhausting conditions, often in crowded hostels away from family and friends; is constantly subject to the threat of being arrested under a battery of special laws which control movement, the right to be in a particular place, the right to go out at night; where making any complaint about a job may lead not only to instant dismissal, but also to "endorsement out" of a town, back to the bantustan where there are no jobs. Above all, there can be no equality of opportunity where one group of workers is denied the right to effective trade union organization. Without political power, Blacks will always be subordinate to whites, who control the economy to their own advantage. Thus the issue of job reform, in isolation, is illusory.

## TOO LITTLE — TOO LATE

The Sullivan Principles are basically a sham — a public relations effort made necessary by the growing militancy among opponents of the South African system. In the months during which the

code was being developed, South Africa was shaken by the powerful Black protest which started as an uprising led by young Soweto students and eventually left an estimated 1,000 Africans dead. Pictures of defiant unarmed Black children facing armed white police shattered US public indifference to events in South Africa, and provoked a questioning of the role of US corporations in South Africa. The uprisings threatened the very fabric of the apartheid state, demonstrated the demands of the Blacks for fundamental change, and exposed the brutal power of the South African regime.

Faced with this situation, the companies moved swiftly to justify their continued presence in South Africa. They could no longer remain silent as they had in 1970 when the Polaroid Corporation, itself under pressure from Black US employees because of its South African activities, had urged other US firms to join it in a program of South African workplace reform. The Sullivan Principles provided precisely what the companies were looking for: a strategy to preserve the status quo in South Africa, while appearing to support Black equality. The continued flow of foreign capital is vital to the S.A. economy. And clearly, corporate interests wouldn't be there in the first place if they weren't making money on the deal too. The Sullivan Principles allow the dollars to keep pouring in.

Many of the corporations that have pledged agreement to and implementation of the principles are government contractors. According to the Interfaith Center on Corporate Responsibility: "...Citibank is a signatory, yet Citibank has made loans of over \$300 million to the South African government; IBM is a signer yet IBM places no restrictions on computer sales in South Africa which could be used for repressive purposes; Mobil is a signer yet Mobil apparently still provides oil for Rhodesia and sells petroleum to the South African military; Union Carbide has invested in one bantustan and on the border of yet another, and is involved in a \$50 million expansion."

It is increasingly clear, even to Rev. Sullivan, that the corporations cannot be relied on as a force for change in South Africa. According to a recent article by Linn Washington appearing in the *Daily News*, Sullivan is now calling for an immediate halt to all new US bank loans to the South African government. "Until apartheid ends, we must stop the flow of US money to the South African government..." Sullivan is quoted as saying. The change in emphasis represents a step forward, but in and of itself will not bring significant results.

Black demands for change in South Africa involve real political power and the destruction of the entire apartheid system. Only the dismantling of the bantustan system and the destruction of apartheid can meet the needs of the people of South Africa. Continued US corporate presence in South Africa only serves to reinforce white rule. The fight against apartheid is inseparable from the fight to break the power of US corporations and banks in South Africa.



# CLS Workers Fight Layoffs & Cutbacks

by Judi Baker

Community Legal Services' 1199C Bargaining Unit of 120 workers (paralegals and clericals) walked off their jobs Monday, October 29, 1979 to stop the threatened lay-off of close to one-third of its members. When the "wildcat strike" was over, only 10 lay-offs occurred, 8 of which were uncontested, and 26 workers got their lay-off notices rescinded. This was a victory of the workers and for the community forces who had been demanding no cut in legal services.

The cutbacks in Community Legal Services are part of a national and state trend to reduce social services, and make the poor, especially Black and Latino, shoulder the burden of the recession. The Pennsylvania State Legislature cut the state legal service budget by over \$700,000 in June, 1979, which meant an actual cut of over \$3 million, since the federal Government gives "matching funds" of \$3 for every \$1 the state provides. Governor Thornburgh, who had campaigned as a friend of the poor, has recently done little on his promise to save the legal services program.

The particular cutback and attack on Philadelphia's legal service program, launched by conservative legislators, is also highly political. These legislators don't like C.L.S. giving assistance to organizations of welfare recipients, tenants and consumer activists who are legally challenging unfair welfare cuts, housing policies and utility cost increases. Since these groups are predominately Black and largely women, the attack on CLS's right to represent such clients is primarily a racist attack, compounded by sexism, on the rights of oppressed people to use the law to defend hard won rights. Another racist and sexist aspect of the cutbacks is that a large percentage of non-attorney staff that would be laid off are Black and Puerto Rican women.

CLS's management, while publicly mouthing its support for affirmative action, cooperated with the State's racist and sexist plan to render the program impotent. Out of the 34 threatened lay-offs, 90% were Black and Puerto Rican, and 80% were women, many of whom were single parents. Management also laid off and then fired the only Puerto Rican Managing Attorney in the program, Angel Ortiz, known for his pro-union stands and independent political views.

The job action lasted for one week. It did not force Harrisburg to refund legal services; it also did not pressure management to cut costs by laying off some of the top heavy, high-salaried administrative personnel. But the solid action did stop most of the lay offs and got management to agree on no reprisals

against workers. Most important, we won a sense of our own unity and strength which will carry over into future struggles, including contract negotiations which begin in December.

## STRIKE LESSONS

We learned many lessons from our "strike". The ability of the rank and file to pull off the action which shut down 6 out of 7 legal service offices had a lot to do with both the composition and the functioning of the Strike Committee. Previously, many rank and file workers saw the union as a white, paralegal union. This view was aggravated by racist errors made by union activists. One example of this racism was when a white union organizer equated an affirmative action committee to a bowling committee.

Another example is that rank and file workers, including this writer, had a low level of understanding on how to implement an affirmative action plan within CLS, including the upgrading of clericals and super seniority provisions for recently hired Black and Puerto Rican paralegals. The ability of white activists to open up these areas, and to accept the leadership and involvement of Black and Puerto Rican workers, built Black-white-Latino unity which consolidated most of the rank and file behind the action.

Nightly strike committee meetings that assessed the days activity and strength of the rank and file, allowed the committee to maximize its strength. Strong picket captains that maintained active, spirited lines increased the involvement of the rank and file, while outreach to community groups resulted in the participation of some groups in the picket lines, along side of the workers. There was a clear division of labor within the committee that was generally followed, making it able to carry out many tasks; and a semi-weekly newsletter to inform rank and file of activities kept members up to date on the situation.

The CLS attorneys, organized into their own union, Pennsylvania Legal Service Workers Union (PLSU), were also key to the action's success, when most members refused to cross the picket lines. Members of the PLSU worked as mediators between 1199C members and management.

The 1199C leadership, particularly Henry Nicolaus, also played a supportive role, especially in monitoring legislative activity around increased funding efforts.

While the action was in large part a success, there were also several weaknesses that the bargaining unit will have to deal with in the future. One weakness was the under-representation and participation of clerical workers in the action, as



compared to paralegals; another was the tendency of some strike committee members to get caught up with the dynamics of the strike and negotiations and wanting to move further ahead than the rank and file was willing to go. Finally, the need for some sort of broad coordinated action and plan on the part of thousands of union members and community forces affected by the current

cutbacks, in 1199C and other related unions is necessary to reverse the present budget cutting trend of the legislature and the governor.

Rank and file workers of 1199C in CLS and in other programs might just be in a good position to begin thinking in these terms, with a solid victory behind them.

## WILL THERE EVER BE ANOTHER GENUINE MARXIST-LENINIST PARTY IN THE US?

More than 20 years have passed since the Communist Party of the US consolidated a revisionist general line, abandoning the cause of revolution in the US. Since that time there have been many efforts to form a new party. None of them have succeeded.

Why?

The central reason is that the anti-revisionist movement has been, by and large, characterized by ultra-leftism, manifesting itself ultimately in an all-sided "left" opportunist line based on the general international line espoused by the Communist Party of China.

In recent years, one section of the anti-revisionist movement has made a break with this "left" opportunism and begun once again the task of trying to develop its political line and create the appropriate organizational forms for the reestablishment of a genuine revolutionary party.

The National Network of Marxist-Leninist Clubs (NNMLC) - formerly the Guardian Clubs - is a newly formed organization in this anti-revisionist, anti-"left" opportunist trend in Marxism-Leninism.

At its recent founding conference in New York (March 30 - April 1) the NNMLC unanimously adopted a general statement on the question of how to proceed with the historic task of party-building. This statement, which encompasses the formulation that "the essence of party-building is the rectification of the general line of the US communist movement and the reestablishment of its party" makes an all-sided evaluation of the history of the US communist movement and lays out the views of the NNMLC on the tasks of the moment.

The founding conference also adopted a number of other important statements and resolutions. We believe that all communists in the US will find these statements of the greatest interest. The most important have now been published in pamphlet form. These are:

**Developing the Subjective Factor - The Party-Building Line of the NNMLC**  
— 64 pp. \$2.00

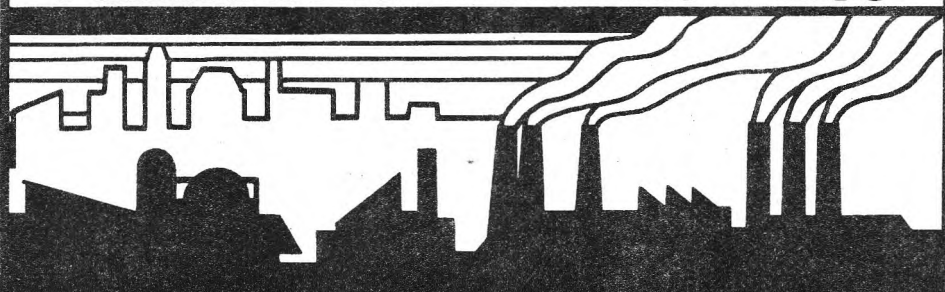
**Fusion vs. Rectification - the Line Struggle on Party-Building**  
Includes: Why the Club Network is not joining the OCIC; Clay Newlin's sectarian attack on the Club Network (full text of his speech in Oakland, CA, April 4, 1979): "Circle Warfare": Who is Responsible? A reply to Clay Newlin.  
— 64 pp. \$2.00

**Documents of the Founding Conference of the NNMLC**  
Includes main political report by Irwin Silber with detailed summation of the struggle between the Guardian Clubs and the Guardian staff majority; particular tasks of the NNMLC in the party-building movement; relation of NNMLC to other forces in the US communist movement.  
**Complete, \$2.00**

Order from: NNMLC, PO Box 11118, San Francisco, CA 94101 (Please add 50 cents to all orders to cover postage.)

Bulk discounts available to bookstores and organizations.

## Publications from the PWOC



INDEPENDENT POLITICAL ACTION, A Marxist-Leninist Perspective (Reprints from the *Organizer*) \$1.25  
PARTY BUILDING, Against Revisionism and Dogmatism (Reprints from the *Organizer*) \$1.00  
ON TRADE UNIONS AND THE RANK AND FILE MOVEMENT (Reprints from the *Organizer*) \$1.00  
THE TRADE UNION QUESTION, A Communist Approach to Tactics, Strategy and Program \$2.50  
BLACK LIBERATION TODAY, Against Dogmatism on the National Question \$2.00  
RACISM IN THE WORKERS' MOVEMENT \$1.00  
THE ORGANIZER, monthly newspaper of the PWOC \$5.00/year

Order from: PWOC, P.O. Box 11768, Phila., PA 19101.  
Please include a 10% postage fee with each order.  
All orders must be prepaid.

**The Philadelphia Workers' Organizing Committee**

# Three Mile Island Commission Report ...

# Nuclear Whitewash

by Theresa Mooney

The presidential advisory commission charged with conducting "a comprehensive study and investigation of the Three Mile Island (TMI) accident" released its findings on October 30. The report was conciliatory to the nuclear industry — failing to take a stand for or against the expansion of nuclear power — but gave ominous warnings to the public about the inevitability of future nuclear accidents.

The commission's report lacked "teeth" because it failed to call for a moratorium on the construction of new plants until its recommendations were met. The majority of commissioners supported such a moratorium but could not agree on the appropriate conditions.

Moratorium proposals that were rejected called for a halt in permits for "two years" or until "certain suggestions, including the rearrangement of the Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC), were put into effect." The final compromise proposal called for the NRC to postpone issuing any new construction or operating licenses until the recommendations of the commission *could be considered*.

## NRC HIT HARD

The commission directed its harshest criticism at the NRC, not at the nuclear industry. It recommended that the NRC be abolished and replaced with a single administrator appointed by the President. Serious charges were made against the NRC, both in its routine operations and its handling of the TMI accident. The report went so far as to say that the NRC often made compromises on nuclear safety for the convenience of the industry.

Reorganization of the NRC is not likely to improve the regulatory process a great deal because the only people with the technical skills required to staff the new agency are working for the NRC or the industry itself. Shuffling the cards does not change the deck.

The commission criticized Metropolitan Edison (Met Ed) for its operation of the TMI reactor and questioned the ability of utilities to manage such a complex technology. They did not, however, recommend removal of the ownership and operation of nuclear reactors from the private sector. The commission called for the government to develop "higher standards of organization and management" before a license is granted to a utility to operate a nuclear power plant. These higher standards are to be developed and enforced by the same NRC staff

people the commission just got through calling compromised and incompetent.

In assessing the cause of the TMI accident the commission found equipment failure to be relatively minor and the primary cause to be operator error. They found that the training of operators was greatly deficient, operating procedures were unclear, and the control room was poorly designed. These deficiencies are common in the nuclear industry. Given these deficiencies the commission was "convinced that an accident like TMI was eventually inevitable".

The report generally let the design and equipment of nuclear plants off the hook — implying that the technology itself is safe. The report focused instead on the "mindset" of nuclear operators and regulators, representing a conviction that the design and equipment of nuclear plants is adequate to prevent accidents. This "mindset" apparently leads to laxity in training operators, loose enforcement of regulations, and inadequate response to emergency situations.

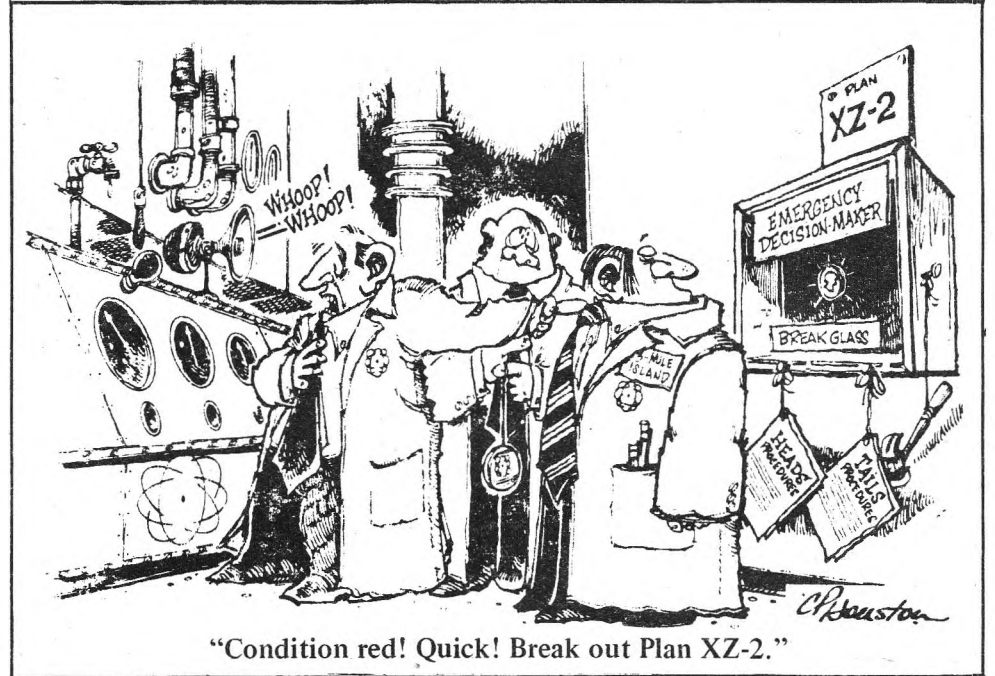
It seems that the commissioners fell into this "mindset" themselves at times, buying the testimony of pro-nuke engineers about how safe nuclear technology is. They also failed to point out that this "mindset" is created deliberately by the education and training of nuclear professionals and workers — and that if they don't have it they're out of a job. The "mindset" theory serves the nuclear industry in that changing a "mindset" is a lot less expensive than shutting down the nuclear plants.

As many of us suspected during the days of the TMI accident, we were not getting the whole story. The commission found evidence that Met Ed officials and the NRC covered up the seriousness of the accident by minimizing or denying the damage to the core and the possibility of a meltdown.

## GETTING OFF THE HOOK

The commission failed to address the broader problems of nuclear energy such as safe waste disposal. Several states have closed or restricted use of nuclear waste disposal sites in recent weeks because sloppy shipments endangered the health of residents. At present, a safe way to dispose of spent nuclear fuel has not been developed.

The commission did not address adequately the technical problems besetting the industry. So-called nuclear experts do not have the knowledge to speak to many



of these problems. For example, the commission concluded that the possibility of a meltdown resulting in spread of radioactivity was low at TMI because the concrete and rock would have contained the nuclear fuel. However, they admitted that in making this conclusion "we approach the limits of our engineering knowledge of the interactions of molten fuel, concrete, steel and water. . . and cannot be absolutely sure of the results."

Just one week after the commission's report, 50 nuclear fuel experts were called to an emergency meeting by the NRC because of *new data* that the emergency core cooling systems of most nuclear reactors would not function as expected in an accident involving a loss of coolant. It turns out that the long thin metal tubes that hold the nuclear fuel pellets might expand more than had been expected in such an accident, hindering the flow of water from emergency pumps.

Regarding the possible health effects of the TMI accident, it was concluded that "there will either be no cases of cancer or the number of cases will be so small that it will never be possible to detect them". This statement does not say what number of cancer cases would have to occur in order to be detected. Fifty excess cancer deaths occurring over a five year period would have *no chance* of being detected by existing cancer monitoring systems in the state.

The number of cancer cases that occur each year in the state is unknown, because there is no central registry to which all cancer cases are reported. A plan to establish such a registry has been put before the state legislature but has not been implemented.

A week after the presidential commission released its report the NRC announced that it will not permit utilities to begin operating or constructing new reactors for at least six months and possibly as long as two years. (The utilities immediately threatened rate increases for their customers if they are delayed in opening new plants.) The NRC will also consider whether some of the 72 operating reactors might have to be closed because of their proximity to population centers such as New York and Chicago.

On November 1 the Pennsylvania Public Utility Commission ordered Met Ed to show why its license to sell nuclear power should not be revoked in response to the charge made by the presidential commission that Met Ed lacks the knowledge, expertise, and personnel to operate the TMI plant or maintain it adequately.

Meantime, Met Ed has tried to shift the financial burden of clean up to its customers by applying for rate increases. Met Ed has asked the government to shoulder

a substantial part of the \$500 million clean up because "the highly radioactive reactor provides an important opportunity to add to the nation's nuclear experience." The public should demand that the reactor *never* be re-opened, because clean-up and operation of the damaged nuclear reactor are too dangerous.

## SOME CONCLUSIONS

The commission's report can only deepen our understanding that the nuclear power industry in the US is unsafe and should be shut down. The fact that a majority of commissioners voted for a moratorium on new construction at some point in the proceedings (a demand that they certainly wouldn't have considered seriously before TMI) shows how shaken they were by the testimony they heard.

The report clearly shows the incompetence of government regulators and utility managers in whom we are trusting our lives for the safe operation of the plants. The report points to the strong possibility of another accident at least as serious as TMI, but does not present concrete measures to ensure that no such accidents will occur.

An assessment of the safety of nuclear power plants in the US cannot be separated from an understanding of the monopoly capitalist system. The nuclear industry was developed because big business hoped to realize large profits, not because it was the best energy source when social needs were weighed.

Because utilities are run for profit there is a tendency to cut costs even if it means taking risks with health and safety. The energy program in the US has ignored the needs of the working class and reaped huge profits for the capitalists. Of all energy sources, nuclear energy creates the fewest jobs. In pushing nuclear energy the monopoly capitalists put small value on our lives — weighing the effects of possible radiation exposure to our health on one side and profits on the other.

The anti-nuke movement has gained broad support in the wake of TMI. Sectors of the movement are effectively addressing the demands of the working class and organized labor for cheap, safe energy, public ownership of utilities and job security for nuclear workers if the plants are shut down. Anti-nuke coalitions have staged dramatic and effective demonstrations, the most recent at Wall Street on October 29, anniversary of the Stock Market crash and the beginning of the Great Depression, at which hundreds of demonstrators were arrested.

Despite the shortcomings of the commission's report, the anti-nuke movement will be able to use it to expose how bad the nuclear industry and its regulations really are.



Neil Benson

# The Right to Choose

On Saturday, October 27, between 150-200 people gathered in Philadelphia to show their support for women's right to choose a safe and legal abortion. The rally took place as part of National Abortion Rights Week and was one of many similar activities around the country. The main focus of the presentations centered on the right to choose a safe, legal abortion; the need to stop forced sterilization; to have safe birth control options readily accessible to all women.

National Abortion Rights Week was organized by NOW (the National Organization for Women) and supported by a wide range of women's organizations and other progressive groups. The week of focus on abortion rights comes from the need to defend the gains women made in progressive abortion legislation early in the 1970's. These gains are under a rapid-fire and vicious attack from the right today. This attack was represented at the site of our local demonstration in Philadelphia. It took the form of twenty Right-to-Lifers and their arsenal of dead fetus pictures. In looking at the principles put forward by the two groups, the demonstrators and the counter-demonstrators, it was very clear why all democratically-minded people should raise their support for abortion rights.

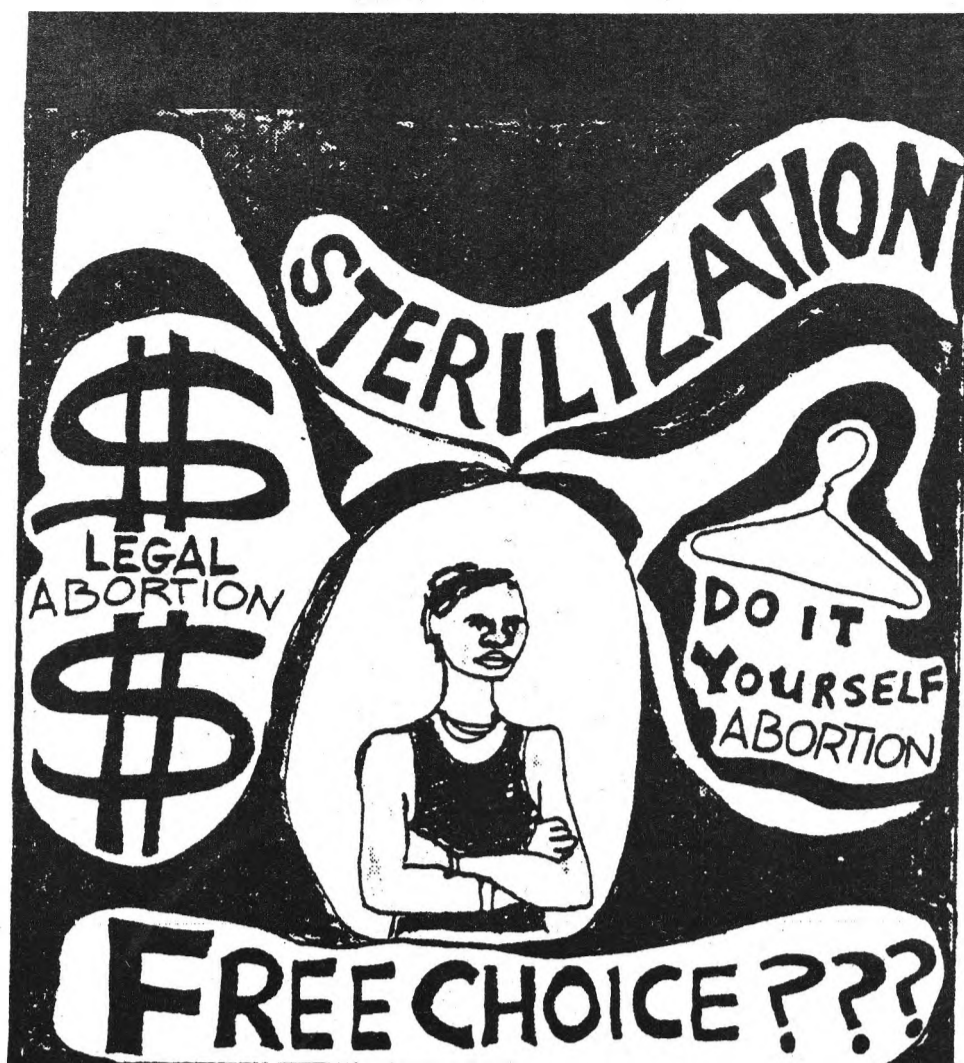
The main speakers at the rally spoke about what they meant by the right to choose. A Black woman lawyer from New Jersey talked about the effects of anti-abortion legislation in minority communities. She made real for people many of the thoughts and considerations minority women face when an unexpected pregnancy takes place. Under the gun of economic hardship, poor and crowded housing and rotten schools, the decision to have a child is a serious one. A decent education, a steady job, a functional and comfortable house or apartment — these are basic rights often denied to national minority people in our society.

The institutionalized racism and sexism which makes Black women the least likely to be hired often leaves women the choice of welfare or dependence for economic support on a relative who is underemployed. This leaves abortion as the last option for a woman pounding the pavements for work, knowing that she won't be hired at all if she is pregnant, and that she will not be able to give her child the life she wants for it.

As with abortion, where poor and minority women are hit the hardest by right-wing legislation, they are also the ones who suffer for the current practices of sterilization. Most women who are sterilized are presented with the option during labor or immediately after the birth of a child. They are given no time to think about it, no education about what the procedure entails, etc. Another speaker at the rally discussed how sterilization is continually abused to take the right of conscious choice away from poor minority women. She cited the example of Puerto Rico, where 35% of the women of childbearing age have been sterilized.

In Puerto Rico, there was no "population problem" until US companies had destroyed the local agriculture, making only a few jobs available and the price of food exorbitant. And 40% of Native American women have been sterilized, most unknowingly or against their will. The combined picture presented by the speakers demonstrated that the right to choose abortion or sterilization are the final options in a long list of tightly limited options for many women. They showed that abortion is a democratic issue for all people in our country. It is part of the defense of the already living, not an attack on the unborn.

The principles of the rally's attackers go something like this: God, family and country — the fetus is already a citizen whose rights are violated by abortion.



Anna Gibbons / L.N.S.

Their rhetoric is not too dissimilar from the Nazi's who saw it as the duty of women to bear children for the fatherland despite what it means for the individual woman. They speak of God and God's will only for the unborn, but their God seems unconcerned with the miseries or problems of the mother and her entire community.

It was readily visible at the rally that Right to Life is becoming more deeply entrenched in the right-wing anti-democratic backlash we call the New Right. Scratching the surface of their anti-abortion posture, you will find them anti-everything else — anti-ERA, anti-Affirmative Action, anti-public school funds,

anti-federal support for decent housing, anti-union, anti-gay, etc.

Although the Right to Life disruption at the rally was small, their movement is well-funded. The Pro-choice movement is underfunded and many of its supporters are silent. We need to recognize the urgency of facing off with the right and demanding that the gains of the 1970's not be lost in the first moments of the 1980's. Two hundred spirited supporters for the Pro-choice demonstration is just not enough. We need to draw out the broadest support possible, rallying to the leadership that the women's movement has given in defending all our reproductive rights.

## Third World Lesbian and Gay Men Meet

contributed by Daniel Tsang

Some 500 Third World lesbians and gay men converged on the nation's capital the weekend of October 12-15 for the first national Third World Lesbian/Gay conference. The event was almost completely ignored by the corporate media, which missed a historic march October 14 by 200 of the conferees from the conference site at Howard University to the center of Washington to join the full march.

The early morning march through the Black neighborhood and through Chinatown was the first time Black and Asian lesbians and gay men had paraded through their own neighborhoods. The mood of the marchers was jubilant, and the reaction from onlookers more surprise than hostility. The dozen or so Asian lesbians and gay men chanted "We're Asian, Gay and Proud!" as the street signs turned Chinese at the edge of Chinatown. Many of the Asian marchers faced deportation for so visibly coming out as lesbian or gay, under a reactionary McCarthy period law which bars gay people from abroad from entering this country.

At noon the marchers joined with others forming the main March on Washington and marched as the Third World contingent, right behind the lesbians and handicapped gays who led off. The Third World marchers expressed pride in their gayness and solidarity with national liberation struggles abroad. Chants included "Third World Revolution!" When the Latino delegation passed the building of the Organization of American States (OAS) it roared, in Spanish, "These are the people who take away our lands!" Heading the Third World contingent was

a small group of Native Americans, holding a sign proclaiming "The First Gay Americans".

The march culminated a weekend of intense discussion among Third World lesbians and gay men who attempted to reconcile being both people of color and lesbian or gay in a racist and homophobic society. Participants heard a moving address by keynote speaker Audre Lourde, Black feminist lesbian, and discussed racism and sexism in various workshops. Conferees late Saturday also heard solidarity statements from socialist compañeros from Mexico, who had somehow managed to avoid detection and enter the country.

Thunderous applause greeted a statement by Rodrigo Reyes, from the Gay Alliance of Latin Americans, who read the following statement from Ms. Aura L. Beteta, General Counsel of Nicaragua in San Francisco: "To the first national conference of Third World lesbians and gay men, revolutionary Sandinista greetings. May from your conference be born a movement that identifies, that unites and struggles with the liberation movements of all oppressed people."

Conferees appeared moved as Tana Loy, a lesbian member of the newly formed Lesbian and Gay Asian Collective, shared what had happened among the Asian caucus at the conference. She described the tendency for many Asian Americans to avoid each other when they meet — "we run from each other, because of the pain, because of the anguish, because of the deep self-hatred of racism in this country. It's a survival response, because for decades of imperialist wars, we have been atomic bombed.

we have been napalmed, we have been raped, we have been driven to suicide — and we have built this country from the east to the west. And we have been called the barbarian." But at this conference, where many gay Asians met one another for the first time, "we have... run toward each other!"

The late evening sharing of support and solidarity culminated in a disco at the conference ballroom, where many white supporters, including gay poet Allen Ginsberg, joined in dancing with the Third

World sisters and brothers present.

The high level of political awareness and militancy among the majority of conference participants suggests that the largely white-dominated gay movement, ten years after the uprising at the Stonewall Inn in New York, now faces a threshold in its history. The next decade may see an autonomous Third World lesbian and gay movement developing, one that seeks to challenge and fight against the racism and reformism in much of the existing gay movement.



On October 14, 1979 nearly 150,000 lesbians, gay men and their supporters participated in the first national gay rights demonstration.

Associated Press

# Frank Corso Talks About Fighting Racism: "Only If We Scream and Holler"

Frank Corso is a white worker living in Southwest Philadelphia who put up \$1500 in reward money for information leading to the arrest and conviction of the sniper who killed a 13-year-old Black youth and wounded two others during the recent flare-up of racial tension in SW Philadelphia. About a month later Frank's house was vandalized. Frank talked with the Organizer about this experience and the events in his life which have given him a greater understanding of the reality of racism and the need to combat it.

**Question:** Why did you put up the reward money?

**Answer:** Well, at that time I didn't consider it a Black and white issue. What I did was a purely emotional reaction of visualizing a young child being gunned down by a gutless coward and the emotion was sorrow and wanting to lash out.

**Q:** But you were well aware of the build-up of racial tension in the area, weren't you?

**A:** Yes, I knew it was a Black and white issue, but what was going through my head was not a Black and white response. Later on I realized that because young Tracy was gunned down in a highly racial situation, that the Black community needed some support and confidence in the white people in Southwest Philadelphia that there were white people who were concerned about this racial problem and wanted to do everything in their power to prevent it from going on.

**Q:** There was a strong reaction in the white community against the role of the Black United Front in patrolling the streets immediately after the sniping incident. What do you think about it?

**A:** Basically, the BUF wasn't a group of Southwest Philadelphia Blacks. I can understand the whites taking that position because why should there be outside reinforcements of people who aren't involved directly in the situation? This makes the white community feel like it's being come down upon.

**Q:** Should the Black community have relied on the police for the safety of their children?

**A:** No. But the problem is that the white community is not aware of the racially unbalanced situation in the police force and them not seeing it that way makes them react to outsiders like the Black United Front. But with justification I can see the Black community taking that position about the Police Department because of the reputation it has acquired over the years with the Rizzo administration and the fact that the 12th District is mostly white police officers and is in the white community.

The fact that you have an all-white community and an all-Black community means you're going to have these racial conflicts. Unless you have a balance in the community of white and Black you will have these conflicts. The fact that Bartram and Tilden are practically all Black in a white community and that the students from the community who are white go to West Catholic in a Black community, you're bound to have trouble. I'm not for busting up neighborhoods but I think the best thing would be to create an integrated neighborhood. But that may be a real problem to do. Anyway, at least we need more integration in the schools.

## GROWING UP IN SOUTHWEST PHILADELPHIA

**Q:** What kinds of things happened to you as you grew up in SW Philly that might have moved you to take this stand?

**A:** When I was growing up around 53rd and Woodland it was white here but there weren't too many Italians on the block and I picked up a lot of racial slurs from the mainstream of the street population. I can remember slurs of the "greasy dago" and even referring to me as not being

white. I guess this made me more aware of racism with the Blacks and to want to take a position against racism because I feel I had a little of it put upon me.

**Q:** What was it like at Bartram High around when you graduated in 1969?

**A:** Well, I spent eight years in Most Blessed Sacrament and I went to Tilden and then Bartram. I felt pretty comfortable with the public school system. It was mostly Black at Bartram but I didn't feel like I was being discriminated against or anything. But when the racial problems started up at Bartram I was victimized by a group of Black students several times. But I didn't feel that I was constantly victimized or insulted by racism. I felt this more so in my old neighborhood.

**Q:** Did the incidents when you were victimized lead you to make generalizations about Black people or make you feel hostile to Black students?

**A:** After that I didn't take the position of let's go out and "get Blackie" but I did want to round up a few white students and go after this little group that I knew and get those individuals because I felt anger and wanted to get even. But I never took the position of "get Blackie". I just wanted to get the ones who assaulted me. I've gotten to know and respect a number of Black individuals and I know that the racist attitude is a very shallow outlook on life. You have to deal with an individual and not with a color.

**Q:** What other experiences led you to taking this stand?

**A:** Well, there was a little clique on our street amongst the mothers. They sat on someone's porch and gossiped and my mother was treated like the outsider.

**Q:** Because she was Italian?

**A:** It seems ridiculous to say, but that's exactly what it was. And so they even went so far as to go after my mother once. Jumped her and beat her up. I don't know how it started. All I know is this was a very racist group. Their main interest seemed to be trying to stir up trouble in the neighborhood, cutting up people and looking down on people and somehow they decided to pick on my mother. She might have said something, got them aroused, and they went after her. But this is all an extension of this labelling of ethnic groups. So this is one of the main reasons why I became aware of the injustices of racism.

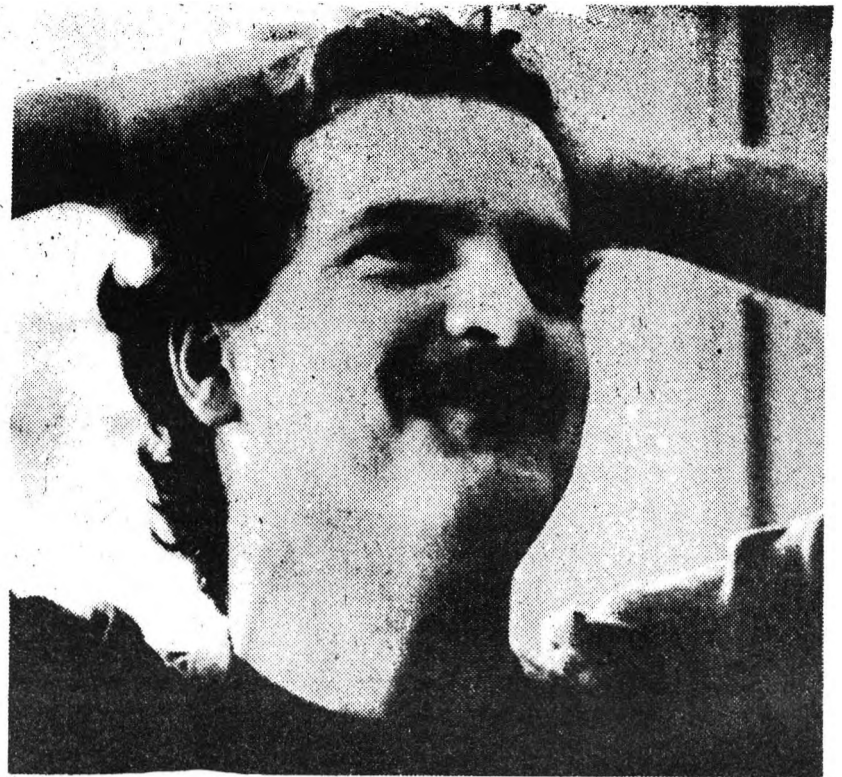
## POLICE RESPONSE

**Q:** After your house was vandalized the Police Department asked you to come down and take a lie detector test and set it up pretty carefully so that the test wouldn't come out in your favor. Why do you think that happened?

**A:** When they asked me to take the test it didn't surprise me. I knew this was part of their job to go over every possibility, so I wanted to cooperate as much as possible. We went down there and the first thing that got me off in the wrong direction about their motivation was when I asked about the main suspect in this case, who made direct threats on my property and me. I asked them if they were going to give him a lie detector test and their response was, well, we've been thinking about that.

My spontaneous response was terrific! I'm down here after what I went through and you're thinking about it. Then when we went into the room with the examiner I thought he was waiting for something because we got into a long discussion. We talked about nuclear energy and he was in favor of it, he said it was the wave of the future, and I think it's a very serious problem. And then the death penalty — he said he would pull the switch and I said only the poor and minority would suffer and the rich don't fry.

We talked about what I did — he said it was all very nice and commendable, but you're wasting your time, you're not go-



Bulletin Photo by Thaddeus Govan Jr.

Frank Corso takes a strong stand against racism in his community.

ing to change anything, it's going to get worse and you ought to mind your own business. And it seemed like every issue we talked about he was taking the opposite stand. As a result I got pretty wound up emotionally and he did too. And this went on for like an hour.

After we did that, he gives me the test, four times — and the conclusion was that he couldn't determine either way if I was telling the truth or not, because I'd become too emotionally involved with the break-in of my home. The next day my conclusion was that they wanted to discredit me. . . they didn't want to clear me in this case because they didn't want to be pressured into apprehending the people who broke into my home.

**Q:** Why did the police want to discredit you?

**A:** Well, it seems like possibly there is some racism in the Police Administration. When I reported the break-in they didn't do nothing about it until I called the *Daily News* and then when it came out in the papers they sort of jumped on the story. Until then I had the feeling that they really weren't interested.

Why? I guess maybe the racist opinion that the present administration is taking in this city. Maybe it's true that they're trying to divide the people and get the white united against the Black and get the white votes and that's all they seem to be interested in.

**Q:** How does what you did threaten their strategy?

**A:** Because that was speaking out against racism. . . so I was a threat to their philosophical plot.

**Q:** In some of your statements you have said that racism oppresses white people. What do you mean?

**A:** If white people try and oppress other ethnic backgrounds, mainly Blacks, this prevents them (the Blacks) from contributing their fair share to society as a whole, which is a negative effect for the majority. Also it encourages the Blacks to take the same position and in certain situations can be just as oppressive towards the whites.

## SOURCES OF RACIAL CONFLICT

**Q:** Why do you think racial tension builds up?

**A:** It seems that when a city has an economic crisis all of a sudden this racial thing comes up. I think that the fact that the economy gets tougher has a greater toll on the minorities and therefore

makes them more actively involved in fighting racism. I see this situation being exploited by government and capitalistic business so that when times get tough instead of responding to the needs of the people they see people working together to try and change the system as a threat to their position. To maintain their power and prestige they create a separation of the people.

How they do it is through mis-distribution of the wealth to create hostility and also through the news media by sensationalizing outbreaks. Also they do it through destroying the educational process. Let's face it, a corrupt government can only remain in power by keeping its people ignorant.

**Q:** Has your own understanding changed over the past period?

**A:** Well, I was reminded about how severe racism can be. After I offered that reward, it really boggled my mind that people would act so hostile towards me. It wasn't really that I was concerned with myself, but what disturbed me was that they were actually saying that it was OK to kill a 13-year-old child because her color wasn't right. And that's the really sad thing about it.

Also, it looks to me like there are more whites who are racist percentage-wise than Blacks. When I became actively involved in the Southwest crisis, going to meetings and trying to get people to work together in solving these problems it seemed like the general attitude of the whites was that they weren't interested and that they see the Blacks as a threat rather than trying to find a solution.

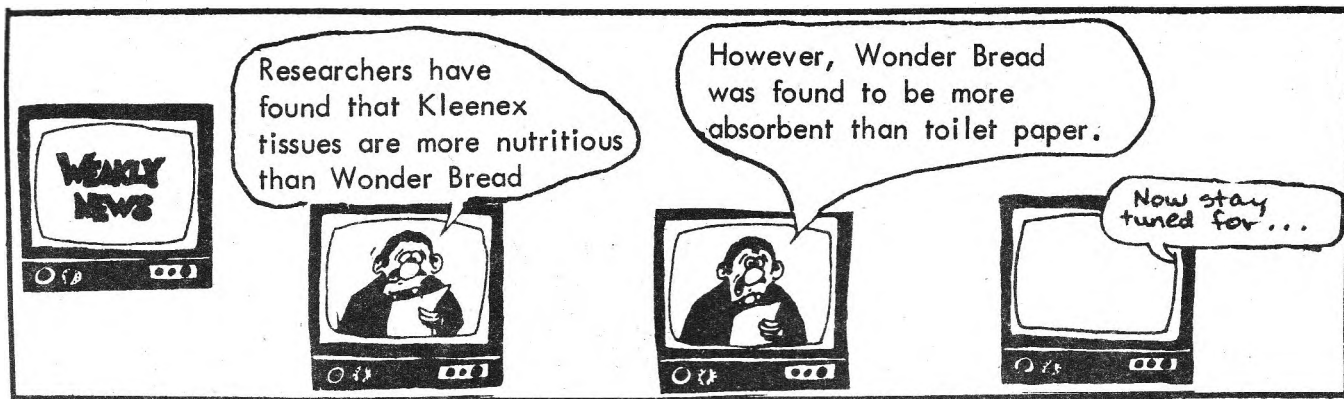
**Q:** How will that be turned around?

**A:** I see people getting actively involved in the political system, demanding changes, better conditions, jobs, housing opportunities, education. These are the things that will create change but only if we scream and holler and carry on and get involved will you see a change and better race relations.

**Q:** Have you influenced your friends and neighbors?

**A:** I think it made an impression on some people, the whites as well as Blacks, that there are people out there who aren't going to tolerate such ignorance, that racism is a very shallow, weak and ignorant position to be taking when we should all be pulling together to solve these problems.





cps

# SPORTS SHORTS

by Jake Hammond

## Movie Review : North Dallas 40

The enormous success of this blast at the NFL (\$7 million in the first ten days) is largely due to the fact that it combines Hollywood-style exaggeration and raunchy comedy to expose the reality of life in pro football. The main message is how the NFL chews up players and spits them out. To the players it is a sport, but for the owners it's a business where players produce or are gone. The author of the book the film is based on says it best: "The line is, you can't play in the league if you can't play with pain. Sometimes amphetamines help mask the pain. The whole philosophy isn't any different than society at large. Turn on the TV and you see the commercial of the guy moaning. The message is take two aspirin and go to work."

The NFL is not pleased with the movie. Despite the fact that Dick Butkus and Pettis Norman have sued for not being told the severity of their injuries, and the San Diego management has been fined for permitting indiscriminate pill-popping, the league swears it has been smeared. Yet it's hard to explain why several people involved with the film have seen their careers threatened — scout

Tom Fears, who worked on the film, has lost three scouting assignments; running back Tommy Reamon, who played a key role in the film, was cut by the '49ers (He was the best back in the WFL.); wide receiver Fred Biletnikoff advised on the film and can't get a job; Eric Johnson, who had a bit part, was cut by the Eagles. Bosses don't like it when the public hears the truth about how they use "their people."

But there have been some positive effects from the movie as well. Again, author Peter Gent sums it up best, pointing to the good effect of improving players' position in dealing with management and each other — "The sorriest thing has been the inability of players to communicate among themselves. Management knows how to keep the competition so hyped, guys don't confide in each other. Now I feel players seeing the movie are saying, 'Yeah, man, that's right.'" Frank LeMaster, linebacker of the Philadelphia Eagles, apparently is one of them. His comment: "Sure, it overplayed the drug scene and bestiality, but there were some good points about how the players are used." I hope he doesn't get traded too!

## Free-Agent Status

It's Basic Agreement time in baseball again, and it looks like the owners will be holding out again — a move that will probably cause a repeat of the exhibition season strike of 1976. Aside from holding back on scheduling rain date doubleheaders on travel days, increased pension fund contributions, more meal money and the like, the owners are expected to hold out for high compensation for any player who plays out his option and becomes a free agent.

The idea is to make compensation so high for any club buying a free agent as to discourage the practice and make the signing of a free agent a high-risk venture. Of course, if the owners would meet the players' demands, nobody would play out their option. But this allows the owners to keep salaries down and keep players from playing out their options. Look for a late start to the baseball season next spring!

## "Cheap Shot" Injuries

In a decision that could mean the beginning of the return of the idea of "sport" to sports, the US Supreme Court ruled on Oct. 29 that former Denver defensive back Dale Hackbart could indeed sue the Cincinnati Bengals and their former running back, "Boobie" Clark, for a neck injury he received when Clark hit him while he was kneeling and had his back to Clark watching the completion of a play.

is tackled out of bounds, he can sue. If a player is crippled, he can sue." And well they should!

Cincinnati Bengals' executive Mike Brown, playing out the bosses' role of acting wronged by a ruling which protects the players and costs the "company" money, said the ruling will prove "harmful to sports." He goes on to say, "for example, if a quarterback is hit late after he throws the ball, he can sue. If a runner

Brown misses the main point, and that is that the clubs are responsible for pushing their players to injure opponents. If you can't beat a team, put some key players in the hospital, and then you can beat them. Cheap shots have ruined many lives and careers, and it's the clubs' pressure to win that is the cause. If this ruling leads to the end of the cheap shot and the intentional injury, then maybe we'll begin to see the resurgence of a true "sportsmanlike" attitude — something our children can look up to instead of the attitude of people like Brown, who would rather have players hurt each other than play each other.

## George Meany . . . (continued from page 5)

Speaking in favor of civil rights, he praised the NAACP in particular as the organization that "brought to a successful conclusion twenty months ago a long campaign to end segregation the public schools of America." But one year later, Representative Adam Clayton Powell offered an amendment to the Federal School Construction bill that prohibited any money from going towards building segregated schools in the South. The AFL-CIO attacked the Powell amendment, calling it "irresponsible". When the AFL-CIO began building a brand new headquarters building in Washington, no Black workers got on the job, because the local AFL-CIO building trades unions didn't admit Blacks.

During Congressional hearings on the 1964 Civil Rights Act, Meany testified in favor of including unions among the

groups that would be legally ordered not to discriminate. At a press conference, he told reporters that he really wanted to end discrimination in the AFL unions, but had no power to do so.

Possibly A. Philip Randolph, President of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters saw it a little differently. When Randolph proposed, at the 1959 AFL-CIO Convention, that unions found to be discriminating against Blacks be kicked out of the Federation, Meany swore at him from the podium. When Randolph presented detailed documentation of racism in AFL-CIO unions to the Executive Council in 1961, Meany not only rejected Randolph's report, he formally censured the Black leader for causing "the gap that has developed between organized labor and the Negro community". Meany also said that Randolph was

"getting close to those militant groups". Apparently George Meany has one set of principles for the TV cameras, and another for home use.

When Meany became head of the AFL-CIO in 1955, one out of four American workers were in unions. Now, only one in five are union members. During the 1930's the CIO unions were spending 20 to 60 cents of every dues dollar to organize new unions; now the AFL-CIO unions spend one or two cents on the average. The AFL-CIO bureaucracy still lets its offices in the poor nations of the world be used as CIA fronts, and supported the Viet Nam war to the end.

When the industrial unions in the federation wanted to hold a demonstration against unemployment in Washington DC during the 1975 recession, Meany refused to give his OK: demonstrating was "communistic". Meany is all for conservative Democrats like Jimmy Carter, and gave backhanded support to Richard Nixon in 1972.



It's no accident that one of the signs you often see these days in union demonstrations against war, or unemployment, or for affirmative action for minority workers, is "MEANY DOESN'T SPEAK FOR ME".

## Shutdowns . . . (continued from page 6)

labor." Both for the sake of defending democracy, and as a part of protecting our jobs, the labor movement needs to force the government to change its traditional foreign policy of taking up with

any dictator who promises to "fight communism."

Another must is the need for world-wide trade union co-operation. Large multi-national companies can now play off union workers in one country against union workers in another (by threatening to move production to a plant with a "more co-operative" union, for example), because many of these unions don't work together. For a short time after World War II, there was a single world labor federation, the World Federation of Trade Unions. But the American AFL-CIO led a successful campaign to split the Federation by expelling the "communist-dominated" unions in Italy, France and other countries.

The AFL-CIO leadership is often so worried about sharing power over "their union" members, and so full of flag-waving super-patriotism, that they refuse



to make a serious effort to co-operate with unions in other countries that bargain with the very same multi-national corporations. The UAW has begun to move in that direction, but more needs to be done (like forming multi-national corporation councils of local unions).

### LAWS ARE NEEDED

Most European countries have laws that restrict plant shutdowns — companies must open their books and prove that the closing plant really is unprofitable. They must give at least one year's notice to the workers and local government, and must pay re-training and other benefits to laid off workers. Similar (although weaker) laws have been introduced in several state legislatures (Ohio, Pennsylvania, Oregon, New Jersey, New York, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Michigan and Illinois) and in the US House of Representatives. Most of these bills also provide for subsidies to small and medium-sized businesses that are losing money. Despite their weaknesses, the bills are a step in the

right direction and should be actively supported.

Sometimes workers and communities can stop a shutdown, and sometimes they can't. As long as decision-making in our country is based on profits for the few, instead of meeting the needs of the many, employers will keep on playing chess with Millions of lives and livelihoods. They will continue to run away from the unions, in an attempt to bust union power and find cheaper wages and higher profits.

There has always been unemployment under capitalism, and there always will be. Even in Europe, where the workers' political parties and unions are much stronger and more radical, unemployment still exists. But it doesn't have to. There isn't any to speak of in the socialist countries; in fact there is a shortage of labor in most of these societies. That's the route we'll have to take eventually, if working people are ever to stop being the pawns once and for all.

# Has the PWOC Changed It's Line on Fusion?

by Clay Newlin

In the course of stubborn ideological struggle — especially one in which your own position is not faring very well — there is a great temptation to fashion the appearance of success. One of the more common ways of doing this is to charge your opponent with changing his line. By accusing him/her of opportunely shifting the ground of debate in order to meet your objections, you make it appear that your perspective is winning out.

This tactic — along with almost every other from the polemical bag of tricks — has been adopted by the leaders of the National Network of Marxist-Leninist Clubs (NNMLC). On several occasions (see for example their pamphlet "Rectification vs. Fusion") they have charged the PWOC with having amended its perspective on fusion in order to avoid the critique of the NNMLC.

In the NNMLC's view the changes have been in two areas. First, the PWOC upgraded the role of theory in party-building in order to strengthen its hand in polemics with the rectification line. Second, the PWOC also introduced the qualifier "embryonic" to fusion so as to not appear to be demanding a utopian level of fusion prior to the formation of a vanguard.

Like most of the NNMLC's charges, these are made without documentation. That they represent a significant change in the fusion line is merely asserted — as if assertion alone was sufficient proof. There is no meaningful examination of the early formulations of the fusion line and no attempt to demonstrate that that line has been amended in a manner which fundamentally alters its original content.

This is especially true of the charge that the PWOC has modified its conception of the role of theoretical work in the party-building process. According to the NNMLC, the PWOC has been "won over" to recognizing the primacy of the theoretical struggle in the period of party-formation.

## FUSION AND OUR THEORETICAL TASKS

An honest study of PWOC publications will show the NNMLC's contention to be false. Some four years prior to the publication of what was to become the opening exchange in the fusion/rectification debate, the PWOC set forth its views on the importance of our theoretical tasks in a document entitled "The State of the Struggle — 1973."

This document (in circulation since that time) argues that the struggle for correct theory plays the central role in the party-building process. In fact, it even repeats the idealist formulation that "theory is primary in relation to practice" in the party-building period.

Although that formulation was soon corrected, all subsequent statements of the PWOC's position continued to stress the centrality of the theoretical struggle. For example, in an article published in the first issue of the *Organizer* (Jan-Feb 1975) — once again, prior to the initial phase of the fusion/rectification controversy — theoretical tasks are given top billing.

"In order to bring about the most rapid possible union of socialism with the advanced workers," it is stated, we must "first create a worker's communism" (emphasis added—CN). "Worker's communism" is explained as a concrete application of the principles of scientific socialism to the conditions in the US. The application is to be both capable of addressing the actual problems posed by our revolution and to be refined by testing in the class struggle (see "Party-Building Reprints," p. 8).

In fact, in the opening statement of the PWOC perspective on the rectification/fusion debate, we sharply criticized Silber for objectively belittling the importance of our theoretical tasks. We pointed out that by denying that fusion is the essence of the party-building process, Silber removes the real impetus for engaging in creative theoretical work.

We wrote:

*If we are not to fuse our movement to the class struggle of the proletariat and thus establish our vanguard character in fact, then we really have little need to make the theoretical struggle a priority. We would be content with addressing questions in an abstract and general way... We would take a liberal attitude to the development of 'theory' that is not worthy of the name, for there would be no reason to demand that our theory be capable — now and not at some future time — of solving the concrete political, organizational and tactical problems posed by the working class movement. (Ibid., p. 46)*

---

**"In the course of ideological struggle, every position goes through some development and change. But one must be able to distinguish between a change which serves to clarify and sharpen the debate and one which represents a significant change in perspective."**

---

From this it should be clear that the PWOC has not altered its attitude towards the role of theoretical work in the party-building process. We have always held — and continue to hold — that the development of revolutionary theory is of central importance to the formation of a viable vanguard. We have also consistently argued — and still do — that theoretical work is key to advancing the fusion process.

This is not to deny real differences between the NNMLC and the PWOC on the relation of theory to practice in the period of party-formation. These differences are quite sharp, and they have remained relatively consistent since the beginning of the struggle over this question is itself confirmation that there has been no fundamental change in our views.

## VULGARIZING FUSION

In addition to attempting to fashion the appearance of success, the NNMLC has another purpose in its attempt to fabricate a change in the PWOC's position. Utilizing the much broader circulation of the rectification line through the pages of the *Guardian*, and speculating on ignorance of the opposing position, the future leaders of the NNMLC sought to create the impression that fusion, particularly as formulated by PWOC, was solely a question of integrating communists into factories — and nothing more.

But as the debate heightened, Silber and Co.'s caricature of the fusion line became more and more exposed. It became clear to most of the comrades in

the anti-revisionist, anti-"left" opportunist tendency that the PWOC's views had been seriously distorted. Given this, the "rectifiers" were faced with a choice: either be self-critical for twisting the PWOC's position or claim that the PWOC had changed its views. In characteristic commitment to honesty and principle, the NNMLC chose the latter.

There is more substance to the NNMLC charge that the PWOC amended its formulation that fusion was a requisite for the formation of a party. We did indeed introduce the qualification that only an "embryonic" level of fusion between Marxism-Leninism and the class struggle is required prior to calling the first party congress. And this introduction was indeed made during the life of the debate.

An error in our original formulation necessitated this qualification. While we were correct to posit a certain measure of fusion as required to construct a genuine vanguard party, we should have made clear the qualitative distinction between two stages of fusion. Clearly

is not difficult to grasp. It is rooted in the kind of infantile logic that has characterized much of our movement. The logic runs like this: if the danger of revisionism increases according to one's roots in the working class, then the purity of Marxism-Leninism can only be guaranteed by isolation from it.

But the fact that the PWOC did not anticipate the NNMLC's revival of dogmatism does not mean that we made a change of fundamental political significance in our position.

## SIGNIFICANCE OF OUR "EMBRYO"

In the course of ideological struggle, every position goes through some development and change. But one must be able to distinguish between a change which serves to clarify and sharpen the debate and one which represents a significant change in perspective.

The distinction between the two can not be made in the abstract. In one context a seemingly minor change could have profound political significance, whereas in another it could mean very little. Assessment of the significance of any alteration is only possible when the change is viewed in the context of the larger debate.

In the context of the struggle between rectification and fusion, the introduction of the qualifier "embryonic" only served to clarify the debate. On the one hand it demonstrated that the PWOC understood that fusion could not really mature in the absence of a party. It showed that the fusion line was consistent with Leninism on this point.

On the other hand, it served to underline the dogmatism of the rectification line. It exposed the roots of their objection to the fusion line. They objected not to an exaggeration by the PWOC of the degree of fusion that was possible prior to party formation. Rather they denied that any significant — even immature and circumscribed — fusion could occur before the first party congress.

Again the motivation of the NNMLC's charge was not purely tactical. The PWOC's clarification sharply undercut the strength of their position. Once again the only way to limit the depth of their exposure was to claim that the PWOC had changed its position. Only in this case, the fabrication of change was not wholesale. It was limited to grossly distorting the political significance of a relatively minor clarification.

That the NNMLC feels compelled to resort to such shoddy polemical tricks is worth of some reflection. In our view it is not just indicative of the weakness of the rectification line — its basic inability to stand up to sharp struggle over an extended period of time.

Even more significantly, it stands as just one more exposure of the NNMLC's circle spirit. Having placed the promotion of their own claim to seats on the party's future central committee at a premium, the NNMLC leaders are compelled to exploit every opportunity to achieve their goal — even if it means compromising truth and honesty in polemics.

Objectively, our error stemmed from an underestimation of the strength of dogmatism. We were (wrongly) of the opinion that it was not necessary to be specific about the qualitative differences between fusion prior to, and fusion after, party formation. To us the difference seemed obvious.

However, we did not foresee the kind of position put forward by the rectification forces. Given the isolation of the Workers' Viewpoint Organization and the other ultra-dogmatists, we assumed that their view that the party could, and should, be built prior to fusion would have no credibility. We did not anticipate that this same view would once again be taken up by a significant section of the communist movement.

The dogmatism implicit in the party-building-first-and-fusion-second position

# The SWP's Brand of Independent Political Action

The Socialist Workers Party, the largest and most influential Trotskyist organization in the United States, sees independent political action as a "central focus" of its activity in the present period. Independent political action is the breaking away of the masses of working people from the two party system. The SWP calls for "an independent labor party" and claims that this is "the key step working people need to make to defend their interests." In the past the SWP has also called for a Black independent party to promote the interests of Black liberation.

This past year in Philadelphia Lucien Blackwell, a Black trade unionist with ties to both labor and the Black movement, ran for mayor as an independent on a progressive platform reflecting the urgent demands of Black people in particular and all working people generally. A sizeable number of other independent candidates ran as well on the same platform.

The Blackwell campaign was the outgrowth of the grassroots movement that originated in the effort to deny Frank Rizzo the third term he wanted so badly last fall. Most left and progressive forces who recognize the need for an independent alternative to the two big business-dominated parties rallied to the Blackwell campaign as an important step in the direction of such an alternative.

But not the SWP. Blackwell, the other independents and the mass movements that spawned their candidacies were not pure enough for this party of would-be revolutionaries. Indeed in the eyes of the SWP there is no distinction worth making between Rizzo and Blackwell, except that Blackwell "promises more." In spite of the fact that Blackwell ran on a program clearly unacceptable to the leadership of the Democratic Party and their big business backers, in spite of the fact that his candidacy rests almost entirely on the efforts of the grassroots,

popular movements...In spite of all this the SWP insisted that he was just another Democrat no different from corporate liberal Bill Green or the openly reactionary Frank Rizzo.

Beyond this the SWP argued that the Blackwell candidacy was a move on the part of the Democratic leadership to bring the movement back inside the Democratic Party. If this was the case then the quarrel between those who supported Blackwell and the followers of Charles Bowser who supported Green and the Democrats was an elaborately staged bit of play acting.

The SWP ran its own candidate for mayor, Nora Danielson, along with five other candidates for council and row offices. In the name of promoting independent political action, Danielson and the other SWP candidates regularly attacked Blackwell and the rest of the Human Rights Slate, lumping them all together with Green and the Democrats and Marston and the Republicans.

Not only did the SWP pit itself against the broadest and most advanced sections of the Black movement in running its own candidate against Blackwell, it failed to acknowledge and speak to the fact that among whites much of the opposition to Blackwell stemmed not from his alleged identity as "just another Democrat," but because he was Black.

To make matters worse the SWP ran a slate with only one non-white candidate. The SWP's whole emphasis on a labor party based on the trade union at a time when the real impetus for political independence is coming from the Black movement shows a profound underestimation of the revolutionary potential of Black Liberation. Linked with this is an equally profound underestimation of the centrality of the struggle against racism.

Many of the activists were confused by the SWP's campaign. Danielson said many good things which struck a responsive chord, attacking the energy monopolies, high taxes on working people, police brutality and unemployment and putting the responsibility where it belongs — on the domination of the political process by the monopoly capitalists. Yet Lucien Blackwell was saying many of the same things and many found it difficult to grasp why the SWP could not unite with the broad mass movement around Blackwell.

The SWP experienced a similar difficulty last year during the Stop Rizzo movement. They urged a boycott of the critical charter change vote claiming it made no difference whether or not Rizzo got another shot at being Mayor. The whole effort to Stop Rizzo was, according to the SWP, a pure and simple struggle between different elements of the ruling class. As in the Blackwell campaign the SWP ignored the contradictory currents in the movement and chose to see only the role of those elements tied politically to the ruling class.

Apparently for the SWP an independent party will spring full blown, with a pure anti-capitalist program, from its own solitary efforts. No matter that the broad movement with all its political warts and ideological shortcomings views the SWP with emotions that range between indifference and contempt. The hostility with which the SWP is viewed is well deserved because, as the events in Philadelphia show, the SWP by its actions holds back and weakens the real movement for independent political action. The SWP is for an independent party in words, but when an independent movement begins to emerge, the SWP attacks it.

This is not an isolated error on the part of the SWP but is the characteristic stand of Trotskyism. In relation to the Soviet Union the Trotskyists were all for socialism but denied that the Soviet



Nora Danielson, the SWP's candidate for mayor.

people could build it and attacked the real steps they took as insufficiently revolutionary. In the 1930's the Trotskyists were all against fascism, but attacked the efforts to build a broad united front against it as a sell out to the capitalist class. During the 1960's the Trotskyists were all for peace in Vietnam but refused to support the Vietnamese peace proposals.

With remarkable consistency the Trotskyists have huffed and puffed about revolution for 50 years while sitting on the sidelines attacking the movement from without or acting to split or disorient it from within. While the SWP has avoided the extreme sectarianism characteristic of the smaller Trotskyist sects, its role in the class struggle is tainted by its allegiance to Trotskyism as well. This is why Marxist-Leninists hold that Trotskyism is "left in form but right in essence" — revolutionary sounding phrases coupled to a practice that undermines the actual revolutionary advance.

## Letter from Boston

# The Mel King Campaign

Dear Organizer,

Many of us in Boston have been following your coverage of the Philadelphia mayoral campaign with great interest. The movement associated with the anti-Rizzo campaign and the Human Rights Agenda has struck a real blow against the unchallenged domination of the two capitalist parties there. Let's hope that we've heard the end of "politics as usual" in Philadelphia forever.

Here in Boston, the movement for independent political action is at a much more embryonic stage. However, we have just had a primary election race for mayor that shows some encouraging signs that people in Boston will increasingly turn towards independent political action too.

We have a mayor — Kevin White — who is running for his fourth term this year, and his organization and financial support from the big-money sources in Boston is so strong that he looks like a shoo-in. He has turned city government into his personal political machine, threatening and twisting city-workers' arms to get out and work for him to protect their jobs, and he openly jokes and boasts about it. On primary day, city officials estimated that 2500 city workers took the day off from work to go to the polling places and get out the white vote.

White has also presided over the Boston Housing Authority, whose misman-

agement and corruption has made the condition of public housing in Boston such an absolute disgrace that the federal court put it into receivership. While letting public housing decay, White has also crippled Boston's rent control law and has done nothing to stop the "recycling" (removal of poor people) and gentrification of city neighborhoods. Those who are displaced, predominantly Black and Latin people, are forced to enter an increasingly tight housing market, and many are desperate to find any place to go.

White has also done nothing to stem the climate of racist violence in Boston. Fourteen Black women were killed in the city earlier this year. The police response was tardy, ineffective, and half-hearted. White has even hired in the city government James Kelly, head of the South Boston Marshalls, a group which is commonly known to be responsible for much of the violence against Black school children in the desegregation crisis. Despite outraged protests from the Black community, White has kept this racist on the city payroll.

Just a week before the primary, a bus carrying Black children to school in South Boston was stoned. White did not even make a statement condemning this incident until officials of the school system complained that no response from the mayor gave the message that such actions would be tolerated. Such is the leadership Kevin White has given the people of Boston.

White was challenged by three candidates in this campaign. Two of them are political first cousins. The only one that represented a real people's alternative was State Representative Mel King. He based his campaign on a program of strong support for rent control and opposition to the "recycling" of poor neighborhoods, more Boston jobs for Boston residents, and an end to the racist and sexist violence which has made the city unsafe for minorities and women.

King faced a number of major obstacles. As a Black candidate in predominantly white Boston, especially with the recent history of racism in the struggle for desegregation, he had to contend with the self-fulfilling prophecy that "a Black can't be elected mayor in Boston." He, of course, couldn't get heavily bankrolled (White raised \$1,000,000, King about \$30,000) and the traditional big-money methods of campaigning were closed to him.

Instead King ran an activist, grassroots campaign. Volunteers conducted a voter-registration drive that resulted in a large number of new voters, especially in the Black community. The King campaign took its message to community organizations, tenants groups, womens groups, and many others. King took part in many demonstrations and rallies of the people's movements around the city. Against all attempts by the media and his challengers to paint him as a candidate only for Black community concerns, the King campaign constantly explained how

its program for the city of Boston was in the interests of the overwhelming majority of the city's residents.

In a city notorious for its ward heeler approach to politics, King's confronting the difficult issues facing the people of Boston was in itself a step forward. In addition however, his showing in the primary was better than had been predicted. King finished third in a four person race with about 15% of the vote. He actually won outright in four of the city's 22 wards. The voter registration drive and the King campaign's addressing of important issues resulted in a significant increase in the number of Black voters. King won an absolute majority of this vote, again defying the prediction of some "experts" that the Black community would vote for a "winner" instead of on the basis of the issues.

Of course, these gains are modest compared to the movement in Philadelphia. Given the conditions in Boston, however, many of us are very pleased and optimistic about the long-term chances of building an independent political movement based on the needs of the working people of Boston. We wish all of the people who are fighting for the Human Rights Agenda great success in your campaign. We in Boston look forward to learning much from your experience. Whatever the outcome of this election, we are sure that the independent political activity of the working people of Philadelphia is here to stay.

Best Wishes

D.B.  
J. v.L.