

The ORGANIZER



The Race for Mayor Four Tweedle Dums One Tweedle Dee

In a political party as diverse as the Democratic Party, in a city which has just dumped a man who dominated its political life for almost a decade, and in a mayoralty primary in which there are four bona fide, big time candidates, you would expect a wide range of approaches to the city's problems and a heated campaign, right? Wrong! The four major Tweedle Dums in the Democratic column have their differences on the issues, but you have to search to find them. And the Tweedle Dee on the Republican side sounds like an echo of his opponents.

RIZZOISM OUT OF FASHION

The one positive feature of the present campaign is the absence of the politics of Rizzoism. In the wake of Rizzo's defeat in the charter change struggle, all the candidates are scurrying to the high ground, tripping over each other in their denunciations of "divisiveness." On stock-in-trade Rizzo issues like Whitman Park and police brutality, no major candidate has defended a Rizzo position. This is part of the tribute the two party politicians are being forced to play to the new strength of the Black vote.

It is also a recognition that Rizzoism no longer automatically galvanizes a big white vote. Al Gaudiosi, the nearest thing to a Rizzoite by virtue of his historical association with Rizzo, is the weakest candidate in the field, commanding only 6% of the vote according to a recent poll. Gaudiosi put the finger on his problem when he mournfully admitted: "I've got the Rizzo monkey on my back and I can't seem to get it off."

But do any of the candidates offer a real alternative? Do they stand for solutions to the city's problems that will benefit the masses of working people? Everybody knows campaign promises roll off a

politician's tongue with the greatest of ease. But after election time, holding them to these promises is harder than trying to catch a greased pig at a county fair. Still a candidate's platform and stand on the issues gives us some clue to where the candidate is coming from and what sort of direction he or she will move if elected. So it's worth looking at where the current crop of mayoralty hopefuls stand on the important questions facing the people of Philadelphia.

Here is where the major candidates line up on some of the key issues.

HOUSING AND DOWNTOWN DEVELOPMENT

All the candidates pledge to do nothing to prevent the construction of Whitman Park, which falls short of being a positive commitment to desegregated public housing, but is at least a big improvement over the stand of the present Mayor. Bowser, Klenk and Gaudiosi all are on record as disagreeing with the Rizzo doctrine that when a neighborhood doesn't want a project, it shouldn't be forced to accept it, although none of them has hit at the racism underlying this notion. Green and Marston have both hedged on this issue. Green has made it clear that while he will not stop Whitman Park, he doesn't favor the project and counterposes rehabilitating housing in existing neighborhoods to it.

All the candidates say they favor increasing the share of community development funds that go for housing, and all have made some criticism of the "recycling" policies of the Rizzo administration. On the question of giving priority to the neighborhoods or to the downtown business district, only Bowser gives a clear answer, saying he would shift the priority to the communities. The others all plead for even-handedness. And even



Bowser fails to call for concrete measures, like stopping construction of the center city commuter tunnel.

ON THE SCHOOLS

Bowser, Green and Gaudiosi all favor continuing the separation of the school system from the city government while Klenk and Marston favor a merger. On the question of whether the school board should be elected, an obvious condition of a genuinely independent and accountable school system, Bowser and Green are in favor and the rest opposed.

As to canning Rizzoite school superintendent Michael Marcase: Green, Klenk and Marston say yes; Bowser says no because it would violate the city charter; and Gaudiosi says put him on probation. The candidates have largely sidestepped the question of desegregation although Bowser has made it clear that he thinks the present voluntary plan is inadequate and favors a tougher approach. None of the candidates has challenged banker control of the educational system and made a real issue out of the cutbacks that John Bunting and company forced on the schools.

CITY FINANCES

While Bowser has pledged to increase city services and all the candidates make vague promises about improvements, all of them are prepared to operate within the framework of fiscal austerity demanded by big business and the banks. For

that reason none of their promises around expanding needed programs can be taken very seriously.

Klenk, Gaudiosi and Marston say they will refuse to raise taxes under any circumstances. (Where have we heard that before?) Bowser and Green argue that an increase cannot be ruled out. Both stress that they will lay-off city workers before taking this step. In fact whomever gets elected, it looks like it's going to be a rough time for city workers and for those of us who depend on them for necessary services. All the candidates are stressing the need for higher "productivity" (in other words, speed up) and a "streamlining" of city government including lay-offs.

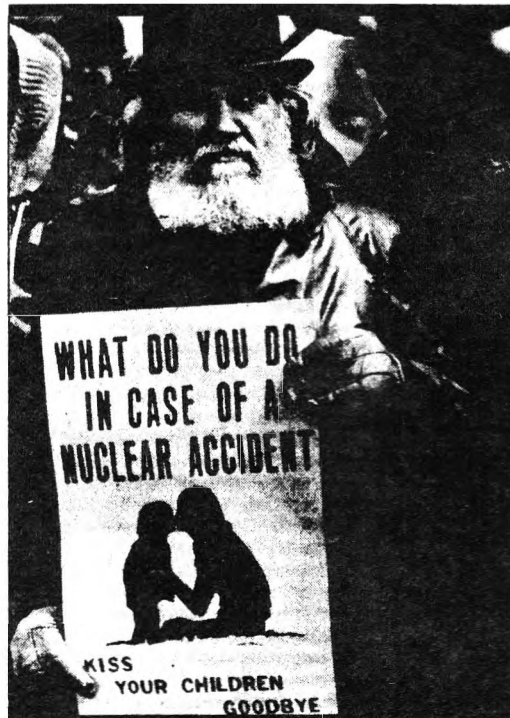
The only difference here between Rizzo and his would-be-successors is that the present candidates all say any lay-offs will affect police and firemen as well as non-uniformed personnel. It is a sign of all the candidates' subservience to big business that the only alternatives they see are cutbacks or higher taxes on working people. None, for example, have proposed the restoration of the corporate net income tax, abolished when Rizzo took office.

POLICE BRUTALITY

Here too, the waning fortunes of Rizzoism are making themselves felt. Joe O'Neill is out as commissioner. All the candidates acknowledge the existence of police abuse as a real problem in contrast to the present administration. However all the candidates stress new internal procedures at the roundhouse and a new commissioner as measures to correct the problem. None of them support the creation of a civilian review board which would make the police directly accountable to the community.

What emerges from this brief survey is a group of candidates who for the most part share a consensus on what needs to happen in Philadelphia. Rizzo-style polarization is out. A few cosmetic changes and reforms are needed — but fundamentally the city cannot afford any real change. To appease big business we'll just have to bite the bullet for four more years. While some will argue that we should dutifully go to the polls and choose our brand of lesser evil, the *Organizer* thinks it makes more sense to sit this one out and look to building independent candidates for the fall.

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Letters To The Editor...



Party Building, the Trend, and "Left" Internationalism

Dear PWOC Comrades,

I read Newlin's criticism of the "Draft Resolution for a Leading Ideological Center" (PWOC's "Leftism" - *Organizer*, March, 1979) with considerable interest. It makes a substantial contribution to the Marxist-Leninist tendency's understanding of its tasks in the pre-party period.

It seems to me, however, that Newlin missed a very important point in explaining why the DR is not a complete break with the ultra-left party-building line. The essence of the error of the DR is a failure to break with the unity line on party-building. That line belittles the role which steps toward fusion of Marxism-Leninism with the actual class struggle have to play in party building, in general, and in uniting Marxist-Leninists, in particular. The DR makes this error. There are two sides to it.

One side is that the DR envisions a stage in party-building after the Marxist-Leninist trend is united in a single organization, but before the party is formed. The purpose of this stage is to allow for the embryonic fusion between the trend and the class struggle to advance and for the line of the trend to mature in this context. Thus, the DR supposes that the Marxist-Leninist trend can unite into a single organization before the trend's line has matured through significant advances in fusion with the class struggle. This is nothing but a new, less blatant, variant of the unity line.

A plan for party-building based on this supposition will lead to sectarian consequences. Before the line of the trend has matured, which can only take place in the context of significant advances in fusion, organizational unity will not be possible. Any supposition to the contrary will inevitably push party builders to conclude that a failure to come to organizational unity is a result of a contradiction between Marxism-Leninism and oppor-

portunism rather than an inevitable consequence of the lack of maturation of political line.

The other side is that the DR (implicitly) endorses a localist perspective on how the trend will unite into a single national organization. But since local fusion is only fusion of the most primitive kind, the DR therefore effectively denies the vital role which a more advanced development of fusion must play in advancing the trend to the point where organizational unity is possible. But only significant advances in fusion, advances impossible to achieve on the local level, can provide the context for the maturation of line which will make possible the organizational unity of the Marxist-Leninist trend.

There is an additional aspect of the article which deserves special mention. The PWOC has been the target of a barrage of criticism for its steadfast advocacy of the central importance of the demarcation of the Marxist-Leninist tendency with "left" internationalism. The critics base much of their opposition on the need to make the struggle against sectarianism in party-building line our prime concern. Many of us have thought that their supposed concern for sectarianism in party-building line was primarily a smokescreen to smuggle "left" internationalism into the tendency.

Their silence on the errors of the DR provides new evidence for this. The fact is that it was the PWOC which uncovered the sectarianism of the DR. The "left" internationalists who hang on the fringes of the tendency, for all their supposed concern about sectarianism in party-building line, did not point out the sectarian error of the DR. This certainly lends credence to the idea that their concern for "sectarianism" has been concentrated on a concern that the tendency would demarcate itself from "left" internationalism.

Comradely,
JF
Boston, MA

SEE ARTICLES ON MAY DAY, PAGES 8 & 9.

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Philadelphia Workers' Organizing Committee

Who We Are



The PWOC is a communist organization, basing itself on Marxism-Leninism, the principles of scientific socialism. We are an activist organization of Black and white, men and women workers who see the 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 mouths of the capitalist politicians. We work toward the replacement of the rule

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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.

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Labor Round-up

Affirmative Action Conference a Success

On April 7th hundreds of Philadelphians gathered at the AFSCME District 33 Union Hall to build the fight for affirmative action and work to defeat the Weber Case, an attempt by a white steelworker to overturn an affirmative action program at a United Steelworker organized plant in Louisiana. If Weber succeeds similar on-the-job programs across the country will be threatened.

The conference, endorsed by nearly 50 organizations, was one of the broadest in recent times. Trade unionists, activists from the Black and Puerto Rican community, feminists and organized left forces all worked to build the conference. A plenary session heard speeches from State Representative and Black United Front Leader Dave Richardson; Richard Womack, Assistant Director of Civil Rights for the AFL-CIO; Susan Holleran, Co-chair of the National Organization for Women's Labor Task Force and President of the Washington D.C. chapter of the coalition of Labor Union Women; and Ralph Smith, Assistant Professor of Law at the University of Penn's Law School and a member of the National Conference of Black Lawyers. Smith's speech, in particular, which stressed the need for mass action to wring concessions from the government and employers alike, struck a responsive chord in the crowd.

In the afternoon four different workshops met, taking up affirmative action on the job and in the community, and in

relation to women and national minorities respectively. Each workshop heard from a panel, allowed for discussion and adopted resolutions. A final plenary session heard the reports and acted on the resolutions from the workshop. Rosemary Mealy of the AFSC Third World Coalition and the United People's Campaign Against Apartheid and Racism made the closing remarks.

The conference was characterized by a high degree of unity. The main resolution called for the formation of a local coalition and support for a National Anti-Weber Week from May 26th to June 2nd, culminating in a June 2nd march on Washington. It was passed with only minor debate. The one controversy centered on an amendment that would have liquidated the targeting of the right wing movement as the principle source of the attack on affirmative action. This amendment, which was dressed up in left sounding phrases, was defeated after some debate.

The PWOC, which played an active role in building the conference, fully supports the newly formed Philadelphia Affirmative Action Coalition and will be building for the National Anti-Weber Week. Indications are that in other cities the projected Anti-Weber activities are not receiving the kind of broad support that the earlier campaign against Bakke did. This will be important to correct in the coming weeks. The Weber Case, even more clearly than Bakke, dramatizes the threat that the attacks on affirmative action pose to the whole working class.

Unions Fight for Shorter Work Week

At the second national conference of the All Unions Committee to Shorten the Work Week (AUCSWW) that took place in Washington April 6, it was decided to sponsor a demonstration in Washington in October to demand enactment of a bill calling for a shorter work week.

Representatives from 123 locals and 19 international unions including UAW, United Steelworkers, International Association of Machinists (IAM), International Union of Electrical Workers, United Electrical Workers, Teamsters, and Amalgamated Meatcutters, attended the conference. In his speech, the president of the committee, Frank Runnels, attacked Carter's "solutions" to unemployment; solutions such as sub-minimum wages for youth, tax breaks for big business, deregulation of oil prices, and 7% wage guidelines. "Is the answer to be found in imposing 7% wage controls on workers, when the latest figures show inflation to be running at a rate of 19% plus? While corporate profits are up more than 25% over last year? No! Is the answer to be found in such measures as increasing military spending? The All Unions Committee says no, a thousand times no!"

Eugene Glover, general secretary-treasurer of IAM said, "We have a Democratic president who extols the virtues of corporate America's exorbitant profits while slapping a 7% guideline on workers' wages." He denounced Carter for squandering billions on the Pentagon while slashing social program funds. And he concluded, "We must challenge the assumption that the Democratic Party is the party of the people today."

Cleveland Robinson, President of the Distributive Workers of America, who was the administrative organizer of the 1963 March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom, pointed out that forcing Con-

gress to enact the bill would require a mass mobilization on the scale of that march.

One year ago at the first AUCSWW conference, three goals were established: pushing legislation for the shorter work week with no cut in pay, making the shorter work week a priority contract demand, and getting rid of compulsory overtime. While it's important to push for enactment of the shorter work week bill HR11784, and important that the conference realizes the need for a mass mobilization and demonstration to accomplish this, it seems making the shorter work week a priority contract demand has been forgotten.

Runnels and others spoke about Carter's attack on working people with his 7% wage guidelines. But how did the AUCSWW organize for breaking those guidelines in recent major contract struggles like the Oil Chemical and Atomic Workers, and Teamsters?

One reason for this goal falling by the wayside could be a lack of rank and file participation in the AUCSWW. That should be changed. Meanwhile, the rank and file of the UAW is not counting on Douglas Fraser to push for the shorter work week when their contract runs out this fall, especially since he completely dropped the demand in 1977. Instead, Autoworkers for a Better Contract, a national rank and file caucus is putting forward the contract demand, 30 hours work for 40 hours pay (HR 11784 only calls for reducing hours to 37.5), and is considering the possibility of an industry-wide strike come fall.

But, as we watch unions one by one losing the fight against Carter's wage guidelines, it's clear that an all-union movement that organizes the rank and file is the only way to insure victory of the demand for the shorter work week.



Hundreds listen to Ralph Smith, member of National Conference of Black Lawyers, at the recent Affirmative Action Conference. The conference aims at building the fight for affirmative action and working to defeat the Weber case.

Organizer photo

Labor, Blacks and Students Unite

On April 6th at Columbia University in New York, over 400 workers, community residents, and students demonstrated against the University's anti-labor, anti-community, and racist policies. While the University's trustees were meeting, the demonstrators demanded that the University give striking workers a good contract, get rid of their stock holdings in South Africa, and dismantle the Triga nuclear reactor on campus.

The 450 members of District 1199 Hospital Workers Union, have been without a contract since January 1st. When they staged a sitdown to protest the University's "offer" of takeaways, the University brought the NYC Police Department's Tactical Patrol Force onto campus to remove them, and 35 members were arrested. A strike began in March when Columbia tried to replace the union's pension plan with their own, more costly to the workers. Workers are also striking over the 5.5% wage offer.

At the demonstration, a worker and 1199 delegate linked Columbia's actions against the workers with its indifference toward the community which is largely

Black. "The University doesn't care about the community — they put a nuclear reactor in the heart of Harlem. This is the height of arrogance and racism."

Another speaker from the National Society of Black Engineers points to Columbia's lack of affirmative action in its refusal to recruit minority students and faculty.

Finally, a representative of the Columbia Committee against Investment in South Africa pointed out how the University was also supporting the racist apartheid regime in South Africa; how Columbia has not withdrawn its investment from South Africa as it has stated, but on the contrary has increased it by \$5 million over the past year.

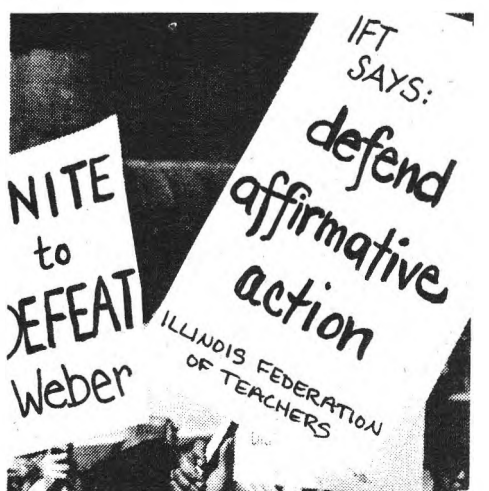
Speakers emphasized how these policies were not disconnected, but tightly linked, the root being the University's desire for maximum profit and disregard for people. The demonstration ended with a march across campus to join the 1199 picketline.

Teachers Organize Against Weber

At the annual convention of the Illinois Federation of Teachers (IFT) of the American Federation of Teachers (AFT) this March, a resolution against Brian Weber was passed without debate. The resolution was submitted by Local 1, Chicago Teachers Union, and stated: "Resolved that the IFT affirm its support for the right of any union to negotiate affirmative action programs, including goals and timetables in union contracts, and be it further resolved that the IFT express its active support to the USWA in its fight to defeat Weber."

This weekend, April 28th and 29th, is the Pennsylvania Federation of Teachers Convention, and the School Employees Action Caucus (SEAC) is planning on submitting a similar resolution. The caucus is also hoping to get the PFT to submit a resolution in support of affir-

ative action to the AFT before its national convention in August. As of yet, the AFT has taken no position on the Weber case.



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Einstein Hospital

\$55 Million for Construction

Rubber Dollars for Workers

by a hospital worker

In spite of the recent alarm over the rising cost of health care, Einstein hospital announced several weeks ago a plan to spend \$55 million on construction. For Albert Einstein Northern Division, this means 200 more beds, new intensive and cardiac care units, more doctors' offices, and a new parking garage among other things.

While some of this construction may be necessary, new buildings do not guarantee better patient care or better working conditions. And, \$55 million is a lot to be spending at a time when there is such a public outcry over the cost of getting sick. Unnecessary hospital construction is widely recognized as a major source of rising costs.

At the same time the \$55 million renovation project was made public, the Einstein employees (Northern Division) were strongly urged to join the HSA (Health Systems Agency) which is a planning agency for health care systems in a five county area around Philadelphia. We were told that we should become members of this organization in order to vote approval of Einstein's construction plan. Few, if any employees were given the information necessary to make an intelligent decision about whether the \$55 million scheme was necessary or desirable. We were simply told to vote "the company way".

While making plans to spend millions on new construction, Einstein Northern is offering its workers rubber dollars to cut expenses. Besides keeping wages down (except his own), Martin Goldsmith,

Vice-President and General Director of AEMC Northern, has a scheme to "make a concerted cost-containment effort". This scheme is called "BAD", and it is, in more ways than one. "BAD" stands for "Buck-a-Day". All employees are encouraged to think of ways to save the hospital a buck a day. Our ideas, if our supervisors think they are workable, are rewarded with "BAD" coffee mugs and rubber dollars, among other things.

We might offer the following suggestions taken from a recent *Bulletin* series: Cut extravagant salaries for administrators; eliminate uncalled for testing and surgery, particularly on older patients on Medicare; end unnecessary construction; and we should add, stop payment of legal fees to union-busting lawyers.

Were we to suggest any of the above to our Einstein supervisors, it is doubtful that we would win a rubber dollar for the effort; and yet, if followed, these proposals could have a serious impact on savings. It is clear that Goldsmith's cost-saving campaign (the costly product of an ad agency - complete with volumes of printed material, posters, and banners) is self-serving and not a serious effort to save money.

Moreover, this ploy hides the real perpetrators of inflated health care costs - drug and hospital supply companies, insurance companies, administrators and physicians. The "BAD" plan tries to have us believe that we workers are responsible for the high cost of health care. Yet our own wages represent a surprisingly low



portion of the increased costs - 10%. What would we get for suggesting cuts in physicians' fees or an administrator's paycheck? Our real interests as workers and as health care consumers are not in partnership with the hospital administration.

It would cost Einstein a mere fraction of \$55 million to offer a wage increase to workers which would keep pace with inflation; to establish a decent training and upgrading program which gives a chance for advancement to those trapped in dead-end jobs (particularly minorities and women); to provide a health plan that covers the cost of maintaining our health, and to hire enough people to end problems of understaffing in many areas of the hospital.

The fact is, the only way workers at Einstein Northern will get anything for themselves is through unionization. Einstein may throw us a crumb now and then - a 15 cent wage increase which doesn't come close to keeping up with the rising cost of living, of a long term disability plan covering 60% of our base pay after we are out of work 90 days and on the welfare rolls. These meager wage increases and benefits cannot equal the dignity and respect, greater job security, and better benefits that come with joining a union.

It remains to be seen whether Einstein workers will go for rubber dollars or begin to seriously challenge the hospital's spending policies and demand our rightful share.

SEPTA's New Contract

A Strange Sort of "Victory"

The ink is barely dry on the SEPTA settlement and already Girard DiCarlo and the SEPTA board are talking about a fare increase and cuts in service to pay the cost. It's beginning to sound like a broken record - transit workers settle for an agreement that doesn't meet their needs and SEPTA riders pay more for less service. Already SEPTA management is beginning to take advantage of Local 234's weakened position.

On Monday April 9, SEPTA fired 43 maintenance workers and suspended 160 for "misappropriating authority funds". The charge resulted from overpayments the workers received during the weeks of 2/17 and 2/24. This mistake was discovered by Federal officials who audit SEPTA books. Anxious to put the blame elsewhere SEPTA management labeled workers "thieves", rather than take a look at their payroll system which regularly produces blunders. For instance, some workers received corrected W-2 forms April 10, with notes regretting an error that will require many workers to re-file their income tax.

Union leadership responded to this attack by agreeing that the workers were indeed thieves and regained the jobs for the fired workers providing that restitution was made before returning to work.

However they allowed an entry on personnel records stating that each had been suspended for misappropriating authority funds. The fired workers also lost pay for the days suspended, and if one of the 200 workers files a grievance, then the whole deal is off.

How is it that a union that less than 30 days previous had won a no-strike victory, claiming that "united we were invincible" succumbs to an attack such as this? Was local 234 indeed united, and was this contract indeed a victory? On the surface it would appear that the situation was better. There were no wildcats in protest such as in 1977, no angry workers gathering at 234's hall on Fifth Street, demanding to know contract terms and no overwhelming rejection of a the agreement. What were the differences between '77 and '79 for transit workers?

In 1977, SEPTA bosses received comfort from the LeDonne leadership which made little effort to organize and promote the strike. The union put forward no key demands held no mass meetings or demonstrations to build workers morale and dramatize the worker's plight to the public. Most importantly, the union proclaimed its indifference to how the settlement was paid for and did not oppose a fare increase.

As a result, the rank and file responded by building the Committee for a Decent Contract to fill the vacuum left by lack of leadership of 234 and the International. These workers demanded rehiring of 300 laid-off employees, drop permanent warnings from workers involved in the Frankford wildcat and opposed further fare increases. Thus LeDonne, under the thumb of Matthew Guinan and the International, lost control

of the situation and had their first agreement rejected by a resounding 800 votes. The international doesn't believe in strike funds and is always anxious to avoid a work stoppage at all costs. The 44-day strike that followed for the "Nickel Contract" is now a sad chapter in Local 234's history.

COOPER'S SLEIGHT OF HAND

On the other hand, the Cooper leadership produced an entirely different picture in '79. They held regular mass meetings to build worker support for their program, and "News from Fifth Street" was produced to update the rank and file on progress in the negotiations. In a February 4 mass meeting Cooper revealed plans to take out advertisements like those used by the teachers to dramatize the workers problems. When asked from the floor whether he would negotiate the contract and to explain what role the international would play, Cooper thundered that this was to be local 234's contract and that he would be responsible for the results.

Cooper, secretary-treasurer under LeDonne, learned his lessons well in '77. He understood that the rank and file must be united around a program and will demand democracy as minimum requirement for support. The primary component of Cooper's program was opposition to SEPTA'S attempts to take away the no lay-off clause and hire part-time workers. In addition he repudiated the 7% limit and pledged to eliminate pattern turn-in as grounds for discipline. He skillfully prepared the rank and file to "strike until hell freezes over" before they would give up the no-layoff clause.

On March 11, at a mass meeting attended by 2000 SEPTA workers,

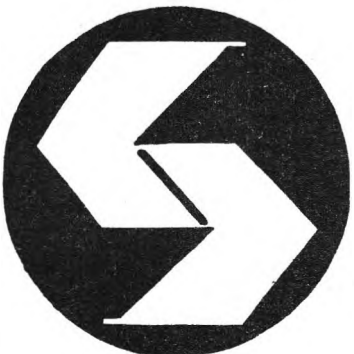
Matthew Guinan was introduced to a chorus of boo's and he pledged not to allow SEPTA to take away the no-layoff clause and stated SEPTA management was serious about wanting these take-aways. In his speech, Cooper decried rumors going about the property that he "already had a contract in his back pocket."

Early on March 16, SEPTA and union negotiators dramatically returned an agreement with the no layoff clause intact, wage increase of 6.3% a year, modest benefit increases and on the negative side, wage cuts for new employees amounting to \$10,000 over 2 and one half years. Although it failed to address pattern, health and safety, equipment, pensions, as well as key demands of the public such as no fare increase, service cuts and dependable service it was ratified by a five to one margin. Cooper was rewarded with an International vice-presidency for his performance and Local 234 now has a permanent representative of the International in our union hall.

But was the threat of layoffs and part-time workers real? SEPTA negotiators have a history of a hard line, and usually make no real proposals until the contract deadline approaches. It is certain that Cooper and Guinan wish us to believe the threat because they settled for no real gains other than to retain these important contract clauses.

The recent example of the coal miners struggle against the coal companies' attempt to roll back gains, made in previous contracts provides a concrete picture of a real threat. The coal operators were serious about the take-

(continued on page 18)



Winds of Change Blow Through the PFT

On March 21st, after a campaign of almost six months, the word came in from the American Arbitration Association — John Murray of the United Slate (US) had defeated Frank Sullivan for the presidency of the Philadelphia Federation of Teachers (PFT). Murray did not sweep the rest of the US Executive Board slate into power with him, however, and so he now finds himself as the President of the largest local union in the state, heading the incumbent's Executive Board. Along with Murray, a number of US people gained seats on the PFT delegations to the state and national conventions.

This election represents a clear victory of the United Slate as well as a sign from the rank and file that the winds of change are blowing in the PFT. Over 11,000 people (½ the membership of the union) voted in this election, a larger number than have ever voted before.

US had correctly projected the need for a larger voter turnout in order to win. When the slate votes had been counted, the Collective Bargaining Slate (CB) was ahead by 400 votes. That left 2200 split ballots to count. These splits narrowed CB's margin of victory for their Executive Board members and gave the presidency of the union to John Murray by 70 votes. In fact, some of the US candidates for the Executive Board lost by as little as 100 votes.

ISSUES IN THE CAMPAIGN

The CB campaign, filled with red-baiting and accusations of Ku Klux Klan influence in the United Slate, had not worked in their favor. CB's literature projected an image of a union leadership which took full credit for the contractual victories of the PFT in the past years. Only *they* could face the adversaries of the union, and only *they* had the experience to meet the challenge of the 1980

contract struggle. The rank and file of the PFT were never given any credit for the struggle they carried on in order to win their demands. But apparently, the rank and file were not willing to be insulted in this way.

The constant US exposure of the extent of power held by the CB leadership, their positions of leadership on the boards of the Legal and Health and Welfare Fund, and the limitations placed on rank and file participation over the years spoke to real concerns of PFT members. US also pledged that political endorsements would be made by the entire membership. At the same time, real questions about the enforcement of the contract, day to day, were raised by the US.

The time had also come for serious reconsideration of the PFT's historically poor relationship with the community — the Black community in particular. The US put forward a program of developing a relationship between the union and the community. This part of the program, though it failed to outline concrete and programmatic suggestions for building unity, was a real departure from the CB stance.

All of these issues played some role in the election results. It may still be too early to fully analyze this election. For many of the voters there was some ambivalence, and the split votes may very well represent a desire for change on one hand and an interest in maintaining some of the known leaders of the past, anticipating the impending contract struggle in 1980.

The central shortcoming of the US campaign was its failure to aggressively tackle the question of racism. In a school system which is 70% Black and Hispanic, the issue of separate and unequal educa-

tion is clearly of vital importance. Yet the US never addressed the School Board's refusal to institute an effective desegregation plan. By focusing on the Board's mishandling of faculty desegregation without making clear a commitment to an integrated faculty in principle, the US opened the door to charges of racism by the CB slate.

Finally, the US ignored the needs of the predominantly Black non-professional workers. Under the leadership of Ryan and Sullivan the gap in pay between these workers and teachers has steadily widened. Also, there is no upgrading program to insure access to better paying jobs. US did not raise either of these issues. As a result it narrowed its base of support and lost an opportunity to forge a more united PFT.

The US commitment toward better relations with the community has to be taken with a grain of salt in light of the campaign. While the US leadership may very well be sincere, a union leadership that does not fight for equality across the board will not succeed in altering the relationship with the Black and Spanish speaking communities.

WHAT DOES THE FUTURE HOLD?

So what is the future of the PFT now? John Murray is faced with a possibly hostile Executive Board. He has the power to hire staff and choose negotiators, with approval of the Executive Board. He has the power to fire on his own. Realizing the threat that the United Slate represents to their continued power, CB could sabotage any of John Murray's efforts to carry out the program he ran on, making him ineffectual and destroying the credibility of the US. Equally possible would be an attempt to co-opt Murray and buy him off. A tendency to move to the right will

be natural in an effort to work with his Executive Board and this tendency could be capitalized on by CB.

At the most recent Executive Board meeting, Ryan and Sullivan and Co. gave some indication of their future tactics. In two motions they began stripping Murray of his power. The first motion says that all contracts for services must be approved by the Executive Board and that the law firm of Sagot and Jennings shall continue to represent the PFT in all legal matters and no other law firm may service the PFT without the approval of the Executive Board. Clearly, CB, has not forgotten that Murray's campaign included a great deal of criticism of Sagot's role with the union and the tremendous financial gains he's made from his contract.

The second motion ended publication of *The Reporter* (union newspaper) and *Action* (union newsletter). The PFT Executive Board has suddenly shown a concern for "saving money"! Instead, the rank and file will be informed of union business through a brief newsletter to be put out by Ryan. Murray maintains that this is a way to keep him from speaking to the rank and file of the union.

But the future of the PFT does not rest solely on John Murray's personal, individual ability to stick to his guns and carry out the program. The latest moves by the Executive Board have helped consolidate the United Slate organization. The understanding of the need to keep US together has been put forward by the leadership as well as by the rank and file. The rank and file of this organization have a critical role to play not only in giving Murray the support he needs, but also in consistently holding him accountable to the program he was elected to push forward.

Worker at Botany 500 Speaks Out



Rank and file union members need to work together and push the union to fight for them. Botany 500 can afford to pay better wages and improve working conditions.

Q: How long have you worked in the clothing industry?

A: Fourteen years and one month.

Q: What changes have you noticed in your working conditions in that time?

A: We have better lighting now, and air conditioning. We used to have only one fan per section — then we called the area "a shaft." The company would bring in a big block of ice at lunch time and you could chip some off and have ice water. I guess they figured if you could last until noon, you deserved ice water. But other things are worse. We used to have bundle people to supply our work. Now we lose time lifting and looking for work. We used to have more bushel people. Now a lot of operators have to do their own bushels and don't get paid extra for it. We lose money because it's slower work. Sewing machine operators have to buy their own bobbins and bobbin cases, and they all have to run up to the sixth floor when they run out of thread or chalk. You lose a lot of time and money that way. People used to clean the bathrooms too, a luxury of the past!

Q: Have you complained to the company?

A: The company made our working conditions bad. We are doing two jobs for the

price of one, that saves them money. In 1971 they brought in production people who cut our rates. In order to make the same amount of money, we have to work twice as fast. The company consolidated jobs by moving people who were doing the same operation in different shops to one department. That caused problems because there is not enough work for all of us. I came from a shop where I always had work, and now I never have enough. For the last two years, I've had to collect unemployment. The whole system just divides us. We end up fighting each other for work.

The company uses racism to divide us. When I started working, the shop was predominantly Italian. Now we're a real melting pot of nationalities. The company pits one nationality against the other. They tell the Italian workers they can easily be replaced by Black or Spanish speaking workers. They constantly threaten to deport workers without citizenship if they don't do what the company wants them to do. There's no upgrading system which allows minorities to move to better paying jobs. You spend 40 years doing the same operation because the company won't let you get ahead.

Q: Have you raised all of these problems with your union officials, the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU)?

A: The union pretends they're going to take up an issue, but the problem is never solved. We complain about our problems but nothing happens. The union used to listen to us. The business agent used to come right up to people and ask what kind of problems they had. They would really take up our grievances. Now you hardly see the business agent. When he does come round, he goes straight to the office and then walks around with the bosses. You have to talk to both of them at the same time. Most of the time the company drowns you out and doesn't give the union a chance to hear your problems. Besides, most people are too scared to complain in front of the bosses. What we need is that old fighting union we had in the past. You can't fight by yourself. You need the union to back you up.

Q: How do you think you'll be able to get the union to fight with you again?

A: What we really need is stronger rank and file participation in the union. In the past, when the clothing workers were

involved in the union and united, we won a lot of things. For instance, we won the right to local ratification of our contract in Philadelphia. It was through the hard struggle of the rank and file ACTWU members that we won our right to vacation pay. The clothing rank and file needs to get together and figure out how to rebuild our union into a fighting union. If a lot of clothing workers were involved in the union, our officials wouldn't have any choice but to fight.

Q: But what about the financial condition of the clothing industry? Even if the rank and file could rebuild the ACTWU, could the companies afford to meet your demands?

A: We hear that all the time. They say there are just a few companies holding on by a thread and we can't put a lot of demands on them or they'll move South or go broke. I don't know about the small shops, but I do know that our company is making big profits. They could easily afford to pay us a decent salary and make our working conditions better.

But nothing comes easy. You can't get anything in this life without struggling for it, and that's what we have to do now.

TEAMSTERS BUST GUIDELINES ... but still come up short

by Duane Calhoun

"About 95% of the road haulers are not in good health when they retire. They get carbon monoxide, ruptured kidneys, hemorrhoids and bad backs. I'd hate to see what time would do to me working under those conditions...I'd like to get out now."

—Truck driver Lou Vitalano

On April 11, after a ten-day strike and lockout, Lou Vitalano and over 200,000 other Teamster freight drivers and warehouse workers went back to work. Late the night before, International Brotherhood of Teamsters negotiators signed a new national contract with Trucking Management Incorporated (TMI) covering the truck freight industry. This contract, called the National Master Freight Agreement, covers about 270,000 workers employed by the 500 companies that belong to the TMI organization.

Of all the major contracts that run out this year, only the autoworkers contract in September covers more workers. This was the first big test of Carter's wage guideline program — whether industry and their government servants could make working people pay the cost of slowing inflation.

As the strike deadline approached, both sides had been very close to a settlement, with each side's offer only 25 cents an hour apart. But at the last minute TMI rejected the union's final offer, claiming that they could not go over Carter's guidelines by even that amount. Even Federal mediator Wayne Horvitz was surprised at such a hard-line position. The Teamsters responded by calling a "selective" strike at 73 major trucking companies. TMI hit back by locking out the workers at nearly all of its 500 member companies.

Because of the large number of non-union trucking companies, and the companies that signed "interim" contracts (promising to give whatever the large companies eventually settled for), the strike didn't disrupt the economy as much as expected. The main effect was on the auto industry, where parts shortages put over 100,000 workers on short hours or layoff.

Ten days later, the government Council on Wage and Price Stability (COWPS) relaxed the guidelines by a few more cents. Within hours after that, and just thirty-eight minutes before the union would have had to start paying strike benefits, a new agreement was signed. The contract will be voted on by mail ballot late in April; meanwhile most drivers are back to work.

WHAT THEY GOT

So what did Lou Vitalano get after ten days out? The average wage of a truck driver is now \$9.50 an hour. The new three-year agreement has three wage increases that add up to \$1.50, plus cost-of-living payments every six months that will cover just over half of losses to inflation. So a driver's real spending wage in 1982 will be just a few cents an hour more than it is today. The press likes to paint a picture of the "average middle-class Teamster" earning \$30,000 a year. In fact only a few long-haul drivers earn that much, and they have to work 70 hour weeks with only one day off between trips to do it.

Pensions went up quite a bit, from a top rate of about \$550 a month at 60 years of age, to a top rate of about \$770 a month. (Average pensions for retirees are much lower.) That sounds pretty

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good, but that \$770 is already less in real money than \$550 was when it first went into effect in 1973. By 1982 it will be much less. There were some improvements in health benefits, and a small increase in paid time off. But there were also some give-aways. "Casual" warehouse workers hired by the day will be paid \$.50 an hour less than before, making it cheaper for the companies to eliminate as many full-time union jobs as possible by using "casuals."

Companies in "financial difficulty" will also be allowed to work their employees overtime for an hour each day, without paying time-and-a-half. As we went to press, details of the important sections covering job security, safety and forced overtime were not available; not even the local union presidents had been told yet. Rank and file Teamsters suspect that no improvements have made in these areas, and that there may even have been some giveaways by the union.

For example, long-haul drivers now must work an 8-day, 70-hour week with only 24 hours off between trips, and can be disciplined for not answering the phone when the dispatcher calls at any hour of the day or night. According to an official survey conducted by the union leadership (after pressure from the rank and file reform caucuses), more regular hours and more time off between trips was a popular demand with the membership.

This contract looks particularly weak when you see how well the trucking companies have been making out. While the workers are barely keeping up with inflation, Standard & Poors investment consultants report that "the long-range outlook for the industry is favorable...the trucking industry should register further profit gains in 1979."

STRETCHING THE GUIDELINES

After the agreement was announced, the capitalist newspapers were full of headlines like "Teamsters Wreck Guidelines" and "Contract Talks Played by Teamster Rules". It sounded as if the workers had really won one for a change. Unfortunately, you can see that they really didn't get that much. But it is true that the Carter administration was forced to change its guidelines four times in order to make the Teamsters contract fit: once the day before negotiations opened, two more times just before the strike deadline, and again the day before the contract was signed. These changes raised the limit from 22% over three years to just over 27%.

Because of inflation, just to continue the benefits of the old contract for three more years would have taken nearly the whole 22% allowed under the original guidelines. Since no one but Carter seems to think that inflation will stay at six percent a year during those three years, cost of living allowance payments will raise the actual cost to about 32%. This is less than the Teamsters got in 1976, and less than the miners got last year.

By forcing Carter to grant all those exceptions just to make it look like the contract stayed within the guidelines, the Teamsters have discredited those guidelines and made it easier for other unions to go over the 7% a year "voluntary" limit. To that extent the Teamster contract was a victory. Auto workers' President Doug Fraser has already told Carter to "stay the hell away" from the auto negotiations this fall.



The Carter administration was forced to change their guidelines four times to make the new Teamster contract fit. Although they didn't get a great contract, the Teamsters have discredited the guidelines which will make it easier for other unions to go over the 7% limit.

But damaged or not, the guidelines still hurt the truck drivers and helped the employers. As one executive told the *Wall Street Journal*, "We can wrap ourselves in the flag and get a little more leverage at the bargaining table." And when the government told TMI that they wouldn't get a freight rate increase to cover any raises that went over the guidelines, that stiffened their resistance to the union's demands. The guidelines also give Teamster President Fitzsimmons a handy excuse for his failure to deliver the bacon. When the agreement goes to the rank and file for a vote, he'll say that the union couldn't have held out for more "because of the guidelines."

FITZSIMMONS LEADERSHIP WEAKENS UNION

Despite their image in the press of getting whatever they want in contracts, the International Brotherhood of Teamsters is getting steadily weaker in relation to the trucking industry. The root of this weakness is the corruption and business philosophy of the top union officials. For example, the Master Freight Agreement now covers about 30,000 workers less than it did in 1973. Why? Because when established union-organized companies have closed, the union hasn't been able to or willing to organize the new companies that have entered the business.

During the recent campaign to organize OVERNITE, the largest non-union trucking company in the US, management posted newspaper articles in the terminals about the beating of dissenting union members by goon squads, corruption in the pension funds, and the top union officials' ties with gangsters. Result: the workers voted against being represented by the Teamsters. Non-union companies now carry at least one-third of all truck freight, and their share is growing. This undercuts the power of the union's strike weapon, the foundation of all union power.

Many workers have also been left out of the Master Freight Contract when local Business Agents (known to the International and usually paid off by the companies) signed special "sweetheart" contracts that allow sub-standard wages, benefits, and working conditions. Recent lawsuits and internal union charges filed by rank and file members have revealed over 600 of these "sweetheart" deals nation-wide.

The number of non-union companies could go even higher if Carter goes through with plans to "de-regulate" the trucking industry. This would allow all comers to go into the freight business and ending the uniform rates set by the government that now exist. Deregulation might lead to lower rates, but it would also lead to rate wars, many more bankruptcies and mergers, and a loss of union

jobs, and more job insecurity for drivers and warehouse workers.

Throughout the negotiations, Teamster President Fitzsimmons and chief freight negotiator Roy Williams kept the membership completely in the dark. Not even the local presidents knew what the union demands were until 12 days before the strike deadline. As of the week after the settlement, they still had not been told about anything but the wage, pension, and health benefits in the new contract.

The membership has hardly been taking all this lying down. The revolt among rank and file Teamsters seems larger and better organized than in any other union today. On the 9th of April, drivers working for Kroger Groceries (the second largest grocery chain) voted down the contract negotiated by their union officials by a three to one margin. That contract had a number of give-aways in it, such as new stores not being automatically covered by the contract, wage cuts for new hires, and a much longer probationary period.

As this is written, well over half of the steelhaulers covered by the Master Freight Agreement are out on a wildcat strike against that contract. The largest steelhauler local in the country (Pittsburgh Local 800) has telegraphed the International asking that the strike be officially sanctioned. Unlike the FASH strike of owner-operators this winter, these drivers want to force the union to act like a union, not split away from it.

The strike was begun on the spur of the moment by some drivers in Canton, Ohio and quickly spread by traveling pickets. Their main demands are for restoration of a pay cut they took when their method of payment was changed in 1977, and for the right to vote on the contract supplement that covers steelhaulers. One driver out of Gary, Indiana reported that since the new method of payment, his actual wage has gone down about \$5 an hour for a 70 hour trip, all at straight time.

Rank and file resistance within the Teamsters is taking a more sustained, organized form as well. Two organizations, Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU) and PROD, have thousands of members nationally and have provided a vehicle for rank and file protest. The TDU, in spite of some weaknesses, stands for a class struggle brand of unionism and offers a real alternative to the Fitzsimmons machine. PROD, originally a health and safety group associated with Ralph Nader, has grown to embrace a much wider range of concerns, although it still retains a narrowly economic focus. Both groups were active in the current struggle for a decent contract. The future of the Teamsters Union lies within this developing rank and file movement.

On Martin Luther King's Birthday ...

2000 March on Whitman Park

by Ann Parks

April 4th was the 11th anniversary of Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.'s assassination; and in Philadelphia a march and rally similar to many organized by King was held in order to demonstrate the need for fair and desegregated housing for all Philadelphians.

Despite the chilling rain and 40 degree temperature, over 2000 people from all sections of the city gathered at Broad & Pattison at 11 AM for the march and rally at Whitman Park. The crowd was made up of Blacks, Hispanics and whites, community activists, religious leaders, politicians, and working people, all united in support of decent housing for all, and specifically in support of the building of Whitman Park. Organizations participating in the march included the Welfare Rights Organization, Philadelphia Citizens in Action, the Residents Advisory Board, Puerto Rican Alliance, the North Central Revitalization Coalition, Tenants Action Group, Saint Elizabeth's Church, and the Church of the Advocate.

WHITMAN CONTROVERSY

The controversy of the Whitman Park Project began 23 years ago when after a public hearing, the 2nd & Oregon site was approved for the Whitman Park Project. The original proposal called for 440 units of high rise public housing. These plans were modified by the US Dept. of Housing and Urban Dev. (HUD) as a result of action by the Whitman Area Improvement Council (WAIC), formed in 1961 to oppose the high rise structure. A townhouse design was developed as an alternative, and the proposed 440 units was reduced to 120 units. Also, a home ownership proposal replaced the original plans for conventional rental units.

The new townhouse plan was initially approved by WAIC President

Alice Moore in June 1970. She wrote that the Plans "look excellent" and that the WAIC was "very impressed with the Plans" and thought the houses would be "an asset to our community".

However, WAIC had changed its attitude by January 1971, when Moore wrote to the Redevelopment Authority that "we do not feel that all of our questions have been thoroughly answered".

On March 23, 1971, construction was scheduled to begin at the 2nd & Oregon site, and this date marked the beginning of picketing and demonstrations against the building of the townhouses. Whitman residents physically blocked construction equipment, shouted racial slurs, and refused to admit trucks bearing supplies for the Project.

Whitman is a mostly white area, located in South Philadelphia. But prior to the "recycling" of that neighborhood, the Whitman Park site and the area adjacent to it were integrated with a Black population of about 45%.

Mayor Rizzo's role in the Whitman Park controversy was to stir up the racial fears of the white Whitman residents. During his mayoral campaign in 1971, he promised neighborhoods that they would not have any housing that they did not want. His promise to Whitman residents was that the townhouses would not be built, and he said that public housing meant Black housing, and white people don't want Blacks moving into their neighborhoods.

A group of low-income minority residents of Philadelphia who would be eligible to move into the Whitman Park Townhouses, along with the Residents Advisory Board and the Urban Coalition Housing Task Force, filed a suit over the stalling of the Whitman Park Town-



People from all over the city gathered at Broad and Pattison for the march and rally at Whitman Park.

houses. In 1976, Judge Raymond Broderick ruled that the failure to build the townhouses is a violation of the 1964 and 1968 Civil Rights Acts and of the 5th, 13th, and 14th Amendments to the US Constitution. He found that the City of Philadelphia acted with a racially discriminatory purpose in halting the Townhouses. The court ordered not only that the Whitman Park Townhouses be built, but also that the Philadelphia Housing Authority submit to the court within 90 days a plan for the racial composition of the Townhouses as well as a plan to further integrate all public housing developments within the city of Philadelphia.

The decision was appealed to the Supreme Court, and even though the court was dominated by Nixon appointees, the Whitman Park case was such a blatant case of racism that the Supreme Court refused to over-rule Judge Broderick's decision. Yet three years after Broderick's ruling, the Whitman Park Townhouses still have not been built.

MASS ACTION KEY

This history underlines the futility of reliance on the courts and the need for mass action to win decent, desegregated housing. The April 4th march shows that this understanding is growing among thousands of people.

State Rep. Milton Street was one of the initiators and most active organizers of the demonstration. He arranged a meeting with Whitman Council leaders in order to stress that the march and rally would be peaceful. The month before the rally, intense organizing took place. Over 80,000 leaflets were passed out, and over 10,000 posters tacked up. Street appeared on radio and TV to stress the importance of the march.

On the day of the march, security was tight. Busloads of police were close

to the scene, as well as hundreds of plain-clothes officers, who walked down the sidewalk alongside the marchers. Some white residents of South Phila. booed and hissed as the marchers passed, and a few marchers had to be restrained. But there was no physical violence.

When the march reached the Whitman Park site at 2nd and Oregon, there were a few short speeches before the march resumed up to City Hall where it linked up with about 200 youths who participated in a "Youth March for Jobs". Rev. Paul Washington of the Church of the Advocate gave a short prayer, and Milton Street, WDAS disc jockey Georgie Woods, and Charles Bowser (the only mayoral candidate to participate in the march) each had a few words to say, among others. The speeches all stressed the need for all Philadelphians, Black, white, and Hispanic, to unite around the demand for decent housing.

At the Whitman site, a counter-demonstration was held by a group of Whitman Park residents, separated from the marchers by a huge police barricade. Led by Councilman James Tayoun, Congressman Michael (Ozzie) Myers, and Fred During of the Whitman Council, the Whitman residents sang "God Bless America" and held up "We did it the mortgage way" signs. Their songs and shouts could not be heard by the marchers at the other end of the site, however.

The turn-out of people for the march and rally despite the rain and cold temperature is evidence of the burning need of poor and working class people in this city for more adequate housing. No doubt it will take more such mass actions like the April 4th rally in order to get Whitman Park and other much needed housing built.



In spite of the rain, nearly 2000 people marched to show their support and unity around the demand for decent housing.

SUPPORT THE UMPIRES!

by Ron Whitehorne

Nobody likes umpires. The players rant at them. The managers charge out of their dugouts at them. The fans regularly and loudly call for their blood. But when passions have cooled everyone will admit that being an umpire isn't an easy job.

Right now the umpires don't have a job at all. Fifty of the 52 umpires in the American and National Leagues are on the picket line, and bush league scabs are calling the balls and strikes. The two leagues, representing the owners, told the umps to sign their contracts before the season began, or they'd be out of jobs. But the Umpires Association has held fast.

The big issue is money. Presently the umpires get between \$17,000 and \$40,000 a year. Not bad money maybe in comparison to what most of us make, but consider some facts. The umps make less than officials in all other professional sports, and they work the longest season

— 162 games plus the spring exhibition season. The major league umpires, like the big league players, are highly skilled — the product of an intensely competitive selection process. Of the hundreds who go to umpire school every year only two or three land jobs.

Already the players are complaining about the quality of the calls. All of a sudden the long abused umpires are appreciated. The umps are getting some labor support, especially from the teamsters. John Morris, local teamster leader, has organized some 100 members of his local to join the umps picket line at the Vet. One teamster said: "Once labor moves in here, they won't be able to get a grape into the place." The Phillies management is threatening to get a court injunction to stop the picketing.

The Phillies look great this spring and every fan wants to get out to the Vet. But let's give the umpires a break and the support they deserve. If we go to the Vet it should be to picket.



National League umpires are joined on the picket line at Veterans Stadium by Teamster supporters.

MAY DAY 1979

"We're fired up, won't take it no more!"

May Day, 1979, comes in the midst of a deepening social crisis in the United States, a crisis rooted in the decay of the imperialist system and the inability of its rulers to address the needs of the US people. At the same time, May Day occurs in the midst of a growing fightback. The US people face attacks on many fronts, but they are not taking them lying down. In fact, the pace of the many different struggles that in one way or another are aimed at the monopoly capitalists is intensifying. The rallying cry of the Black People's movement here in Philadelphia — "We're All Fired Up — Won't Take It No More" — symbolizes the growing mood of the US people.

THE ECONOMIC CRISIS

Our standard of living is under sharp attack from the monopoly corporations and their friends in Washington. While corporate profits rose 26%, the personal income of wage earners went up only 3% during the same period. While Big Business continues to raise prices, accelerating the rate of inflation, the Carter administration warns labor to stay within its 7% guideline. The hypocrisy of the government's anti-inflation fight is underlined by the decision to deregulate oil which will send gas prices to a dollar a gallon at the pump while fattening the wallet of the oil companies.

Meanwhile, unemployment, especially among national minorities, women and youth, remains a curse, and one that is bound to get worse. Most economists are now agreed that a recession is around the corner. On top of this both local and federal governments are cutting back on vital benefits and social services as the spirit of Proposition 13 takes deeper hold over the capitalist politicians. Public assistance, social security, unemployment benefits, housing, health and education programs have all come under the knife.

It is not just our pocket books that are hurting. The capitalist drive for bigger profits threatens the health and safety of working people. In the name of cutting "red tape", OSHA (the Occupational Health and Safety Administration) has been largely stripped of its effectiveness. The result is that it is more dangerous on the job. The proliferation of nuclear power, as the case of Three Mile Island shows, threatens the lives of millions and symbolizes the indifference of the monopolies to the environment and the masses of people.

In fighting back against these attacks the working class is handicapped because its most important mass organizations, the trade unions, are in the hands of a cowardly, class collaborationist leadership. George Meany and company fear a fight with the employers and are fiercely dedicated to the preservation of capitalist rule. Still, under pressure from below, the unions are offering a limited resistance.

The unions have refused to be bound by Carter's wage guidelines and have attacked the obvious pro-business bias of the Carter administration's whole program. Support for a legislative fight for the shorter work week with no cut in pay is growing. Some union leaders, like Doug Fraser of the UAW, have been compelled to take steps to build a broad coalition of labor and its allies to oppose the attacks.

The real motor of progress within organized labor continues to be the rank and file movement. Rank and file organization continues to grow and is increasingly taking on a national form. Even where organization is weak, the dissatisfaction and growing militancy of the ranks is making itself felt at the bargaining table and elsewhere.

But resistance is by no means limited to the unions. The unemployed, youth, and community forces are taking up the struggle for jobs and against cutbacks in a more militant and organized fashion. This process is most advanced in the Black and Spanish speaking communities. The movements against police brutality and for better housing here in Philadelphia are important testimony to this.

THE FIGHT FOR EQUALITY

The attacks on our standard of living coincide with an attempt to turn back the gains registered by national minorities and women in the struggle for equality and full democratic rights. Both to preserve the huge profits based on inequality and to perpetuate divisions within the working class, the monopolists fight to maintain the twin structures of racism and sexism.

Right now the sharpest struggle on this front is the fight to save affirmative action from the wrecking ball being aimed by the right wing. The Bakke case was a setback for affirmative action and inspired new attacks. The current Weber case, if upheld by the Supreme Court, could result in the dismantling of on the job affirmative action programs. Mobilizing against this threat is a key task for the whole working class.

Another target of the right wing offensive is the Equal Rights Amendment. This, along with the attempt to once again outlaw abortion, are attempts to turn back the clock on the status of women. Yet another front on which democratic rights are threatened is the crusade to deny equal protection under the law to gay people.

In all of these areas resistance is growing. The Black Liberation Movement is undergoing a resurgence. Broad local organizations are growing up to combat these attacks — from the Black United Front here in Philadelphia to the United League battling the Ku Klux Klan in the heart of Mississippi. Similar developments can be seen in the Hispanic community (see article elsewhere in this issue on the Puerto Rican Alliance). The women's movement too is broadening as evidenced by the massive ERA march on Washington last summer.

The ruling class seeks to contain these movements by keeping them separate. The thing they fear most is the power of a united working class that stands firmly for equality. Over the last year we have seen some important steps in the direction of unity and rejection of the divide and rule tactics of racism. The defeat of Frank Rizzo here in Philadelphia, in which the majority of whites joined with virtually the whole Black and Hispanic communities to say NO to "white rights", is the most significant expression of this.



The US people face attacks on many fronts, but they are not taking them lying down. The fightback is strong and the struggle for a better way of life is growing.

INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY: DEFEAT U. S. IMPERIALISM

The same monopoly corporations and the same government that give us hard times are doubly vicious in their oppression of working people throughout the rest of the world. The monopolists want us to believe that other peoples are a threat to our jobs, our wages or to peace. But, in reality, it is these exploiters who lay us off, force down wages, and make war. Our common interests are in solidarity with other people who are fighting for the same things we want and against the same enemy.

South Africa is a key theatre in this struggle. The peoples of Angola and Mozambique have thrown off colonialist rule and have made clear in both words and deeds that their countries are not open to the pillage of US and European corporations. In Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) the liberation struggle is intensifying, and US hopes for a "friendly" regime, more respectable than that of Ian Smith, are shrinking.

In Namibia the liberation forces are gaining as well. And in the Republic of South Africa, the heartland of white supremacy in Africa, the days of apartheid are clearly numbered. The US, concerned with its billions of dollars in investments and its strategic position vis a vis the Soviet Union, stands in direct opposition to the aspirations of the African peoples for freedom.

In the Middle East the imperialists suffered a major defeat when their loyal friend, the Shah of Iran, was toppled from his bloody throne. US plans to exploit the riches of Iran and use it as a policeman for US interests in the Middle East have been dashed.

In its own "backyard", the US also encounters growing resistance. The people of Puerto Rico are calling for an end to the island's colonial status. The Somoza regime in Nicaragua, long backed by Washington, is crumbling as the people rise up against it. In Chile the US backed, fascist Pinochet dictatorship faces a growing armed struggle. And Mexico, long victimized by US economic exploitation, is telling Carter and the US corporate vultures that its newly discovered oil will be used to serve Mexican, not US, interests.

But the US imperialists are far from defeated. They have scored some victories of their own over the past year. Carter's Middle East "peace" has bolstered the position of the US by breaking the front of Arab unity. Even more significant, the de facto alliance that is emerging between the US imperialists and the People's Republic of China against the Soviet Union has enormously strengthened the US's hand, both as a Pacific power and on a world scale. The recent events in Indochina illustrate this. Since its defeat in Indochina the US has continued its hos-

tility toward Vietnam, but was unable to effectively strike at Vietnam's anti-imperialist government. Now the US has China doing its dirty work.

The imperialists respond to their defeats by intensifying the drive toward war. The Carter administration has now proclaimed that it will use ground troops in the Middle East in the event of another Iran. The Pentagon is pushing hard for the restoration of the draft. The military budget continues to swell, in spite of talk about strategic arms control.

The Shah of Iran, General Pinochet, and the South African racists are not our friends, but our enemies. The peoples of these countries are not our enemies, but our friends. And a war to preserve the bulk of the world as a source of profits for US corporations is not in our interest. We must build solidarity with the fights against US imperialism around the world and oppose the drive for war.

THE ROAD FORWARD

To go forward — to protect our standard of living, to wage the fight for equality and to build genuine international solidarity and peace — requires organization. As long as our trade unions remain in the hands of a class collaborationist labor bureaucracy we will be limited in this fight. As long as our only political alternatives at the polls are the Tweedle Dum, Tweedle Dee, capitalist politics of the Democratic and Republican parties, we will be similarly limited. We have to fight to win the unions to a class struggle program, and we have to work to build independent political action — independent of the two party system.

The PWOC, as a Marxist-Leninist organization, holds that the fundamental solution to our problems is a socialist revolution. Only when capitalist exploitation is abolished and replaced by the rule of the working class can we fully satisfy our aspirations.

To advance the political and economic struggles under capitalism and to wage the fight for socialism, a revolutionary party is needed. This party must be built of the most committed, politically conscious fighters from the working class and oppressed nationalities. Basing itself on the principles of scientific socialism and the experience of the world wide revolutionary movement, the party must analyze the realities of the US, and develop the strategy, tactics, and program appropriate to change them.

Such a party is needed to draw together the presently fragmented struggles, to make them more conscious, and to weld them into a single, unified movement against monopoly capital. Such a party does not currently exist. Outlining our tasks on May Day underlines the importance of this central task of building a new communist party.



History of May Day

by Jim Griffin

The only vision of May Day workers in the US ever get is a few minutes on the evening news when we see Breshnev and the Soviet Marshalls reviewing missiles, tanks and troops passing by the Kremlin. Years of anti-communist propaganda have turned May Day into a sinister anti-American event. The irony is that May Day originated in the United States. Its real meaning becomes clear through its history.

In the 1880's, in response to massive unemployment and a workday that varied between 10 and 14 hours, a broad movement of American workers rose up calling for the 8-hour day. Like the movement to organize the CIO in the 1930's, the 8-hour day movement came from the grass roots. Both the right wing trade union leaders and the super revolutionaries of that day opposed the demand for the 8-hour day.

While the leadership of the Knights of Labor, then the largest labor organization in the US, paid lip service to the idea, they opposed strike action to obtain it.

But the rank and file rode roughshod over the leadership. Thousands of workers poured into the Knights and passed resolutions and set up committees to prepare for a general strike on May 1st, 1886, to demand the 8-hour day.

THOUSANDS STRIKE ON MAY 1

The anarchist leaders of the International Working People's Association (IWPA), then the leading revolutionary group in the US, also opposed the demand for the 8-hour day on the grounds that mere reforms only diverted the workers from their revolutionary goals. But they too were pushed aside. By May 1st, 1886, hundreds of thousands of workers across the country were out on strike. Chicago was the heart of the movement. Throughout April, massive demonstrations were held in the city involving upwards of 25,000 workers.

Even before May Day the strikes began. In April, 1,000 brewers reduced their hours from 16 to 10 a day, and the bakers who formerly worked 14 to 18 hours won a 10 hour day. Furniture workers won the 8-hour day for 10 hours pay. On May 1st, 30,000 workers went out on strike. Perhaps twice that number joined the demonstrations.

In Chicago, in particular, the movement took on an increasingly political character. The class conscious workers of Chicago that same year registered their disenchantment with the capitalist political parties. The United Labor Party, based on the city's trade unions which were led by socialists and radicals, won a third of the vote in local elections and elected over a dozen candidates to office.

The strike movement raised additional demands besides the 8-hour day. A six point Manifesto drafted by Albert Parsons and Albert Spies, two revolutionary leaders of the movement, demanded "equality without distinction to sex or race" — showed the spirit of class unity among the workers. Even where the strike movement lacked an explicitly political character, the very breadth of the struggle gave it this quality. The workers saw that this was not a fight of one group of workers against a single employer but a struggle of the workers as a class against the employers as a class.

HAYMARKET INCIDENT

But the employers were also prepared for a struggle. On May 3rd police fired into a crowd of workers who were fighting strike breakers at the McCormack reaper factory, killing four and wounding many others. That night, at a rally at Haymarket Square called to protest the

brutality of the police, a bomb exploded in the ranks of the police who had arrived to disperse the crowd, killing one of them and wounding others. The police fired into the crowd. Seventy people were wounded and one killed.

The bosses, the cops and newspapers all used the Haymarket incident to isolate the movement and to justify a wave of massive repression. Cops rounded up hundreds of radicals, meetings were broken up, the Socialist press was seized. Militia was called out to break the strike movement. The newspapers kept up a steady barrage against the strikers, the *N.Y. Times* called them "murderers".

Employers organized in associations to blacklist strikers and institute Yellow Dog contracts forcing workers to swear they would never join a union. This wave of reaction broke the back of the movement, but it was only a temporary setback.

MAY DAY TRADITION CONTINUES

The events of 1886 linked May Day in the minds of the workers with the struggles and sacrifices for a better life. In 1888 the American Federation of Labor called for a massive demonstration to be held on May 1st, 1890, calling again for the 8-hour day. In 1889, at the Paris Congress of the Second International (an international organization of Socialist Parties and trade unions), inspired by the struggles of workers in the US, the delegates adopted a resolution making May 1st an international holiday and calling for all workers in all countries to demonstrate international labor solidarity and press forward the fight for the 8-hour day and other urgent demands of the working class.

On May first, 1890, demonstrations and strikes occasioned this new holiday in both Europe and the US. In France and Austria, the Socialists used the occasion to demonstrate to the capitalist rulers the power of the working class, calling general strikes. From this time on, the idea of May Day was firmly established among the workers and May Day meetings, demonstrations and strikes in the name of the international labor solidarity became a tradition.

This internationalization of May Day was reflected in the broadening of the political content and slogans for May Day. The trade unions and working class political organizations associated with the international raised the slogan: "Against



Imperialist War and Colonial Oppression." But only a few years later, in 1914, the majority of the leaders of the socialist parties turned their backs on this slogan and supported their own capitalist class in an imperialist war in which millions of workers were butchered in a fight among the big powers to divide up the world.

A minority of revolutionary socialist leaders led by Lenin opposed this betrayal and went on to organize a new international based on genuine internationalism. Revolutionary-minded workers in the US joined in this effort and continued May Day in this spirit. In Cleveland in 1919 on May Day over 20,000 workers marched against US involvement in the war in spite of police attacks in which one worker was killed and another fatally wounded.

The revolutionary tradition of May Day now passed to the new Communist International which organized annual May Day demonstrations throughout the world, continuing to highlight the struggle of workers everywhere against capitalist exploitation. In the 1930's, May Day drew together the struggles of the US working class against unemployment and for industrial unionism, against Jim Crow racism and for full equality, and against fascist aggression and for peace.

In the 1950's the Communist Party, along with the international Communist movement headquartered in Moscow, turned away from the revolutionary path and took on a reformist outlook. As part of this overall betrayal, it largely abandoned building May Day. But a new gener-

ation of Communists, dedicated to building a new party, is also committed to resurrecting May Day.

The capitalist class and its allies in the labor bureaucracy has long sought to develop a safe alternative to May Day. It was to counter May Day that the first Monday of September was set aside as an official "labor day", first by state governments and later by the federal government. Another tactic has been to try to make May Day a different, politically neutral sort of holiday.

In 1928 President Hoover at the urging of the AFL leadership set aside May 1st as Child Health Day. This sudden interest in child welfare was frankly explained by the Executive Council of the AFL which said: "The object is to create sentiment for year round protection of the health of children. It is a most worthy purpose. At the same time May 1st no longer will be known as either a strike day or Communist Day."

More recently, in the same spirit, Richard Nixon made May 1st Law Day — but like Child Health Day this has not caught on with the US people. As the working class rediscovers its own traditions of class struggle and as the present battles between workers and oppressed peoples on the one hand and the exploiters on the other intensifies, May Day will surely reappear and confirm what Eugene Debs said in 1907: "This is the first and only International Labor Day. It belongs to the working class and is dedicated to the revolution."



May Day is an international holiday which was born in the US workers movement in the late 1800's. Above, an enormous May Day rally in Chicago in the 1930's.

THREE MILE ISLAND ... THREE BIG LIES

This article and the report on the anti-nuke demonstration at Limerick were contributed to the Organizer by an activist in the Bucks County branch of the Keystone Alliance.

Over a month after the "accident" at the Metropolitan Edison's Three Mile Island nuclear power plant, radioactive gas continues to be emitted into the atmosphere. Meanwhile the Carter administration and the utility companies also continue to emit hot air and gas. In spite of what occurred at Three Mile Island they continue to boost nuclear power. Smilin' Jimmy, the nuclear engineer posing as a President, even wants to cut down on the "red tape" involving the licensing of nuclear plants (in other words, not more safety regulations, but less).

The government and power industry's argument for nukes draws on three points — nuclear power, they claim, is safe, it creates lots of jobs, and finally it is economical. This argument adds up to the nuclear power industry's version of the Big Lie.

LIE NUMBER ONE

Three Mile Island put a big hole in the argument that nuclear power is safe. The danger of a melt down or explosion was undeniable and no one could deny if such an event had occurred the health and safety of thousands or even millions of people would have suffered. Nor have the defenders of nukes been able to get away with the hogwash that this accident was some freak that could never happen again. The problems with the reactor system at Three Mile Island are not unique but typical of nuclear plants.

The industry has built rapidly and cut corners in order to boost their profits. Even if they were more careful, the technology is new, unproven and full of kinks. For example, the nuclear engineers have admitted that the famous bubble at Three Mile Island was something never before anticipated and thus there was no

agreed upon method for dealing with it. Engineering problems like this are common in any new industry. But, while mistakes in designing a new transistor radio for example, have no great consequences, a faulty nuclear reactor can turn a city into a wasteland.

But in spite of Three Mile Island the public still does not fully grasp the extent of the danger posed by nuclear energy. The danger is not just a matter of dramatic melt-down type accidents. The day to day, ordinary operation of nuclear plants poses great hazards to those who work in them. As The Center for Science in the Public Interest noted:

"Whereas federal and industrial spokespersons have extolled the safety record of nuclear power, studies issued — but kept unpublished — by the old Atomic Energy Commission, the Nuclear Regulatory Commission, and other agencies document a far different story. They report that in the previous 33 years, there have been over 10,000 disabling work injuries at domestic nuclear facilities including more than 300 fatalities. Hundreds of other workers are expected to die of radiation-induced cancers by 1990."

An even more serious problem is posed by the disposal of nuclear wastes. These wastes have long half lives (the time it takes for the material to lose its radioactivity). Some of these wastes will remain radioactive and thus dangerous for many centuries. This waste must be stored indefinitely and there is no proven, safe method of storage. Leakage and accidents in storage facilities can poison the water or the atmosphere and pose a definite health hazard, one that is growing all the time as millions of tons of radioactive waste keep piling up.

Part of the reason there is even a debate about the dangers of nuclear power is that there is not agreement on exactly what levels of radiation are harmful. Just like the tobacco industry blandly



'Gentlemen, I don't think any of us really considered until now the ultimate danger posed by a nuclear accident... bankruptcy.'

dismisses the charge that cigarette smoking is harmful, the nuke spokespersons play down the hazards posed by radiation. The Federal Radiation Council, which developed the standards for exposure to radioactivity, was biased in favor of the nuclear industry. The Nuclear Regulatory Commission, which enforces these standards at nuclear plants, is dominated by pro-nuclear forces.

These radiation "experts" who are always telling us not to worry have been wrong before. For example pregnant women used to be x-rayed routinely because the "experts" said such low level radiation was not harmful. Then in the early '60's, studies showed that fetuses exposed to diagnostic x-rays had twice as much chance of dying of leukemia as did unexposed fetuses. Now pregnant women are no longer x-rayed.

High level radiation kills you pure and simple, of that there is no doubt. Exposure to lower levels for long periods is more controversial because the results don't show up right away. But again, the "experts", especially those connected with nuclear power have been wrong. Residents of St. George, Utah were told in the 1950's that "low level" fallout from atomic tests was "absolutely harmless." Now the residents of St. George are suing the government because their town is literally being killed off by unusually high rates of leukemia and cancer.

LIE NUMBER TWO

The argument that nuclear power creates jobs is pure myth. Of course any new construction or industrial development creates some jobs. But nuclear power is capital intensive, not labor intensive. Once a plant is completed, relatively few workers are needed to operate it. A high proportion of these workers are technicians and skilled labor, thus nuclear expansion does little to address the needs of the unemployed, most of whom are unskilled. Conventional power generation employs far more than nuclear power. Alternative energy sources, solar power, hydro power, wind, methane and the like, all of which are safe and renewable sources, also would generate more jobs.

Clearly the interest of the power companies is not in making life better for the workers whom they routinely expose to radiation hazards. Metropolitan Edison even refused to pay a woman clerical worker who was compelled to stay out of work following the accident because she was pregnant.

At the same time it is necessary to insure that workers in the industry do not

suffer from plant shutdowns. Anti-nuke groups like the Keystone Alliance have called for the companies to provide employment, income and retraining for workers displaced by plant shutdowns. This demand is clearly important to winning labor support.

LIE NUMBER THREE

If nuclear power is cheaper, as its defenders claim, then why aren't our electric bills going down instead of up as nuclear plants proliferate?

First of all, present utility regulations encourage the power companies to build nuclear plants. The formula which determines the rates they can charge the public is directly tied to the size of their investment. Thus the bigger the investment, the higher the rate the companies can charge. Result: naturally the profit hungry utilities invest in expensive nuclear plants rather than in other forms of power generation where the initial amount of capital required is much lower.

Expensive to begin with, the nuke owners have added insult to injury by running up huge cost overruns on new plant construction, ranging from a 58% overrun (Clavert Cliffs plant of Baltimore Gas & Electric) to a 267% cost overrun (Pilgrim I of Boston Edison). The infamous Three Mile Island plant, completed in 1974, estimated to cost \$110 million wound up costing over \$200 million, an 82% cost overrun! And it's us consumers who pay with increased rates! The national overall inflation rate being a good 8-10% per year, nuclear power plants have a construction inflation rate consistently of no less than 25% and it is still rising. Enough!

When we put aside these phoney arguments on behalf of nuclear power plants, there is little left to recommend them and plenty of reasons why they should be shut down. As the Keystone Alliance summed it up in their initial organizing proposal:

"Nuclear power threatens present and future generations with a long list of catastrophic effects including "nuclear meltdowns" and increased rates of cancer and birth defects due to increased levels of radioactivity. Nuclear power is linked to other critical issues: nuclear weapons proliferation, multi-national corporations, Third World exploitation, environmental deterioration, increased cost of living, and job losses. Nuclear power is the keystone of the current US energy policy that furthers the concentration of economic and political power into the hands of a few wealthy people and the powerful institutions they control."



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Marxism and Nuclear Power

For several years a movement has been growing up in the US in opposition to nuclear power. The Three Mile Island disaster has given an enormous impetus to the growth of the "anti-nuke" movement, drawing in new forces and raising its credibility and moral authority among millions of Americans. For Marxist-Leninists the anti-nuke movement has acquired a new importance as an important front in the struggle against monopoly capitalism. No other incident in recent times has cast in such sharp relief the perverted morality of the capitalist class which blandly and routinely places the lives of millions in jeopardy in order to safeguard their investments.

Marxist-Leninists have much to offer this growing movement — the political understanding that the dangers posed by nuclear power cannot be separated from the struggle against capital. Marxist-Leninists bring to the movement the knowledge that it is only in the context of drawing in and building unity with the great social movements against monopoly capitalism, the workers' movement, the movements of the oppressed nationalities and the women's movement, can the social power to really "shut 'em down" be built. Finally, Marxist-Leninists bring considerable organizational experience,

tactical sophistication and ties with other popular movements to the anti-nuke struggle.

SOME ADDED LESSONS

At the same time it must be added that the anti-nuke forces have some things to teach Marxist-Leninists. Furthermore if Marxists are to maximize their contribution to this struggle it is necessary to overcome some sectarian prejudices and dogmatic illusions.

It has been fashionable to debunk the anti-nuke forces as a bunch of utopians who want to turn their backs on modern technology and live out of the Mother Earth catalogue on some country commune. Certainly there are strong utopian and petty bourgeois strains in the anti-nuke movement. The back to nature, self-sufficiency mentality is an expression of individualism and reflects a distance, if not a contempt, for the real situation and actual options of the masses of working people. But generally we have substituted a caricature of the movement for a serious investigation of its actual character

and potential. The real weaknesses of this movement are an argument for why Marxist-Leninists need to participate in it and not a justification for abstention.

What this sectarian attitude also obscures is that for all these weaknesses the anti-nukes have been right about nuclear power and we Marxist-Leninists — with few exceptions — have been wrong. While the anti-nuke activists have been trying to arouse people to the real dangers posed by these plants, communists, by and large, have been indifferent to the issue. Now events clearly show that this danger is very real and this indifference was unwarranted.

Marxists think that the development of the productive forces is fundamentally progressive and that the role of technology in a given society is basically a question of the class character of that society. The attitude toward nuclear power among Marxists, at least prior to Three Mile Island, rests on a vulgarization of these basic Marxist conceptions. For not every advance in technology is always progressive. While the question of nuclear power is fundamentally a political question, this should not obscure that there also are very real technical problems associated with its use.

Another variant of leftist thinking goes like this: "It does not matter whether the capitalist class burns coal, harnesses the sun or splits atoms — the only question that matters is who controls energy, who pays for it and who benefits from it." Clearly it does matter because nuclear power poses a threat to the masses of people. To ignore this is to ignore an important front of struggle against the capitalist class — an opportunity to expose the real workings of the capitalist system and thus ultimately to advance in the battle to settle the fundamental question of who will control society — "them" or "us".

The PWOC is self critical for having fallen victim to this kind of thinking. In the future we intend to pay much more attention to the nuclear questions and environmental issues generally. We believe that Marxist-Leninists must begin to bring a working class stand and anti-imperialist perspective to the movements that are growing up around these issues. Fortunately Three Mile Island did not result in a melt-down catastrophe. Also fortunately, it did result in a melt-down of at least some prejudices in our ranks and hopefully among others as well.

Thousands Demand Shut 'em Down!

The anti-nuke movement is growing by leaps and bounds and taking to the streets to shut down nuclear power plants. On April 22nd over 5,000 people rallied at the site of the Limerick nuclear power plant in Montgomery County to tell Philadelphia Electric to halt construction of the Limerick plant and to shut down the Peach Bottom and Salem plants now. The action comes on the heels of a mass march on the PE headquarters earlier this month, and as part of dozens of similar mobilizations from coast to coast.

WALL ST. AND THE WHITE HOUSE

All the speakers, representing groups such as Environmentalists for Full Employment, Consumer Education and Protection Association, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Black United Front, Philadelphia Council of Neighborhood Organizations, as well as representatives from the Three Mile Island Alert and the Seabrook Alliance, agreed that the source of nuclear cancer is Wall Street and the White House.

Underscoring the profit involved for the powers that be, a Keystone Alliance spokesperson reminded the crowd that the largest stockholders of the utilities are the largest banks, the same banks which lend the money to build the nukes and collect the interest on the loans. General Electric and Westinghouse, two of the biggest corporations in the US, account for most of the nuclear reactor construction and they are controlled by the same large banking institutions.

The same speaker hit at the irresponsibility of public officials, telling of his joint appearance on a talk show with Philadelphia's managing director Hillel Levinson. In discussing the evacuation of 2 million people in and around Philadelphia (Limerick is 21 miles from Philadelphia), Levinson said that there was no problem on this issue, that a plan had been developed. When asked what the plan was, Levinson replied (with a straight face we presume), "It's a secret."

Other speakers connected the nuclear power issue to nuclear military proliferation. The threat posed to the US people by nuclear power is paralleled by the destructive power of the 35,000 nuclear stra-

tegic warheads in this country alone. Domestic nuclear power cannot be separated from the insanity of nuclear disaster that comes with imperialist wars.

In shutting down the nukes, rally speakers underscored the need to support worker protection legislation and programs for full employment. Workers affected by shut downs must receive reparations: full paychecks, relocation allowances if necessary, and retraining.

While no speakers from organized labor were present, other speakers urged rank and file trade unionists to pass resolutions in their locals and pressure the international trade union leadership to take a no-nuke stance.

KEYSTONE ALLIANCE

The Limerick action was organized by the Keystone Alliance which is calling for another rally, including a peaceful occupation of the construction site, for June 2nd. Keystone is also organizing for a national demonstration May 6th in Washington which is being joined by anti-nuke forces all over the country.

While alliances like Keystone have been active for several years, the recent Three Mile Island disaster has swelled the ground movement and activists everywhere are noting a dramatic increase in interest and participation in their communities. Keystone noted that here in the Philadelphia area, the Alliance started with a group of 15 people in January, 1978 and experienced slow but steady growth, including 10 new local affiliate groups in surrounding counties representing approximately 150 people. Now all groups are deluged with angry people who know they have been lied to and the new energy is fueling a mass movement to SHUT 'EM DOWN!

In a Keystone affiliated suburban group, formerly numbering about 20 people with a half-dozen being good attendance at a meeting, 30 new people showed up at the first meeting following Three Mile Island and more people are becoming involved every day. They are currently involved in stopping plans for construction of a pumping station along



Thousands march down Market Street to the offices of Philadelphia Electric Co. to demand that all nuclear power plants be shut down.

the Delaware River at Pt. Pleasant in Bucks County.

Residents of both Bucks and Montgomery County are being told that there will not be enough water for residential use if the pumping station is not built. The fact is that ground water supplies have not been fully investigated and Philadelphia Electric Co. is involved to the extent that 60% of the water pumped will go directly to the Limerick Nuclear Power Plant to cool the reactors. Members in Bucks County feel that our

responsibility is to fight until death this insane plan.

Only if we join together and wage a determined struggle can we hope to have any impact on the nuclear death merchants who presently, in callous disregard for the desires and needs of the people, are going ahead building more Three Mile Islands.

To get the name and phone number of a contact person in your area contact the Keystone Alliance, 1006 S. 46th St., Phila., PA, 19143, or call 387-5255.

Keystone Alliance Demands

1. Immediate shutdown of all nuclear power plants until they are proven safe.
2. Halt all nuclear power plant construction.
3. Switch from nuclear power to conservation and safe, renewable alternatives.
4. Full employment and safety at workplaces.
5. All costs of Three Mile Island nuclear accident be borne by Metropolitan Edison stockholders, not rate payers or tax payers.
6. Energy based on people's needs.
7. Local referendum before building any nuclear plant.

Puerto Rican Convention

Philadelphia's first Puerto Rican Convention, sponsored by the newly organized Alianza Puertorriquena (Puerto Rican Alliance) demonstrated a commitment to independent political action which would fight for the rights of the Puerto Rican people. The convention was held March 16-18 at Edison High School. In addition to being located in the heart of the working class Puerto Rican Community, Edison High School is also a site that symbolized one of the main problems discussed at the Convention — substandard and discriminatory education, since Edison has the highest drop out rate in the city.

Over 500 community residents and activists, largely Puerto Rican, attended. One conference organizer stated that the number of participants was beyond the Alliance's initial expectations of 300-400 people.

HEAVY TURNOUT

The heavy turnout is indicative of the intensified struggle being waged by Philadelphia's 125,000 Puerto Ricans to fight back against deteriorating conditions in housing, police brutality, job opportunities and education. The opportunist leadership of the Puerto Rican Community such as millionaire businessman Candelario Lamboy, head of the Council of Spanish Speaking Organizations, has been long associated with the Rizzo machine and has been unable to deal with the real issues in the Puerto Rican community.

After the police killing of Jose Reyes, the organized resistance of Puerto Rican "squatters" to evictions, and the participation of Puerto Rican masses in the Stop Rizzo Movement, a new leadership speaking for the real aspirations of the Puerto Rican people, is emerging. Grassroots organizations such as the Puerto Rican Action Committee, which spearheaded the protests in the Reyes case, Padres Unidos struggling for decent housing, the Kensington-Joint Action Council concerned with housing and jobs and the struggles against racism were joined with student organizations,

progressive social agencies and the Puerto Rican Socialist Party to put the reactionary Puerto Rican "leaders" on notice that their days are numbered.

While the Convention dealt with the particular oppression of Puerto Ricans, it also indicated a desire for unity with the Black United Front and other Black activists, along with progressive whites who attended.

On Friday night there were cultural activities including a play by the Teatro Alma Latina of Camden, New Jersey showing the hardships of immigrant Puerto Ricans in P.R. The US housing activists also presented a skit, and poetry of revolutionary Latin poets was read.

Work shops were held Saturday morning in the areas of housing, education, workers and unions, health care, Justice, communications, religion, small business, Puerto Rican women and political activity.

Housing was one of the best attended workshops since there had been a lot of movement in recent months against recycling — the displacement of low income people, mainly Puerto Rican and Black, to make way for wealthy professionals and businesses. Since one way to fight this process is to maintain and continue low income housing such as public housing, strategies such as taking over vacant units and a public housing rent strike to get repairs were discussed.

The justice workshop focused on police brutality in general and the shooting of Jose Reyes as an example of injustice. The Valderamo case, in which a Puerto Rican man had been convicted for a murder-rape, despite the fact he had witnesses stating he was in Puerto Rico at the time, was also discussed. Further investigation of the murder of the Diaz Rivera family when their house was fire-bombed was also called for.

The workshop on Puerto Rican women emphasized the rights of working women for better day care, jobs, training



and welfare benefits. Women played a major role in organizing the Convention and the need to continue that trend was supported.

The political workshop focused on the need for independent political action and outlined tools for guiding political strength such as boycotts, demonstrations and voting.

The worker-union workshop was attended by shop stewards, rank and file union members and unorganized workers. It stressed the need to both organize workers and to fight discrimination. The need for affirmative action was highlighted including opposition to the Weber case.

FREE THE FOUR

Saturday afternoon, the international and anti-imperialist character of the Puerto Rican struggle was the theme. Carlos Zenon, President of the Vieques Fisherman's Association gave a presentation on how the US Navy's "target practice" was destroying the livelihood and land of the people on the island of Vieques. A resolution to support the campaign to free the four Puerto Rican nationalists was passed.

On Sunday, the Convention adopted various resolutions from the workshops and elected a Central Committee to continue ongoing work. The Committee was representative and contained the broad progressive forces, both men and women, which organized the convention. Juan Ramos, known for his work around police brutality and a variety of community struggles, was elected President of the Alliance, and Juan Gonzales, whose organizational abilities strengthened the Stop Rizzo campaign, was chosen as Vice President.

The Alliance is sponsoring a candidates night March 27, at which time the candidates will be rated as to how they respond to the resolutions. It is likely that Charles Bowser will get the support of the Alliance, given the fact that the Alliance's leadership has expressed the view that such an endorsement would promote Black/Puerto Rican unity. The real test of the Alliance, however, will be in how its members relate to the day to day struggles erupting in the Puerto Rican community and the implementations of the resolutions passed at the Convention which reflect the militancy and unity of the Puerto Rican people.



Friday, April 6th, an informational picket in front of Provident Bank at Chestnut and Broad.

organizer photo

UPCAAR Demonstration ... Southern Africa Support Week

The week of April 4-11, activists across the country participated in many rallies, demonstrations, teach-ins and workshops in support of Southern Africa's liberation movements. Many of these activities were focused on the investments that banks in the US have in South Africa. College and university students targeted their own schools' investments in South Africa, as well as South Africa's attempts to make apartheid acceptable. Still other groups' activities during that week called attention to the relationship between apartheid and racist oppression here in the US.

That these activities were nationally coordinated reflects the growing movement in the US that opposes the racism and repression of the peoples of Southern Africa. A good example of the strength of this movement is seen in the divestiture campaigns going on at college campuses throughout the country.

For example, Columbia University, in New York City, under pressure from its student body, was forced to make a significant concession recently. Columbia announced on March 23 that it had divested itself of \$2.7 million in stocks of three banks that had given extensive loans to South Africa. The move is significant, despite the fact that more than 35% of Columbia's total investment still remains

in companies that deal in South Africa. It is small victories like this one that can and will be won in the struggle against the racist South African regime.

As part of the week of activities in support of the struggle for liberation in South Africa, the United Peoples Campaign Against Apartheid and Racism (UPCAAR) sponsored a demonstration on April 6, against the Provident Bank, whose loans to the South African government total more than \$2 million.

A broad grouping of people from around the city — about 150 strong — joined in a militant and spirited rally in front of the main offices of the bank at Broad and Chestnut. (See photos.) They were demanding that the US government and its corporations get out of South Africa, and that Provident Bank make no further loans to that racist regime. The protestors were demanding that the bank use our money to build our communities, not to hold up and to legitimize the apartheid system. In addition to UPCAAR and its supporters, some of the strongest support for this demonstration came from the Delaware Valley Anti-Apartheid Coordinating Committee, a student-based group, which includes activists from Temple University, the University of Pennsylvania, and other area schools.

Al Gaudiosi

"Not Just Another Pretty Face"

by Oliver Law

"This city can no longer hold 2 million people, we have to accept this. Some people are going to have to leave, and it's going to be the poor people!"

This statement is not from Attila the Hun, but from Ken Klein, one of the top campaign managers for Al Gaudiosi's run for the Democratic Mayoral slot in the May 15th primary, who I interviewed for this article. It would be easy to do a hatchet job on Gaudiosi using partial statements I got during my interview, but this will *not* be a hatchet job. Gaudiosi, through his past actions and through his campaign manager, nicely chops himself. He didn't need any help from me.

WHAT SORT OF FUTURE DOES GAUDIOSI OFFER?

When Mr. Klein made his statement about poor people having to leave Philadelphia, I asked if it was Gaudiosi's intention to force poor people out? His answer was no. But his answers to my other questions made it clear that if Gaudiosi wins, conditions will get worse for working people in this city and for the minorities who are already hardest hit by the worsening conditions in Philadelphia. Many people will in fact have to leave to survive.

"Research indicates that these tax reforms (which Gaudiosi proposes in a Jan. 4th position paper) would cost the city approximately \$10 million in annual revenues." Are these tax reforms for the working people of Philadelphia? Hell no, these reforms that Gaudiosi proposes are to help the businesses in this city save \$10 million. So I asked about the city

wage tax, would Gaudiosi try to lower it? Answer: "We will not lower the city wage taxes." So, Gaudiosi, who was part of the administration which proposed the 30% city wage tax increase will not try to lower this tax on working people. But, he will try to lower the taxes that businesses pay.

"But what of this cut in income for the city, won't it add to the already large budget deficit?" "Yes it will, but we plan to make up the deficit first off by not hiring new people for the job slots that open up when people stop working for us." (This means less people working for the city, lessening of city services for us, and fewer jobs.)

"What if this idea doesn't make up enough money?" "Well, as a last resort we will lay off people". This again would mean fewer jobs and cutbacks in city services. Gaudiosi does have one other idea, a productivity drive amongst city workers. He doesn't mean for the people at City Hall, but for the people that actually *work* for the city. Just like a factory owner, Gaudiosi will try and get more work out of his employees — speed up.

Productivity drives are real high up in Gaudiosi's plans. I asked his campaign manager about the rumors that there might be another SEPTA fare increase. "The fares might have to go up if the productivity drive doesn't work." In this answer we again see the push to force the SEPTA workers, who already work weird shifts with few breaks and unsafe busses, to work more — to speed up. And if the speed-up doesn't help, then Gaudiosi is already considering the possibility of raising fares. Mr. Klein talked about improving service, clean busses, but all

of this takes money. Speeding up an already under-staffed group of workers is not the way to improve services.

A BIT OF DOUBLE TALK

"What about the school system, and desegregation in Philadelphia?" "We should change the School Board Structure first." "Oh, does this mean we would now have an elected School Board instead of an appointed one." (Appointed by the Mayor) "Uh, no. Mr. Gaudiosi would still appoint the Board, but we would take recommendations from different groups." "And if Mr. Gaudiosi didn't agree with their recommendations?" "Well, of course the mayor would have final say." Some change. "And what about desegregation in the school system?" "Mr. Gaudiosi supports *voluntary desegregation*." Translation: no meaningful desegregation.

There is much more, too much more. Gaudiosi supported the building of the Gallery, and the building of the Center City Commuter Tunnel. These projects took money needed most desperately in the minority communities and other poor neighborhoods as well. Gaudiosi is against the Whitman Park Project but will do nothing about it — "Only because there is nothing he can do about it." But you might ask, was there nothing said in the interview that you might agree with? Isn't Gaudiosi saying anything right?

SOME BOLD TALK

"Police Commissioner O'Neill will go if Mr. Gaudiosi becomes Mayor", was a response to my question about Police Brutality in Philadelphia. "We think that Police brutality is a major problem in



Albert V. Gaudiosi.

Philadelphia." "Rizzo was not a good Mayor, he was divisive," answering my question about Rizzo. "And will Joe Rizzo stay on as Fire Commissioner?" "No, he never should have been made Fire Commissioner to begin with."

Sounds good, doesn't it? But why didn't we hear any of this in 1971 when Gaudiosi was campaign manager for Frank L. Rizzo? And since Rizzo was the same then as he is today, how come Gaudiosi supported him in 1971?

Well, let's give him the benefit of the doubt and say that Gaudiosi didn't know what kind of Mayor Rizzo would make. Surely, by 1976, when Rizzo appointed Gaudiosi City Representative and Director of Commerce, he knew where Rizzo was coming from. And he stayed with the Rizzo administration, never uttering a word of disagreement with Rizzo, until he finally left in 1978, over the issue of the Charter Change. Rizzo wanted to run for Mayor again, but Al Gaudiosi did too, and Gaudiosi split. Now, all of a sudden, and after all these years, Al Gaudiosi is anti-Rizzo? Sorry Al, but it doesn't wash.

Al Gaudiosi is running under the slogan: "Not just another pretty face." Well, we finally agree on something. Al Gaudiosi is a turkey, inside and out.

And What About Bowser?

Philadelphia has never had a Black mayor and a Black mayor would be a good thing for Philadelphia. It would mean a step forward had been taken in ending the exclusion of Black people from full participation in political life. It would signify that the masses of white voters no longer mark their ballots on the basis of skin color.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF BOWSER

Charles Bowser is a Black man who is running for mayor. From the standpoint of what is usually counted as qualifications, Bowser is the most qualified candidate with a long record in city government which he once served as deputy mayor. Bowser is having a tough time running for mayor. He is having more trouble raising money than the white candidates. He has rightfully complained that the media have slighted coverage of his campaign in favor of the white candidates. But Bowser has won the support of some of the most progressive forces in the city, notably the Black Political Convention, which adopted a far seeing platform for change in our city, the Human Rights Agenda.

For these reasons Bowser is more deserving of our support than any of his opponents, but unfortunately he is not deserving enough to go out and vote for. In point of fact, Bowser's candidacy represents a step backward for the people's movement which has made him a serious candidate. Bowser seeks to keep that movement within the Democratic Party and within the boundaries of politics acceptable to the banks and the dominant corporate interests who have run and ruined this city.

The Bowser candidacy could have been a rallying point for those forces who

led the fight against Frank Rizzo and want to see genuine change in our city. But this would have meant declaring his independence from the downtown bankers and the political hacks that run the Democratic Party. Charles Bowser, not surprisingly given his political history and background, chose not to do this.

While Bowser succeeded in gaining the support of the Black Political Convention, he refused to support the Convention's Human Rights Agenda — a platform drawn up with the participation of hundreds of organizations from the community; a platform which refused to settle for crumbs and militantly demanded jobs, housing, education and a decent life for the people of Philadelphia. As a result Bowser has been unable to really tap the militancy of the Black people's movement and harness it to his campaign.

WHOSE SUPPORT IS BOWSER AFTER?

Nor does he really want to. Bowser's campaign is based on the premise that he has the Black vote in his hip pocket and needs to win white support. Of course it is true that Bowser needs white votes and it is a good thing that he is actively seeking them. But Bowser is doing this by trying to disassociate himself from a militant stand for Black equality. Moreover, it is not so much the white working people whose support Bowser is seeking, but white business interests.

Bowser's campaign literature is a dead giveaway to the kind of race he is running. A Bowser broadside features a column by *Bulletin* columnist Claude Lewis with gems like this: "When blacks came at him and told him to support MOVE simply because the group are mainly black, Charles Bowser said it was a

matter of law enforcement. When he was urged to consider blacks first, Charles W. Bowser couldn't do it. When they urged him to demand housing for blacks, Charles W. Bowser looked at the whole city and said that for every black who needs better housing there are eight whites who need it as well.

If Frank Rizzo had said MOVE shouldn't be supported just because they're Black and it was just a matter of law enforcement or that for every Black that needed decent housing there were eight whites, we wouldn't bat an eyelash. But it sounds strange coming from Charles Bowser. Of course MOVE shouldn't be supported solely because they're Black and of course whites need housing too. But this misses the whole point that because of racism and inequality Black dissidents get starved out while white law breakers get slapped on the wrist for doing the same thing. And while many whites need better housing, Blacks have the worst housing. But Bowser wants to play down the struggle for equality to pick up white votes.

Bowser also makes much of his running mate, Charles F. Ludwig. By choosing a white running mate Bowser is trying to show that he is not "just for the Blacks" as his racist critics whisper. And again it is positive to run a multi-racial ticket. But did Bowser choose a running mate who is identified with the struggles of working people, both Black and white? No. Instead he chose a man who is running on the slogan "Philadelphia's Finances Need a Businessman's Talents".

THE TALENTS OF CHARLES LUDWIG

Ludwig, a center city lawyer, certainly does bring "a businessman's talents" to the job of controller. Ludwig has helped

many corporations handle "billions of dollars of investments around the world" according to his campaign literature. He has represented RCA, several insurance companies and the Budd Co. among others. He has also helped the Defense Department with the Ballistic Missile Early Warning System, the CENTO communications system (which is the Pentagon's frontline in the Middle East), and in developing a submarine base under the Greenland icecap.

Exactly why this record of service to the war machine qualifies him to be city controller is unclear, but it certainly reveals something about his political orientation. Does Philadelphia really need "a businessman's talents" in city hall when the banks and commercial interests are bleeding this city dry?

While Bowser has taken some positive stands on a number of issues, overall his program is not qualitatively different than the other candidates. Bowser has bent over backwards to convince big business that he is an acceptable candidate who will safeguard their interests. And he has had some success. Thatcher Longstreth, head of the Chamber of Commerce, and John Bunting, banking chief for First Pennsylvania, have contributed to his campaign and put their seal of approval on Bowser's performance. Bowser has also courted political support from some of the bigger sewer rats in the Democratic cesspool. He called Josh Eilberg, the convicted felon from the Northeast, "an old friend and an honest man." This is going a little far, even in an election year.

Given all this it is clear whom Charles Bowser will serve if elected — it won't be Black people nor will it be "all the people" as he claims — it will be that tiny handful of rich power brokers who really run Philadelphia. The time for a Black mayor in Philadelphia has certainly come. But the time for Charles Bowser has not.

An Exchange on May Day ... Unity at What Price ?

The following is a statement from the Revolutionary Worker's Headquarters regarding a proposed united May Day event and a response from the PWOC.

To Comrades and Friends of the PWOC:

Over the past year and a half we've developed some unity with each other in the course of doing some joint work. On that basis we'd like to share with you some of our experiences in the RCP in hopes that your organization can avoid some of the mistakes we fell into.

We raise this now because of the struggle around May Day. Because when we see the leadership of the PWOC refuse to build a united May Day celebration with other Marxist-Leninists, trade unionists, and forces from the national movements; when we see them choose instead to hold a narrower, "more Marxist" event where they can put out their "full strategic," it hits us like an instant replay of our experiences in the RCP.

We are told that differences between the PWOC and the RWHq and other organizations on the international situation are too great for a united May Day. Yet we agree that the main task for US Marxist-Leninists is to oppose our own bourgeoisie. We could readily unite around demands like US out of Puerto Rico and support for the Iranian revolution. We have specifically agreed that we would not expect the question of the two superpowers or Soviet social imperialism, in particular, to be points of unity. But the PWOC says that is not enough, that they still wouldn't be able to put out their "complete strategic view" around which we have differences in political principle.

Well, it certainly is a difference in principle. But the question is not whether there are principled differences with the Marxist-Leninist movement, but the attitude we take toward them. Do

we raise them as a barrier to putting May Day back in the hands of our class and building a left, class conscious section of that class or do we struggle to overcome them? If we learned one thing in the RCP's fall into "left" opportunism it is this: leadership never comes to the cadre and says, "we've decided to take a sectarian position." Sectarianism is always cloaked in the critical importance of one political line or another. The entire history of the Marxist-Leninist movement for the past twenty years shows how careful we have to be about drawing lines of demarcation that shatter the fragile unity of the left wing of the working class movement.

For over a year we have been asking the PWOC to unite to build a joint May Day. Our line is simple: May Day belongs to the working class but in recent years it has been "sectarian day," the day when each group builds itself. We have to begin to put it back into the hands of the working class. By uniting with the growing tide of struggle in the Black and Puerto Rican communities and building on the unity forged in the Stop Rizzo campaign, the basis exists to begin to do just that: to unite Marxist-Leninists, unite the actual struggles being waged, unite the small but growing rank and file movement in the city and put on an event that will begin to build a left section of the working class and begin to merge the workers and national movements. It would be something advanced forces could look to and build each year, reflecting the growth of our movement and helping guide its development.

We have presented this outlook to the PWOC since before last year's May Day. In the middle of March we were told

that the PWOC was agreeable and we would be contacted to work out questions of line and practice. On March 29th representatives of our two organizations met and the only reservation your organization raised was whether we could unite the forces we wanted in the time remaining. No question of overall line differences was raised. Then, on April 2, we were told that your organization would not participate and for the first time differences over political line were raised as the reason. We never had an opportunity to even discuss and struggle over these differences.

This decision is a step backward from the task of fusion. And it is a counter-current to the trend of Marxist-Leninist unity which the PWOC has advocated in the past. In short it falls into the same sectarian, ultra-"left" trap that the PWOC warns others against.

For years the PWOC has waged a righteous struggle against the CP(ML)'s sectarian line of "no common platform with revisionism." What are we supposed to think now? It seems that the PWOC doesn't disagree with this principle after all, only with *who* are the real revisionists. Apparently it's the RWHq and any one else who doesn't agree with the "US is the main enemy of the world's peoples" formulation, and "no common platform" with *us* is quite all right. When is it sectarianism and when is it "political principle?"

Certainly there is a place for educating the forces around us to the lines of our individual organizations. But there are plenty of occasions for forums, etc. There is only one May Day. We are never going to establish a Marxist current

in the workers movement by each group walling itself off with a handful of workers and feeding them the "correct line." The only way we're ever going to raise the level of the workers movement is to unite with it as it actually exists and battle to raise its level in the course of leading the struggle. But more than that — it is only by jumping into the movement in this way that we can reach clarity on what line will actually move things forward. None of us has all the answers at this early stage.

The international situation, in particular, is a very complex and developing one. It would be miraculous if any one organization held more than a fraction of the truth at this point. A correct line on the international situation will develop with the development of the actual situation and through struggling with each other for clarity. But this cannot be pitted against uniting the advanced to push the class struggle forward, a central task of May Day. In fact, nothing will be advanced by using the international question as a dividing line to split the workers movement.

Is the PWOC going to become just another Marxist-Leninist group that gets hyped on some holy mission or another and loses its bearings on the key tasks of fusion and party building? Is the M-L movement going to bring its sectarianism into the fledgling working class organizations we have built with such great effort, and split them? What, for example, are we going to do in Driving Force? Have it participate in two May Days? Have it split over the question? We've seen this before at close hand and have no desire to see it all over again.

We hope that our comrades in the PWOC will reconsider. Let's unite all who can be united to build May Day as a day of working class celebration and protest, a day in which actual unity of the workers and national movements is put forward and built.

The Revolutionary Workers Headquarters
April 18, 1979

The PWOC Responds

The Revolutionary Workers Headquarters holds out the prospect of Marxist-Leninists uniting and taking steps to put May Day back in the hands of the working class. Certainly the PWOC supports these aims. No one would deny that the working class pays a heavy price for the fragmentation of the communist movement. It is indisputable that a May Day that seeks to unite the broad masses of workers and oppressed nationalities around a revolutionary platform of struggle is preferable to a series of small events which do not reach much beyond the periphery of the Marxist-Leninist movement.

The question is what stands in the way of such a May Day, or more broadly, what are the obstacles to furthering unity among Marxist-Leninists? The RWHq targets sectarianism — in this particular instance the "sectarianism" of the PWOC. Recognizing that differences between our organizations exist, the RWHq has tailored its slogans so that we can achieve a common ground. But still the PWOC will not unite. The PWOC insists that its international perspective must predominate. This insistence is the essence of our "sectarianism".

We see matters differently. On International Workers' Day the theme of proletarian internationalism has an obvious centrality. Solidarity with workers and oppressed peoples throughout the world has a particular importance for us as revolutionaries within the world's largest imperialist power and biggest oppressor nation. At the level of abstraction all Marxist-Leninists, virtually by definition, agree on the necessity of internationalism. But in the real world of concrete events there is a profound divergence over what constitutes proletarian internationalism.

We do not agree on who really is the main enemy of the international working class and oppressed nations. We do not agree as to what constitutes the principal source of war in the world today. As a result, on almost every front in the class struggle internationally, we have sharply divergent views of what is really occurring

and what is at stake. To suggest that these are somehow "secondary" differences that should not prevent us from uniting to build a class conscious workers' movement here in the US is to draw a wholly artificial line between our tasks as internationalists and as revolutionaries here in the US.

A class struggle trend within the trade unions, for example, must oppose the class collaborationism of the Meanys, the Frasers, and the rest of the labor bureaucracy not only in relation to domestic questions, but on the international front as well. The AFL-CIO leadership with its support for an anti-communist, militaristic and aggressive foreign policy supports the most reactionary sections of the ruling class and betrays the interests of workers both here and abroad.

A class conscious movement is necessarily a movement which is internationalist in outlook and understands what its key tasks are in this arena. The plain fact is that we not only differ as to what those key tasks are but that this difference corresponds to a contradiction between an anti-imperialist view of those tasks and a class collaborationist view.

OPPOSING OUR OWN BOURGEOISIE

The RWHq says we agree "that the main task for US Marxist-Leninists" is to oppose our own bourgeoisie." But let us look at how the RWHq opposes our own bourgeoisie around the world.

Let's take the example of Latin America. Here the predominance of US imperialism is indisputable. Here there can be no question that the focus of our propaganda and agitation must be the exposure of US imperialism and that our principal task is to build solidarity with those movements and forces which are actively fighting US imperialism.

The most consistent and forceful opposition to US imperialism in Latin America has come from revolutionary Cuba, which as a result, has been invaded, blockaded, and bullied by the US. Has

the RWHq opposed our own bourgeoisie's vicious attacks? Hardly! Instead, they have competed with our bourgeoisie in heaping slander on Cuba as a colony, puppet, and source of mercenaries for the USSR's aggressive schemes.

In Puerto Rico, the struggle against US imperialism is intensifying; its most advanced expression is growing support for both independence and socialism. As the island is directly a colony of the US, we have a special responsibility to render concrete support to this struggle.

Cuba plays a particularly important role in relation to the independence movement. It has ties with *all* the pro-independence forces with the exception of the Puerto Rican Independence Party. Cuba has been the strongest voice in every international forum for Puerto Rican independence. This fact has led some, such as the Communist Party Marxist Leninist (CPML) to raise the absurd and reactionary slogan, "Both Superpower Out of Puerto Rico".

To its credit, the RWHq has avoided this sort of over-zealous struggle against "social imperialism" and even-handedness in relation to the "other superpower". But RWHq has also managed to avoid participation in the movement to Free the Four Nationalists and to oppose the attacks on the Puerto Rican labor movement — both litmus tests for solidarity in the present period. Moreover, it is impossible to parrot the State Department's line on Cuba and simultaneously support the Puerto Rican independence movement.

The RWHq's class collaborationist stand toward Cuba & their benign neglect toward the anti-imperialist struggle generally in Latin America grows out of a definite strategic perspective. This is a perspective that subordinates, when it does not liquidate entirely, the struggle against "our own bourgeoisie" to the struggle against Soviet hegemonism. The Chinese Communist Party (CCP), the principle exponent of this view, makes this clear in deeds even as it seeks to obscure it with words.

China's cordial relations with the Pinochet dictatorship, his absence in the

U.N. on a vote on a resolution of support for Puerto Rican independence, and most recently its urging the US imperialists to "teach Cuba a lesson" say more about the real content of the united front against the superpowers than a thousand manifestos. Yet this scabbing on the struggle against US imperialism draws not a single word of criticism from our comrades in the RWHq. Is this what they mean by opposing our own bourgeoisie?

In fact, the logic of the international line of the CCP and the RWHq leads not to opposing but to collaborating with our bourgeoisie all over the world. In Portugal the RCP sided with fascist reaction and US imperialism against anti-imperialist forces which the RCP characterized as a "fifth column for Soviet Social imperialism." In Angola they united with the State Department in seeing the MPLA as a vehicle for alleged Soviet domination and called for the inclusion of the CIA backed FLNA and the South Africa supported UNITA in the Angolan government.

The RWHq in its attempt to rectify the left line inherited from the RCP has not repudiated any of these positions. More recently in Southeast Asia, the RWHq enthusiastically supported China's aggression against Vietnam, a measure which clearly has the discreet support of our own bourgeoisie and indeed, the open backing of its most reactionary section.

The RWHq sees the Soviet Union as the main source of the danger of war in the world today. War between the "superpowers" is held to be inevitable (although the RWHq does cite China's aggression against Vietnam as a fine object lesson in how to combat the war danger). The RWHq, like the CCP, is fond of analogies with World War II. Then the socialist Soviet Union sought to conclude an alliance with the bourgeois democratic imperialist countries against the more aggressive, fascist Axis powers.

Presently socialist China is going about the business of assembling an alliance between itself and European,

(continued on following page)

Three against the world

Carter's Middle East Settlement

by Jenny Quinn

"...we three, and all others who join us will vigorously wage peace."

— Jimmy Carter, on the signing of the Egypt-Israeli pact.

Whether beating the oil drum or the "peace" drum, Carter's message is the same. His administration has fought long and hard for a deal which would crack the block of Arab unity, insure for an aggressive Israel the most strategic territory it grabbed on '67 and '73, and put the US back in the saddle over Egypt, the most industrialized nation in the Middle East. He finally got it, and he will wage "peace" to keep it.

"PEACE" splashed across the front of the *Daily News* like a Phillies pennant victory or a major world disaster. In this case it lies somewhere in between. For the Palestinian people, it means that Egypt, once its strongest ally, has sold out its interests completely. It means that there are, after all the talk of concern for a "solution to the Palestinian question", no written guarantees by Israel to return Palestinian homelands, nor are there any guarantees that the Israeli jets which began buzzing over Palestinian camps only days after the signing of the treaty will do anything but escalate their terror.

For taxpayers in the US, it means that they will foot most of the bill for a settlement which could cost upward of \$15 billion. Carter's peace means higher oil prices. Even US allies, like Saudi Arabia, which formerly held down prices as a favor to Washington, are now promoting higher prices as a reaction to the settlement. Meanwhile the Carter administration is using higher prices for imported oil as a pretext to deregulate oil prices at home, a boon to the oil tycoons and a blow to the rest of us who will soon be shelling out a dollar a gallon at the pump.

The current deal, which is basically Camp David agreements plus some window dressing goes something like this: The 30 year state of war between Egypt and Israel is ended. The Sinai Peninsula will be returned to Egypt over the next three years, with the US footing the bill for Israel's "security" with bases in at least two key points. Egypt will regain control over the Suez Canal, with the revenues which come with it. Israel will

trade actively with Egypt, building some factories which will give it access to Egypt's large labor pool. Israel will also get massive US aid, and guarantees from the US which look at this point like the beginnings of a costly mutual aid agreement. The US, Egypt and Israel will supply, respectively, the money, the military muscle and the workforce (including industrial capacity) to rule the roost in the Middle East.

This miracle of "peace" dates back to the November, 1977 trip by Sadat to Jerusalem and beyond. A ruler desperate to hold power in a country torn with social crisis and debt, Sadat's moves began when he made his big break with the Soviet Union only a year after the death of Egypt's previous leader Nasser. During Nasser's time, Soviet aid had been used to build up the private sector of the economy, build up a greater industrial capacity, and provided military strength against aggressive Israel and in support of the Palestinian people.

Sadat reversed, bit by bit, all the gains which the Egyptian working class had made during that period. He kicked the PLO out of Egypt, and sidled closer and closer to the US. Henry Kissinger was amazed that Sadat made his moves so independently a few years ago. When he threw Soviet diplomats out of Cairo and refused to pay the billion dollar debt to Moscow, Kissinger exclaimed, "Why has Sadat done me this favor? Why didn't he get in touch with me? Why didn't he demand all kinds of concessions?"

Much to the delight of the US ruling circles, Egypt, at bargain basement has become a staunch ally and now figures high in US plans for the region.

THE U.S. AGENDA

Before any of the negotiations had really started, the US State Department had its shopping list ready. A statement made to the US House Subcommittee on Middle Eastern Affairs by Assistant Secretary of State for the Middle East Harold K. Saunders in July of 1978 lays out US interests in an accord between Israel and Egypt very clearly. He outlines the major "catalogue of interests" as follows:

1. The US must do whatever necessary to maintain dominance in the Middle East

We have no desire to further the dissemination of such views and strengthen the credibility of these forces within the people's movement. We do not think these views contribute in the slightest to the building of a class conscious workers movement. On the contrary — they can only retard it.

IS THE LOWEST COMMON DENOMINATOR ENOUGH?

But hasn't the RWHq agreed to put these views on the shelf for May Day? Haven't they agreed to limit the international slogans to demands on which all can agree? Yes, and this "anti-sectarianism" shows that the RWHq instinctively grasps that their international line is repulsive to the bulk of honest anti-imperialist forces. Perhaps these comrades' readiness to subordinate their line to considerations of "unity" indicates some amount of discomfort with the line, in which case it is a good thing.

However, we still must decline. Marxist-Leninists do not base their principle slogans and demands on pragmatic considerations of what diverse organizations can live with. In relation to the present discussion we must identify what are the principle tasks for the movement that are posed by the class struggle and the actual course of events. To focus



over the Soviet Union and "irresponsible forces" (i.e., national liberation forces) in an absolute manner.

2. The security of Israel as a major military force in the area must be maintained but with the addition that in this era, with some acceptable solution to the Palestinian's recognized right to their homeland — "this is no longer a simple refugee problem."

3. Friendly relations with the "moderate Arab leaders who form a bulwark against radical forces in the area", but in a context that makes sure the \$140 billion in Arab investable surplus capital is used in ways which serve the interests of US policy. (He underscores the significance of greater Arab voting power in such institutions as the International Monetary Fund, due to their bigger pledges to the international lending consortiums so long controlled by the US.)

4. Oil imports from the Middle East account for 22% of total US petroleum consumption, and nearly half of US imports. Ten percent of total US exports go to the Middle East.

In short, maintaining the flow of Arab oil on terms favorable to the US monopolies, keeping the lucrative Arab market open for US exports — and we might add protecting US capital investment in the region — is of vital importance to US policy.

The Carter administration had to move quickly to get this settlement even if it had to do a bit of arm twisting. Sadat could not afford to hold out his olive branch to Begin indefinitely. If results were not forthcoming, Sadat's credibility with the Egyptian masses would disappear and the hand of militant Arab opponents of a separate peace would be strengthened. Without a rapid settlement Sadat would not survive politically or would be forced to move toward patching up Arab unity and abandon his peace formula. In either case the prize of an Egypt willing to do US imperialism's bidding in

Iran because there we have sufficient unity, but ignore Southeast Asia because there we have sharp differences, runs counter to such a method. We think exposure of the danger posed to Vietnam and who is really responsible for bringing the world to the brink of war are key questions for May Day, and we aren't prepared to barter over this. The RWHq's search for the lowest common denominator means that the event will not bring real political clarity to our international tasks. No united event between organizations with such divergent views at the present time could project a unified perspective on these tasks.

The RWHq seeks to justify its own pragmatism in relation to this question by arguing that the international situation is "complex" and that none of us can possess more than "a fraction of the truth" at present. This posture of humility is in stark contrast to the RWHq's practice. Their possession of only a mere "fraction of the truth" has not prevented them from taking very definite, unambiguous stands on a whole range of these "complex" questions.

The fact of the matter is that the main outlines of the international situation are quite clear and have been for some time. Two definite lines have

the Middle East would be lost. The fall of the Shah of Iran, next to Israel the US's most reliable henchman, gave a special urgency to the settlement.

HOW MUCH "PEACE" FOR HOW LONG?

With the signing of the treaty the US has gotten most of what it wants. The USSR was successfully excluded from the "peace" process as was the PLO and the more militant Arab states. Egypt's new relationship with the US has been consolidated and relations with Arab "moderates", while a bit strained, have been kept intact. All in all US imperialism's position in the Middle East has been given a big shot in the arm.

But the advantages the US has secured are bound to be temporary. No agreement that fails to address the demand of the Palestinian people for a return of their homeland can bring peace to the Middle East. In the occupied territories, the surrounding Arab countries and within Israel itself, the struggle of the Palestinians is bound to continue and intensify. This struggle threatens any accommodation between Arab leaders on the one hand and Zionism and US imperialism on the other. It is the presence of large numbers of Palestinians and the identification with their cause on the part of the Arab masses, that prevents the pro US Saudi leaders, for example, from simply turning their backs on the PLO and jumping on the separate peace bandwagon.

Added to this is the sharpening social crisis in the right wing Arab states, particularly Egypt. With massive unemployment, starvation wages, widespread corruption, lack of democracy and growing foreign domination of the economy, Egypt is hardly a stable society. If the Shah of Iran, who appeared far stronger, can be swept away in a matter of months, can Sadat rest secure? The US engineered peace is bound to be the prelude to renewed conflict.

emerged within our movement with far reaching and divergent implications.

Finally the RWHq questions whether we are consistent in advocating united front tactics and opposing sectarian principles like "no unity of action with revisionism." We believe we are. We do not elevate our decision about this particular event to the level of a generalizable principle. We continue to think that unity of action in the mass movements in the struggle against capital is necessary and possible with a broad range of left forces, certainly including the RWHq. However, we reject an interpretation of unity of action that implies we must support the initiative of every Marxist-Leninist organization that is couched in terms of fusion and advancing the class struggle.

The process of fusing Marxism-Leninism with the working class movement embraces the task of building international working class solidarity, and advancing the class struggle means support for the international movements that fight our own bourgeoisie. We have argued that these tasks have a particular importance in relation to International Workers' Day. Good intentions of the RWHq aside, we are convinced that the united May Day event which they have proposed does not best serve these aims.

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Japanese and US imperialism aimed at the now "fascist" and "more aggressive" Soviet Union. If the USSR is cast in the role of Nazi Germany and the US is again to get a part in the democratic camp, then where does that leave us Marxist-Leninists in relation to our own bourgeoisie in the event of war? Is it not clear that the logic of both the analogy and China's view of events in the world today casts us in the role of supporters of our own ruling class?

In short, we do not agree that there is unity on the need to oppose our own bourgeoisie. We do not question that the RWHq honestly wants to fight imperialism. But we are convinced that this desire is distorted, perverted and ultimately negated by its international line.

And we must add that the RWHq is the best of those forces who support this general orientation. The CP-ML, also a party to this May Day unity feast, has been a far more open and blatant advocate of class collaborationism, for example criticizing the Pentagon for its appeasement of the USSR.

Is the Draft Coming Back?

by Jack McCullion

(Jack McCullion is an ex-Marine who was in Vietnam in 1968-9.)

"Greetings!" If the Pentagon has its way, you or someone you know will soon be getting a telegram beginning with that word. For the past few months, the Joint Chiefs of Staff, some Congressmen, and a number of Carter Administration officials have engaged in a headlong rush to bring back the draft.

There are no less than seven bills now in Congress calling for the reinstatement of the draft or registration for the draft. Some Congressional analysts believe a law could pass this spring requiring young men, and maybe young women, to begin lining up for registration and classification as soon as October 1, 1979.

Why bring back the draft? Isn't the "Volunteer Army" working? According to the Pentagon, the All Volunteer Force (AVF) was a nice experiment, but it didn't work. They claim their recruitment programs have fallen short both in quantity and quality. Citing various government studies released this past winter, the generals and their right-wing Congressional friends complain that not enough young people are enlisting and that their army is too Black. They insist the mandatory draft is necessary to bring up both the troop strength and the intelligence average of the services so they can be ready in the event of a "crisis".

So what's the truth? Is the AVF falling short of their quotas? Are their disproportionately more Blacks and other national minorities in the military than whites? There are figures to support both sides of the troop-shortage argument. It seems probable that the Pentagon isn't getting all the recruits it wants, and more importantly to them, census figures show that there will be fewer and fewer 18-year olds from which to recruit in the '80's.

As for the composition and "intelligence average" of the AVF, the Pentagon has manufactured a racist excuse for their plan to repress the growing militancy among Black and other national minority troops. These soldiers have little chance of promotion, and receive the harshest discipline when they refuse to accept the most menial jobs and worst conditions, or when they otherwise question racist practices.

The armed forces is currently over 30% Black and the percentage is rising, but the reason for such a high figure is because the unemployment rate is so high among Black youth (over 60%) and the military seems to be a "way out". Now

the military brass is worried that they may not be able to fully control their "new look" army, especially if the US decides to intervene to defend the government of racist South Africa.

THE DRAFT - WHY NOW?

Actually, US military intervention, including ground troops, is the real issue behind the call for the draft. After the end of the Vietnam War, US military ground troop intervention was seen as politically impossible by the rulers of government and big business. The Anti-War Movement grew from a handful of religious pacifists and student draft card burners in the early sixties to a broad movement including trade unions, women's groups, Black groups, Vietnam vets and active-duty GI's in the early 70's.

This mass movement was able to force the US government, through mass action, to temporarily abandon the strategy of direct intervention in the internal affairs of another country to promote the interests of American big business. The draft was eliminated in the first place as a direct result of the defeat of the US government's attempt to control the Vietnamese people by military might for corporate profit. The Pentagon has always been against the "Volunteer Army" and only agreed to go along with it when Nixon and Kissinger decided to twist the generals' arms rather than commit political suicide.

However, now the generals have been given the green light to call for the return of the draft. Why now? IRAN! It seems that since the fall of the Shah of Iran, big business, and in particular the big US oil companies, have been getting very worried about how long their high profits will keep rolling in. As a result, they have put heavy pressure on Carter to "get tough."

Carter's response, after careful consideration, was to drag out and dust off the not-so-old policy of "direct response". Over the past several months, a number of high-ranking Carter Administration officials, including Vice-President Mondale, Secretary of Defense Brown, and Secretary of Energy Schlesinger, have stated that the US is prepared to intervene militarily, "including the use of ground troops", to protect its "vital interests" (translation: oil profits!). This is the first time since the end of the Vietnam War any government official has dared to make that kind of statement in public.

In addition, Carter has reinforced troop strength in both Europe and South Korea, instead of decreasing it like he promised in campaign speeches. He has ordered NATO built up; sent advisors



to the Middle East; begun forming a new "Fifth Fleet" in the Indian Ocean; instructed that a "quick-reaction" force of 100,000 troops be set up in the US; and proposed the largest increase in the military budget (\$12 billion) since the height of the Vietnam War. The draft isn't being brought back just for the sake of bringing it back; they intend to use it.

What will the return of the draft mean for US workers? For young workers, it will mean forced servitude at or below minimum wage, carrying out policies which will eventually kill fellow workers of other countries and possibly even themselves to benefit a small elite at the top of US society.

National minorities will, as in the Vietnam War, be put in disproportionately high numbers into the front lines and will die in even greater numbers than their white working-class brothers. The sons of the rich, will, as usual, either serve as officers sending us to our deaths, or not serve at all.

COSTS TO THE U.S. PEOPLE

The domestic costs to the working class of the draft will also be high. They will come in higher inflation and taxes and deeper cuts in already suffering social services. For big business it will mean greater security for their investments and a better night's sleep for their stockholders. It could also mean a return to the boom years for the munition and body-bag manufacturers.

What can be done to stop this onrush of events? Is the return of the draft and renewed US imperialist intervention inevitable? Hardly! At this very moment, the Pentagon is anxiously planning and scheming to find ways to

keep this whole draft issue from blowing up in its face. According to a recently released Pentagon report: "Should the registration meet widespread resistance and strict enforcement be ordered, costs could be very high".

The Pentagon isn't worried so much about individual, isolated cases of resistance; they feel they can handle those without too much trouble. It is *organized* resistance the Pentagon fears like the plague. It's similar to the contempt the company has for the lone "troublemaker", but the panic it experiences when faced with a strong, militant union that refuses to be intimidated.

A strong, militant and well-organized resistance can defeat the attempt to bring back the draft. It could also head off the government's plan to get into another "Vietnam"! But any movement to oppose the draft and US intervention must avoid the mistakes of the past. It cannot be built narrowly on the issues of "individual rights" and "freedom of conscience", although they are certainly valid reasons to oppose the draft.

A movement in opposition to the draft must be from the very beginning connected to the broader question of US foreign policy. It must expose this policy as racist and exploitative in its drive to protect the "stability" of US corporate profits at the expense of Third World people. Such a movement must recognize as *centrally important* the need to organize those who will be most directly affected by the draft and renewed US intervention. It must build a broad united front with the trade union movement, the Women's Movement, the Black Liberation Movement, and active duty GI's and vets as its core.



Because of rampant unemployment among Blacks and other national minorities, their enlistment into the military has risen sharply. The Pentagon uses this as racist rationale to reinstate the draft.

COMMITTEE AGAINST REGISTRATION AND THE DRAFT Statement of Principles

The Committee Against Registration and the Draft (CARD) has been formed to oppose the growing drive in Congress and parts of the Executive Branch aimed at reactivating the Selective Service System through compulsory registration and classification and beginning draft inductions either through the Military Selective Service Act or a compulsory national service program.

CARD's objectives are:

- To stop the passage by Congress of authorizing legislation or appropriations for draft registration.
- To participate in lobbying, public education, and political action designed to mobilize widespread opposition to the reinstatement of the draft, either through the Military Selective Service Act or a compulsory national service program.
- To initiate and maintain contacts with the media in order to communicate to the public the need for opposition to the present call for registration and the draft.
- To secure support and active participation of a wide variety of people and organizations, including the coordination of resource production and distribution.

Myths about Communism

Are Communists Masters of Deceit?

by Jim Griffin

"Communists say one thing but they mean another." This is a first principle of anti-communism. "Communists may appear to be for some good things, but don't be fooled by appearances." J. Edgar Hoover provides the following example of this logic:

'Restore the Bill of Rights' in communist language means eliminating legal opposition to communism, stopping all prosecution of communists, and granting amnesty to those presently in jail. 'Repeal the draft law' and 'peace' mean curtailing our national defense effort and allowing Russia to become militarily stronger than the US... 'Restore academic freedom' means to communists that we should permit the official teaching of communist doctrine in all schools and that we should allow communists to infiltrate teaching staffs...

TWO LINES?

Hoover says communists have two lines — "...the deceptive line designed for public consumption and the real Party line designed to advance communism." In other words communists say they are fighting for better conditions for workers or against racial discrimination or for any number of other socially just causes, but this is nothing but window dressing for their real, ulterior purpose — to dupe you and use you in their conspiracy to grab power for themselves.

Karl Marx, writing in the *Communist Manifesto* over a century ago, answered this slander when he said that communists "...have no interest separate and apart from those as the proletariat as a whole." The actual practice of communists bares this out. In the US, communists have a long and honorable record in the history of the struggles of our people. Their contribution is acknowledged even by their enemies.

John L. Lewis, a fervent anti-communist, admitted that without the communists it would have been impossible to build the CIO. Many civil rights leaders grudgingly admitted that it was the Communist Party which did more to free the Scottsboro Boys and publicize the reality of Jim Crow lynch justice in the South than anyone else. In our own time communists of various tendencies have been an active force in the movements against the Vietnam war, for equality for national minorities and women, and for a revitalized trade unionism.

The notion that communists have two sets of views, one tailored for public consumption and another for internal use only is patently false. It is based on distorting the way communists see the relationship between reform and revolution — by alleging that since communists are for revolution, their participation in reform struggles and their support for reform demands is necessarily insincere.

REFORM & REVOLUTION

It is certainly true that the aim of communists is to build a mass revolutionary movement for socialism. Communists participate in the struggle for reforms in order to advance the cause of socialist revolution. But contrary to Mr. Hoover, there is no contradiction here. Communists quite genuinely believe in and support reforms that will benefit the masses of people.

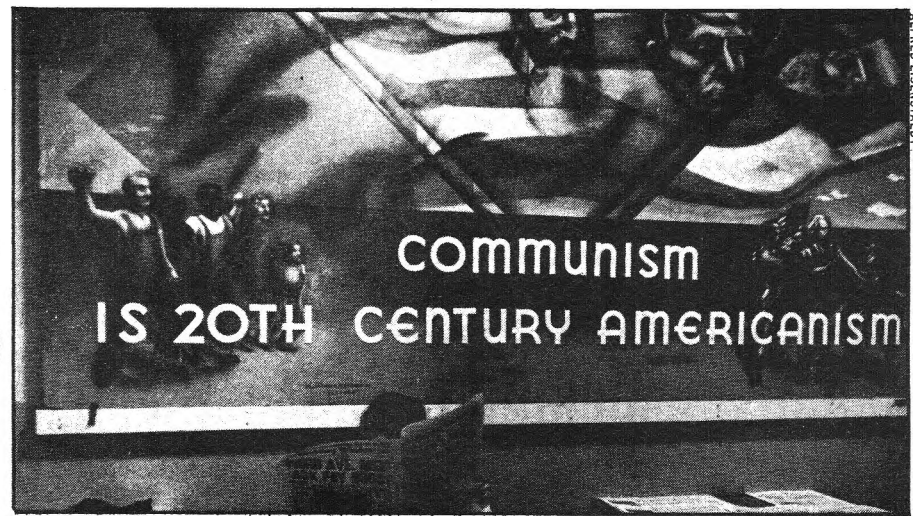
Furthermore, we believe that through the struggle for these reforms the working class will come to understand, not through manipulation but through its own experience, the limitations of reforms and the necessity of making a socialist revolution. Naturally communists seek to win influence for their revolutionary ideas in the course of these reform struggles, but this in no way means that our commitment to the limited aims of the reform struggle is insincere.

To show this point let's take Hoover's remarks on the draft. According to J. Edgar we communists publicly maintain we're against the draft because we are for peace and democracy. But we're really against it because we would like to weaken the US so its socialist enemies like the Soviet Union will gain a military edge over it. See how dishonest and cynical these communists are!

Now it's quite true that we communists favor knocking down the Pentagon. However the reason for this has nothing to do with setting the American people up for a foreign military conquest. In our view the American military is not an instrument of self defense but an aggressive war machine employed to protect monopoly capitalist interests all over the world and at home as well, if need be.

We think the drive toward war comes not from the socialist countries but from the US imperialists. This we discount the possibility that pulling the Pentagon's teeth is to invite a rival socialist country to invade the US.

As long as the monopoly capitalist system exists the US military is bound to



Communist Party Headquarters, 1937.

be used to further the exploitation of working people around the globe and as a bulwark of capitalist rule at home.

Here is a specific reform, the ending of military conscription. Communists favor it, not in order to soften the US up for some invasion or so leftists can stage some sort of coup, but because we believe it is in the interest of the working class and the world revolutionary movement.

DO COMMUNISTS CONCEAL THEIR VIEWS?

Do communists conceal their revolutionary views in order to curry favor and gain control over reform movements? Let's continue with the example of the draft. Consistent with our view that the draft and the military are evils imposed on both the US people and nations under the heel of US imperialism, we seek to build the broadest possible movement against the draft. This means uniting with all others who oppose it, many of whom fundamentally disagree with Marxism.

Some oppose the draft for pacifist or for religious reasons, others for civil libertarian motives. Still others because they see the draft as discriminatory. We share much common ground with this opposition. We too believe the draft promotes militarism, violates democratic traditions and falls hardest on the working class and oppressed nationalities. But we go beyond this and oppose the draft from a revolutionary standpoint — from the view that the military is a class institution designed to perpetuate capitalist rule.

We do not demand that this revolutionary view be the basis on which opponents of the draft unite. Obviously to do this would prevent the coming together of a broad movement. It is necessary to find a common platform on which all opponents of the draft can achieve a principled unity. In such a coalition, or united front to use the Marxist term, even if communists play a leading role, the coalition will not express a full Communist perspective nor will communists expect it to. There is no dishonesty here. If the coalition's main demand was "End the Draft", this is something communists in principle support even if the demand is not tied to revolutionary slogans.

Within this united front, communists, like any other organization, will seek to win others to their views — both on the draft and on the need for socialist revolution. They will put forward these views in meetings, leaflets and their press. Communists believe that in the course of a struggle, like the movement to end the draft, many will come to see the correctness of the Marxist view — not because they have been manipulated but because this view makes sense out of their own political experience.

There is no contradiction between communists espousing the need for limited reforms and simultaneously organizing for revolution. Communists genuinely want real reforms and also see the reform struggle as the process through which revolutionary ideas will come to hold sway. Nor is there any deception involved here.

If communists conceal their "real" views as Hoover alleges, it is odd that every communist organization devotes great energy to promoting its own press, literature, forums and other activities designed to put forward these views. Communists make a point of their

fidelity to the teachings of Marx and Lenin and their works are freely available. They are an excellent source of what communists "really" think.

SECRECY AND OPENESS

Anti-communists use the fact that communists are not under all circumstances completely open about their political identity to buttress the notion that communists are about the business of duping people. "If you're for communism or you belong to a communist organization", many figure, "why don't you just come out and say it?" If you don't, these same people figure, then you must be up to no good.

These suspicions are understandable, especially given the diet of anti-communism we all are fed. However there are very real reasons why communist organizations practice a degree of secrecy and they have nothing to do with an intent to put one over on people.

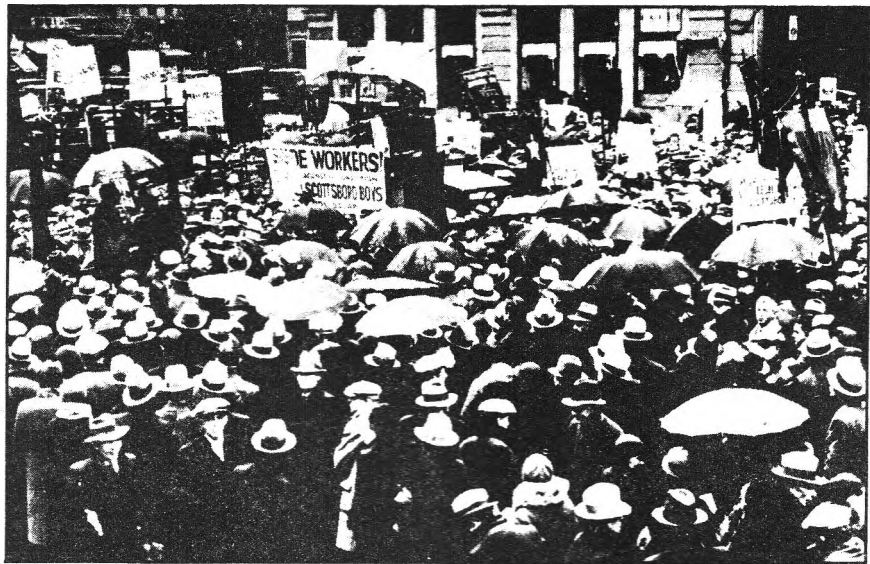
First of all the capitalist class, which controls the state apparatus, is not exactly friendly to communist revolutionaries. Historically communists have been the targets of persecution and repression. Even in the relatively democratic US, communists have been deported, jailed, and deprived of basic democratic rights. They and their families have been subjected to police harassment. The FBI for years has infiltrated and spied on communist organizations and used all kinds of dirty tricks to demoralize, discredit and confuse the communist movement. There is always the possibility of extreme repression where communist organizations will be outlawed and forced to go underground.

We communists are realists. We would be fools to be completely open in the face of these real and potential attacks. If we were, our organizations could quickly be neutralized and our movement set back.

The same logic applies to a certain extent on the job. The employers have no love for communists and will get rid of them at the first opportunity. If a communist worker has the support of his co-workers this cannot be done so easily. But if a communist worker is new to the job and has not yet won the respect and support of his or her fellow workers then that worker is extremely vulnerable. Any worker involved in a union organizing drive can understand the need for a certain amount of secrecy, especially at first. The situation is similar for a communist worker.

Finally there are situations where because of the strength of anti-communism a communist would not be taken seriously if he or she was open about being a communist. Say in a union meeting a worker got up out of the blue and said, "I'm a communist and I think such and such." Many workers would simply not listen, even if the individual's ideas were good. In such a situation, it is only common sense not to trumpet the fact that you are a communist. Later, after people have come to see that you don't have cloven hoofs or horns and actually make a lot of sense, it is possible to become open.

In short we communists are not interested in concealing our revolutionary views from the masses of people. On the contrary, we want to openly promote communist ideas. We favor as much openness as is possible, consistent with the need for protecting our organizations from repression.



Communists throughout US history have played a major role in organizing the working class to support reforms while simultaneously organizing for a socialist revolution. Above, a rally to free the Scottsboro Boys in the 1930's.

OC-IC Holds Conferences to Debate International Line and Party Building

by CLAY NEWLIN

"Cuba broke with China in 1965. Since that time its attitude towards the People's Republic has become progressively more hostile — until today in Cuba they show anti-China propaganda films. In one of these films there is a scene showing Mao Zedong before the masses. All of a sudden his face begins to fade and the image of Hitler appears on the screen. That is the direction in which you comrades are headed."

While this is not an exact quotation, a statement very close to this was made by a representative of the Communist Unity Organization, a group firmly aligned with the Proletarian Unity League (PUL), at a recent conference of Marxist-Leninists. It was quickly followed by similarly emotional remarks by a PUL spokesperson, asking if all the "anti-China" delegates were absolutely sure that they knew everything that the Soviet Union was doing all over the world.

The conference was one of several organized by the Organizing Committee for an Ideological Center (OC-IC). These meetings were called in order to discuss and resolve the question of the place of international line in demarcating with ultra-leftism. The particular question that was posed is this: "Should the formulation that US imperialism is the main enemy of the world's peoples be a line of demarcation for building a genuine anti-'left' trend in the anti-revisionist movement?"

By a 15 to 1 margin, the voting OC delegates decided that it should. And while some 60% of those attending the conferences were not OC members but observers, based on their role in discussions, the overwhelming majority agreed.

TWO LINES

What was really significant about the conference was that it revealed the nature of the two lines in contention and what they represented by way of a departure from past party-building efforts.

The two contending views are as follows: The minority perspective was that it is incorrect to demarcate on the question of the main enemy of the world's peoples for three reasons. First, there has been insufficient struggle on the issue and there is inadequate proof of the majority's view that the US was the centerpiece of worldwide counterrevolution. Second, that it was incorrect to identify the main enemy of the world's peoples without first determining the class character of the Soviet Union. And third, to demarcate on international line would narrow the forces drawn into the struggle against ultra-leftism, since many of those who have recently broken with "left" opportunism hold that the US is no longer the main enemy.

The majority position is that there has been a great deal of debate on the question of the main enemy of the peoples of the world — both internationally and in the US — and that the evidence in support of the view that the US remained the backbone of reaction is overwhelming. Second, it maintains that while the question of the class character of the Soviet Union is a very important one, an analysis of the main impediment to social progress in the world did not depend on whether the USSR is capitalist or socialist; if the Soviet Union were proven to be capitalist, it would be no more inherently a co-equal of US imperialism than Japan. And finally, it disputes the minority's contention that any force could maintain a consistent struggle against ultra-leftism if it fails to break with the "left" line on the international situation.

Underlying these arguments were a number of more fundamental differences which were brought to the surface by the sharp struggle developed at the conferences. First is the difference between minority and majority on the "theory of the three worlds" as advanced by the Communist Party of China (CPC). The minor-

ity held this theory to be generally correct, if occasionally misapplied by its adherents. The majority was of the opinion that the "three worlds" analysis provided the basis for the CPC's present policy of collaborationism with US imperialism.

A second important divergence concerned differing views on the CPC itself. While the comrades in the minority tended to view the CPC as the epitome of Marxist-Leninist wisdom in the modern world, the majority was somewhat less sanguine. In fact, most identified the CPC as the international center of ultra-leftism.

Third was the different attitudes towards the doctrine called "Mao Zedong Thought." While both sides of the question agreed that Mao, himself, was a great Marxist-Leninist, they did not share the same approach to what has been identified as his major contributions to revolutionary theory. The minority generally held that "Mao's Thought" was the starting point for the elaboration of revolutionary theory in the world today. In contrast, the majority tended towards the view that the "left" collaborationism exhibited in Mao's "three worlds" theory called for, at the very least, a review of many of his other views — particularly those concerning the construction of socialism.

A fourth divergence concerned the thesis of the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union. While the minority put great stock in the perspective that the USSR was characterized by capitalist production relations, the majority had grave reservations about this view. Although only a section of the majority would argue that the Soviet Union is socialist (such as ourselves), even those among the majority who had previously supported the restoration thesis were open to re-examining their suppositions.

A CHALLENGE TO ANTI-REVISIONIST DOGMA

Despite the fact that each of the four more fundamental disagreements were discussed unevenly, and at that somewhat shallowly, that they were raised at all represents a major step forward in the anti-revisionist movement. Each of the minority's basic conceptions — the "three worlds" theory, the idea that the CPC is the center of Marxism-Leninism, the view that "Mao's Thought" is the starting point for anti-revisionism, and the thesis of capitalist restoration in the USSR — are dogmas that have weighed heavily on the shoulders of revolutionaries in recent years. Without throwing off this baggage, there can be no question of advancing the development of Marxism-Leninism in the modern period.

In fact, the identification of each of these questions through struggle, particu-

larly the last three, as areas for further theoretical exploration is an even larger contribution of the conferences than the actual resolution of the correct line of demarcation for building an anti-"left" trend. Few going into the conferences had any doubt that the majority's view would win out and international line would become a demarcating point. But even fewer expected that the deeper questions would be revealed so sharply. The fact that they were brought out into the open attests primarily to the positive role of ideological struggle in deepening and clarifying the essence of two contending lines.

Along with raising these four questions, the conferences also exposed the shallow theoretical foundation of the "left" line on the international situation. The minority was unable to defend its views either theoretically or empirically in a fashion consistent with scientific socialism and soon retreated to argument based on abstraction, historical analogy and quotations. But even these gave way to the kind of attempts to manipulate fear and unthought prejudice presented in the opening paragraph of this article.

Bound up with this was the important side-benefit of deepening the conference participants' understanding of the nature of the ultra-left line. In addition to showing that "left-wing" notions of the struggle against revisionism underlay the failure to recognize the US's role as the main enemy, the discussions also demonstrated that dogmatism was indeed key to the minority's positions. In every case, the main basis for the minority's views rested on defense of "Mao's Thought." In effect, their whole position came down to the following proposition: "A deviation from the CPC or from Mao Zedong Thought is by definition revisionism." Is such a view not the very essence of dogmatism?

The conference debates thus clearly showed that a great deal of further theoretical work needs to be done. We need a thorough and Marxist (which Enver Hoxha's is not) critique of the "three worlds" theory, a further exploration of the role of the CPC in the world, a re-examination of what has been called "Mao Zedong Thought", and a further investigation — free from the blinders imposed by the restoration thesis — of the nature of the Soviet Union and its role in the world today. And finally, the conferences also laid a foundation for consolidating a perspective on the nature of the ultra-left line and its key elements.

CENTRALIZING THE IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE

But the political significance of these conferences lies not just in the weighty theoretical questions they put on the

agenda. Perhaps even more importantly, they represented a radical break with the past approach to ideological struggle in the anti-revisionist movement. To our knowledge, these conferences represented the first attempt in the 22 year history of the party-building movement to place the interests of principled ideological struggle among Marxist-Leninists as a whole above the narrower interests of competing circles.

There was extensive and uniform preparation for the conferences, based on two lengthy papers, one representing each point of view. All the participating groups (with only two exceptions) agreed that their delegations would not only represent any minority perspective (within their own circle) but that none of their delegates would be bound to uphold their organization's views in either the discussions or the voting. In one region where the minority was not represented, financial aid was provided so that a speaker from their viewpoint could attend. And significant numbers of observers from both sides of the question were invited to attend and advance their own views.

Moreover, the organization of the process and the resulting discussions were designed to insure that as broad as possible a section of the supporters of the OC were well consolidated on how to draw lines of demarcation in a principled manner, and on the need to demarcate at this time around the main enemy of the peoples of the world. Each individual OC member was forced to grapple directly with each side of the argument and to stand on his/her own two feet ideologically. This represents a departure from the past party-building experience, where lines of demarcation are drawn by leadership and all those who disagree excluded from discussion and debate.

The importance of the generation of this kind of process cannot be overestimated, particularly given that even some anti-"left" forces are doing their utmost to prevent the genuine common interests of Marxist-Leninists from asserting themselves. Instead they are fighting for the right to subordinate these common interests to their own circle's pursuit of organizational hegemony.

Unless these past methods of struggle are put firmly behind us and an approach adopted along the lines of that generated by the OC, we can be certain that the anti-"left" tendency will yield as many sects as the ultra-lefts have.

In summation, the first OC conferences represented an auspicious first step in a process that is likely to make a major contribution to re-establishing a genuine revolutionary party in the US.

SEPTA

(continued from page 5)

aways, forced a 107 day strike but capitulated, beaten by the miners solidarity and fight. Had SEPTA been serious about the take-aways they would have forced a protracted strike. However, what could be better for SEPTA to give in on something that was already won anyway, defuse the militance built by the rank and file around the layoff clause, and present a contract to the workers containing only those items they were organized to fight for.

For an International union wishing to avoid a strike what better scenario to control the rank and file — build a threat then beat it back, winning "victory" as the deadline approaches. Yet why ratification by a five to one margin by the rank and file? Many workers saw the agreement as acceptable

because of no strike. In addition, many others learned the lessons of '77. Although unhappy with the agreement, they voted for acceptance since they realized we were unprepared to fight without the support of local leadership and the International. In keeping with 234's history there were the no votes who wanted to fight. So again SEPTA workers got screwed. A new union president every three years doesn't seem to do the trick, so what is necessary?

WHERE TO GO FROM HERE

The first step is to build a class conscious rank and file and elect leadership which reflects this. Most importantly our union must immediately oppose the fare increase and demand increased funding come from corporate sources rather than working people. Second, we must understand that poor service and service cuts in Black and Hispanic communities come just before cuts in white communities. SEPTA's racist policies are attacks on all working people. The demands of the

Black community, as represented in the human rights agenda of the Black United Front, for restoration of night owl service, safe equipment, no fare increase and dependable service should be endorsed by transit workers and all Philadelphians.

Transit workers must demand that its leadership not cynically sacrifice the interests of new employees or retirees to gain an agreement, but strive to unite Black, Hispanics and whites, employed and unemployed, SEPTA workers and SEPTA riders. Class conscious leadership would see that increased night owl service also creates jobs for the unemployed. That CETA jobs, although sometimes used for union busting, should be welcomed rather than fought. Rather fight to make the jobs permanent and include these workers with full union privileges to make our union stronger. It is incumbent upon transit workers to see that their present union president, Henry Milbourne, begins to address these issues so that his commitment to the struggle can be assessed.