

# The ORGANIZER



## The Giant Oil Swindle

by Jim Griffin

In certain parts of Southern California last week the only way you could get a tank of gas was by calling your service station and making an appointment. In Los Angeles, riots broke out among frustrated motorists lined up for hours at the pump. In a nearby suburb a family burned to death when the tanks of gasoline stored in their living room exploded. A large shopping mall reported retail sales were down by 40% — too few customers had the gas to shop.

Pennsylvania has yet to feel the crunch. But Tom Anderson, President of the Pennsylvania Service Dealers Association, predicts major shortages in this area by summer. For the present Congress has spared us a gasoline rationing plan which would have allotted 43.2 gallons per vehicle for Pennsylvanians, based on a formula that put Pennsylvania at the bottom of the list, 46th to be exact, for rations of scarce fuel.

### THE "SHORT FALL"

The oil companies and the Carter administration say there just isn't enough oil to go around, but the US people don't believe it. And they're right! As usual, big business and their political spokesmen have tried to scapegoat the Arabs and more particularly the Iranian revolution. Cutbacks in Iranian production have been cited as the immediate source of the gasoline shortage.

In point of fact there is no "short fall" in imported oil. The American Petroleum Institute, the oil industry's own think tank and mouthpiece, acknowledges that oil imports for the first four months of 1979 have been up considerably over last year. As for Iranian oil, it only accounts for 5% of US consumption or roughly 500,000 barrels per day. Moreover, the US and the other oil consuming nations have maintained huge stockpiles of oil since 1974. US stockpiles are currently estimated at over one billion barrels of crude oil.

Where the short fall really exists is in the production of domestic oil. The oil companies are deliberately holding back domestic production, anticipating price increases when domestic crude is deregulated. Their friends in Washington, notably Energy Secretary Schlesinger, are helping them to put it over by manufacturing the fiction of an energy crisis caused by "greedy" consumers and "hateful" Arabs. Meanwhile the oil monopolies are sitting back and watching the price of gasoline at the pump soar steadily upwards.

### WHO PAYS, WHO PROFITS

Aside from the inconvenience and hardship imposed by the growing shortage of gas, the US people are paying through the nose as the price per gallon shoots for the dollar mark. And this at a time of all round galloping inflation and "voluntary" wage controls.

So who cares? Certainly not Congress. The most open statement of their attitude came from Senator S. I. Hayakawa of California who announced: "Let gas go to \$1.00 a gallon. The poor? The poor don't need gas because they don't have jobs."

What about the Carter administration? Smilin' Jimmy has been talking tough. "As surely as the sun will rise," Carter said recently, "the oil companies can be expected to fight to keep the profits which they have not earned." But before we credit Carter with being a friend of the consumer and working people against the oil monopolies, let's look at some facts.

In April Carter announced the deregulation of domestic oil prices. This has been the main demand of the oil monopolies all along. New found domestic oil can now sell at world market prices (under regulation domestic oil sold for a price that averaged \$5 a barrel below the world market price.) Oil from

wells drilled before 1973 will be allowed to gradually rise to the world market price.

Deregulation, once completed, will mean another \$15 billion in profits per year for the oil companies. For US consumers it will mean the end of relatively cheap gas and the beginning of an era of European type prices of two or three dollars per gallon. As Senator Hayakawa points out this will be no great burden on the rich, but for the rest of us it represents a monstrous attack on our standard of living.

Carter has tried to cover up his capitulation to the demands of the oil monopolies with his call for a "windfall

profits" tax. But significantly, Carter did not make deregulation contingent on the passage of this tax. Since it's chances of passage in Congress are about as real as the New York Mets winning the pennant, Carter's proposal is nothing but empty populist rhetoric and public relations grandstanding. Even if this tax should survive its battle with the powerful congressional oil lobby, it would make little difference. Only 10% of the \$15 billion windfall slated for the pockets of the oil companies would be diverted to the IRS coffers.

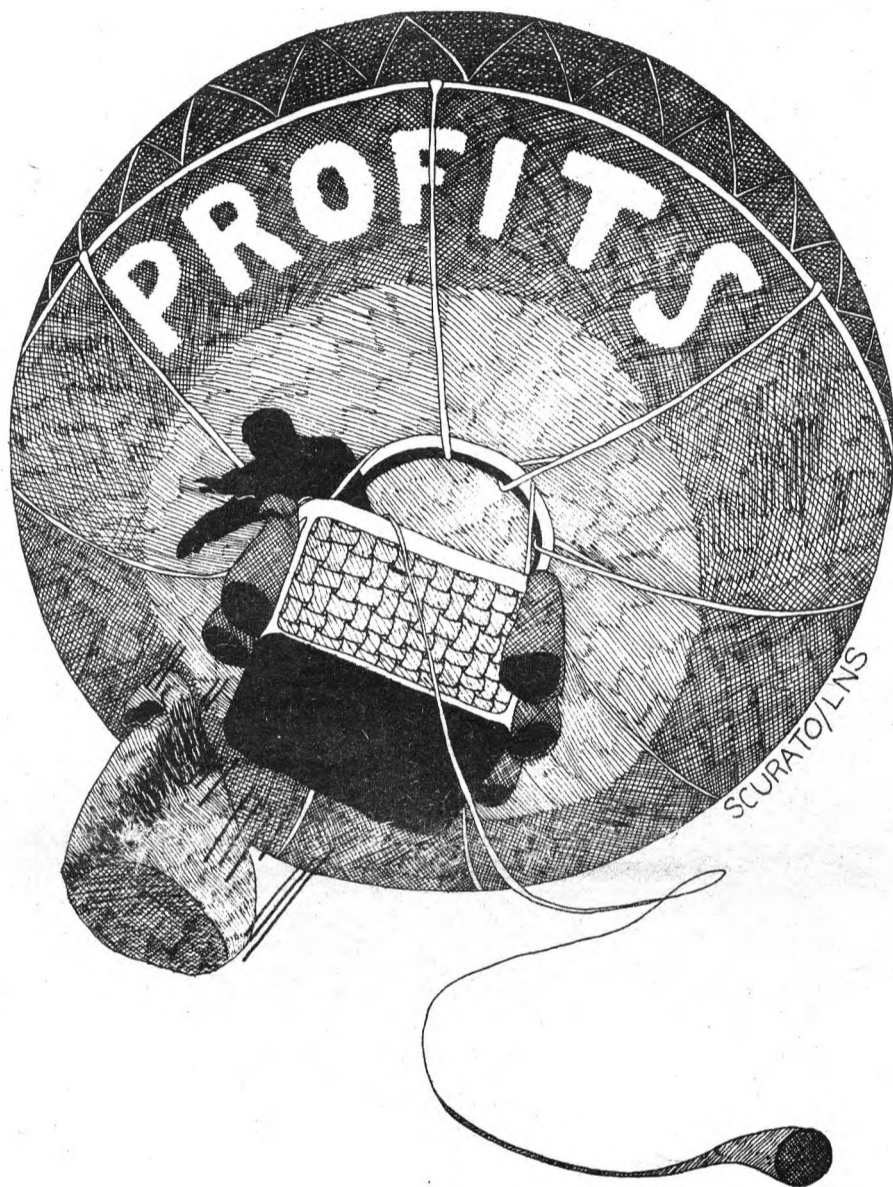
### THE ARGUMENT FOR DEREGULATION

Both the Carter administration and the oil companies argue that deregulation is necessary in order to boost domestic production. They say that profits are just not big enough to make it worthwhile to step up exploration for and exploitation of new oil. With regulation the oil companies would rather just let the stuff sit in the ground. With deregulation, they will have the "incentive" to pump it and refine it. So the argument goes.

First look at the assumptions of this argument. It takes for granted the "right" of the owners of big oil to make more profits at our expense. It assumes that the only way we can get the oil we need is by submitting to the corporate blackmail of Exxon, Gulf, Sun and the rest of these modern pirates.

But even if we are to grant them this "right", is it true that oil production will rise? Not by very much, according to the Congressional Budget Office. They esti-

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# Letters To The Editor...



## Prisoners Need Our Support

Dear Comrades,

Received the *Organizer* and as usual, enjoyed it very much. I am writing to ask a favor. Before I was paroled here from W. Va. political awareness was non-existent among the prisoners. Since my arrival here I have done all in my power to rectify this. The authorities haven't liked it and have finally made their move.

On May 8, in response to a peaceful sit-down in protest of working conditions (there was no disturbance or violence) they arrested six of us and charged us with inciting a riot, even though nothing resembling a riot took place. This move could possibly mean that I will be con-

finied until 1985 instead of released early next year as planned.

We are in dire need of letters to be written to Gov. Lamar Alexander, State Capitol, Nashville, Tennessee, protesting the inhuman working conditions at Fort Pillow, and in particular, the unjust prosecution of us six (Parker, Strickland, Toombs, Scott, Boyd and Johnson) for a non-existent riot. I am writing to progressive Marxist-Leninists all over the country asking for support (letters), we would greatly appreciate it if the PWOC saw fit to write letters to the governor. Thanking you in advance.

In struggle,  
JWP, Ft. Pillow

## Teamsters' Coverage

Friends,

I work on the staff of the Teamsters Union. Much of the left press coverage of the recent contract negotiations was quite upsetting to me — particularly that of the *Guardian*. I found it inaccurate, rhetorical, and lacking in any real analysis. The sense I got from the *Guardian* articles was that because the union leadership is com-

posed of labor bureaucrats, anything they support must be wrong.

On the other hand, I found coverage in the *Organizer* to be uniquely accurate and informative. It acknowledged that the contract was mixed — some aspects are good and others poor or inadequate. Congratulations and thank you for providing that service.

## The Truth About Gould-ITE

To the *Organizer*:

Thank you for the article on Gould ITE in your May issue. A couple of us who work at Erie Ave. thought you all would like to know the kind of response your paper got. There was also a couple of things we wanted to add and say ourselves.

First of all, people thought it was great. Finally somebody sat down and told the truth about what is happening at our shop and in our local. Folks said they got more info from that article than they had gotten from the Union in the last year.

Even though a couple of people made comments about it being a communist paper, most felt it was right on. Only the stewards attacked it and thought there were "some inaccuracies". One guy said it best: "These people did not waste their time and money to print lies."

One development which you might not have known about is that Frank Redmiles, President of Local 1612, left the union last month to work for the International. (He only works for us one day a week) Most feel it is a classic example of "a rat leaving a sinking ship".

We can't help but wonder what he'll do for Region 9 after doing next to nothing for us, and why they would hire him in the first place.

The *Inquirer* reported last Monday (May 7th) that M building at 19th and Hamilton will be closed by Aug. 18th and we will lose some 600 jobs. A number of people feel we can still put up some kind of fight if we can pull together. We know the runaway at Budd Red Lion was stopped, so it's not impossible.

One thing you said was that our wages and benefits are well above average for the electrical industry. This is one of the reasons the company gives to justify take-aways in the 1980 contract. The thing we need to remember is that our wages are, at best, only average for a large unionized shop. After taxes and inflation they do not seem all that good.

All in all, the *Organizer* was a refreshing break from the dribble we are used to seeing in the *Bulletin* and *Inquirer*. This was not only true about the article on our shop, but also the rest of the coverage, especially Three Mile Island.

We're looking forward to seeing more.

—Two Workers at Gould-ITE

A PWOC Pamphlet

## RACISM AND THE WORKERS' MOVEMENT

RACISM AND THE WORKERS' MOVEMENT analyzes the role of white supremacy in the US, particularly in the trade unions... Who profits and who pays from the oppression of Black people?... How can racism be licked?... How do activists in the rank and file movement build this fight? Amply illustrated and written in popular language, *Racism and the Workers' Movement* can be a real tool for building the struggle in your shop or union.

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### Is the Draft Coming Back?

*In the last issue we forgot to include the address of the Committee Against Registration and the Draft in our article on the revival of the draft. The address is:*

245 2nd St. N.E.  
Washington D.C. 20002  
Phone: (202) 547-4334

## 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

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

## Texaco Workers' Strike Enters Sixth Month

The major oil companies are seeing record profit rates and expect to do even better with the deregulation of oil prices, but it's not doing anything for refinery workers.

Over 600 Texaco refinery workers, represented by Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers (OCAW) Local 8-638, have been involved in a difficult strike since January 17. The workers went out 9 days after their contract expired, at the same time their international union was coming to terms with the oil companies on a nationwide contract. The 600 Texaco workers at the refinery in Westville, about 30 miles SE of Philadelphia in Gloucester County, are the only OCAW local in the country to go out on an extended strike. The issues are not wages but work rules and company practices in filling vacancies; management is trying to take away contract gains made in past years.

It's hard to win a strike at an oil refinery. Management can keep the operation going with only supervisory personnel for some time. Texaco has brought in about 100 such supervisors from around the country to run the plant, pulling them out of other Texaco refineries. These supervisors are living at the plant to avoid crossing the picket lines every day.

The workers have attempted to halt the trucks carrying oil into the refinery, but have not been successful. About two weeks into the strike a local judge handed down an injunction limiting the union to

only a few pickets. In response over 500 people, mostly women who supported the workers, blocked the plant entrance for two days in April. Several were arrested, and once again management got an injunction against large pickets, this time against pickets by the women.

Later, the union sponsored the showing of "Salt of the Earth", a labor film about a similar situation. During a strike in New Mexico in the '50's, women came out to the picket line after the court limited picketing by the strikers. About 80 workers attended the film.

After management brought in the supervisors to run the plant, the workers went to other refineries to ask them to shutdown in solidarity with the New Jersey strike. The large Texaco refinery in Pt. Arthur, Texas, which employs 7000 workers, shut down for two days in solidarity. Then local workers went to other states as well, and succeeded in getting other plants to shutdown for a few days. The workers here have also gone to a number of other OCAW plants to raise money for strike support, and have been well received.

The strike has not been without violence. Pennsauken police have harassed the strikers, and in one incident beat a number of workers severely. But the workers are determined not to give in to management's take-away contract offers.

## Fogel Refrigerator Workers Go Back Temporarily

After a six-week strike, 150 workers at a refrigerator plant in Bridesburg returned to work on May 14th. The Fogel refrigerator plant is a closed shop, and when members of Teamsters Local 837 walked out on April 1 the plant shut down completely except for some 20 non-union office employees who kept shuffling papers.

The average pay at the plant was only \$4.09 for production workers, and the union was asking a \$1.50 raise. The company offered only 7 cents per hour, after 13 long negotiating sessions. The company was also calling for a departmental seniority system to replace the current plant-wide system, so that workers who changed departments would lose their seniority even if they had worked at the plant 10 or 20 years. Other issues in the strike were sick days and a cost-of-living clause.

The strike was settled temporarily when the workers agreed to go back for 90 days after the company offered 50 cents an hour and tentatively agreed to plant-wide seniority. No contract has been signed, and negotiations continue over the benefits. If, after 90 days no agreement has been reached on the benefits, the workers will go out again.

The contract is to cover three years. The decision to return to work was taken at a meeting attended by a little more than one third of the workforce, and at a meeting which had not been advertised as a meeting to discuss a new company offer. The vote to go back to work was 35 to 28. Many of those who did not attend the meeting were against going back.

Throughout the strike Fogel tried to divide the workforce within itself, taking advantage of racial divisions. The workforce is one-third Black, one-third

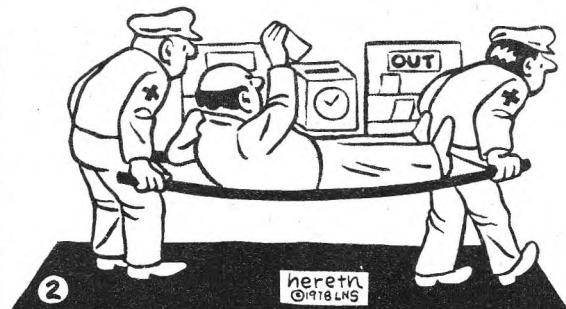
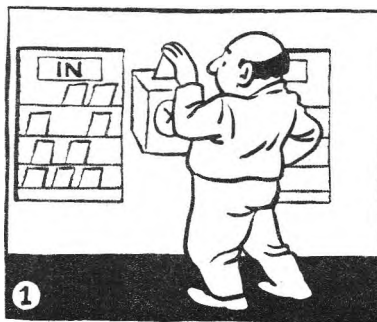
white, and one-third Puerto Rican. The workers were able to stick together, and their 11 person negotiating team was integrated by all three groups.

One problem was that the workers met together only rarely during the strike. Their Teamster local meets monthly, but as it represents thousands of workers in several different plants, the meetings have not addressed the specific problems at the Fogel plant.

The Fogel management used two aces in the hole during the strike. For one, they stockpiled hundreds of refrigerators in a warehouse down the street from the plant, and were able to sell much of that merchandise. Some of the stockpiled goods were moved by truckers belonging to the Teamsters Union, reportedly from Local 312 of Chester. Teamster disunity helped keep the profits rolling in for Fogel.

The other big advantage for Fogel was that they were able to shift production to other plants. Fogel has plants in the Dominican Republic, Nicaragua, Puerto Rico and Panama. The union was able to make contact with workers at the Fogel plant in Aguadilla, Puerto Rico, and find out that some of the production had been shifted to there. Here is another example of a Philadelphia-based company going overseas to take advantage of non-union labor which can be forced to work for less. The Puerto Rican plant is not organized.

During the strike a support committee was formed, initiated by the Workers' Committee of the Puerto Rican Alliance. The support committee held a rally on May 2 where about 40 people joined the regular picketing at the plant. The support committee is continuing to meet until a contract is signed. For more information call the Puerto Rican Alliance at 574-3250.



## We Need More OSHA Money

Local union officials from unions representing 225,000 workers in Pennsylvania and New Jersey are seeking more federal money for OSHA, the Occupational Safety and Health Administration, which is responsible for making sure employers maintain safe workplaces. The problem is that OSHA is under-staffed and under-budgeted, and can't do the job.

The 28 federal safety inspectors in the Philadelphia area will need 90 years to check each of the 67,000 workplaces just once, at the rate things are going now. Meanwhile, workers continue to die from job related injuries and illnesses. In the US, over 100,000 workers a year die from hazards at their jobs, which comes to one death every five minutes and one injury every 13 seconds.

The union officials represent the UAW, UE, IUE, OCAW, Textile Workers, Int'l Chemical Workers Union, IBEW, United Paper Workers, and the USW among others. All are affiliated with Philaposh, a local group working for better health and safety on the job. It was through the efforts of Philaposh that a House subcommittee in charge of overseeing OSHA recently held hearings in Philadelphia. The hearings, held on May 18th, received widespread coverage in the local press.

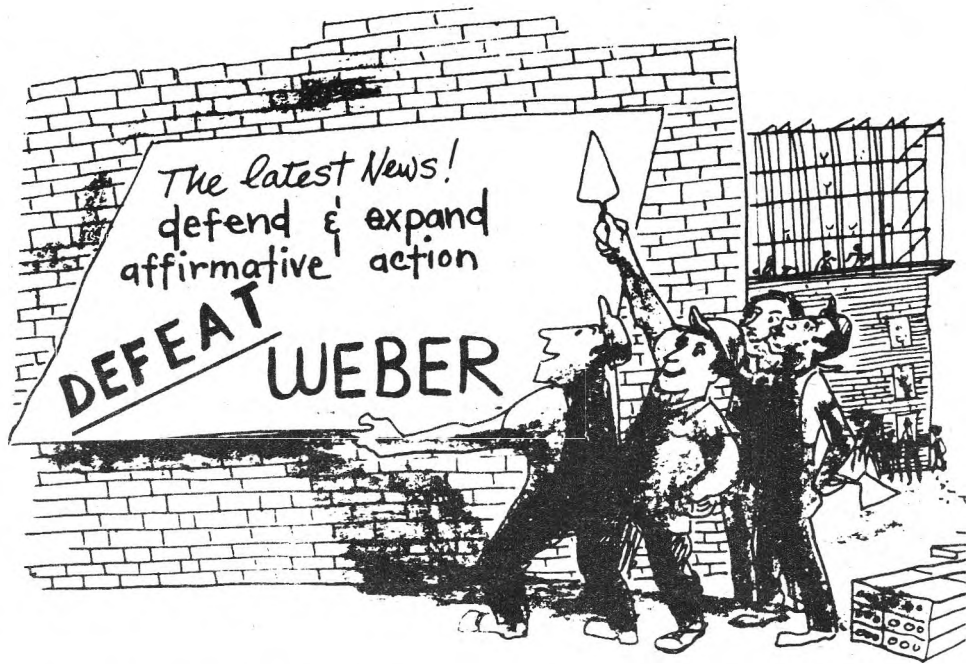
Numerous workers testified about their experience with OSHA and their problems of health and safety on the job. Generally, the workers who testified were either elected officials in their locals, or

served as stewards or members of health and safety committee. All those who testified called for the Carter administration to increase the budget of OSHA.

Currently, OSHA receives \$173 million a year, and Carter is proposing to increase that to only \$179 million in 1980, not enough to keep up with inflation. The local union leaders called for an increase from \$8 million to \$12 million for OSHA locally, and asked for increased national funding as well.

Many pointed out that increased OSHA funding would actually save money because of less costs for medical bills and workmen's compensation after injuries on the job. Others objected to the current system of the Carter administration which calls for cutbacks in health and safety measures because they are inflationary. The union leaders said that no costs were too high to save worker's lives.

The Congressional OSHA oversight committee has eight members, four of whom came to the Philadelphia hearings. One of the members is local Congressman Ozzie Meyers, who generally supports OSHA. The only Republican attending the Philadelphia hearings was Congressman Edwards of Oklahoma, who opposes OSHA. He has introduced legislation restricting OSHA and works with the right wing Stop OSHA Committee, which is a national organization closely tied to other right wing organizations such as the National Right-To-Work Committee.



## Teachers' Convention Passes Affirmative Action Resolution

At the recent Pennsylvania Federation of Teachers convention, delegates who are members of the School Employees Action Caucus (SEAC) in the union here in Philadelphia introduced two important resolutions which were accepted by the convention.

One resolution provides for full funding for schools by placing the financial burden on corporations and utilities rather than on working people. SEAC sees this as critical for preventing layoffs and severe cutbacks in services.

The other resolution supported affirmative action in general and the United Steelworkers in particular in their fight to defeat Weber's "reverse discrimination"

case and protect a union's right to negotiate affirmative action programs. Unlike the similar resolution passed by the Illinois Federation of Teachers, this one is to be taken to the American Federation of Teachers convention this summer. The AFT has not taken a position on the Weber case.

SEAC is continuing its effort to build support for affirmative action by introducing a similar resolution to the Philadelphia Federation of Teachers. SEAC is also getting the union to sponsor a bus to Washington DC on June 2 for the demonstration to overturn the Weber decision and to defend and extend affirmative action programs.

# Our Schools Are Deteriorating

The following interview was done with a teacher in one of the public elementary schools in North Philadelphia. Parents and school employees there have been working together to improve safety and health conditions. Like many schools in the Philadelphia School District, particularly those in predominantly Black and Puerto Rican neighborhoods, physical conditions have been rapidly deteriorating.

**Organizer:** What are some of the problems you've seen in your school?

**Teacher:** At our school children and staff have had to contend with mice, broken water fountains, clogged sewer pipes, a faulty heating system, and many serious fire code violations.

The student restrooms have broken stalls and clogged drains and represent a clear health hazard. Many students have to try and do their studies on broken chairs and desks. From one year to the next not only are the same old desks used, but they don't appear to be fixed. Sometimes teachers are forced to comb the building for better chairs and desks to take up to their rooms.

**O:** Do you think any of these problems are particularly dangerous?

**T:** Well, earlier in the year, the Bureau of Licenses and Inspections cited the building for the many broken fire doors. Several sets of fire doors in the building remained broken for four months. These doors perform two functions; 1) they delay the spread of a fire from one floor to another and 2) most importantly, they stop the smoke from traveling, and thereby prevent smoke inhalation which causes many deaths in fires. Many of our schools are fire traps. This presents a danger to hundreds and sometimes thousands of children.

Also, for several weeks this winter, some of the fire doors and exit doors were open, and blasts of cold air entered the building, forcing children to wear their coats in class.

**O:** What kinds of actions were taken?

**T:** Just before the spring break, the Philadelphia Federation of Teachers (PFT) chapter, with the help of the District staffer of the union, closed the school because of foul sewer odors had filled the entire building. Since the health and safety provisions of the PFT contract were clearly being violated, the union chapter at the school filed a group grievance against the Board of Education.

This process began when a group of teachers and staff had alerted some of the parents and the Home and School Association about these problems. It's very significant that this grievance was essentially filed by *all* the union members at the school. The union increasingly needs to view health and safety issues seriously. Historically, grievances around these questions have not received the attention that they deserve. Not only are these contractual violations, but they seriously endanger the safety of our children. This is an issue which is in the interest of school workers, parents and the community.

## TEACHER - PARENT UNITY

**O:** Has this cooperation between parents and school employees continued?

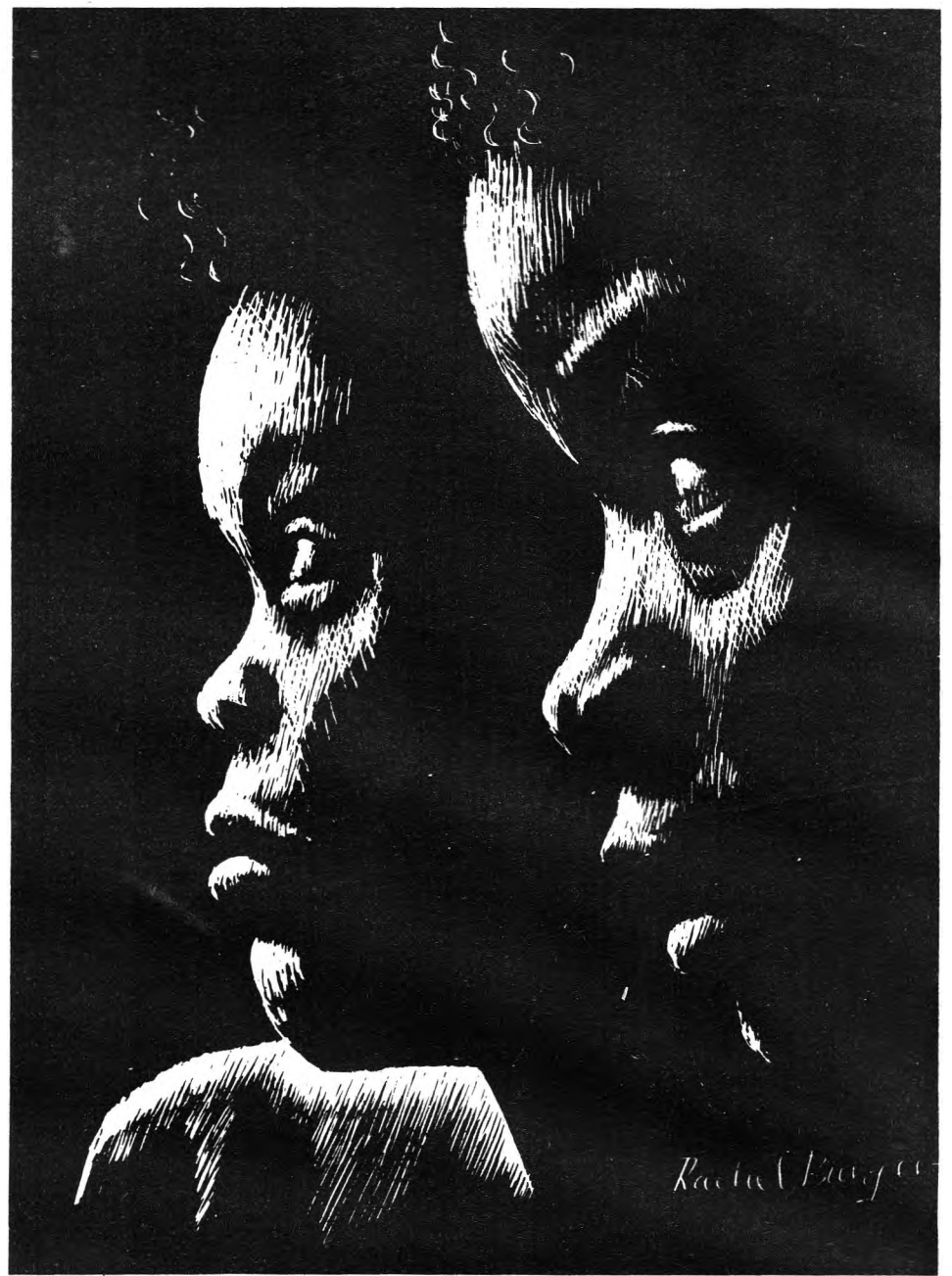
**T:** This process has brought parents into the school. Through these efforts, parents have become more educated about safety codes. Many now see the possibility of participating in monitoring and taking action around health and safety issues.

Recently about 50 angry parents and staff attended a Home and School Association meeting to map out a plan of action. The union representative pledged support for the parents in their fight for a safer school and voiced strong disapproval of the Board's gross neglect of schools in the Black Community. AS a result of the meeting, the school now has a school-community health and safety committee to monitor conditions. The continuing pressure of the parents and the union has resulted in the fire doors being repaired. We have also developed a checklist which parent and school employee groups can follow in their investigations of school buildings. (See checklist below.)

**O:** In your opinion, why are the schools in such bad condition?

**T:** Two years ago the Board decided to end its regular maintenance program. After it broke the custodial workers' strike (Local 1201), it began to lay off maintenance workers by the thousands. Some buildings lost up to half their cleaning staff. This policy of neglect fits very neatly into the Board's present voluntary desegregation plan. Only specific target schools are being improved in the hopes of attracting the nearby white population. The rest of the schools receive only crisis maintenance.

Although all schools have seen very drastic cuts in custodial and maintenance service, schools in the Black community are, without a doubt, the least maintained. Most of the schools which the fire department has certified as being fire



traps are found here too. If the Board continues its planned neglect of the Black schools, white parents will resist efforts to desegregate the schools. As long as white and Black children attend separate and unequal schools, the unity between Black and white parents that is needed to improve all the schools will elude us.

**O:** What has been the Board's response to parent and PFT complaints about maintenance?

**T:** Typically, the Board's response to the worsening conditions in the schools has been to cry that there is no money. This must sound very surprising to us union members and to parents when we recall that hundreds of patronage jobs at the Board on 21st Street, the surprise extension of Superintendent Marcuse's contract with its \$4,000 raise, and the hundreds of millions of our tax dollars that will be used to build Gallery II and the Commuter Tunnel! The Board has already indicated that in future contracts

it wants to cut back further on educational programs and maintenance service. What conditions will we be faced with then?

**O:** What do you think is the best thing that union members can do?

**T:** As union members we must address all contract violations. The rank and file must be mobilized to file grievances and demand that the union pursue these grievances until they are won. Non-enforcement of the health and safety provisions of the contract means an erosion of our contract rights. Along with this, we must join with the community to defend and improve the public schools. The Board would like nothing better than to divide us from the parents. I think that we really need each other more and more, working together to pressure the Board for more maintenance of the schools and for healthy and safe environments for workers and children.

## Checklist for School Safety

### Fire Safety:

- Are fire towers blocked or locked?
- Do the fire doors at the end of each hallway close automatically?

### Sanitary Conditions:

- Are there rats or mice in the building? Any droppings?
- Are there any roaches in the building?
- Are the rest rooms clean? Do the toilets flush? Is there water on the floor?
- Is there a bad smell in the building? Why?
- Is there at least one working drinking fountain on each floor?

### Learning Environment:

- How many broken desks and chairs are there? In which rooms?
- Are rooms too cold or too warm? Which ones?
- Are ceilings broken? Any leaks?
- How many broken windows are there? Where?
- Are the stairways safe? Any broken railings? Where?

### Security:

- Does the principal have a security plan?
- Are there unwanted strangers roaming the hallways?
- Are there any adults assigned to patrol the hallway?
- When the children are at recess are there adults outside supervising them? How many?

### Outside Grounds:

- Is there glass, trash or other dangerous objects on the playground?



Our children are our future. They need and deserve good schools and healthy and safe learning environments.

## Two-week strike ends

# Temple Nurses Score Gains

by a Temple Nurse

Registered nurses at Temple University Hospital in North Philadelphia have shown that they are willing to defy both tradition and their leadership to gain better working conditions and benefits. Over 270 nurses began a 15-day walkout on May 1, after rejecting a proposed contract by a 3 to 1 margin. It was only the second time in the city's history that RNs have struck a Philadelphia hospital. (The first was at Medical College of Pennsylvania in October 1978.) Temple is one of the city's busiest hospitals; it is infamous for a severe nursing shortage as well as a tough stance towards its unions.

The nurses are represented by a bargaining unit of the Pennsylvania Nurses Association (PNA). As the state professional association, the PNA also includes nurses in supervisory positions. This conflict of interest is causing the PNA to lose ground. At Temple this was reflected in an organizing drive for 1199 membership by a group of nurses. In its four years at Temple, the PNA has proved itself to be a company union, responding as much to the interests of management as to the needs of its members. For example, two years ago the PNA advised the members to give up two of four weeks paid vacation, and the guarantee for every other weekend off.

Regaining what was lost in the last contract was a major issue in the strike. Other strike issues were wages and tuition benefits. However, the bulk of demands centered on changes in contract language which will allow nurses to have more control over staffing patterns. Numerous slogans such as "Quality Pay for Quality Care" and "A Good Contract = More Nurses = Better Patient Care" conveyed the nurses' conviction that they were fighting for the patients' welfare as well as their own.

From the beginning, the PNA leadership adopted divisive and narrow tactics, causing division within its own ranks. Initially it tried to sell the rank and file a package which included increased vacation time for nurses already hired but left incoming employees with only two

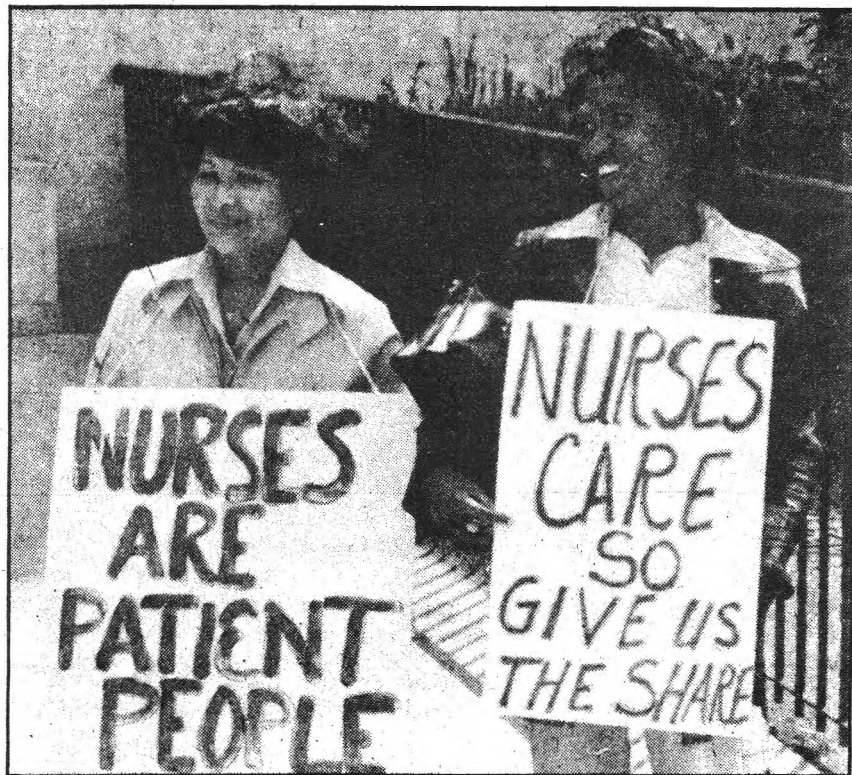
weeks. Unwilling to sell out these workers again, and dissatisfied with other issues, the membership bucked their leaders' recommendation and rejected the contract.

When a second vote was held because of supposed voting irregularities, the margin of defeat increased from 2:1 to 3:1. In the guise of correcting these irregularities the PNA leadership chose to prevent a number of its own members from voting. It also tried to divide the nurses and prevent a unified walkout by telling the Filipina nurses on H-1 visas that an unsanctioned strike could lead to their deportation. This was after numerous reassurances to the contrary in the weeks before the vote.

Furthermore, the leadership tried to divide its members from Temple's 1500 other workers, represented by 1199C. They refused 1199C's offers of cooperation and support and went so far as to say in a leaflet that "We hope that 1199C will not go out on an illegal wild-cat strike and jeopardize the PNA/RN strike." This attitude reflected the sentiment of many of the RNs.

There were several reasons for this backward attitude. RNs are mostly white and have been taught to look down on the mostly Black and minority workers who form the bulk of the 1199 membership. Hospital management has played on this, propagandizing against 1199 as a "Black Power" union. The false consciousness of professionalism, which rejects labor solidarity and basic trade unionism, has inclined many RNs to view 1199 with suspicion since the union is remembered for waging a united and militant strike at Temple.

Yet, while most of the RNs refused to see their common interest with the other workers in the hospital, some powerful lessons were learned on the picket line about rank and file solidarity. In particular, it was eye-opening for the nurses to witness the support of Teamsters, who refused to cross their lines to deliver supplies and food to the hospital. More importantly, many RNs



Phila. Tribune/Trace Gibson

Registered nurses at Temple University Hospital show management that nurses will strike for better working conditions. It was only the second time that nurses at a Philadelphia hospital went out on strike.

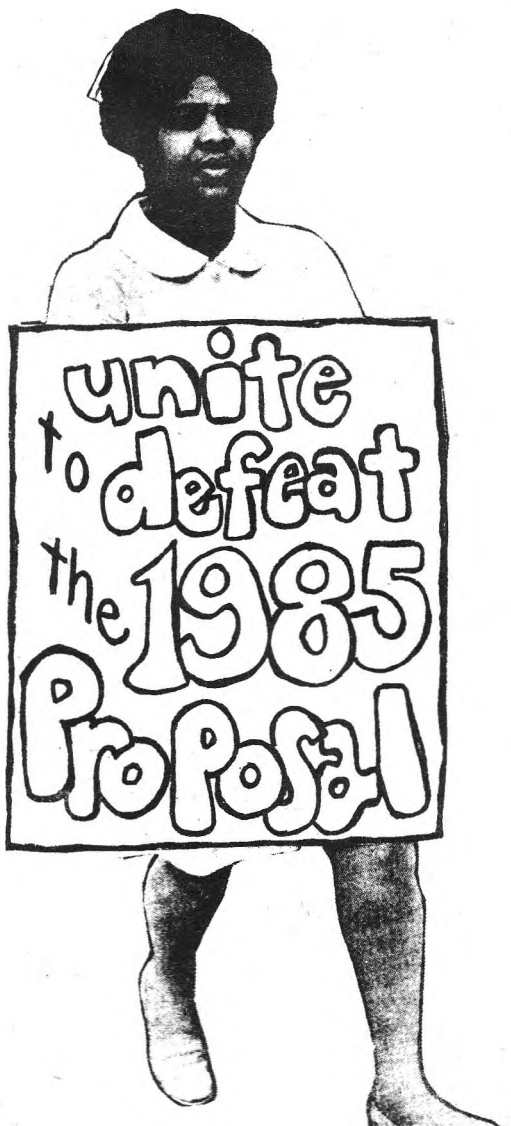
learned that in spite of their attitudes toward 1199C, 1199C members intended to give them all the support they could by refusing to do overtime or work outside of their job descriptions, and by giving the RNs encouragement on the picket line.

The two week walkout was seen by most of the nurses as a victory. It produced a contract, ratified by a 108-16 vote, which includes the following: no less than three weeks vacation for all employees; every other weekend off; a \$.97-\$1.07 increase in wages over 29 months (approximately a 5-6% increase); language changes which will curb mandatory overtime and pulling; a \$60 per year uniform allowance; and minor improvements in insurance benefits. There was no change in tuition benefits, another of the strike issues.

The wage settlement, while it parallels the industry pattern, is a particular weakness of the contract in that it means the real wages of the RNs are going to decline as a result of inflation that is currently running at 8% a year according to the most conservative estimates.

The RNs' victory came not only from demands they won but from the recognition of their own strength. They showed they can successfully challenge management, go against the tradition that nurses don't strike and defy a sell-out leadership. In doing so, like the nurses at MCP, Temple's RNs achieved a victory for themselves and other nurses in the city. In order to build on the strength they gained, issues of union democracy, multinational unity and labor solidarity must now be fought for by all the nurses.

## Area Nurses' Conference to Defeat 1985 Proposal



On April 28th, close to 200 RN's and LPN's from Philadelphia and New Jersey attended a conference on defeating the 1985 proposal. The proposal, which is being sponsored by state nurses associations across the country, calls for all RN's or "professional nurses" to have a minimum of a baccalaureate degree, and for all LPN's or "technical nurses" to have an associate degree.

The conference was sponsored by Nurses Unite!, Local 1199C of the National Hospital Workers Union, Health-PAC, Medical Committee for Human Rights, the NAFL-FNG, and the Women's Health Collective.

During the first portion of the session, the participants heard four speakers present the facts on the proposal and its impact on nursing. Jean Hunt from Nurses Unite! pointed out in her introductory speech that changes in educational requirements will aggravate the already severe understaffing problems since there will be fewer nursing graduates.

Although the proposal will have a grandfather clause to exempt currently licensed nurses from meeting the new requirements, there will be no guarantee that such nurses will have jobs. "The grandfather clause is a myth. You may still have your license, but you might not

have a job." She stressed that the proposal will have a damaging effect on all nurses, both LPN's and RN's, and that everyone must work together to defeat it.

Sondra Clark, executive director of 1199's RN Division, explained how organizing into a collective bargaining unit and fighting for strong contract protection is the only way to guarantee job security. This is particularly important since many area hospitals are already laying off LPN's or giving preferential hiring to baccalaureate nurses even though the proposal is not yet a law.

Anthony Lee from *RN Magazine* summarized the magazine's survey of 10,000 nurses which showed that 72% of nurses nationwide are opposed to the proposal.

Valerie Orridge, an RN from New York explained the history of racism in nursing and how the 1985 proposal is further discriminating against minority nurses. In the wake of the Bakke decision, university affirmative action programs are weakening, a fact which will serve to keep minority students from becoming RN's and LPN's.

Four workshops were held which treated in more detail some of the as-

pects of the proposal. These included legislative strategy, discrimination on the job and in education, organizing at the workplace, and impact on the community and quality of health care. In the workshops the participants were able to discuss their own experiences and put forward some suggestions on how to defeat the proposal.

The summaries of the workshops were delivered in the plenary session. At the end of the plenary, the nurses unanimously adopted a resolution calling for the individuals and organizations present to join together in a coalition to defeat the 1985 proposal. Their first action will be petition campaigns demanding that the Pennsylvania and New Jersey Nurses Associations drop their endorsements of the proposal. This campaign will possibly culminate toward the end of the summer with a rally at the PNA headquarters.

At the first meeting of the new coalition on May 16th, the strategy was mapped out for publicizing the issue and organizing the petition campaign. The next meetings are to be on May 30 and June 20 at Calvary Methodist Church, at 48th and Baltimore Ave. For more information on the coalition contact Nurses Unite! at PO Box 12283, Philadelphia, PA 19144.

# No Repairs No Rent

Over 100 tenants and activists held a press conference and rally right in front of the Public Housing Authority's (PHA) rent collection office at 712 N. 16th Street on Wednesday, May 2, to announce plans for a city-wide rent strike. In just one hour, scores of tenants who had come to pay their rent signed rent strike pledge cards and several volunteered to help organize the campaign.

The high level of unity and feelings of strength were evident as Black and Puerto Rican tenants from PHA's scattered site units (single houses) joined with tenants from North Philadelphia's 1100 unit Raymond Rosen and South Philadelphia's 1000 unit Tasker Homes.

The Resident Advisory Board, recognized by PHA as the official tenant organization, endorsed the action and called for all tenants to unify and follow the proper procedure to prevent eviction. Rent Strike organizers are making use of a little known legal right which allows tenants who need repairs to escrow rent and request a grievance hearing.

PHA is scared stiff because it knows that most of its 2500 units do need repairs and a massive drive to use the grievance procedure could really hurt. At one point, a spokesperson from PHA begged to meet with the Coalition, but members were sick of meetings and broken promises and saw the need for action.

The Rent Strike Coordinating Committee consists of representatives from tenant groups and community organizations. The purpose of the city-wide rent strike is to secure the following demands:

- 1) Repair the houses of all tenants on rent strike.
- 2) Make repairs faster.
- 3) Rehabilitate empty PHA units.
- 4) Empty units that are too costly (over \$5000) to rehabilitate entirely, rehab up to \$2500, and then sell for \$1 to tenants on waiting list.

- 5) Build Whitman Park and 20th and Brown (two developments geared for low-income home ownership).
- 6) Fireproof all units.
- 7) Periodically exterminate all units.
- 8) Tenant and Puerto Rican tenant representation on PHA's Board of Directors.
- 9) Occupy all vacant units.
- 10) Fair repayment schedules for tenants behind in their rent.

## UNITED ACTION

The spirited group of tenants and supporters knew their movement could spread like wild fire. As conga drums played, tenants chanted, "No Repairs, No Rent", and watched a play which linked recycling (the displacement of poor people for businesses and the wealthy) and public housing. Speakers like Viola deLarge, a PHA tenant and member of Kensington Joint Action Council; Juan Gonzales, Vice-President of the Puerto Rican Alliance; Nellie Reynolds, President of the Resident Advisory Board; Pedro Escalante from the Housing Association of Delaware Valley; and Benedetto Matteo from Padres Unidos all emphasized the need for continued struggle and unity.

It was obvious that the rent strike would become a political issue in the upcoming primary and election. John Street termed the rent strike a holding action until Charles Bowser was elected. Father Joseph Kakalec, President of the Philadelphia Council of Neighborhood Organizations (PCNO), spoke in support of the rent strike. In the past PCNO has rarely taken positions on public housing issues.

The endorsing organizations are in the process of training tenant activists and community leaders in how to use the grievance process so all tenants who wish to join can be signed up.

This latest phase in the struggle for low income housing comes at a time



Phila. Tribune/Trace Gibson

A city-wide rent strike of public housing tenants is underway. At a press conference and rally on May 2, tenants and activists let it be known — "NO REPAIRS — NO RENT."

when the local PHA, the State of Pennsylvania and the federal government are increasing their attacks on public housing. Locally, PHA has allowed hundreds of units in developments like Tasker Homes, Ying Plaza and Wilson Park, located in predominantly white areas to remain vacant on the pretext that these units were being converted for the elderly.

In reality PHA was playing to the racist leadership of people like Francis Rafferty, Councilman from the Tasker area. Rafferty's organization, the Grays Ferry Community Council has supported the idea that it is better to have 265 vacant units rotting in their neighborhood than to fill them with Black, Puerto Rican or white families who need housing. In res-

ponse, Tasker tenants and Milton Street began moving in "squatters".

Meanwhile, the state legislature is trying to pass new legislation — any welfare recipient in public housing who falls three months behind in rent will automatically have one and one-third months rent deducted from their check and sent to PHA. To top it off, the US Congress is considering an increase in public housing tenants' rent from 25% to 30% of a tenants' income. Some tenants may have to pay utilities as well.

The increased organization of tenants through the rent strike will create the basis for a coalition that can challenge these blatant efforts to end low income and public housing.

## Union Elections at Budd Red Lion ...

# Blue Ribbon Group Wins a Few

by S. Bunting

The rank and file of UAW Local 92, at Budd Co. Red Lion plant, are not satisfied with the quality of their leadership. They made this clear in elections for shop stewards and members of the Grievance Committee in May. With almost 100% of those eligible voting, the incumbent Red Ticket caucus lost two committeemen, in two of the three largest zones in the plant. Another zone may be lost due to voting irregularities.

The Blue Ribbon Group gained its first position on the Grievance Committee, which also bargains the contract, in the most hotly contested election in the plant. They also won several steward positions.

During the past year Red Lion workers have been worried about their job security. Not only has the company seriously threatened to close the plant, but speed-up in the automotive division has caused layoffs. The press shop has been particularly hurt. Productivity has increased 100%, eliminating jobs, while wages have stayed the same or dropped, as incentive rates have been cut.

The combination of speed-up and production cuts due to the gas shortage scare have resulted in the worst layoffs in five years.

## TWO APPROACHES TO JOB SECURITY

The strategies of the Red Ticket and the Blue Ribbon Group in dealing with

these problems are like night and day, and the incumbents apparently did not have the universal support they so loudly claimed.

How did each group approach the possibility of a shut-down, and the intensified speed-up? The Red Ticket, with the blessing and support of the International UAW leadership, advised the membership of Local 92 that there was nothing they could do to save the plant. The only hope was to rely on "secret and delicate" negotiations between top union officials and the company.

As for speed-up and assignment of workers outside their proper job classifications, the Grievance Committee was silent. They neither processed grievances on rates nor demanded that the company demonstrate a real "emergency" when assigning workers out of their classifications. As a result, Red Lion workers do not know whether union negotiations really were a factor in saving the plant, or what, if anything, union leadership gave up in the process.

While the International was sipping tea with the company, the Blue Ribbon Group took a very different position. It urged that the union take a militant position and fight for the jobs. They put forward the slogan, "no movement of work until we have a jobs program". This approach included not only tough bargaining with the company, backed, if necessary by action on the shop floor, but participation in the political movement to fight runaway shops. The Blue

Ribbon Group organized actively for the Save Our Jobs conference last February.

Blue Ribbon shop stewards have actively opposed cuts in incentive rates, arguing that this speed-up would lose jobs, not save them — which has happened in the last month.

During the campaign, the Red Ticket argued that following the leadership of the Blue Ribbon Group would have led to the plant closing, but offered no evidence that their negotiations pressured the company to stay.

Perhaps more important to many workers was the quality of representation Blue Ribbon Group stewards have provided in the past. Attempts to picture Blue Ribbon candidates as irresponsible hotheads could not wash out their reputations as honest fighters within their departments.

## NEW CHALLENGE

This election presents challenges to both the Red Ticket and the Blue Ribbon Group. The BRG must build a broader and more tightly organized caucus than ever before, to back up their grievance representatives in the fight for decent rates and safe working conditions.

The Red Ticket must re-evaluate its approach to the company. The rank and file is demanding more fight, and challenging the notion that what's good for the company is good for them. Will Red Ticket representatives take a stronger

stand against speed-up? Will they really fight for a better contract, one which reflects rank and file demands? Will Red Ticket Grievance Committee members offer full support and cooperation to the Blue Ribbon Committeeman, and the independent? So far, this seems to be the case and both new committeemen have already dealt with grievances that were not given proper attention by the men they replaced.

This fall's negotiations will be different. The routine of secret negotiations and a high pressure job on the membership to approve the first offer won't be so easily repeated. The BRG is in a strong position to push for a democratic ratification process.

The contract struggle is the period in which a union must have the greatest unity, when it is most important that the leadership truly represent and maintain the confidence of the rank and file. For the leadership strength and unity must come through careful attention to the demands of the rank and file. If this is the basis for development of a contract program, and caucus rivalries are set aside, then Local 92 can help itself and the Budd Council as a whole bargain a better contract.

The Red Lion rank and file have won a victory toward turning their union into a fighter for their interests, but it is only a beginning. No bargaining committee can be any stronger than the organization of workers behind it.

# Rank & File Steelhaulers Win

by Duane Calhoun

*"This probably isn't the best contract in the world, but it's the best damn contract steelhaulers have ever seen, because we went out and got it. Frank Fitzsimmons didn't get it for us — we went out and we got it. Steelhaulers, the owner-operators, the fleet drivers, they all stuck together and proved one thing: we are an organization."*

— Jim Reese, Teamsters Local 377, Youngstown, Ohio

On May 4th, the last of the holdout steelhauling companies signed a new contract with the Teamsters Union, after a month-long wildcat strike. (These are the companies that haul steel coils, rods, and sheets on flatbed trucks. The drivers belong to the Teamsters, but have a separate contract from the freight drivers.)

Teamster union officials denounced the strike at first but ended up pretending to support it, after plenty of heat from the majority of the membership. The strike began on the spur of the moment in Canton, Ohio, and eventually spread to nearly all the steelhaulers in four states — Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, and Pennsylvania.

As a result, steelhaulers won most of their demands — payment of 75% of the load charge to long-haul drivers (instead of the former 71%), paid sick days (including five days they were cheated out of in the last contract), payment for putting on and removing tarps from loads and guaranteed payment for future increases in gas prices to owner-operators.

They did not win their demand for a separate vote on their contract. Teamster President Frank Fitzsimmons tried

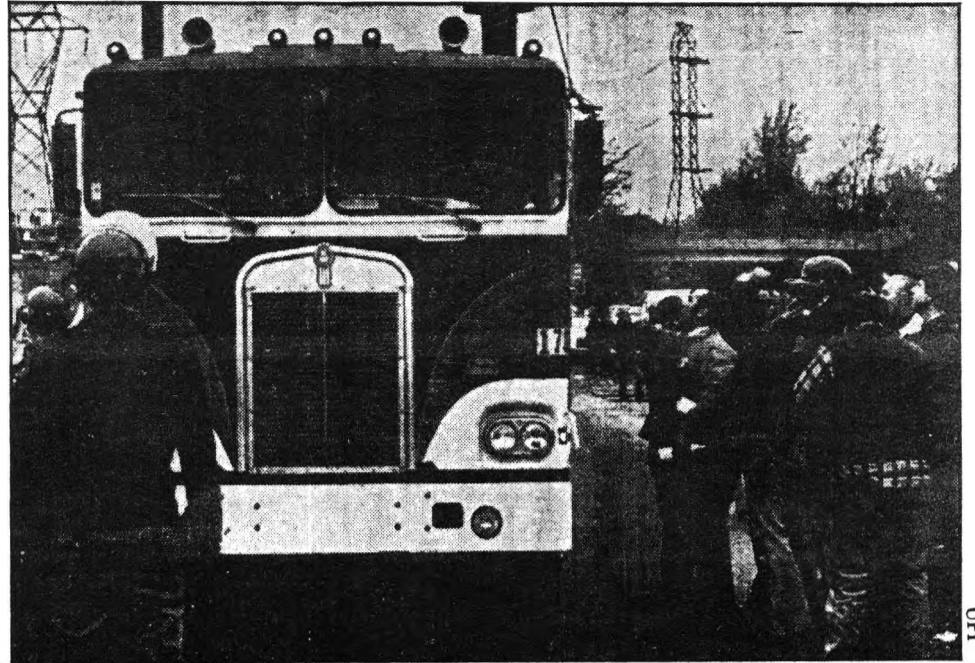
to derail this demand by promising that steelhaulers' mail ballots would be in "a different colored envelope" than other drivers' ballots. Local officials then used this meaningless statement to make promises that the drivers would get a separate vote.

On the whole, this contract was a big victory. Not so much for the economic gains themselves, valuable as they are, but more for the political significance of the strike and what it says about the future. The political significance is this — even in the most corrupt and dictatorial union in the United States, rank and file workers can and will take matters into their own hands, and win. Steelhaulers went into this contract at the mercy of their union mis-leaders, and came out with a strong organization controlled by the rank and file.

In the early months of this year, steelhaulers in northern Ohio belonging to Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU — a reform caucus within the Teamsters Union) began passing around leaflets listing the most important needs of the rank and file in the upcoming contract. These demands were so popular that the negotiating committee came up with almost the same list — minus the right to vote on the contract.

After the contract expired on March 31, Teamster officials called a selective strike — meaning that most companies continued to operate while only a few were struck. The rank and file would have none of that, and after 400 steelhaulers walked out of a Local 92 meeting in Canton, pickets began appearing at steel mills and truck terminals in the Canton area. The strike was on.

The next day, steelhaulers (led by TDU members) in Youngstown forced



Striking steelhaulers surround truck at the US Steel plant in Fairless Hills, Pa.

their local president to telegraph President Fitzsimmons, listing their demands and demanding approval for their strike. The local officials had tried everything from vague answers to turning off the microphone, but the membership sat tight and refused to leave the hall until they got what they wanted.

Within days, the strike had spread to a majority of the steelhaulers in four states. Travelling pickets, truck-stop tours, telephones, and CB's were used by the rank and file to stay in touch and to organize. Fitzsimmons tried to order them back to work on April 10th, but the workers ignored him. TDU helped build the strike by supplying experienced organizers, advice on strategy, use of their office, printed Strike Bulletins, and a network of national contacts. As a result

of the rebellion and the role TDU played in it, a new branch of TDU (called the Steelhaulers Organizing Committee) was formed by members from 26 locals signed up in just four weeks.

By the end of April, most companies had signed the new contract containing most of the rank and file demands. The National Steel Carriers Association was the main holdout. Under pressure from union officials, and swayed by the fact that most companies had signed, drivers began drifting back to work around the 25th of April. Strike leaders decided to call mass meetings, to vote on whether to go back as a group or to stay out as a group. Most areas voted to go back. Youngstown voted to stay out, and they did not return to work until May 4th, when the National Steel Carriers signed.

## Rubber Workers Take on Uniroyal and Carter

by Oliver Law

As I write this, over 8200 United Rubber Workers are out on strike against the Uniroyal Tire Company. In many ways this is as much a political strike as it is an economic one. It is a strike that involves demands for better benefits, and it is a statement from the union and the rank and file telling Jimmy and company to go to hell. For this reason this strike, more than any other in the recent past, is starting off as a political strike.

Besides the union and the company, there is a third party in the negotiations — the federal government. As it appears now, the union and the rank and file must beat that third party as well as the company.

Inflation is bad, everybody knows that. No matter what the Feds say, we can see that it is getting worse. For this reason workers are demanding stronger contracts this year — contracts with high pay increases and cost-of-living adjustments (COLA) to raise workers' pay to keep up with the rate of inflation.

There is no contract today in any of the major industries that has a 100% pay back on a cost-of-living clause. The URW is demanding such contract language, and more. Aside from pay hikes and a 100% inflation-proof COLA, the union is also fighting for a pension plan that will enable a worker to retire with 25 years of service, regardless of age, and for a plan to fight plant shut-downs and runaways.

The union wants pensions for anyone with more than five years service, and wants double severance pay for workers if a plant closes.

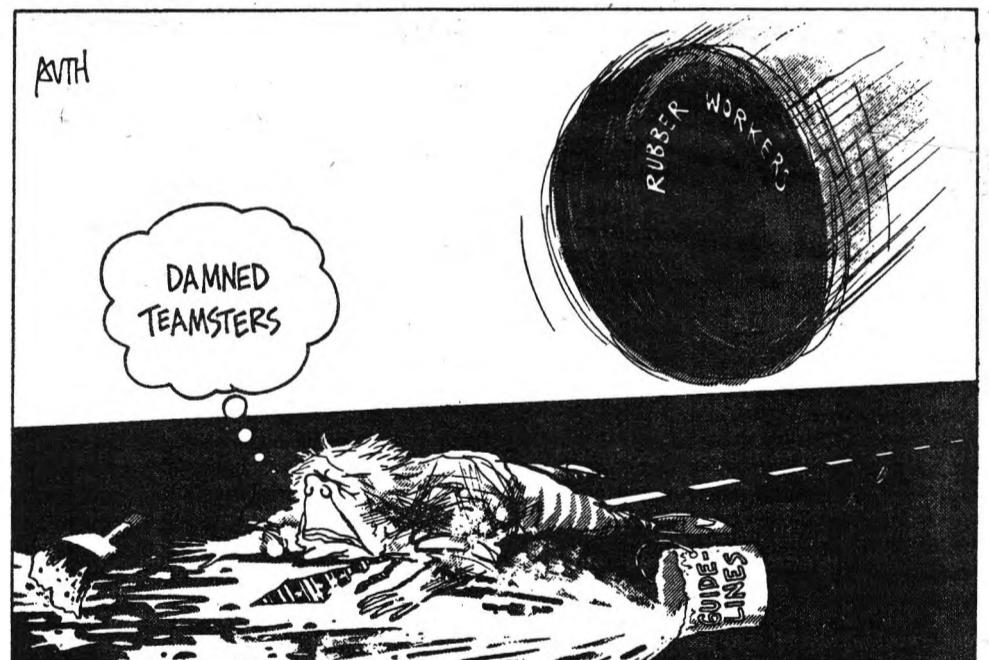
### CARTER JUMPS ON TO BARGAINING TABLE

The union was having enough trouble dealing with the four major tire companies (Goodyear, Firestone, Goodrich, and Uniroyal) when the federal government entered the picture, stage right. You see, Carter wishes to save his Voluntary Wage and Price Controls Program. These controls limit wage and benefit increases to about 7% a year.

The union had already won an agreement from Uniroyal for a new contract. They had won the 100% inflation-proof COLA, the 25 and out, the plant closing penalties, plus a wage increase of \$1.14 per hour over three years. The union and the company shook hands on the agreement — a "gentlemen's" agreement which was even publicly announced.

While someone is shaking your right hand, it's easy for someone else to stab you in the back. In this case Jimmy Carter was holding the dagger. Before Uniroyal signed the contract, the government threatened not to buy tires from Uniroyal if the agreement were signed. Right now the Feds buy about \$37 million worth of Uniroyal products a year.

The Feds allow only a 22% increase over a three year contract under their



"voluntary" wage controls. The Rubber Workers' package which had been negotiated during "free collective bargaining" was for about 40% over three years. So the government decided to enforce its "voluntary" wage control by threatening Uniroyal with a \$37 million cut in sales. Some voluntary wage control.

Well, Uniroyal got the message and backed out of the deal, saying that there never was a contract — we take back our handshake.

### HERE COMES THE JUDGE

The union's next step was to attempt to force the government out of the negotiations by going to court to get a restraining order against federal threats to cut off orders from companies which violate the 7% ceiling. The Judge who heard the case appeared concerned that if he issued a restraining order against the President it would lessen public confidence in Carter's efforts to hold down inflation. "Inflation is the most serious problem we have", the Judge said. "The government is making an effort to deal with it."

The government played to the Judge's fears by saying, "a restraining order

would be unfair to the people of the United States, whom we represent, and who desire a life free from the disastrous effects of inflation." Not surprisingly, the Judge's concerns overrode justice, and he refused to issue the restraining order. The union went out on strike against Uniroyal, with strikes against the other three tire companies possible in the future.

So, over 8200 workers are out on strike. They are on strike against their company, and against government interference in their contract. The union knows that they've got to force Carter down. The rank and file knows that the government must be forced to back away a bit in order to win a good contract. This makes it a political strike. This is important to know, for you have to know who your enemies are before you can beat them. The Rubber Workers are getting a good lesson on who the enemy is.

Can the United Rubber Workers win? Can they win even a partial victory? It's going to be a hard strike, especially fighting alone. It is in our interest to fight with them — they need and deserve our support. It's my fight and your fight; for my union, my contract, or yours, might be next.

# UFW vs. Lettuce Growers

## Farm Workers' Strike Intensifies

The following article was written by Dana Kent, a former staff member of the United Farm Workers.

On January 19, 1979, 3000 lettuce workers represented by the United Farm Workers of America (UFW) walked out on strike in the Imperial Valley in California. Three months later — after the murder of one UFW striker, the arrest of countless others, and the importation by the growers of scabs and Pinkerton-type security guards — the strike has moved to the Salinas Valley. In Salinas, the strike is rapidly gaining momentum, as the 10,000-person workforce of militant *lechugueros*, or lettuce workers, begins the seasonal iceberg lettuce harvest.

The strike — the largest agricultural strike in the country since the 1970 UFW lettuce strike — began when UFW negotiators and the lettuce industry could not agree on key contract issues, primarily economic ones. The UFW targeted 11 major vegetable growers in California and Arizona, who represent the most sizable and strategic of the 27 companies negotiating the new contract. On March 1, 1979, the UFW struck a twelfth company.

In the Imperial Valley, 4500 workers had gone out on strike by the end of February. Growers retaliated by making citizens' arrests on the theory that strikers were trespassing on private property as they attempted to convince other workers to leave work. Two area high schools recruited students to scab until they were enjoined in a legal action filed on behalf of students and parents by California Rural Legal Assistance's Migrant Farmworker Unit.

### STRIKER IS MURDERED

Rufino Contreras, a 27-year old striker and UFW member, was shot in the head and killed on February 10, allegedly by a Mario Saikhon Company foreman as Contreras attempted to enter a field to talk to workers. The three employees charged with the killing were released on \$7,000 bail each, an unusually low figure for a homicide allegation. In response to the killing of Contreras, 9000-10,000 workers at 40 Imperial Valley companies conducted a general work stoppage Monday and Tuesday, February 12 and 13. The UFW called off negotiations for one week after Contreras' death.

The UFW feels the incident raises some very suspicious issues, especially concerning the possibility of a conspiracy — as some witnesses say the shots fired at Contreras were fired in concert from different locations. UFW President Cesar Chavez has called for an investigation by the Department of Justice into Contreras' death.



California lettuce pickers.

The strike crippled the harvest of 40% of the nation's winter lettuce, 90% of which comes from the Imperial Valley. The strike moved on to Arizona, to California's San Joaquin Valley, and ultimately to the Salinas Valley.

With the arrival of increasing numbers of lettuce workers in early March, growers in Salinas were quick to seek a repressive injunction which drastically limited the number of picketers allowed near the fields being worked. Judge Richard Silver, however, in response to pressure from the UFW, devised an injunction that provided for a relatively large number of pickets — 150 per work site. The injunction also provided strikers' access to non-striking workers in a formula like that set forth in the Regulations of the Agricultural Labor Relations Act. This permits access to the fields by one designated UFW representative per 15 non-striking workers.

The strike remained solid throughout March, with many public rallies and demonstrations. 4000 marchers walked down Salinas city streets and rallied at a public school on March 7. In Oxnard and Huron, workers staged one-day work stoppages for rallies and marches in support of the strike.

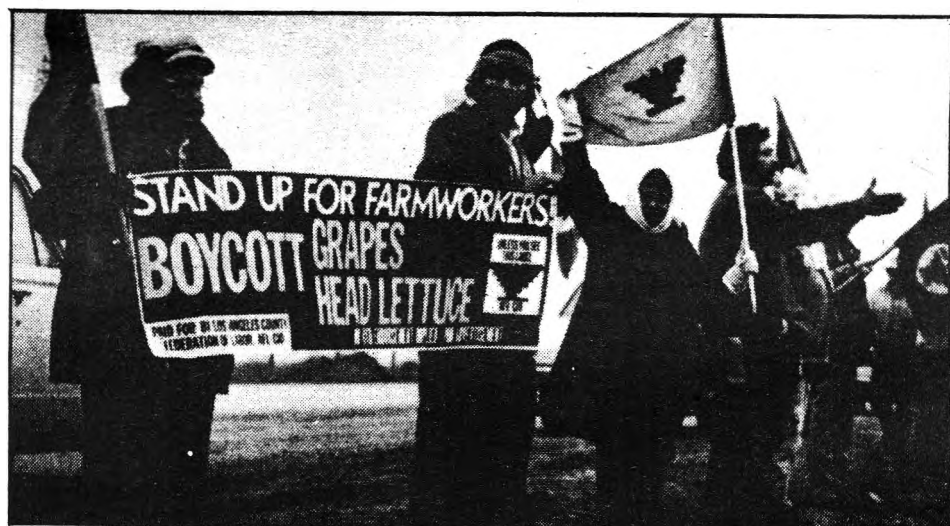
### WORKERS' DEMANDS

The strike issues are relatively clear-cut, centering around the economic issues that affect all American workers but especially those who have been historically the lowest-paid. The UFW is seeking a raise of 40%-80% in hourly and piece rate wages. Other key issues are changing the contract duration from the current three years to one year, cost of living allowance, mechanization, and the operation of the union hiring hall.

UFW has proposed an hourly rate of \$5.25 per hour. Growers initially proposed a total package, including benefits, of 7%; the UFW refused. During the week of February 15, the growers came up to \$4.12 per hour, with no cost of living allowance. The UFW has gone down to \$5.20 per hour.

An analysis of the real economic picture of the farm worker is revealing. In 1970, farm workers in lettuce got \$2.00 per hour, a raise from \$1.65 prior to 1970. Nine years later, farm workers are making \$3.70 per hour, but accounting for inflation and increases in the cost of living, their real earnings total \$1.85 per hour. Thus the lettuce workers are actually falling behind and feel they have a tremendous amount at stake.

The growers have a lot at stake too, although they refuse to admit it. Although the non-struck growers have made some windfall profits, with the



UFW members, 1974 grape and lettuce boycott.

price per carton of lettuce soaring from \$3.40 up to a temporary high of \$16.00 before bottoming out again, the struck growers have lost a great deal. The California Farm Bureau minimized crop losses in an attempt to portray the strike as a failure.

But Federal-State Market News Service analyst Art Verissimo disagreed. The *Salinas Californian* estimated the Imperial Valley growers alone lost \$24 million; and the UFW estimated that the Imperial Valley growers lost \$30 million. Sun Harvest lost 2000 acres of lettuce in the Imperial Valley. In Salinas, there are 9000 acres of Sun Harvest's at stake.

UFW President Chavez pointed out the irony of the enormous losses agribusiness is willing to suffer in order to try to defeat the farm workers and the UFW when he stated: "They could have paid us all we want and much more. It's difficult to understand this mentality."

### GROWERS ORGANIZE TO BREAK STRIKE AND UFW

The growers have recently begun to organize themselves and have begun to use sophisticated tactics in an attempt to break the strike and the UFW. The growers have hired for a sum of \$500,000 — the Dolphin Agency, a well-known public relations firm. This agency and its president, Bill Roberts, ran Ronald Regan's and Gerald Ford's successful political campaigns in California, and also ran the successful "No on Proposition 13" campaign against the UFW in 1976.

Dolphin has run full-page ads in all of the major agricultural newspapers as well as in many metropolitan papers expressing "disappointment" in Cesar Chavez, and even in Governor Jerry Brown, for not taking action to end the strike. The growers, through Dolphin, have created the impression that very high lettuce prices are the workers' fault, in an attempt to turn consumers against the strike. Finally, Dolphin has publicly questioned the UFW's commitment to non-violence, creating the impression that strike-related incidents are all caused by UFW strikers.

Around March 16, Sun Harvest Company, the nation's largest lettuce grower-shipper, started formally recruiting scabs and sent out about 500 of ultimately 1500 letters to permanent crews on strike, informing them they were no longer employed. In Fresno and Kings counties, growers have increasingly used labor contractors to recruit scabs.

Growers have repeatedly asked Lt. Governor Curb to send in the National Guard to deal with the strike. Police in Salinas arrested more than 45 strikers in the two weeks preceding April 11. Salinas police are making people post \$500 bail for first-time trespass charges.

Growers in Salinas have been anticipating strike action by installing cyclone fence topped with barbed wire and 24 hour per day Pinkerton-type security guards in fields and labor camps where scabs are living. Growers have also added wire mesh to windows of buses used to transport scabs. On March 20, a company foreman used his pickup to get through a line of picketers, and a security guard pulled his gun on one picket. The guard is an employee of Professional Security, Inc., an operation from Hayward which specializes in providing protection to employers during strike situations. The company has set up shop at a Sun Harvest shed in Salinas and by the end of March was serving at least two companies.

On the legal front, the growers filed a lawsuit on April 9 against the UFW, seeking strike-related damages in the amount of \$275 million. Of the total damages sought, the growers pray for \$250 million in punitive damages against the UFW.

### UFW FIGHTS BACK

The striking workers are currently gearing up to fight this grower offensive during the Salinas lettuce harvest. UFW President Chavez has indicated that the Union will start major efforts in Salinas this week to prevent the harvesting and shipping of lettuce. Chavez predicted there would be increasing numbers of confrontations in Salinas with up to ten thousand workers on strike.

The strikers, through the UFW, have initiated legal proceedings against the growers; on March 1, the UFW filed an unfair labor practice charge with the Agricultural Labor Relations Board claiming the growers had orchestrated a breakdown in contract talks.

The UFW has also initiated a boycott as a second front in the fight. On February 27, the Union announced an international boycott of Chiquita Bananas, which is owned by United Brands, the same parent company that owns the giant Sun Harvest. Chiquita represents more than 20% of the gross sales of Sun Harvest.

The boycott was started, according to Chavez, in order to convince Sun Harvest to negotiate in good faith and because the company has engaged in a "cynical campaign to break the union" through intimidation and the use of scabs. The UFW sees the boycott as necessary to counter the grower's use of private security guards; it is a second front, according to Union spokespersons. Currently, Chavez is doing a tour of the East Coast to publicize the boycott.

Unless there is some sudden change of events, it appears clear that the already heated lettuce workers' strike will soon intensify greatly. Both sides are preparing for the battle. The UFW has done a great deal of educational work with the lettuce strikers and with the public, analyzing real versus apparent wage figures for the last nine years, thus arming workers and the public with concrete facts about its wage demands.

UFW spokespersons argue that lettuce workers' wages lag behind those of other unionized workers in the produce industry, and that inflation has sucked up their wage gains since 1970. Unionized shed workers who pack and trim the same vegetables cut by UFW members earn \$4.70 per hour. Workers stuffing food into cans at plants under Teamster contract make \$5.58 an hour. "The average annual income of our members is \$5000 to \$6000 per year," says spokesperson Marc Grossman. "They need the increase."

UFW supporter and ex-Salinas field office director Roberto Garcia explains how the workers view the struggle:

"In 1970, when Cesar Chavez first organized here, the growers tried to divide us. In 1975 they brought the Teamsters in to divide us...The growers are trying to create divisions again. There are only two sides in this strike. On one side are the workers, and on the other side, the employers."

El Malcriado



# Hitler and the German Workers

by Oliver Law

"You know, maybe we need another Hitler or Mussolini." You hear this idea now and then, and not just from anti-semites either. Mussolini made the trains run on time and Hitler put people back to work — this is now many people figure it. In an age of social disorder, rising unemployment and declining living standards, some think maybe these fascist regimes have something to offer. The idea that fascism has something to offer workers is a dangerous myth and if we believe it we take a step toward cutting our own throats.

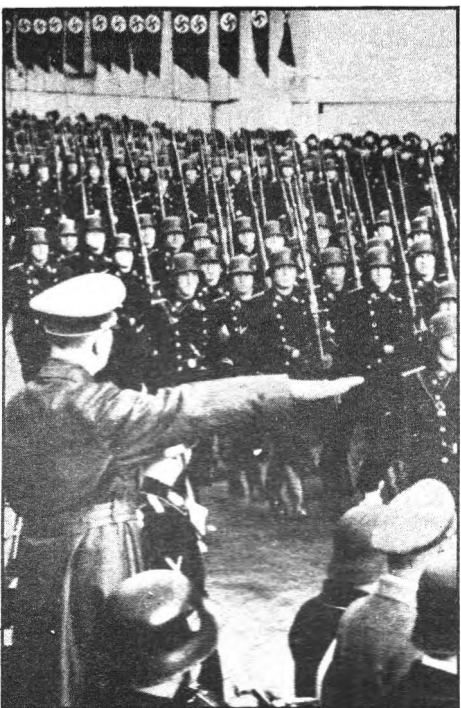
## WHAT IS FASCISM?

To begin with, Capitalism is an economic system. The way this system works and most directly affects us as workers is through the private ownership of factories and mills. Socialism is an economic system. The way this system works and most directly affects us is there no longer are factories and mills owned by one person. Instead, they are owned by and for the workers.

**Fascism is not a special or different economic system. Oh, the fascist may call it one, but it is not an economic system. Why is it important to show to begin with that fascism (the Nazis) isn't an economic system? Because fascism is a form of capitalism. You still have private ownership of the factories under people like Hitler. Fascism is used to keep capitalism from being turned into socialism. It is a way, the harshest way, of controlling and attacking the living standards of workers. Yes, the Hitler types don't put it like this. They claim they have a new and different idea, something fair for all. They even put their fair ideas into programs.**

In Germany, Hitler's National Socialist Party (Nazis) had a program that promised, "the abolition of all unearned income, complete confiscation of war profits (from W.W. I), nationalization of all trusts, profit sharing in large companies, immediate take-over of large stores and then renting at low rates to small traders, a land reform corresponding to our national needs, legislation to take over without compensation land needed for communal purposes."

All of these programs would have helped the workers and farmers of Germany. All of these points would have taken money away from the rich and given help to the poor. Sounds good huh? Well, not a single part of this program was ever put into play after Hitler took power. While the businessmen and industrialists got richer under Hitler, the German workers, and



Hitler surveys his troops. Nazi fascism is a form of capitalism which controls and attacks workers to keep them from turning to socialism.

their Union, well, that's where our story really begins.

## NAZIS AND THE UNIONS

In 1928 the Nazis founded the National Socialist shop cells to compete with the unions in the factories. In 1931, after three years of heavy propaganda, the Nazis shop cells only obtained 5% of the votes cast for shop committees throughout all the union elections held in Germany.

In March of 1933, after Hitler had come to power, in the partial elections for shop committees the Nazis shop cells received only 3% of the vote. Even after Hitler had been in power his support from the workers had fallen from 5% to 3%. This fact runs against what I was "taught" in school — that all the people of Germany wanted and supported Hitler. Why didn't the workers of Germany support Hitler?

Although Hitler could fool some of the people with his ties to the German big business, he didn't fool many of the workers or their union leaders. From the very beginning Hitler tried to win workers to his side with sweet promises. He hoped to scare and force most of the workers into inaction by use of the pipe, and the gun.

From 1920 until he took power, Hitler's goon squads attacked union halls, workers meetings and demonstrations, and individual union militants. From Jan. 30th to March 5th, 1933 alone, over 50 workers were murdered by Hitler's thugs. Late in 1933 a personal telegram from Hitler congratulated some gangsters who broke into a workers meeting and killed three of the workers. These types of attacks were to prepare the way for Hitler's taking of power. Since he knew he couldn't win over most of the workers, he had to try and physically beat them into inaction. On March 24, 1933 in a parliament filled with armed Storm Troopers, Hitler was given total power over Germany, and the German people.

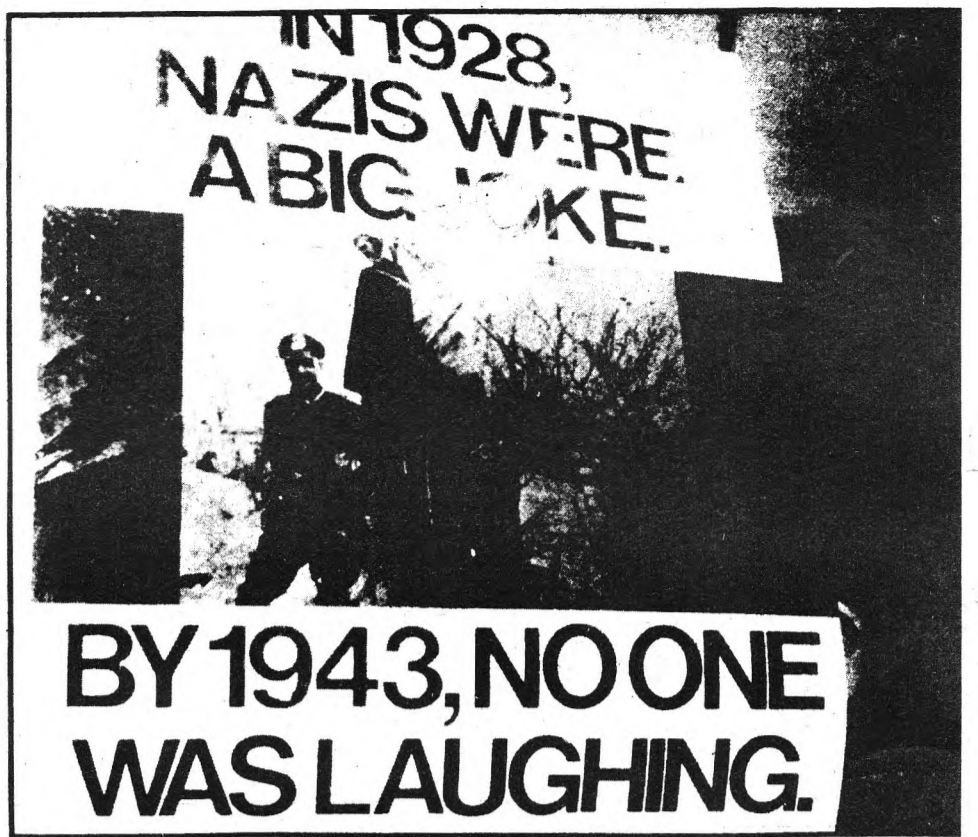
The first thing to go was the right to push for a strike. Anyone talking up a strike was subject to punishment by a prison term of one month to three months. Several union headquarters were taken over by Hitler's thugs. In the beginning of 1933 the rights and privileges of shop committees, representing the unions in the factories were limited, elections for these committees were postponed, and those in office could be recalled for "economic or political reasons", and replaced by officers appointed by the Nazis. Employers were told to fire any worker suspected of being hostile to the state.

## Dictatorship on the Shop Floor

After May 1, 1933 all the Union Halls were taken over by Storm Troopers, and the union leaders were arrested and sent to concentration camps. On May 10, all the unions were coordinated into the German Labor Front, controlled by the Nazis. On May 16, the right to strike was abolished. On May 19, the unions who had been coordinated into the German Labor Front were told that they were no longer legally allowed to make contracts. By late November no one was allowed to join these unions. By October of 1934 all the unions were disbanded. All that was left was the German Labor Front, set up and run by the Nazis.

It took Hitler only 2 months to outlaw many rights which workers had fought for. The right to strike was gone, shop committees and elected stewards were gone, the right to make contracts was gone, and the right to unionize.

Think how it would be in your plant if you couldn't strike, if the boss could



fire you for deciding that you were an enemy of the state, and you could do nothing about it. No unions, no stewards, no protection at all. This is what the Nazis gave to the German workers. But that ain't all.

All workers eventually had to join the German Labor Front in order to find work, since most employers make it a requirement for being hired. And the reason why the employers liked the Labor Front was that they were members too! That's right, they were members of what the Nazis called the "shop community". As such, employers could sit in all meetings that their workers held. This was a pretty neat way of controlling and checking on the workers.

As though this wasn't enough, the courts were willing to do some controlling of their own. Workers who threaten "social peace in a business by malicious agitation among the employees" (like complaining about wages or working conditions were hauled into court, were fired from their jobs and shipped off to the concentration camps to join their union leaders (at least those that hadn't already been killed).

And then there were the "internal shop regulations" which were posted by the boss with the approval of the Nazis. You could get into trouble for complaining to your fellow workers about things in the shop (the boss didn't want anyone to think things were going to get better cause then they might get angry when they didn't); and you could get the death penalty for revealing production costs and profits.

Well maybe your internal shop regulations were harsher than some other plant, so maybe you wanted to get hired at that other plant. If your employer didn't want you to leave, you couldn't. The law of February 26th, 1935, set up the labor passport, which you had to show when you applied for a job. If your previous boss didn't want you to quit, he could just keep your labor passport. And if you didn't have your passport you couldn't get the new job. So, you were stuck working at your plant until your employer said you could leave.

Of course, just because you couldn't leave when you wanted to didn't mean the Nazis couldn't move you when they wanted to. In June of 1928, the Nazis made it legal to move any worker, anywhere, for any reason, with no guarantee that the worker would get the same wages or working conditions.

## WHAT ABOUT WAGES?

All right, there is no freedom, but what about money? The guy I work with started this by talking about how people had jobs under the Nazis, and the pay was okay.

Wages were controlled and set by 13 "labor trustees" appointed by Hitler. They controlled the wages for all Germany. By 1939 these 13 trustees had raised wages only slightly from what they had been 6 years before. Basically, there were no pay raises from 1933 to 1939.

And all sorts of deductions were added when the Nazis took over — wage taxes increased from 25% to 35%, municipal pool taxes more than doubled, there were bachelor taxes; "contributions" for unemployment insurance, disability insurance, health insurance, to the Labor Front, to anti-aircraft defense, to victims of industrial accidents, to the Nazi Party or the Hitler Youth, and more.

After all the deductions were taken out, and they were mandatory, the little that was left had to pay for food, clothing. It is no wonder that one of Hitler's ministers had to admit that many German workers were suffering from hunger.

How did the Nazis deal with unemployment? At first the Nazis gave jobs to some unemployed by firing groups of people who were working. A law of August 28th, 1934 gave the Nazis the power to deprive women and unmarried men under 25 years old of their jobs. In other words, the Nazis fired women and single men from their jobs and gave those jobs to unemployed married men. These men were hired at the pay rates of the women and younger men, which was much lower than the wages that the older male workers had been used to getting. About 130,000 workers under 25 lost their jobs.

Since this law didn't really help the unemployment problem, the government hired workers out to different plants at starvation wages. Workers were put on reduced work hours to increase the amount of people needed to run the plants. Of course, the workers wages were cut along with their hours. These conditions continued until 1937 when German's big push for rearmament came. This created tons of jobs, so unemployment went down, but a new burden appeared.

Before, workers had their work hours and wages reduced — but beginning in 1937 work hours were increased, from 8 hours to 10 hours to 12 hours a day. Wages stayed at the same rate — just the hours increased. No overtime pay for the German workers, the Nazis passed a law saying so. And again, let's make this clear. If you complained about any of this, about your low wages, decreased and then increasing hours, anything, you didn't have a meeting with your boss and your union there. No, you went before a Nazi judge, and were sent to the concentration camps. And from there you seldom returned.

The final Nazi treat to the German workers was war. More than 3¼ million German soldiers died in World War II. Most of them were workers like you and me. More than 3 million civilians were killed in Germany by allied bombings and shelling and such. Many were killed at their jobs. And that's what it was like to be a worker under Hitler.

So, the next time someone says that maybe we need someone like Hitler, or some fool gives you the Nazi salute, or you see someone draw a swastika, think about what you read here. And tell that person too; it will probably turn them around.

# Zimbabwe's Internal Settlement

# Rhodesia Gets a Facelift

by Michael Simmons

In April, the outlaw regime of Ian Smith carried out its "internal settlement", a facelift designed to win international respectability for the separate and unequal Rhodesian version of apartheid. Meanwhile, the liberation forces of the Patriotic Front, backed by progressive international opinion, denounced the settlement and have vowed to continue the armed struggle for genuine freedom in Zimbabwe.

## MAJORITY RULE?

The heart of Smith's internal settlement is the scheme to bring "majority rule" to Zimbabwe. The regime points to the new parliament with a Black majority, the new Prime Minister Bishop Muzorewa, who is Black, and the recently concluded election, in which 62% of the population allegedly voted, as solid evidence that Zimbabwe is now ruled by its Black majority. Some have been quick to agree, notably South Africa, Britain's new Conservative government, and the US Senate which just voted to lift sanctions against Rhodesia.

The facts, however, clearly demonstrate that this version of majority rule is a fraud and power remains firmly entrenched with the country's white minority and the dominant corporate interests. First of all, the new parliament is not based on the democratic principle of one person, one vote. Instead there is a quota system: 72 out of 100 seats are reserved for Blacks, but are elected by both Blacks and whites. Twenty-eight seats are reserved for whites, and of these 20 are elected by whites only. Thus whites, who make up only 4% of the population, are constitutionally assured a disproportionately large voice in parliament. A white vote gets seven times the representation it would get under a genuinely democratic one person, one vote system.

Even with this, a nearly 3/4 Black majority in parliament might be potentially dangerous to the interests Smith represents. To remove this danger the internal settlement requires a 4/5 majority for any vote on a question of major policy or substance, in effect insuring an ironclad white veto. To top it all off the constitution cannot be changed for ten years.

Nor does the existence of a Black face at the top promise any change in adminis-

tration. The civil service, police, judiciary, and military remain firmly in white hands and the law is carefully designed to keep it that way. For example, to qualify to be a judge, a person must have practiced law for ten years or must already have been a judge in a country where the common law is Roman Dutch and the language English. The former qualification excludes the vast majority of Blacks who have been systematically denied access to higher education, and the latter favors South Africa, the only country with such peculiar qualifications.

The internal settlement also directly and explicitly protects the social status quo in Zimbabwe. The new constitution prohibits the seizure of land by the state, a measure aimed at preventing any land reform. This in a country where the average Black landholding is under six acres while the average for whites is 7500 acres.

## BLACKS VOTE UNDER WHITE GUNS

Even with a constitution carefully conceived to thwart the interests of the Black majority, the Smith regime did not feel it could afford the luxury of a free election. The election was held under martial law. Martial law gives the military, which conducted the elections, a free hand to put aside any law they deem fit. The elections were held over a five-day period so that the thinly spread Rhodesian security forces could move from one area to the next in order to "supervise" the votes.

Many Black workers were transported to the polls by their white employers where they were "helped" to vote by white soldiers. Even the Rev. Ndabaningi Sithole, a supporter of the internal settlement and Bishop Muzorewa's main opponent for prime minister, charged that the elections were fraudulent. Sithole's party, in his own words, regards "the results as not being the verdict of the people but of a particular ministry (the ministry of internal affairs) which has stage-managed the elections."

Smith and company desperately wanted a big voter turnout to give the elections the appearance of legitimacy and portray the Patriotic Front, which called for a boycott, as isolated from the Black masses. This is why the government resorted to widescale coercion and fraud to register a big vote. Smith was on record as saying that a 50% turnout would be



Bishop Muzorewa, the new Prime Minister of Rhodesia. Muzorewa is clearly a puppet of the white minority and not a reflection of Black majority rule.

regarded as essential. After the voting the regime claimed that 63.9% of 2.9 million eligible voters went to the polls. But since there is no system of registering votes this figure is open to speculation. Outside analysts estimate the real number of eligible voters at 3.5 million, in which case the turnout was barely 50%. In any event, given the level of coercion, it is significant that so many did not vote and not at all surprising that sizable numbers, fearing repression and the loss of their jobs, were forced to participate.

## DRIVE TO REMOVE SANCTIONS

Now that the elections are over the regime is going all out to get international support and to have economic sanctions lifted. Since 1965, when the Ian Smith regime illegally took over from Britain to thwart genuine decolonization and majority rule, Rhodesia has been the target of a UN sponsored economic boycott. The regime now sees a major opportunity to end its outlaw status and gain Western arms, economic aid and increased trade which will, it hopes, bring stability and victory over the liberation forces.

South Africa, which has supported Smith all along, was quick to endorse the internal settlement, no surprise to anyone, as it fits right in with Pretoria's plan to build a bloc of client states across Africa's southern tier. Margaret Thatcher, Britain's new Prime Minister, is committed to recognition and lifting the sanctions, but would not dare to go too far in this direction if the US were to sharply oppose it.

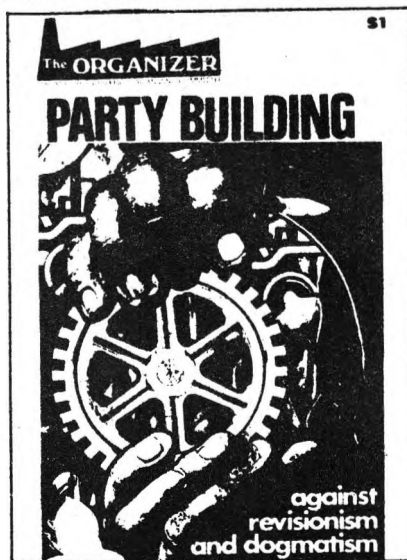
Thus the US is the key to whether or not the internal settlement succeeds in its immediate objectives. The Carter administration has two faces when it comes to Zimbabwe. One of the Carter administration's first acts was to repeal the Byrd Amendment which had allowed the US to import Rhodesian chrome in violation of the international boycott.

Carter has opposed the internal settlement, aware that to do otherwise would jeopardize efforts to improve relations with much of Black Africa. At the same time, Carter has done little to prevent its implementation and has even described it as a step in the right direction. Ian Smith was allowed to visit the US last summer and US corporations have been allowed to continue to subvert the embargo. (US oil companies, for example, ship oil to Rhodesia through South African subsidiaries). Carter's opposition to the settlement is purely tactical and can hardly be seen as staunch.

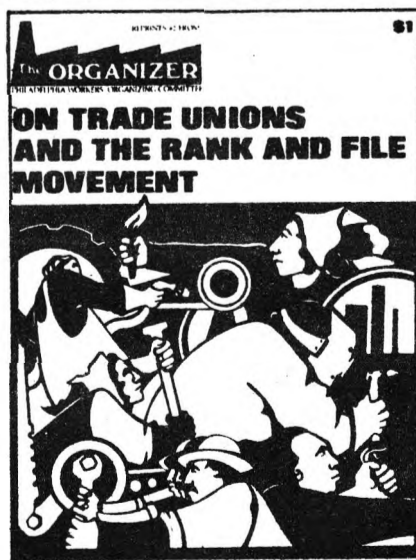
The US Senate is a hotbed of support for the settlement. Right-wingers like Jesse Helms and Barry Goldwater are leading the movement to lift sanctions. Helms has called the Rhodesian elections "the most free and open election in the history of the continent of Africa". These friends of Ian Smith are, not surprisingly, the enemies of civil rights, labor, and equality for women here at home.

The movement in support of freedom and in opposition to apartheid in South Africa has to mobilize to defeat this effort to secure recognition for the internal settlement and the lifting of sanctions. If the US is prevented from taking this step, the internal settlement will fail in its objectives.

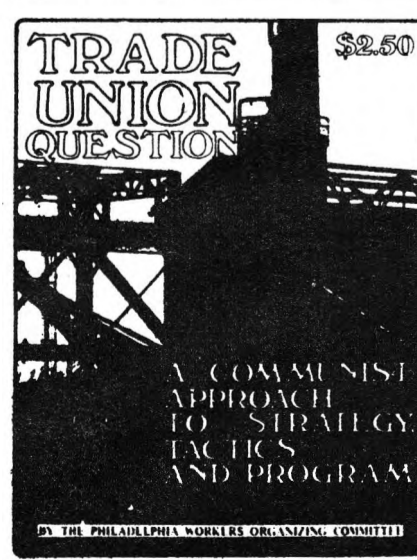
Regardless of what stand the US, Britain or anyone else takes on the settlement, the Patriotic Front will continue the struggle. Robert Mugabe, leader of ZANU, one of the two liberation groups which together compose the Front, declared: "We will continue fighting whether it is a black or white government. We are fighting against a system, and the fact that certain Black leaders have chosen to be part of it makes no difference to us." Joshua Nkomo, head of ZAPU, the other group in the Front, described the ultimate aim of the struggle by saying: "We regard human beings as important — a society, an organized industrial society, a socialist society is what appeals to us, that's our way."



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## NARMIC Pamphlet

# Arming the Third World

Arming the Third World, by NARMIC, the National Action/Research on the Military Industrial Complex, is a concise eight page pamphlet on the US military and corporate arming of the most reactionary governments of the Third World. Whether in the case of Chile and South Africa where arms sales were officially 'cut off' or in the more open arrangements like Brazil or South Korea, NARMIC has the real scoop on arms deals, and what they mean for the US people and the people of these recipient countries. The following is an excerpt:

### THE NEW ARMS MERCHANTS

Most people think of arms dealers as gun-runners smuggling weapons into remote jungles. But today, the leading arms

merchants are well known corporations. General Electric sells aircraft cannons to Indonesia, and Litton Industries, maker of Royal typewriters, builds destroyers for Iran. The weapons export business is just as lucrative and dirty in the hands of these large companies as in the hands of the old-time "merchants of death".

Northrop, the largest US arms exporter, reported record earnings in 1978. Several bribes have helped boost sales, including \$450,000 to influence Saudi Arabian generals to buy the Peace Hawk III training program, worth \$1.4 billion. In 1972 Northrop illegally contributed \$150,000 to Nixon's re-election campaign. President Nixon later reversed a long standing policy and permitted the company to sell

F-5 fighter planes to Brazil, Chile, and Argentina.

Lockheed, saved several years ago by a government bailout, doubled its overseas arms sales in 1977. Lockheed has admitted publicly to paying \$38 million to foreign officials and potential customers from 1970 to 1975. Lockheed bribes resulted in trials for two former Italian Defense Ministers and forced the Netherlands' Prince Bernhard to resign his corporate and government posts.

Boeing, stung by the loss of several Pentagon helicopter contracts, lobbied hard in 1978 for export licenses to sell helicopters to Argentina. "You have no idea of the pressure Boeing exerted", one State Department official said. Bo-

eing warned that it would have to lay off workers and close an assembly line unless the sale went through. Although Argentina eventually bought French helicopters instead, Boeing decided to continue making helicopters and phase out the production of urban mass transit cars. According to a Boeing spokesman, this five-year experiment in the conversion of a weapons plant to peaceful production had not proved "conducive to making a profit."

The pamphlet is available, along with other valuable materials on the military, from NARMIC, 1501 Cherry St., Philadelphia, Pa. 19102. Single copies are 15 cents plus 15 cents postage, ten or more at 9 cents plus 20% postage, and 100 or more at 7 cents plus 20%.

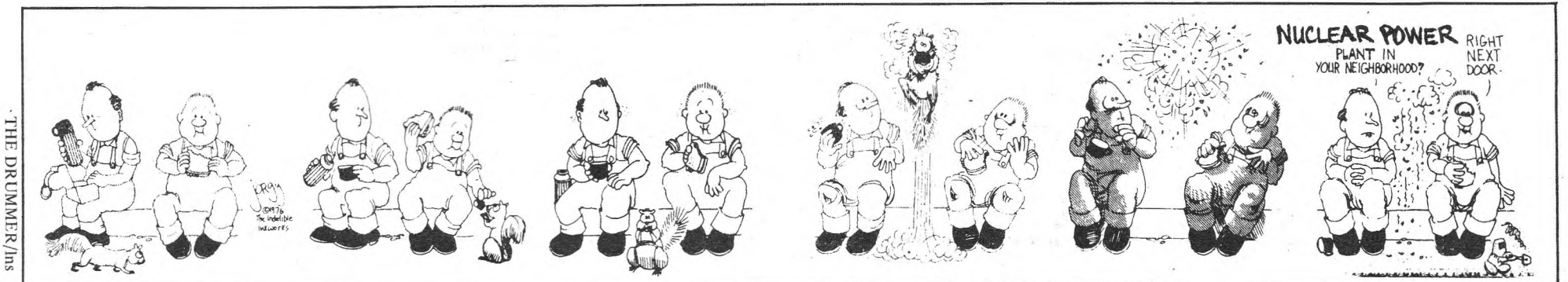
## 110,000 Demonstrate Against Nuclear Power Shut 'em Down



Guardianphoto by George Cohen

The largest demonstration since those against the Vietnam War took place in Washington, D.C. on May 6th. The mass mobilization came in the wake of the near disaster at Three Mile Island nuclear power plant near Harrisburg, Pa.

People around the world are demanding a halt to nuclear power production until technology is sufficiently developed to insure safe operation and disposal of nuclear wastes. Since this may not happen in the near future, it is in the interest of *all* people to demand a safe alternative to nuclear power NOW, and to demand that production be based on human need, not corporate greed.



THE DRUMMER/INS

# Green Sits Atop Divided Democrats

By Jim Griffin

Amidst charges of fraud and demands for a recount, Bill Green emerged as the unofficial winner of last month's rough and tumble Democratic primary for mayor, besting Charles Bowser by some 40,000 votes. David Marston, as expected, had no trouble in winning the Republican nomination. In the races for council and the city's row offices, machine-backed councilmen Al Pearlman, Francis Rafferty and controller candidate Thomas Leonard were big winners, but so were Rizzo foes David Cohen and Augusta Clark.

## THE MAYOR'S RACE

The mayoralty contest was far closer than expected. Bill Green was denied the landslide margin predicted in the polls by a strong showing by Black candidate Charles Bowser. Pre-election polls had given Bowser a mere 25% of the vote. Instead, Bowser ran up 44% of the total. Given that Green outspent Bowser 5 to 1 and had the de facto support of the Democratic machine, Bowser's showing was impressive. In capturing between 75% and 80% of the city's predominantly Black wards, the Bowser candidacy demonstrated the new strength of the Black vote as a factor in Philadelphia politics.

Green's margin of victory rested on the big totals he ran up in the city's white areas, where he captured an estimated 80% of the vote. In the river wards and the Rizzo strongholds of South Philadelphia, Bowser was held to 3% of the vote and did only slightly better in liberal Center City and the far Northeast. Given that Bowser had an edge over Green in terms of qualification and that there was little to sharply differentiate the two when it came to the issues, the white vote for Green is in some large part an indication that the consideration of race still counts with white voters.

At the same time, Bowser might have won or at least come closer had he run a different sort of campaign. In adopting a soft middle ground and disassociating himself from any demands that ran counter to the needs of the city's big business elite, Bowser hurt his chances.

By playing down the Black community's demand for equality and failing to call for radical measures to provide jobs, housing, and improved social services, Bowser failed to fully mobilize the Black vote. While there was substantial grass roots sentiment for Bowser, voter turnout was well below that in last year's charter change election. Bowser's campaign did not inspire the enthusiasm and broad mobilization that characterized last November's battle.

To win white working class votes Bowser would have had to clearly differentiate himself from Green. Had he talked openly about how the city's rulers use racism to mislead white working people and divide them from their Black allies, had he called for tax relief for wage earners and homeowners at the expense of the banks and corporations, had he stood for stopping the runaway shops by hitting the employers with penalties, Bowser could have undercut Green's support in the white areas. Instead Bowser, both in his platform and in his selection of Charles Ludwig as a running mate, sought to appease white business and financial circles and thus undermined his appeal to the masses of white working people.

With a larger and more solid Black vote and with a modest increase in the share of the white vote, Bowser could have licked Green. And he would have done it on a platform calculated to genuinely improve the lives of Philadelphia's working people and build real Black-white unity. This is the lesson progressive forces have to draw from Bowser's failure. Bowser's claim that he actually

won and was robbed of his victory by fraud has to be seen as an attempt to divert attention from the real reasons for his defeat.

## COUNCILMANIC AND ROW OFFICE ELECTIONS

The press has been quick to interpret the vote for council and row offices as a "standoff" between the still alive and kicking Rizzo machine, and the anti-Rizzo reform forces. It is certainly true that the results mean the continued survival of the machine and the presence of notorious Rizzoites like Al Pearlman, Franny Rafferty, and Marge Tartaglione on November's ballot. But the machine has been badly gored and its victories are more the product of the lack of organization and disunity among anti-Rizzo forces than anything else.

In the large councilmanic races incumbents John Kelly and Earl Vann were ousted, and Charles Murray trails in a too close to call race with liberal John Anderson. Anti-Rizzo candidates David Cohen and Augusta Clark are clear winners. A better showing for anti-Rizzo forces would have been possible if there had been a unified slate but instead the vote was divided among a dozen or so

The race for controller bears out the analysis that the anti-Rizzo vote was in the majority. Machine-backed Tom Leonard beat Rizzo foe Rich Chapman by 20,000 votes, but if the votes for John Braxton and Charles Ludwig, who like Chapman are anti-Rizzo reform Democrats, are added to Chapman's, it is clear that the majority opposed Leonard and the machine.

The City Commissioners contest tells the same story. Rizzo opponent Gene Maier topped the list, with Marge Tartaglione, an outspoken Rizzoite, trailing by some 8000 votes. Tartaglione got the second slot on the ticket because the anti-Rizzo vote was split between Dorothy Brennan, backed by Maier, and Chaka Fattah, supported by the Black Political Convention. Brennan and Fattah together outpolled Tartaglione by 12,000 votes.

The contest for four judgeships on the Court of Common Pleas was the machine's worst showing. They dropped three out of the four nominations to anti-organization Democrats with Lou Hill

and Lynne Abraham, both critics of Rizzo, leading the pack.

What this shows is that, while there continues to be a hard core of voters who rally to the banner of Rizzoism, and that the Democratic machine can still deliver a sizeable vote to candidates of its choosing, the majority sentiment is opposed to the Rizzo doctrine. The machine is only decisive when the opposition is split.

## GREEN'S DILEMMA

To translate his primary victory into a win in the fall, Bill Green has to unite the deeply divided Democratic Party — a virtually impossible task. Green must pull together Rizzoites, machine regulars, liberals, and the more independent supporters of Charles Bowser in order to insure his election. Green faces the twin dangers of defections from both the right and the left.

Frank Rizzo crawled out from under his stone election night to warn of the possibility of a Rizzo-backed "independent" for mayor. Bowser supporters are talking of either running an independent candidate or backing Republican David Marston. If Green moves to accommodate

either wing of the party he increases the danger of the other wing abandoning ship. Yet, particularly in relation to the Bowser forces, if Green does not come forward with important concessions, he will be unable to stem a breakaway.

Green's dilemma is nothing but the historic dilemma of the Democratic Party which has always aimed at reconciling irreconcilables, whether it be big business and labor, or segregationist politicians and the masses of Black people. It is yet another example of why the Democratic Party is not and cannot be the vehicle for genuine progress. David Marston hopes that Bill Green's dilemma will be his opportunity. But the idea that the Republican Party can serve as any kind of progressive alternative to the Democrats has nothing to recommend it. It is the Party of Nixon and the Party of Meehan and Devlin; it is even more tied to big money and hostile to the interests of working people than the Democrats. A vote for Marston might punish Bill Green and the Dems, but it won't promise any changes at City Hall.

## NEEDED: AN INDEPENDENT CANDIDACY

Green's dilemma means that the time is ripe for a real break from the Democratic Party. What is needed is an alternative to Rizzoism, to the mealy-mouthed corporate liberalism of Green and the naked opportunism of Marston. What is needed is a genuinely independent candidacy for Mayor, independent of big business and their two parties, and based on the needs of all working people.

(continued on page 22)



# What is the Human Rights Agenda

by Shafik Abdul Ahad

Many Black Liberation activists both of the past and present correctly attempted to analyze the Black Liberation movement of the 1960's in an attempt to review its strengths and weaknesses as well as ways of moving forward. One weakness that has been identified as a key weakness was the inability to form a national organization which could have given the Black liberation movement a single direction based around a united program. In 1968, 9000 Black conventioners gathered at Little Rock, Arkansas, and there formed the National Black Assembly which to date was perhaps the most serious attempt on a national scale to forge such a united program.

In the same spirit, this past December over 1300 members of the Philadelphia Black community representing Black elected officials, clergy, workers, women and students held Phase I of the Black Political Convention. After several days of workshops and serious discussion, resolutions which were passed

at the convention were written into a document now referred to as the Human Rights Agenda.

What is the Human Rights Agenda? Why was it called "unlawful" and "too based on skin color" by mayoral candidate Charles Bowser? First of all, let's take a look into this "unlawful" Human Rights Agenda and see what demands have been raised by the Black community.

1. Job opportunities should be increased by reducing the 40 hour week to 32 hours.
2. "No-strike" clauses in union agreements should be abolished.
3. The January 1st Septa fare hike should be opposed.
4. Work-study programs within the public schools should be created.
5. For a better quality education in the public schools.
6. Federal fuel subsidies to senior citizens must be available for those who cannot afford the price of fuel.

As one can see, these demands speak to the most basic needs of the Black community in a very real way — needs that, because of extreme racist discrimination, have been historically denied Black people. Where then, is it "unlawful"? Is it unlawful to want a job? Is it unlawful to want a decent education or decent health care? Of course not (unless you are a Black person living in South Africa). Is the Human Rights Agenda "based on skin color"? Once again the answer is no! Every person wants a decent job, not just Black people. Every person wants a decent house, a decent education, decent health care, not just Black people. Every other demand raised in the Human Rights Agenda would, if won, benefit all people, not just Black people.

The Black United Front, which was the sponsor of the Black Political Convention, should wage a continuous and uncompromising fight to see that the Human Rights Agenda is circulated and publicly discussed in the Black community and, wherever possible, in the

# top ocrats

and Lynne Abraham, both critics of Rizzo, leading the pack.

What this shows is that, while there continues to be a hard core of voters who rally to the banner of Rizzoism, and that the Democratic machine can still deliver a sizeable vote to candidates of its choosing, the majority sentiment is opposed to the Rizzo doctrine. The machine is only decisive when the opposition is split.

## GREEN'S DILEMMA

To translate his primary victory into a win in the fall, Bill Green has to unite the deeply divided Democratic Party — a virtually impossible task. Green must pull together Rizzoites, machine regulars, liberals, and the more independent supporters of Charles Bowser in order to insure his election. Green faces the twin dangers of defections from both the right and the left.

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(continued on page 22)



# THE DEMOCRATIC Party of the C

by Duane Calhoun

*"We have to elect a Democrat in 1972 so I can start living like a Republican again."*

— Henry Ford II, 1971.

That joking remark by one of America's richest men describes American politics in a nutshell. The Democratic Party today, for all its "Party of the common man" slogans, is just as much the party of big business as the Republican Party. Of course, there are differences — the Democratic fat cats want to pick our pockets, while the Republican fat cats would rather use a gun.

Beyond small differences over just how hard to squeeze the working people and lower-middle-class, both parties are mainly interested in preserving corporate profit and ruling class power. In this article we'll look at the Democratic Party in the 1960's and 70's, to see how that party fronts for the same interests as the Republicans.

## DEMOCRATS IN ACTION

The special tax breaks that Congress hands out to business are a good example of the Democrats' loyalties. Most people think these deals are worked out by "Watergate" Republicans, along with a few right-wing Southern Democrats. But the liberal "friends of labor" get into the act too.

In 1976, the Senate Finance Committee held hearings on a new "tax reform" bill. Liberal Democrats publicly criticized the bill as a giveaway to big business, and pointed to Finance Committee Chairman Russell Long (D-Louisiana) as the corporate Santa Claus. That made Senator Long mad, and he surprised his critics by inviting the press to attend the next committee session. (These meetings are normally closed to the public.) At that session, eleven amendments to the bill were dropped without debate — amendments that had been written especially to give tax favors to the congressmen's business friends.

Two of these giveaway amendments had been sponsored by Walter Mondale, Democratic Vice-Presidential nominee and a leader of the liberal faction. One of

his amendments would have cut the tax rate on interest-paying bonds sold by the Investors Diversified Services Incorporated, a corporation based in Mondale's home state. That bill would have saved banks and other investors a quarter of a million dollars a year — money which the rest of the taxpayers would have to make up. Mondale failed to show up for the public session, and with no one to speak for them, his amendments were dropped.

The Vietnam War was another example of the Democrats and Republicans acting alike. We first got involved in Vietnam (on the side of the French colonial empire) in 1950, under Democratic President Harry Truman. After the French were beaten on the battlefield, we continued to support their front men (who became our front men) through the terms of a Republican President, two Democrats, and another Republican.

In 1964, Lyndon Johnson promised loud and long to end the war if elected, and that promise helped him win by a landslide. But right after the election, he turned right around and did just what his opponent Goldwater had promised to do. He refused to take part in a United Nations peace conference, began dropping fragmentation and napalm bombs on both North and South Vietnam, and sent over half a million more American draftees overseas.

By the time he admitted that his policy had been wrong and gave up the Presidency, the "architect of the Great Society" had sent 30,494 young Americans to die. Unknown thousands of Vietnamese people died along with them.

What about the Democrats' reputation as crusaders for civil rights and against race discrimination? The Democrats made a lot of noise at their 1948 convention about the civil rights plank, and the fight to include it despite the opposition of the southern segregationist Democrats. All well and good, but that plank remained a dead letter for 15 years of Democratic majorities in Congress — 15 years of segregated schools, job discrimination, and legal lynchings.

Almost nothing was actually done about this paper promise until the Civil Rights Act of 1964. And it was no coincidence that the 1964 law was passed only after the lunch counter sit-ins, after the Montgomery bus boycott, after the Freedom Rides, and after the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom in 1963.

## A JIM CROW PARTY

A look at how the Democratic Party runs its own organization also shows how hypocritical the Party leadership is in claiming to defend equality. In 1963 civil rights organizers in Mississippi answered the segregationist violence of the official Mississippi Democratic Party by organizing their own party — the Mississippi Freedom Democrats.

The Freedom Democrats were open to Blacks and whites and followed the rules and platform of the Democratic National Committee. The "official" Mississippi Democrats refused to allow Black people to take part in the Party, opposed registration of Black voters, and rejected the national Democratic platform.

When it came time to seat delegates at the 1964 Democratic convention, national party leaders went to the Freedom Democrats proposing "compromise" — both Mississippi Parties would be seated, with the Freedom Democrats getting two delegates and the racist Democrats getting the rest. The Party leadership (including Hubert Humphrey, who was one of the authors of both the 1948 Civil Rights

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The Black United Front, which was the sponsor of the Black Political Convention, should wage a continuous and uncompromising fight to see that the Human Rights Agenda is circulated and publicly discussed in the Black community and, wherever possible, in the

white community as well. It is in the interest of all people who are struggling for a better quality of life to champion the demands of the Human Rights Agenda in their workplaces, classrooms and communities.

The preservation and enforcement of the Human Rights Agenda would be a qualitative step forward for the Black, women's, and workers' movements here in Philadelphia as well as nationally, especially in light of the increasing racist and anti-worker offensive taking shape across this country. We are now witnessing an increase in unemployment, further attacks on affirmative action programs (like the Brian Weber Case), and a new deadly rise in police terror, to name a few.

A fight-back movement based on a program of demands such as those in the Human Rights Agenda would be a powerful movement centered around our most basic needs. Get a copy of the Human Rights Agenda and join now with those who are struggling for its realization.

# THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY TODAY- Party of the Common People?

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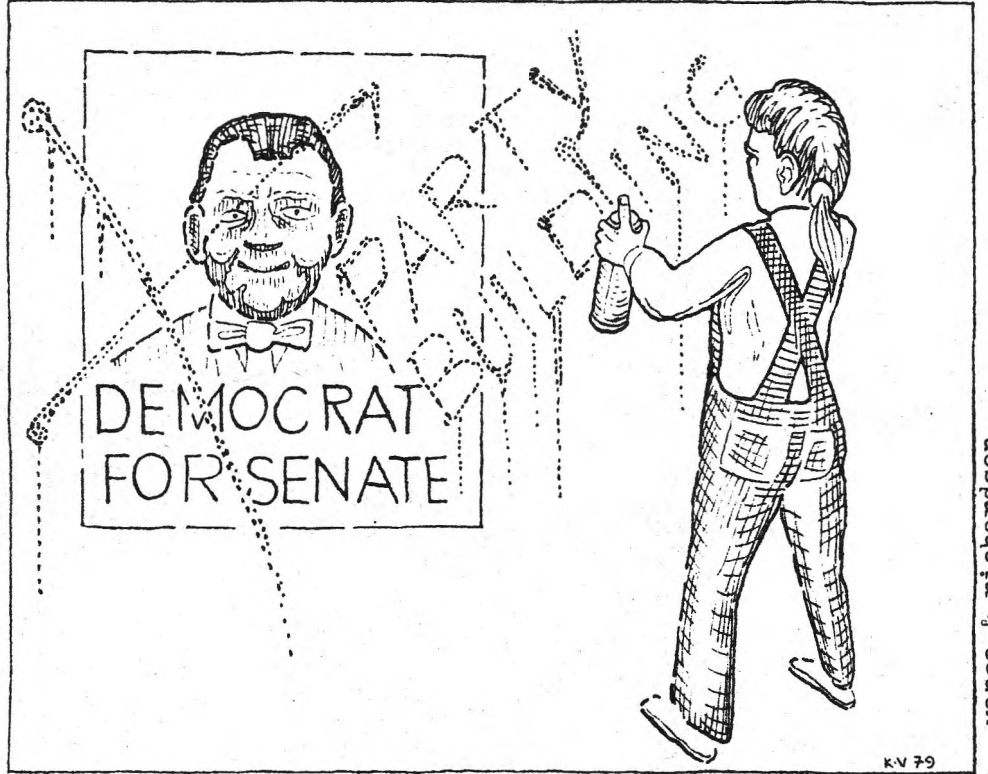
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plank and the 1964 dirty deal) was more interested in holding on to the support of those wealthy racists than in securing real equality for Black people.

We could go on all day citing examples of how the Democrats serve big business. But that still doesn't explain why the Democrats are that way. Maybe if the voters weren't so apathetic, or maybe if we could give more power to the honest liberals, then couldn't the Democrats become a real party of the people? We don't think so. That's been an argument ever since the People's Party merged with the Democrats in 1896, and after 80 years nothing much has changed. Why?

## WHERE THE MONEY COMES FROM

To see the bonds between the Democrats and the wealthy, we should look first of all at the almighty dollar. The myth that we've been taught about politics is that the labor unions finance the Democrats and that big business finances the Republicans. While the unions do give nearly all their money to Democrats, they are far outspent by the rich.

Herbert Alexander of the Citizens Research Foundation found that in every national election from 1948 to 1972, nearly three-quarters of the Democratic Party's money came from donations of \$500 or more apiece by wealthy people. Hubert Humphrey got over 5 million for his 1968 campaign from just 50 people — that's an average of \$100,000 apiece. And over one-third of those who gave \$10,000 or more in the 1972 elections gave to both Parties. (For more details on the finances of the Democratic Party, see the January 1979 issue of the *Organizer*.)

It's true that the Republicans have traditionally gotten more money from the rich than the Democrats have. But even this is changing. In response to the new campaign finance reforms passed after Watergate, fund-raising organizations called Political Action Committees (PACs) have begun to replace individuals as the main source of campaign money. There are now over 1500 PACs set up by businessmen, and nearly 300 set up by unions. As the members of these big business PACs have grown, their donations have also begun to shift. *Business Week* magazine found that more than half of big business PACs' money went to Democrats in the 1968 elections. And money talks.

## UNDEMOCRATIC DEMOCRATS

Another way the powerful few keep their hold over the Party is through its undemocratic structure. The candidate with the most popular support and the most primary election victories doesn't necessarily get the nomination. Senator Estes Kefauver was passed over this way in the 50's in favor of the blue-blood Adlai Stevenson. Hubert Humphrey was nominated over Gene McCarthy in 1968, even though Humphrey didn't win a single primary, and the polls showed McCarthy would have a better chance against Nixon. Humphrey and Stevenson were both more acceptable to the money men than their mildly populist rivals.

When the McGovern Commission studied the Party's structure after the Chicago convention protests of 1968, some of the facts about the Democrats' internal workings that came out were:

\*At least ten state Democratic Parties had no rules at all. All policies were set and convention delegates were chosen by a small group of appointed officials.

\*Many state Parties which had rules and elections on paper; were still controlled from the top by corruption and fraud. In a Party election in Mississippi, one politician cast 492 proxy votes from his town for his favorite candidate. Elections were held in some states without voters being told that an election was being held or who was running.

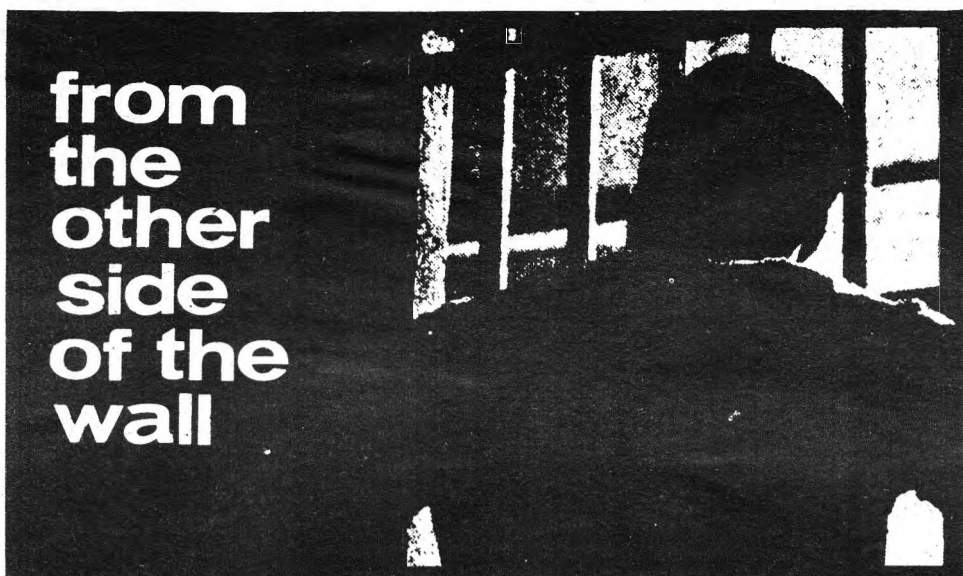
\*Black people made up 20% of registered Democrats, but only 2% of the 1964 convention delegates were Black.

\*Many states required delegates to pay their own way to the National convention, so only those who were well-off or had some way to raise money could qualify.

At the recommendation of the McGovern Commission, most of the worst of these practices were changed in 1970. But after 1972, the tide began to turn back. The reforming chairperson of the Party, Jean Westwood, was replaced by Robert Strauss — top Party fund-raiser and close associate of John "Democrats for Nixon" Connelly.

At the 1974 Convention, Strauss and the Democratic National Committee pushed for a reversal of many of the McGovern Commission reforms. The delegates voted to keep most of the reforms, but did repeal the guaranteed

(continued on page 14)



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wall

# The Organizer Encourages Inmate Organization and Unity

<b>RECEIVED</b> FEB 28 1978 OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL FEDERAL BUREAU OF PRISONS	FEDERAL BUREAU OF PRISONS CENTRAL OFFICE APPEAL RESPONSE FOR ADMINISTRATIVE REMEDY REQUEST	INSTRUCTIONS: TYPE OR USE BALL POINT PEN. IF MORE SPACE IS NEEDED, USE ATTACHMENT SHEET IN QUADRUPPLICATE.
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From: Bassey, Charles L. 86898-132 Marion  
LAST NAME, FIRST, MIDDLE INITIAL. REG. NO. INSTITUTION

**\*Part A—REASON FOR APPEAL:**

1. Rejection of "Organizer" is based on Philosophy as is admitted by warden Wilkerson in his answer to copy
2. The rejection letter signed by L. Hank for R. Williams shows that this Philosophy is the basis for the rejection of most books and newspapers at Marion. This constitutes a deliberate violation of Bureau policy statement 7300-42D.
3. Any Philosophy that the local jacksals dont like they use speculative reasons void of anything concrete to reject publications.

Feb 28 5 24/6  
 Charles L. Bassey 86898-132  
SIGNATURE OF REQUESTOR

Feb 22 1978  
DATE

\*ONE COPY OF THE COMPLETED FORMS NO. BP-DIR-9 AND BP-DIR-10 MUST ACCOMPANY THIS APPEAL

**Part B—RESPONSE**

You have appealed the rejection of the publication "The Organizer". The Warden found that a particular article in that magazine encouraged inmate organization and unity against correctional institutions. Such a situation could reasonably be expected to develop an adversary attitude by inmates toward staff and would therefore interfere with the orderly running of the institution. The rejection is therefore justified pursuant to policy statement 7300.42D. Your appeal is denied.

Clair A. Cripe  
Clair A. Cripe, General Counsel  
 GENERAL COUNSEL AND REVIEW

April 14, 1978  
DATE

ORIGINAL: TO BE RETURNED TO OFFENDER AFTER COMPLETION.

## democrats ...

(continued from page 13)

minimum of representation for minority and women delegates. The acid test of the new rules, however, is results. And here they are a clear failure. We only have to look at Jimmy "I'll never lie to you" Carter and his forgotten promises, to see that the new rules have had little visible effect on the performances of the Party.

### A HIDDEN POWER

Some of the most important links between both political parties and the upper class are the organizations known as "policy planning groups." The four key groups are the Council on Foreign Relations, and a government official Development, the Business Council, and the Conference Board. Very few people have heard of these organizations, yet they're the most powerful private organizations in the US. Each group is made up of a few hundred individuals, mostly directors and stockholders of America's biggest industrial corporations and banks, and a few corporate lawyers

and university presidents. Membership is by invitation only.

The Committee for Economic Development for example, draws 63 of its 200 or so members from the 25 largest banks. And many individuals belong to two or more of these groups. Forty-eight of the 190 Committee for Economic Development trustees also belonged to the Council on Foreign Relations. Their funds come from individual contributions, dues paid by corporations, and from the Ford, Carnegie, and Rockefeller Foundations.

Their purpose is to make "recommendations" for government policy on everything from labor law to welfare spending to foreign policy. They meet regularly with congressmen and top government officials of both Parties, and their "recommendations" are almost always accepted. Few people know that the founding of the United Nations, the Vietnam War, and the recognition of Red China were all discussed and planned in detail in the Council on Foreign Relations before they became official government policy.

Describing the Council on Foreign Relations, the *New York Times* said: "The Council's talks and seminars...are

## Support the Marion Brothers

News from the  
National Committee to Support the  
Marion Brothers

St. Louis Missouri. . . 125 people demonstrated outside the US Bureau of Prisons office on November 27th, 1978, while nine others occupied the office in protest of B. O. P. policies at the Marion, Illinois, Federal Prison. The nine were allowed to stay in the office for two hours before being arrested. They were seeking a public statement from the local BOP director, advocating the closing of Marion's long-term control unit. The director refused to issue the statement after a long discussion of conditions at Marion. The occupiers were then arrested on charges of peace disturbance and trespassing. All were carried from the office on stretchers. They were released 20 hours later on their own recognizance.

The sit-in was the first major civil disobedience action in St. Louis in over ten years and one of the first such actions ever taken against US Bureau of Prisons policies. "We have exposed the public to the repressive policies of the CIA and FBI", said Audrey Myers of the Nat'l Committee to Support the Marion Brothers, "but it is time we recognized that the US Bureau of Prisons is in the same business. The Marion long-term control unit is the most blatant example of this, and that's why we're here today,

but the Bureau's Olympic Prison project and their plans to build more prisons in America must be challenged too."

At a rally held before the demonstration, supporters cheered solidarity messages from Rafael Miranda, a Marion prisoner and one of the Four Puerto Rican Nationalist Prisoners, Lorenzo Ervin, a former SNCC organizer being held at Marion, the Pontiac Prisoners Organization, the Canadian Moratorium on Prison Construction, and the Chicago Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression.

The Marion, Illinois, Federal Prison replaced Alcatraz as the maximum-security prison in the US. The long-term control unit, an indefinite solitary confinement unit, was opened in 1972 and has since become the Bureau of Prisons' special lock-up for activist prisoners from all federal prisons, many state prisons, and even from the Virgin Islands. Federal Court rulings have officially noted that torture methods have been used in the control unit and that the unit has been used "to silence prison critics. . . religious leaders. . . economic and philosophic dissidents."

For more information contact the Nat'l Committee, 4556a Oakland, St. Louis, MO 63110 314-533-2234.

## Release George Blue

George Blue is in the forefront of the fight for prisoners' rights. As co-founder and president of the National Prisoners Association, he initiated legal action to force Federal prison authorities to allow prisoners to receive progressive newspapers and books. He has faced continuous harassment at the hands of Federal authorities.

Originally arrested on charges of bank robbery, George Blue soon came to understand that the prison system is a tool of the rich against the poor and oppressed people. Because he has fought back against his oppressors, and sought to organize his fellow prisoners, he has been refused a parole. Recently President Carter refused to grant executive clemency. This is in contrast to the clemency order granted to Patty Hearst.

We in the Prisoners Solidarity Committee of Detroit urge you to support our campaign to gain George Blue's release.

We demand that George E. Blue, prison number 27559-138, US Prison, El Reno, Oklahoma, be immediately released. The unjust decision of the regional parole board should be reversed.

George Blue has served over nine years on a twenty year sentence. His co-defendants were released long ago. Since being imprisoned, George Blue has become an activist in the struggle for pri-

soners' rights in Leavenworth; Atlanta Georgia; Marion, Illinois; and El Reno, Oklahoma. He has been forced to initiate several lawsuits in defense of basic rights such as the right of prisoners to receive progressive periodicals and books. As a human-rights activist he has been made a special target of the US prison authorities.

In September, 1978, George Blue appeared before the US Parole Commission for consideration. Needless to say, he was denied a parole. At the time he had four years and six months left for a discharge. The commission ordered him to serve another four years.

We believe that George Blue is being punished for his political beliefs. He has been designated as a political prisoner by the World Peace Council of Helsinki, Finland.

In view of President Carter's stand on human rights, we feel that it would be appropriate for the US Parole Commission to show some concern for America's political prisoners. It could begin by freeing George Blue, especially in view of the fact that the El Reno prison officials have recommended that he be released in September, 1979.

For more information, write to:  
Prisoners Solidarity Committee, PO Box 08141, Detroit, MI 48208.

Secretary of State (Rusk, Democrat) and Treasury (Dillon, Republican) were chosen from Council members; so were seven assistant and under-secretaries of State, four senior members of Defense, . . . as well as two members of the White House staff (Schlesinger, Democrat; Bundy, Republican)."

The Committee for Economic Development had five of its trustees in Nixon's cabinet. Three Committee for Economic Development trustees serve in Jimmy Carter's cabinet — Secretary of the Treasury, Secretary of the Navy, and Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisors. Carter also appointed the President of the Conference Board as Chairman of the Federal Reserve System, which controls the nation's banking system.

Reporter Joseph Kraft observed that these policy groups "play a special part in helping to bridge the gap between the two parties, affording unofficially a measure of continuity when the guard changes in Washington." In other words, these private political clubs, drawing their members from the richest 1% of the population, tell the government what to do and how to do it.

strictly off the record. An indiscretion (leaking information to the press) can be grounds for termination or suspension of membership."

Members of these organizations make up the majority of the top cabinet officials in both Republican and Democratic administrations. According to John McCloy (of Chase Manhattan Bank, the Ford Foundation, Council on Foreign Relations, and a government official under both Republicans and Democrats since 1942): "Whenever we needed a man (in government), we thumbed through the roll of Council members and put in a call to New York."

Reporter Theodore White described the role of the Council on Foreign Relations this way:

"Its roster of members has for a generation, under Republican and Democratic administrations alike, been the chief recruiting ground for cabinet level officials in Washington. Among the first 82 names on a list prepared for John F. Kennedy for staffing his State Department, at least 63 were members of the Council, Republicans and Democrats alike. When he finally made his appointments, both his

## Political Prisoners in the U.S.

# Hey Jimmy... What about Human Rights?

by Jack Owens

Leonard Peltier, Dessie Woods, and Gary Tyler are political prisoners in the US. All three were jailed for opposing exploitation and for refusing to submit to personal brutality. It is no accident that all three are members of national minorities, for racism and sexism are an integral part of the legacy of US capitalism. These three plus Joann Little, Imani (Johnny Harris), Assata Shakur, Tommy Lee Hines, Yvonne Warrow, Terrence Johnson, the Wilmington 10, the four Puerto Rican nationalists, the Charlotte 3, and hundreds of others of all races whose names we will never know stand as living indictments to the hypocrisy of Jimmy Carter's "human rights" rhetoric.

All of these fighters for justice have been imprisoned according to US laws, but, in the words of Lennox Hinds, national director of the National Conference of Black Lawyers:

"The laws that define what is and what is not a crime are primarily defined by and for those who benefit most from capitalist society. The criminal laws and prisons, therefore, are used politically to control the poor and oppressed segments of the population routinely and are also used against those who consciously assert and advocate resistance to the established society and are singled out for special repressive treatment."

### LEONARD PELTIER — A LEADER OF NATIVE AMERICAN RESISTANCE

Leonard Peltier, 34 year old Chippewa Sioux, is a long time Indian activist and founder of the Milwaukee, Wisconsin branch of the militant American Indian Movement (AIM). He is currently serving two consecutive life terms on trumped-up murder charges stemming from a June, 1975 FBI invasion of the Sioux reservation at Pine Ridge, South Dakota.

On June 26, 1975, over 200 FBI and Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) police descended on the Pine Ridge reservation. When asked to leave they launched an assault that poured thousands of rounds of ammunition into homes occupied by innocent adults and children. In the course of the attack, two FBI agents and a Native American — Joe Stuntz — were killed.

Leonard Peltier and three other AIM activists were charged with murdering the FBI agents. Of the four, only Peltier was convicted — two others were acquitted and charges were dropped against the fourth. No investigation was made of

Stuntz's death and no one was ever brought to trial.

It is obvious that the massive invasion was more than a routine patrol. BIA police were warned ahead of time to remove their families because there "might be trouble" on June 26. Weeks before the incident the FBI added 40 extra agents to their already sizable force stationed near the reservation.

Why this provocative and blatant invasion? AIM activists are convinced it was conducted to divert energy and money away from opposition to a Department of Interior plan to turn over 133,000 acres of tribal lands to private companies for uranium exploration. This plan is but a part of a broader strategy to seize — by any means necessary — the estimated 80% of untouched US energy reserves that are now on Native American lands.

After FBI threats to "get" him — dead or alive — Peltier fled to Canada in 1977 while awaiting trial. He was extradited on the basis of perjured "eye-witness" affidavits — later renounced — in spite of broad opposition to his extradition among Canadians.

His trial was a classic mockery of justice familiar to those who battle US imperialism. The trial was illegal in the first place since, under the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1868, Peltier had a right to be tried by the Oglala Sioux Nation — just another in the long trail of broken treaties that has been standard operating procedure since Europeans first set foot on American soil. In his trial the FBI harassment and the invasion of Pine Ridge were ruled inadmissible evidence.

Peltier's chances for a new trial dimmed in March of 1978 when the US Supreme Court refused to hear the appeal of his conviction. Yet in spite of this setback, Peltier's spirit has not dimmed. Leonard Peltier represents one more chapter in an ongoing history of genocide seldom matched in world history. Yet he stands also as a symbol of the unceasing resistance of Native Americans and their refusal to submit to still further exploitation.

For further information contact the Leonard Peltier Defense Committee: 241-7131 or 843-7670

### DESSIE WOODS — SELF-DEFENSE NETS 22 YEAR SENTENCE

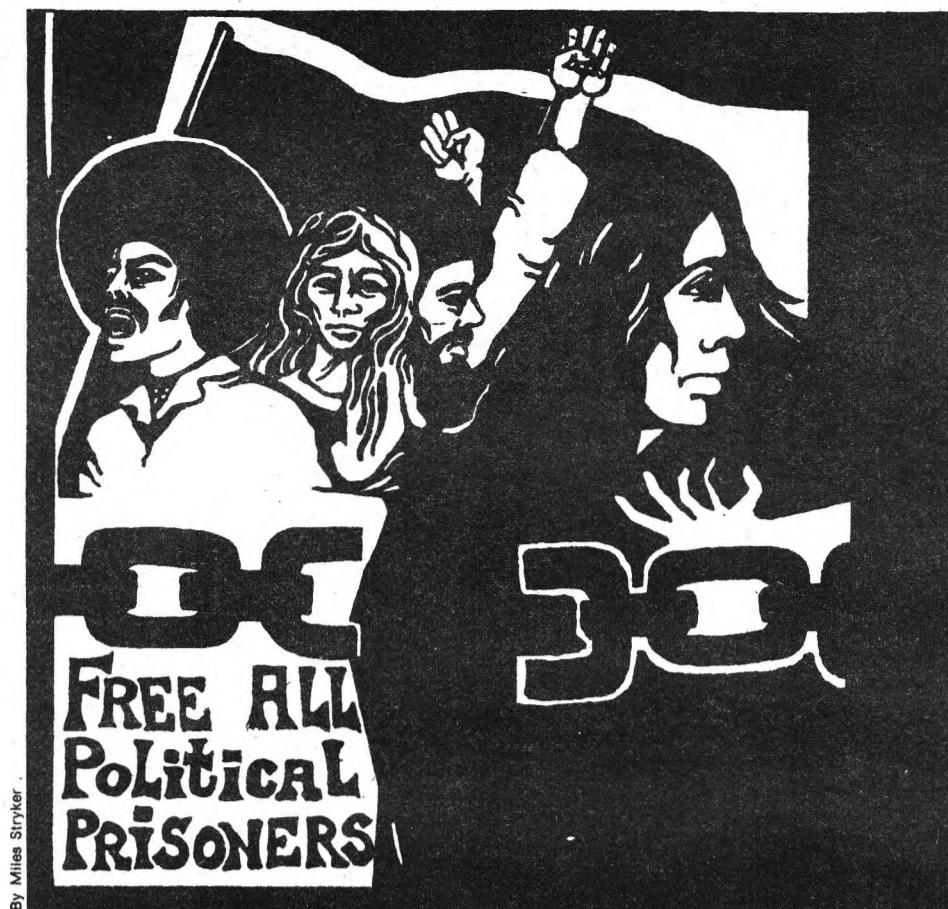
Along with the daily discrimination suffered by all Blacks in the US, Black women in the South have, since slavery, been victims of assault and rape by white

and would be compelled to invest in energy development. It would not be answerable to a few rich stockholders, but to the US people.

### A BETTER IDEA

Our need for oil at a price we can afford is far too important to be left to the oil companies. Instead of bribing them through deregulation to find it, drill it, and refine it, how about taking it out of their hands completely? How about nationalizing the oil companies (and other energy monopolies) and placing them under public control?

A publicly owned, democratically managed oil industry would not face the question of to produce or not to produce. Only profit making enterprises tied to the market operate on this logic. A publicly owned and controlled industry would not be allowed to invest in non-energy fields



men who rarely if ever are even charged with a crime much less punished. In fact when Black women have exercised their right of self-defense, more often than not it is they who are put on trial and not their attackers. Such is the case with Dessie Woods.

In February, 1976, Dessie Woods and a companion were attacked by a white man who attempted to rape them at gunpoint on a deserted Georgia road. Rather than submit, Woods fought back and in the course of the struggle shot and killed her assailant. For the "crime" of defending herself, Dessie Woods was sentenced to 22 years in prison.

After her appeal for a new trial was denied by the Georgia Supreme Court in January, 1978, the National Committee to Defend Dessie Woods summed up the verdict this way:

"The decision of the Georgia Supreme Court was not a mere miscarriage of justice. Here in Georgia a white man has never been convicted for raping or sexually assaulting a Black woman. The only justice has come through acts such as Dessie Woods and Joann Little carried out."

For more information contact the National Committee to Defend Dessie Woods, P.O. Box 92084, Atlanta, Ga., 30314.

### GARY TYLER — VICTIM OF RACIST FRAME UP

At age 16 most teenagers are beginning to make plans for their future — school, a job, a place of their own. But in 1974, sixteen year old Gary Tyler, a Black youth from Louisiana had no such dreams, for he stood sentenced to death for a crime he did not commit.

On that day in 1974, Gary Tyler, along with other Black students from Dastrehan High School were riding on a school bus which was attacked and

stoned by a white mob. In the confusion that followed a shot rang out and a white youth fell dead. Tyler objected to the police search of his school bus and was arrested for "interfering with the law." No weapon was found on that initial search, but racism demanded a scapegoat. Therefore, hours after the original search, a gun was conveniently "discovered" and Gary Tyler, whose only crime was to stand up for his rights, was now charged with murder.

In classic kangaroo court fashion, Tyler was convicted of first degree murder by an all-white jury after a three hour trial. Convicted in spite of the fact that the alleged murder weapon was a .45 caliber automatic with no identifying fingerprints which belonged to a firing range used by the police. Convicted in spite of the fact that the only "evidence" was a supposed eye-witness account by a 14 year Black girl — Natalie Banks — who later swore she had lied on the witness stand after being threatened by the prosecutors.

In March, 1977, Gary Tyler was sentenced to life imprisonment after the US Supreme Court struck down the Louisiana death penalty as unconstitutional. He will not be eligible for parole for 20 years.

In October, 1977, the same judge, Ruche Marino, who tried the case, denied him a writ of habeas corpus and in January, 1978, the Louisiana Supreme Court refused to grant Tyler a new trial in spite of the faked evidence and the blatant racism of prosecutors, judge and jury.

Even in the face of the attempts to crush him, Gary Tyler remains undaunted and firm in professing his innocence and in supporting political prisoners and anti-racist struggles everywhere. His supporters, led by his mother, will continue the struggle and will not rest until Gary Tyler is free.

For more information contact the Gary Tyler Defense Fund, P.O. Box 52223, New Orleans, Louisiana, 70152.

## oil swindle ...

(continued from page 1)

mate that total deregulation will mean a mere 200,000 more barrels a day, mainly from old wells which have been shut down by producers hoping for bigger prices. Even the industry itself claims only that production will rise by 4% or 400,000 barrels per day.

Deregulation does not guarantee that the oil monopolies will boost domestic production. It is more likely that they will continue to restrict supply to maintain high prices. Why should they boost investment in research, exploration and new refineries? They can reap huge profits without this expenditure and invest in

to the phoney crisis manufactured in Washington and the corporate board rooms, is rooted in the profit system. Taking energy production and policy away from the profiteers is the only meaningful step and real reform that promises relief for the US people.

Naturally the oil companies will not look favorably on such an idea. Big business as a whole can be expected to resist militantly any such inroads on what they regard as their god-given right to own and exploit. Only mass mobilization and struggle by the masses of working people can compel the government to take such a step. The rising discontent with shortages, high prices, and the sort of corporate irresponsibility that gave us Three Mile Island means that the time is ripe for such a demand and for a broad movement on its behalf.



## Movie Review

# "Norma Rae" A Union Woman

by Jean Kerr

"Bless the child of the workingman. She knows too soon who she is." These are the opening lines of the theme song from "Norma Rae", one of the best Hollywood films to hit the street in a while.

Who is Norma Rae? She's the child of a working man. In fact, her father and mother work along with her at the O. P. Henley Textile Mill in the South. She's 31, a single mother with two young children. Norma Rae is lonely and she's admittedly made some "mistakes" with men. She's just ending her last mistake when the film begins. But most of all, Norma Rae is a strong woman, a fighter — especially in the mill. And when she gets involved in the organizing drive, she blossoms into a real working class heroine.

At first she's a little reluctant to get involved in the drive, but she's interested. The bosses try to buy her off with a promotion, but when her new job as timekeeper causes a speed-up for her co-workers, she throws the promotion back in the bosses' faces, goes back to the weaving room, and shows up at the first union meeting. Soon after, she signs a union card and starts handing out buttons and leaflets in the mill and door to door.

Things are going pretty slow until her father drops dead at work when his foreman refuses to let him take a break. Then the union office fills with workers. A high point of the movie is when the bosses fire Norma Rae for her union organizing. She refuses to leave the shop, jumps up on a table and holds up a cardboard sign reading "UNION". One by one, every woman and man on the weaving room floor shuts off her/his machine in support and solidarity. At the end of the film comes the election, and all workers are gathered round for the count. The union wins!

"Norma Rae" portrays the struggle and victory of Southern textile workers, and it is the story of a working woman's strength, struggle and growth — realities Hollywood usually hides pretty well.

### A WIN, FOR A CHANGE

One thing that really distinguishes this film from other Hollywood working class films such as "Blue Collar" is that it ends in victory, not hopelessness. However, it is weak in showing workers actually organizing for that victory. It focuses too much on Norma Rae and on Reuben, the organizer sent from union headquarters in New York. There is only one short scene in which a lot of workers are involved in the drive.

Along the same lines, the film makes labor law look like a much more powerful tool than it really is. Several times the bosses back off when Reuben threatens them with the law. When the company posts a letter to make white workers believe that Black workers were going to take over the union, Reuben thinks the solution is to file charges against the company.

Now, J. P. Stevens, clearly the model for the movie's O. P. Henley, is the biggest labor law violator in the country, but the courts have not come to the rescue of Stevens' workers at Roanoke Rapids, North Carolina. The workers have had to rely on their own organized strength. When J. P. Stevens posted the same kind of letter, it wasn't the law that was the solution, but the workers' understanding of how the company was using racism to divide them, and their struggle against racism and for Black-white unity.

Which brings me to how the film portrayed the struggle against racism. It did a better job of showing the need for Black and white unity than it did in exposing the company's racism and discrimination, and the need to fight against



Norma Rae is fired for working to organize a union. She refuses to leave the textile mill and is forcibly removed by local officials.

that. At one point, Norma Rae tries to get her church as a meeting place for the union. She quits the church when the Reverend refuses to let Blacks in his church, and the meeting takes place at her house.

As workers speak about the issues at the mill, it's clear that Black and white workers have a common interest in seeing a union there. But only once in the entire movie is discrimination at the plant even mentioned. And you would never know from watching the movie that Black workers have been and are now the most militant and leading force in organizing textile and other industries in the South.

### AN HONEST PICTURE OF WOMEN

The movie is stronger around the struggle against sexism. Just as the company uses racism to try and divide the workers, it uses sexism, spreading rumors about Norma Rae making porno flicks, to discredit her. Not only does the film portray Norma Rae as an aggressive and hard-working organizer, but it does a good job showing the pressures she's under first as a single mother and later on as a wife and mother. She is both strong and loving in her relationship with her husband and children, but I think her husband Sonny gets a raw deal in the movie.

Sonny works at the mill, too. While it's true he would rather have a beer and forget than fight back, there's no scene where Norma Rae or Reuben try to get him involved. During the movie Norma Rae and Reuben become very close through working together. It's easy to see how Sonny would be jealous not only of the time Norma Rae spends organizing, but also of the time she spends with Reuben.

Reuben should have made it clear that nothing was going on between them. He should have tried to get Sonny involved, but instead he does almost the opposite. In one scene, in which Sonny isn't sure he can deal with Norma Rae's new life, Reuben tells him he'll have to accept it or split.

Norma Rae's father is an important character in the film, also. He's a loving father, hard worker, and very anti-union. He thought his boss was his friend, and his boss lets him die rather than interrupt production.

After the election, Norma's direction is unclear. As I sat in the theater, I imagined showing her a copy of the *Organizer*. All in all, "Norma Rae" is a powerful and inspiring film for working people, so good that you can bet it will never win an Oscar.

# Gay Rights Stonewall to San Francisco

"Stonewall to San Francisco" will be the slogan of Philadelphia's Lesbian and Gay Pride Celebration, scheduled for Saturday night, June 16th, at JFK Plaza from 7 to 11 PM. The rally will feature speeches by Alan Young and Karla Jay, pioneer authors of the gay liberation movement. (*Out of the Closet: Voices of Gay Liberation*, and *The Gay Report*). Tony Silvestre, of the Governor's Council on Sexual Minorities, and others are also scheduled to speak. There will also be music and entertainment.

June 29th will be the tenth anniversary of the "Stonewall Rebellion". When

police raided the Stonewall Inn, a gay bar in New York City in 1969, they met with strong resistance from the patrons who stood up to a common form of harassment of gays. Protests and demonstrations continued for three days, and the event is considered by gay activists as the starting point of the modern gay liberation movement. Annual demonstrations on this date have drawn over 100,000 in New York and San Francisco.

San Francisco, in the slogan, refers to the recent conviction of Dan White, murderer of gay San Francisco Supervisor Harvey Milk and Mayor George Moscone

last November 27th. White was convicted of manslaughter, and may be paroled in five months. Gay activists and others had called for a first-degree murder conviction, which carries a life sentence.

The case became a rallying point for right wing forces who oppose not only the growing militance of the San Francisco gay and Lesbian communities, but the progressive political stands of Milk and Moscone in general. Milk was not only concerned with gay rights; he was a staunch fighter against racism and sexism, and an outspoken supporter of affirmative action. White, an ex-cop and former

Supervisor, is a "law and order" politician, and publicly attacked the gay liberation movement. Off-duty cops were frequently seen wearing T-shirts that read "Free Dan White." Police harassment in the gay community had also increased during the trial.

Five thousand protested the sentencing of White at San Francisco City Hall the night the verdict was handed down. They were met by riot equipped police, and 140 were injured, with 25 arrests.

Police harassment of gays did not begin at the Stonewall; recent events in San Francisco make it clear that it has not yet stopped, despite the work of the gay liberation movement. It is a regular tactic in the arsenal of Philadelphia police as well.

The *Organizer* encourages all its readers to attend the June 16 celebration to both learn about and lend support to the struggle for democratic rights for lesbians and gay men.

### PHILADELPHIA LESBIAN AND GAY PRIDE CELEBRATION

Saturday Night, June 16, 7-11PM  
John F. Kennedy Plaza

Speakers, music, dancing  
(In case of rain: Gay Community Center,  
Kater St., near 4th and South)



Last November, Dan White (ex-cop and ex-city official) shot and killed two people — Harvey Milk, gay San Francisco Supervisor, and Mayor George Moscone. White was convicted of manslaughter. In outrage, the gay community spontaneously took to the streets to protest White's getting away with "cold-blooded murder." In a clash with police, more than 100 people were injured and several police cars were set on fire.

# How the CPUSA "Beat" Frank Rizzo

by Ron Whitehorne

Ron Whitehorne was active in the movement to defeat the charter change as a member of the Executive Committee of the Stop Rizzo Coalition.

"By exposing the monopoly roots of racism and the need for Black-white unity to defeat it, in defending and expanding the standard of living of all working people, the Party played a decisive role in Rizzo's resounding defeat."

— April issue of *Political Affairs*

This bit of self-congratulation on the part of the Communist Party, USA, will come as news to the thousands of activists who were on the front lines of the fight to defeat Frank Rizzo's attempt to grab another four years as Mayor. The plain fact is the CPUSA was largely invisible in the Stop Rizzo movement. Its "decisive role" consisted of tailing behind the liberals in the Democratic Party and the AFL-CIO leadership and of slandering the movement's more militant, class-conscious wing.

## WHO PLAYED DECISIVE ROLE?

The Stop Rizzo Coalition (SRC) and the Black United Front (BUF) constituted the organized left wing of the movement to defeat the charter change. It was the SRC that "exposed the monopoly roots of racism and the need for Black-white unity" in the course of organizing thousands to oppose Rizzo. The SRC registered over 50,000 new voters, mobilized and educated people in the wards, at the shop gates and in the union halls. It organized numerous city-wide demonstrations and actions, both on its own and in concert with other forces.

The SRC organized the election day apparatus in half the wards in the city — primarily in the North, Northwest and lower Northeast — all predominantly working class neighborhoods. The initiative for organizing the SRC and much of the leadership came from left forces, including Marxist-Leninists (the PWOC among them), Milton Street and the North Philadelphia Block Corporation also played a key role in the coalition.

The Black United Front expressed the militancy of the city's aroused Black community. The BUF brought together the more independent Black elected officials, revolutionary nationalists and a wide range of grass roots community organizations. It organized voter registration and election day activity, mass meetings and motorcades and a 5000 strong demonstration in response to the raid on MOVE headquarters and in protest of

Rizzo's charter change. The BUF was also a major force in the boycott of the Gallery, the downtown shopping mall which symbolizes the corporate priorities of the city's political leadership.

It was these two organizations which in fact played the decisive role in building a mass movement to beat Rizzo. Significantly, the CPUSA, in a five-page sum up of the anti-Rizzo campaign, does not even mention the SRC, and the BUF warrants no more than a sentence. Perhaps this is because the CPUSA was not a member of either coalition. In the case of the SRC, repeated efforts were made to involve the CPUSA, but the Party was apparently too busy playing its "decisive role" to reply to these invitations.

## RIGHTISM MASQUERADING AS A CRITIQUE OF "LEFTISM"

The Party's actual attitude toward the SRC is revealed in the following statement:

"Ultra-left" sects, Trotskyite and Maoist groups, hoping to capitalize on the tide of democratic struggle, played an opportunist, splitting role. They consistently bucked the decision of political forces arrayed against the mayor to keep the main fire on Rizzo. Their line was racist, anti-union and anti-democratic leadership; they pitted rank and file workers against union leadership and incited rank and file community forces against those Black Democratic ward leaders who opposed the Rizzo machine in an unprecedented display of independence."

This statement is indicative of the dishonesty that permeates the Party's analysis. The "Trotskyite" SWP, which boycotted the election, is lumped together with other forces who actively mobilized for a No vote. But even more revealing is the essential tailism and right opportunism of this statement.

It is simply false that the SRC did not "keep the main fire on Rizzo". Nor is it true that the SRC "pitted rank and file workers against union leadership". What is true is that the SRC trade unionists mobilized the ranks against union leaders who backed Rizzo and to push those "neutral" leaders off the fence. SRC forces actively supported those union leaders who opposed Rizzo and united with them at every opportunity. In fact the demonstration at the AFL-CIO headquarters, which the CPUSA characterizes as "the grossest action" of the SRC forces, was in support of an anti-Rizzo resolution introduced by progressive trade union leadership. In contrast, the CPUSA, in the name of trade union "unity",



refused to take the struggle against Rizzo to the rank and file of the labor movement.

## CPUSA IN ACTION

This was dramatically brought out in the deliberations of "Trade Unionists Against the Charter Change", an ad hoc group which the Political Affairs article puffs as the expression of rank and file trade union opposition to Rizzo. This grouping, which met twice and held a single press conference, brought together the trade union committee of the SRC, some CPUSA trade unionists and a number of unaffiliated trade union leaders and rank and filers. The CPUSA line within this formation was opposed to a focus on mobilizing the ranks to compel the trade union leadership to oppose Rizzo.

Instead they counterposed going up to the Northeast on a flat bed truck and agitating in the community. This project duplicated work already being done and bore no relation to activity in the unions. Because of the CPUSA's insistence on this course, the SRC withdrew, most independent forces fell away and the group collapsed. By way of contrast the "ultra-lefts" of the SRC held a dozen shop gate rallies, passed resolutions against Rizzo in several unions, and organized a city-wide demonstration of trade unionists.

The charge that the "ultra-lefts incited rank and file community forces against the Black Democratic ward leaders who opposed the Rizzo machine" is an even grander distortion and again hides the pathetic opportunism of the CPUSA. The CPUSA does not and cannot cite a single concrete instance of such "incitement" for the simple reason that there was none. What did occur was an attack by Joseph Coleman, Black leader of the 22nd ward, on Milton Street, the BUF and the SRC.

Coleman, a voice of "moderation" within the Democratic Party called for a "de-escalation of rhetoric" and an end to street demonstrations, which Coleman argued were helping Rizzo. Yet in the Germantown area, the CPUSA worked closely with the Coleman forces and remained aloof from the more militant, independent elements in the BUF and SRC. Coleman's role has not been forgotten and he is presently being challenged for his council seat by a BUF-backed candidate. The CPUSA hypocritically praises Milton Street and the Gallery Boycott while in practice lining up with elements in the Democratic Party who oppose Street's brand of politics from the right.

Also notable is the CPUSA's failure to mention the police attack on MOVE

and the mass outpouring that followed it. The police beating of Delbert Africa prompted the largest demonstration of the whole Stop Rizzo campaign; but the CPUSA doesn't find it worthy of even a footnote. Clearly this issue was regarded as "too hot to handle" by these "revolutionaries."

## UNITE FOR UNITY

Having played a "decisive role" in beating Rizzo, what does the CPUSA see for the future? They describe our current tasks in the following way:

"...routing Rizzo officeholders and moving to consolidate this victory is the task of the 1979 mayoral and councilmanic elections. It is estimated that about 200 citizens will file nominating petitions for the 17 City Council seats to be filled. Already four candidates have announced for mayor. Discussions are now taking place among various political forces as to how to achieve unity and consolidate the momentous victory. The Communist Party will continue to seek the maximum unity of all peoples forces for the 1979 elections, to take class and people's unity forward."

Not a word about the need for independent political action, not a word about the need for a platform that will represent the needs of the masses, not a word of criticism of the corporate liberals who oppose Rizzo for control of the Democratic Party. Undoubtedly any manifestation of class independence or criticism of the Democrats would disrupt "the people's unity" which the CPUSA places before all else. The only unity the CPUSA will serve to advance with their right opportunist politics is the false and destructive unity of class collaboration.

In spite of the miserable tailism and vicious sectarianism of the CPUSA leadership, many individual Party members made a real contribution to the struggle against Rizzo. These honest Party members must be truly embarrassed by the pretensions and the sham of these leaders. It is important to underline that the Party's performance in this struggle is not an isolated lapse of Marxist-Leninist leadership, but a manifestation of a deep-rooted disease — a consolidated revisionist outlook and political line. It is this betrayal of Marxism-Leninism that has disqualified the CPUSA from any claim to being the revolutionary vanguard of the working class and which has made the building of a new and genuine Communist Party the central task of the present period.





# A Response to PUL Clearing Away the Fog

by Clay Newlin

In polemics, when in doubt, engage in a bit of fogging. Shroud the landscape so that its sharp contours can't be seen. Cover everything with a fine mist and hope that the forest will not be seen through the trees. Training for this discipline consists in learning how to dodge the central points at issue, treating every difference, no matter how secondary, as if it were of equal political weight, and attempting to steadily shift the focus of discussion from one point to the next, providing no sense of the interconnections between the points, and especially avoiding any effort to grapple with the dispute as a whole. For coloring, this art charges ambiguity or contradictions in the opposing point of view, the misuse of important technical terms and mysterious changes in position. In essence it all comes down to developing the ability to cast a deep fog over a debate, a fog so thick that those following the controversy will be unable to determine even the essential points at issue, let alone the more correct position.

It is unfortunate that the Proletarian Unity League (PUL) has chosen to provide us with a lesson in this art. In its reply to our critique of PUL's book, *Two, Three, Many Parties of a New Type?* (the critique appeared in the December 1977, January, February, April and May 1978 issues of the *Organizer*), PUL does touch upon some of the important differences between us. But the thrust of their remarks seems less designed to clarify the real substance of those differences than to create the impression of inconsistencies or contradictions in our perspective. Whatever their intentions, PUL consistently avoids going to the heart of the matter, and avoids in particular, any attempt to set our differences in the context of the US communist movement and its main tasks.

In order to clear away the fog, we will direct our reply towards clarifying the main points of contention between PUL and ourselves. In addition, we will demonstrate that these differences have a common root in a divergence of a more fundamental character. And we will discuss how this latter divergence relates to the basic tasks facing anti-revisionists.

Presently, the US communist movement is divided into two contending wings — an ultra-left (or more precisely, a dogmatist) one and a Marxist-Leninist one. The ultra-left wing has developed views on almost every major question posed by the US revolution, is in by far the most favorable position organizationally, and its main political current has the added advantage of international ties with the Communist Party of China (CPC). It exerts considerable influence over the anti-revisionist forces as a whole, has established its ideological hegemony and must be considered a consolidated opportunist trend.

The Marxist-Leninist wing suffers from an immature viewpoint and is defined by a partial or embryonic system of politics. It exists mainly in the form of local organizations, study groups and a considerable number of individuals, and has some ideological affinity with other groupings internationally but no real ties.

Given its ill-defined politic, its weak and disorganized condition, it is only a trend in embryo.

The immediate task facing Marxist-Leninists is the maturing of the latter wing into a genuine revolutionary trend. The future of the anti-revisionist movement depends on the development of a scientific system of politics with broad influence among Marxist-Leninists, a set of views which is not only capable of contending with ultra-leftism, but eventually, of supplanting the hegemony of "left-wing" communism with the hegemony of Marxism-Leninism.

In broad outline PUL and ourselves are in agreement on this analysis. There are some differences in the way we each characterize the situation. PUL, for example, wrings its hands at the attachment of the term "Marxist-Leninist" to our tendency. PUL thinks that the whole movement suffers from ultra-leftism (it's just that some suffer more than others, you see) and that none can really claim to bear the mantle of Marxism. And the use of the term "trend" in association with the Marxist-Leninist wing causes the PUL to become greatly agitated since they prefer the word "tendency." But these differences are really of secondary importance.

## DIFFERENCE OVER INTERNATIONAL LINE

The primary and most significant divergence between PUL and ourselves has turned on the role of international line in constructing a genuine anti-"left" trend. PUL is of the opinion that it is incorrect to demarcate around the question of the main enemy of the peoples of the world; to demand unity around the view that US imperialism constitutes the centerpiece of international reaction, they argue, is sectarian. Instead, a genuine anti-"left" tendency can be built which includes a wide range of views on the international situation, including the view that it is the Soviet Union which constitutes the main enemy of the world's peoples.

We, on the other hand, hold that it is impossible to build any genuine tendency in opposition to ultra-leftism without starting from the point of view that the US should be the main force opposed on the international scene. We are convinced that this is correct for a number of reasons. First, because all opposition to identifying the US as the chief enemy is rooted in "leftist" thinking generally, and an infantile exaggeration of the danger posed by the USSR in particular.

Second, the perspective that the US is not the main enemy has been central to the hegemony of the ultra-left line in the communist movement. In every instance where an organization has not seen the US as the primary target internationally, it has completely failed to maintain any genuine opposition to "left" opportunism. And finally, without breaking with those who oppose the idea that the US is the main enemy, there can be no genuine break with ultra-leftism without parting company with the CPC as it is to posit a separation from revisionism

without distinguishing oneself from the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

In the almost three year struggle over this difference, PUL has adopted various ruses to avoid confronting its real basis for opposing a demarcation on this point. At first PUL argued that international line is an aspect of political line and that it was incorrect, on principle, to split on any questions of politics at this stage in the development of the anti-"left" tendency. Instead, they asserted, we should demarcate with the ultra-lefts solely on the question of party-building line (i.e., the line on how the party should be built).

To buttress this position, PUL made a number of assertions. They said that since party-building is our central task and since party-building line is key to carrying out this task, all other aspects of political line should always be subordinate to it. They also asserted that both the earliest and most pronounced manifestations of "left" opportunism had emerged historically in the area of party-building strategy.

In response, we pointed out that the argument that party-building is our central task or that throughout the party-building process, party-building line will generally be pivotal, does not mean that it is incorrect to demarcate on political line. In a situation where opportunism has become hegemonic, Marxist-Leninists must identify central manifestation of the opportunist line among the communist forces and concentrate their fire against it. If that manifestation is on a question of party-building strategy, then party-building line becomes the main question, but if it is on political line, then political line is key. To proceed from the abstract and general truth that party-building line is pivotal, and to fail to concentrate one's struggle against the concrete and particular manifestation of the bourgeois line can only mean that backhanded support will be given to opportunism. (And in fact this has been precisely PUL's failing in the struggle against ultra-leftism.)

In this connection, the question of what has been the main manifestation of the opportunist line historically becomes very important. And here PUL's analysis of the main errors of the ultra-left comes up short. It was not on the question of how to build the party that the main opportunist deviation has become manifest. Rather it is on a political question — and in particular, systematic support for an ultra-left line on the international situation. But since PUL recognizes no ultra-leftism whatsoever on international line, it is totally incapable of grasping the real history of opportunism in our movement.

Underlying PUL's inability to accurately assess the genuine errors of anti-revisionism is its unwillingness to carry through on its critique of ultra-leftism. While PUL does a fairly decent job of exposing the "leftist" thinking which serves as the foundation of much of the lines of our "lefts" on various domestic issues, it is unwilling to grapple with similar thinking that is so clearly manifest in "left" internationalism. The reason for this is that any genuine attempt to unearth the ultra-leftism on

international line leads straight to the "Holy Office" in Beijing.

It is this desire to cover up the international headquarters of ultra-leftism in the CPC which has been the driving force behind PUL's struggle against any demarcation on international line. But it not only caused PUL to deny the existence of "left" internationalism but it also caused them to refuse to acknowledge the key role of dogmatism in the ultra-left line.

PUL realizes that to the extent that dogmatism is perceived as providing the theoretical basis for modern "left-wing" communism, the orthodoxy of "Mao Ze Dung Thought" will be called into question. But rather than made a straightforward defense of its dogma, PUL has sought to cover up its real reasons for opposing the struggle against dogmatism by arguing that it was only a "general philosophical error" and therefore could not be used to characterize a form of opportunism. (We will not repeat our response to these scholastic arguments here.)

## HAS THE PWOC SCUTTLED ANTI-DOGMATISM?

Unfortunately, PUL has not entirely abandoned its attempt to cover up the real basis for its opposition to characterizing the present ultra-leftism as dogmatism. The most recent cover up is its attempt to manufacture a mysterious change in the PWOC's view on the nature of the ultra-left line.

PUL would have its readers believe that the PWOC originally held that dogmatism as opposed to ultra-leftism was the main opportunist danger to anti-revisionists, but has now changed its position. To verify this charge, PUL points to a series of articles that were published in the *Organizer* several years ago on the key role of dogmatism in the anti-revisionist movement. They contrast these earlier pieces to one published in June of 1978. According to PUL a drastic change in our position is indicated by the fact that the latter article "...has 16 references to 'ultra-left,' 13 to 'left' this or that, 9 to 'left' opportunism, 7 to 'lefts', 4 to 'left-wing communism,'" etc., and no reference to dogmatism. Apparently PUL judges its opponents' line on the basis of standards borrowed from "Count de Count" of Sesame Street.

But as PUL knows full well, there has been no fundamental change in the PWOC's characterization of the nature of the ultra-left line. In a meeting of anti-revisionists held in May 1976, (well before PUL had published any of its views on the nature of the main danger) the PWOC advanced the following formulation on the nature of opportunism in our movement:

"Dogmatism, which is 'left' in form, right in essence, is the main form of opportunism in the communist movement. It is dogmatism which provides the theoretical foundation for a political and organizational practice of ultra-leftism and sectarianism."

This same perspective was incorporated in the *Draft Principles of Unity*

for a Marxist-Leninist Conference published in January, 1977. And it was also substantially elaborated in the paper *Dogmatism, the Main Enemy, and 'Left' Opportunism* which PUL and the Committee of Five jointly published two months after the article which PUL thinks proves that PWOC has abandoned its formulation on dogmatism.

In spite of these efforts to shift the terrain of the debate, the very logic of the struggle around the role of international line in constructing an anti-"left" tendency has continually forced PUL to become more and more open about its burning passion to shield the international center of ultra-leftism.

This fact is not only demonstrated by the pamphlet *On the Progressive Role of the Soviet Union and other Dogmas* where PUL desperately attempts to defend virtually every shade and nuance of China's reactionary foreign policy. An even better example was provided in recent conferences on the role of international line in building a genuine anti-"left" tendency. A representative of a PUL supporting group made a long emotional appeal against any break with the line of the CPC — arguing that such a break will inevitably lead to propaganda films that compare Mao Zedong to Hitler. A PUL representative followed with a similar statement. The essence of the arguments of both was the same: "a break with the line of the CPC or with Mao Ze Tung Thought is by definition revisionism."

In practice, PUL's call for constructing an anti-"left" tendency gives way to conciliation of the "left" line. The siren song of unity with the CPC and its "left" internationalism draws the PUL like a magnet. In the last few years, PUL has devoted almost all of its attention on trying to prevent a break with the "left" line on the international situation in general and, in particular, any consolidation around such a break among the forces grouped in the Organizing Committee for an Ideological Center. Objectively, PUL's role in the ideological struggle has been in support of "left-wing" communism and not against it.

While fighting the consolidation of the genuine anti-"lefts", PUL has not been hesitant about uniting with the CPM-L. For example, consider the implications of its participation in a recent trip of anti-revisionists to China initiated by Klonsky and Co. According to the *Call*, the delegation included representatives of the Bay Area Communist Union, the CPM-L, the League of Revolutionary Struggle, Revolutionary Workers Headquarters, Portland Red Star Collective (which recently merged with the CPM-L) and PUL — all firm adherents of "left" internationalism. The participants set two goals: "First, to strengthen the unity between US Marxist-Leninists and the Communist Party of China. Second, to promote prospects of unity among the US Marxist-Leninists." (The *Call*, February 12, 1979; emphasis added — CN).

## UNITY WITH THE CPC

No astute observer could fail to grasp the significance of this delegation. In the first place, the delegation was entirely composed of organizations that uphold (in deeds if not in words) the CPC as the international center of the communist movement. Not one of the groups has any substantial differences with Beijing's line, even the "Three Worlds" theory of collaboration with US imperialism. Second, it is no great secret that China has officially recognized the CPM-L as the "communist party" of the US working class. Surely they will use their influence to press all those on the delegation to unite with the CPM-L and subordinate their differences with its line to the common good of support for the CPC's united front against hegemonism — i.e., the Soviet Union.

Given these two facts, and especially given that building unity with the CPC was given top billing in the delegations' objectives — can anyone seriously doubt

that the effect of this trip will be to promote ultra-leftism? Is it not utter hypocrisy to speak of waging the struggle against "left" opportunism, while at the same time giving top priority to building unity with the CPC?

PUL's marching to the baton of the CPC has not only compromised its struggle against ultra-leftism, but also distorts its whole attitude to the ultra-left. Obviously, if one upholds the CPC as the epitome of Marxism-Leninism, one's approach to the CPM-L and similar forces is necessarily going to diverge radically from those who see the CPC as the center of ultra-leftism. It is this which, more than anything else, explains PUL's failure to give any serious thought to how to build a trend in opposition to ultra-leftism. It is the source of PUL's failure to offer any concrete plan for drawing lines of demarcation with the "lefts" or to unify the anti-"lefts" around a genuine critique of the ultra-left line. And it also underlies PUL's attempt to brand the only genuine effort to unite those who oppose "left-wing" communism as "sectarian".

From all this it can be seen that it is PUL's adherence to the international center of ultra-leftism — which in essence amounts to unity with "left" opportunism itself — that provides the foundation for each of the most significant differences around the role of political line in general and that of international line in particular. It underlies our differences around the nature of the ultra-left line and the key role of dogmatism in it. And it determines our widely divergent approaches to the task of consolidating a trend in opposition to "left-wing" communism.

Given that our sharpest differences lie in these three areas, it is unfortunate that the PUL decided to give them short shrift in its reply to our review of their book. Instead, apart from distorting our views on the question of dogmatism, PUL focuses much of its reply to disagreements between us on the question of fusion.

In contrast to the other differences treated above, our divergence on fusion could easily be accommodated within the confines of a genuine anti-"left" tendency. While the distinct points of view on this matter do have real political consequences, only those who place their own narrow circle concerns above the shared interests of the anti-"lefts" as a whole, could uphold them as the basis for a split in our tendency.

## MORE FUSION CONFUSION

Taking up these differences, it is apparent that the criticisms of our view advanced by PUL (except for the third one) bear a great deal in common with the so-called critique of fusion advanced by Silber and the Guardian. PUL argues that we belittle the task of uniting Marxist-Leninists, we exaggerate our movements' ability to test its theoretical work in mass practice, that the PWOC does not understand the role of fusion in the process of uniting Marxist-Leninists, and that we also do not grasp the essence of the errors of the ultra-lefts on party-building line.

The argument that fusion belittles the task of uniting Marxist-Leninists rests entirely on the incorrect view that fusion can not really advance until communist unity has been achieved. While we are well aware that disunity among revolutionaries definitely weakens our ability to fuse communism with the advanced elements, we think that it is nevertheless necessary to maintain that during the party-building process fusion must be primary in relation to uniting Marxist-Leninists.

This is true not in the sense that the integration of communists in the workplace — which is not real fusion anyway — should receive priority over ideological struggle among Marxist-Leninists. Rather, it is correct because it is only the kind of unity among communists which serves to advance our ability to merge scientific socialism with the advanced that is

genuine unity. All other unity is a sham and should be opposed. By failing to grasp the primacy of fusion in relation to communist unification, PUL objectively raises to the level of principle, advocacy of the kind of false unity that it has tried to foist upon the anti-"lefts".

The charge that the PWOC exaggerates the opportunity for testing our theoretical conceptions in practice is also unfounded. We have never maintained that all of the theoretical work of our movement could be fully confirmed in the limited practice of the pre-party period, nor have we disputed the fact that, as PUL puts it, "theoretical struggle among...Marxist-Leninists constitutes the first...test our theory must pass." However, as opposed to certain idealists, we have maintained that practice is nevertheless important in the party-building process.

If one denies that the practice of the masses is not the sole criterion of truth in the period of party-formation, one inevitably loses any method for evaluating the quality of communist theoretical work. Who can deny, for example, that the practice of both the RU and the OL sharply exposed the retrograde character of their theory? To uphold our tenuous links to the mass movement as an argument for downplaying the need to test theory in practice prior to party formation as PUL and others do, can only mean support for the dogmatist methodology of the ultra-lefts and the backward conceptions that they reached as well.

As for PUL's claim that the PWOC fails to grasp the significance of fusion in the process of uniting Marxist-Leninists, we doubt that anyone will give serious credence to this charge. The charge is contradicted by the whole history of our argumentation with Silber and Co. around the role of fusion. We have always held — and still hold today — that unity apart from fusion is narrow, partial, and can even become fraudulent if it is held to be a sufficient basis for forging a party.

PUL's final, and frankly, only serious objection to our view of fusion is that we are incorrect to hold that "the liquidation of the 'fusion question' has characterized the ultra-left line in our movement." As proof that we are wrong on this point, PUL argues that "Avakian and the RU were the noisiest proponents of 'fusion'." Now, we think that the PUL would do well not to take Avakian at his word; the fact that he gave lipservice to work among the masses proves nothing about the real line that guided the RU's party-building efforts. Nor does the fact that none of the ultra-left "parties" gave any serious attention to the specific demands of communist unification" prove that the main error in their party-building lines stemmed from an underestimation of the need to unite Marxist-Leninists.

## TAKING THE "LEFTS" AT THEIR WORD

The question is not what these forces said about themselves but what conceptions provided the foundations for their practice in party-building. If the question is looked at in this way, it is clear that the main ultra-left circles gave only verbal support to the task of fusing communism with the class struggle while placing their main effort behind "uniting all who can be united" around their embryonic "left-wing" politics. Everywhere and always, the line was the same: whatever best served to advance their organizational hegemony (which they understood to be "uniting Marxist-Leninists") was in the best interest of the communist movement.

Of course, this approach did not lead to real unity among revolutionaries. But the reason for this is not just a simple lack of attention to the task of building unity as PUL would have us believe. Rather, their failure to unite anti-revisionists stemmed from their inability to advance the fusion of communism with the most conscious elements among the masses. Instead of placing a premium on the development of the theory which would allow for a genuine fusion to develop, the dominant ultra-left circles concentrated on regurgitating dogma, manipulating anti-revisionist fears and prejudice, or whatever else provided the quickest road to a large following. Such efforts could produce some measure of "communist unity" in the short run, but could not provide the kind of durable foundation that only the fusion process can yield.

Apart from our differences on fusion, it is clear that the contention between PUL and ourselves results from PUL's inability to carry through on its critique of ultra-leftism. PUL is caught in a contradiction from which it cannot escape. On the one hand, it has staked its initial intervention in the communist movement on its ability to unite with the strong currents of reaction to ultra-leftism. On the other, it finds these forces rapidly probing the roots of the "leftist" impulse by identifying the "left" opportunist features of "Mao Ze Tung Thought." PUL is left with only two choices: either renounce the struggle against ultra-leftism or reexamine "Mao's Thought."

It is this very contradiction which has disarmed PUL in the struggle with the genuine anti-"lefts". The more it combats these forces, the more it comes upon the contradiction in its own line. It is this contradiction and the unfolding of it which is the source of PUL's attempt to cast a fog over its divergence with the PWOC.

April 24, 1979

## An Exchange between the Proletarian Unity League and the Committee of Five

(Detroit Marxist-Leninist Organization, El Comite-MINP, Philadelphia Workers' Organizing Committee, Potomac Socialist Organization, Socialist Union of Baltimore)

Focuses on the differences between the Proletarian Unity League and the Committee of Five in relation to party-building — What is the nature of the 'left' danger? Is it necessary to demarcate around international line in order to build a tendency in opposition to left opportunism? Contains five documents including two articles by the Proletarian Unity League, an article by Clay Newlin for the Committee of Five, the letter and draft unity principles for a Marxist-Leninist Conference by the Committee of Five, an appendix with a subsequent letter by the Committee of Five, and a second appendix in the form of an article by the Communist Unity Organization.

Available from the United Labor Press, PO Box 1744, Manhattanville Sta., New York, NY 10027. \$1.50 plus ten cents postage, 10 or more copies \$1.45 ea., postage included.



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# Index to Volume 4

**To Our Readers:**

We are producing this index because we believe that many articles in the Organizer can be useful long after they have appeared in print, if they are accessible. Developing this index is difficult, because we are not sure of the categories and headings which would be most consistent in leading you to the information you need. The slight inconsistencies in headings between this and the first index (Vol. 1-3, in Vol. 4 No. 8) result from our attempt to be more precise.

We hope to redo the entire index and make it available separately from the paper at the end of 1979. In the meantime, please let us know if it has been useful to you, and how it could be improved.

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Close Encounters (of the same kind)	4:3:18
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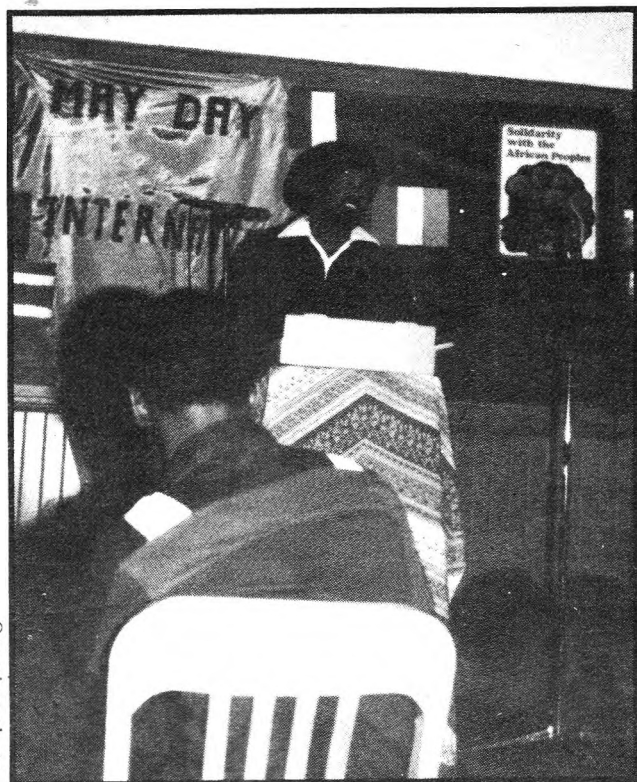
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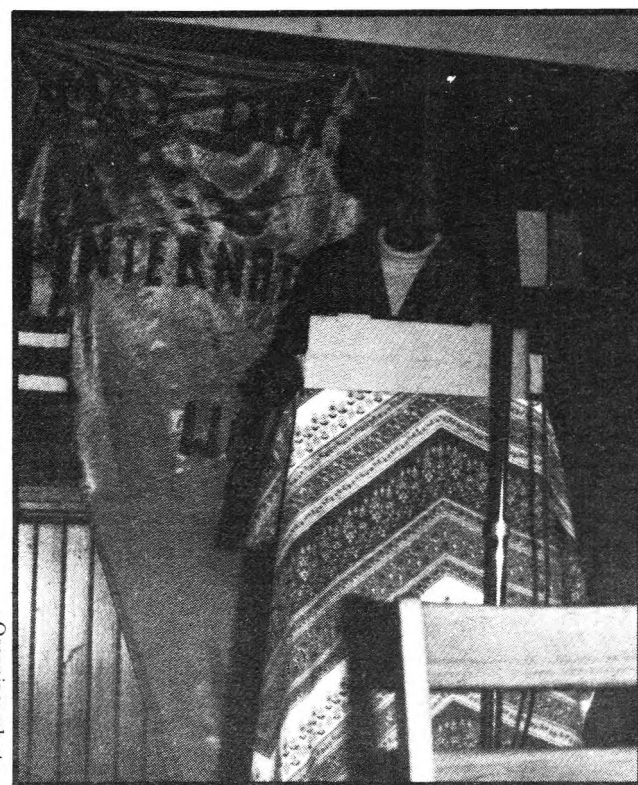
# PWOC May Day Celebration



Organizer photo

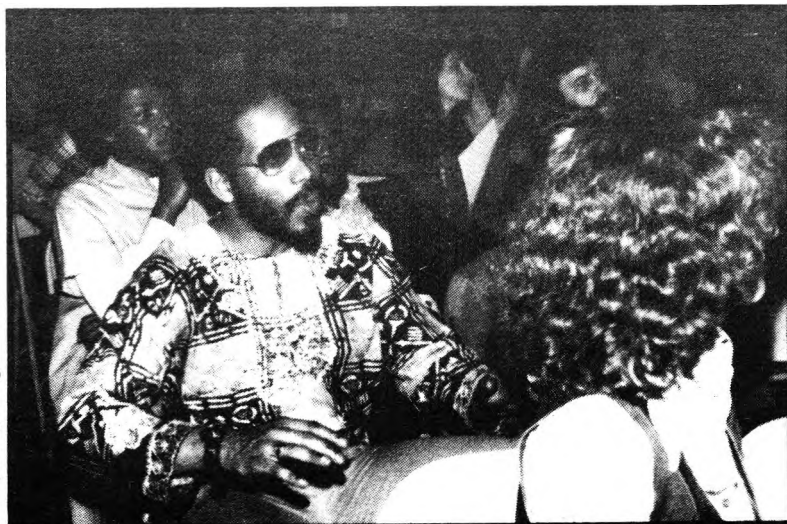
Shafik Abdul Ahad is an active member of the Black United Front (BUF) and a member of the PWOC. He spoke on the state of the Black Liberation Movement and the need for independent political action.

## Stresses Proletarian Internationalism



Organizer photo

Ros Purnell is Chairperson of the United Peoples' Campaign Against Apartheid and Racism UPCAAR) and a member of the PWOC. Her speech dealt with the effects of US imperialism nationally, and internationally in such countries as South Africa and Puerto Rico.



Organizer photo

# SPORTS SHORTS

## racism and sexism

### Rossman Bombs

Mike Rossman, the so-called "Jewish Bomber" from Turnersville, N.J., had a rough outing in dropping his light heavy-weight title to Argentinian Victor Galindez. The punches Rossman threw were more like B-B shots than bombs, and he ended up losing by a TKO after breaking his hand. But Rossman did drop a few verbal bombs before and after the match.

"The trouble with boxing," Rossman told Howard Cosell, "is too many foreigners. They control the sport. The American people shouldn't stand for it."

It apparently did not even occur to Rossman that there is something unnatural about excluding "foreigners" from competition for what is supposed to be a world title and not the exclusive property of North Americans. The reality in

boxing is quite the reverse of Rossman's view. The big money fights are almost all controlled by promoters in the US, regardless of where they are staged.

When Rossman talks about "foreigners" he is mainly talking about fighters from Latin America who in recent years have nailed down titles in a number of divisions, breaking what used to be a near monopoly by North Americans. What especially irks Rossman is not only must he fight Latinos, but even some of the referees and officials come from South of the Border, thus denying a red-blooded, white American the advantages to which he is accustomed. Notably Rossman did not complain about the presence of a white South African referee in the ring for the Galindez bout. Some "foreigners" are apparently OK.

### Locker Room Battle

Now that women sportswriters have won access to locker rooms, there is much tittering among their male counterparts in the profession. The impression has been created that this is a "typically trivial instance of women's lib", but it is not. Equal access to the locker room is necessary if a woman writer is to do her job, since much of the copy that sportswriters churn out comes from post game interviews. And athletes do not hang around after their shower to chat with the working press.

The ugliest male chauvinist reaction to the plight of women sportswriters came from columnist Dick Young of the New York Daily News. Young went so far as to claim that women have an advantage over men writers since they can date the athletes and thus pump them for information. Young insults women with his as-

sumption that they would routinely use their sexuality as a job skill.

Nor should anyone assume that since women have gotten their foot in the locker room door, it is about to swing wide open. Take the experience of Samantha Stevenson, a Philadelphia writer who brought suit against the Phillies for barring her from their locker room. Having gotten in the locker room, Stevenson then found herself barred from the team bus, even though male sportswriters regularly get a free ride.

On top of this, Sue Boone, wife of catcher Bob Boone, tried to keep Stevenson from entering the Phillies' locker room and Pete Rose stood her up for an interview. This may be a source of chuckles for sexist sportswriters, but it's a serious problem for a woman trying to make a living in the super male world of sports and sports writing.



organizer graphic

### divided democrats...

(continued from page 12)

The embryo for an independent movement already exists in the Black Political Convention. The Convention adopted the Human Rights Agenda (see related article), a platform for real change in Philadelphia. The Convention is also on record as supporting the formation of an independent Black political party. During the campaign, in which the Convention endorsed a number of candidates, the Convention also functioned as the left wing of the Bowser forces.

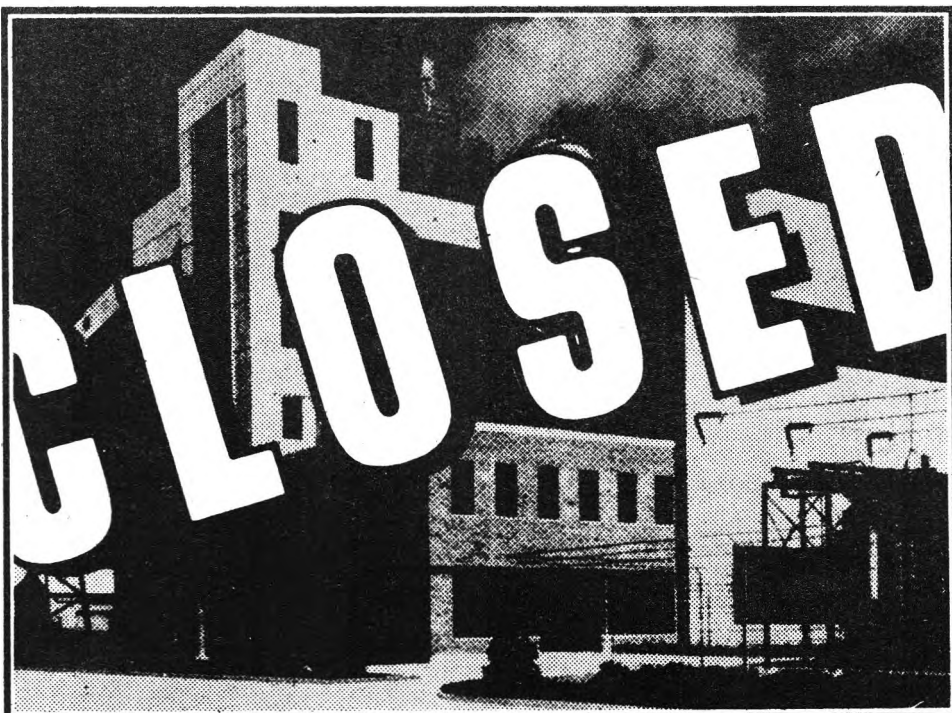
Many activists now favor a rapid reorganization of the convention to check the move toward Marston and to initiate a broad-based independent ticket running on the platform of the Human Rights Agenda. Such an initiative could create a pole to which progressive forces from labor, the women's movement and other elements of the coalition that beat Frank Rizzo could be rallied. Besides running a mayoral candidate, independents could

be nominated for council and row offices. Such a ticket should include support for those Democrats who have backed the Human Rights Agenda or have generally taken a progressive anti-Rizzo stand.

Another factor in assembling an independent ticket is the Consumer Party which has ballot position and is on record as favoring cooperation and united action with other independent forces. The Consumer Party platform is consistent with the Human Rights Agenda and poses a definite alternative to the two capitalist controlled parties.

Both Green and Marston will be wheeling and dealing in the next month. They will be offering jobs and making promises to try to capture the support of Charles Bowser and his supporters. This sordid maneuvering has nothing to do with the real interests of the people of Philadelphia. Only independent political action by and for ourselves will serve our interests.

## IS YOUR JOB RUNNING AWAY?



"Northern and Midwestern states lost nearly 750,000 manufacturing jobs between 1970-77. Unemployment was 125 percent above the national average."

In the past few years, Philadelphia has lost over 100,000 jobs due to plant closings, many of these jobs lost to plant runaways. Through legal means, and by organizing, some workers have taken on their companies and have slowed down or stopped them from running away. We need to learn what our legal rights are in order to stop or slow down this loss of jobs.

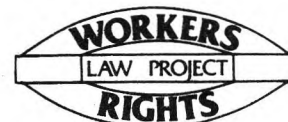
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