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The ORGANIZER

Newspaper of the Philadelphia Workers' Organizing Committee

January - March 1976



Volume 2 Number 1

PHILADELPHIANS SAY

NO MORE VIETNAMS!

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pgs.6,7

Behind Rizzo's Super Tax Grab

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PAUL ROBESON 1898-1976 THE PEOPLE'S CHAMPION

The working class and the Black people have lost a great champion; Paul Robeson died Friday, January 23 at noon. Undoubtedly one of the greatest Americans to have lived in this century, Robeson stood in the forefront of the ranks of great singers, actors, athletes, scholars and political leaders.

Born April 9, 1898, the son of an ex-slave in Princeton, New Jersey, Robeson soon demonstrated that he had unusual abilities. Only the third Black man to be allowed admittance to Rutgers University, Robeson was Phi Beta Kappa in his junior year and the valedictorian of his senior class.

A superb athlete Robeson won a total of twelve varsity letters in such varied sports as football, baseball, basketball, and track. Twice he was named as an All-American end. Walter Camp, at that time a top college football authority called him "the greatest defensive end that ever trod the gridiron."

After graduating from college Robeson put himself through law school at Columbia by playing professional football. He practiced law briefly but racism soon drove him to other pursuits. He drew on his acting and singing talents and soon became a premier actor both on stage and on the screen and a virtuoso singer.

But perhaps Paul Robeson's greatest contribution was his political leadership. Robeson never tired of putting

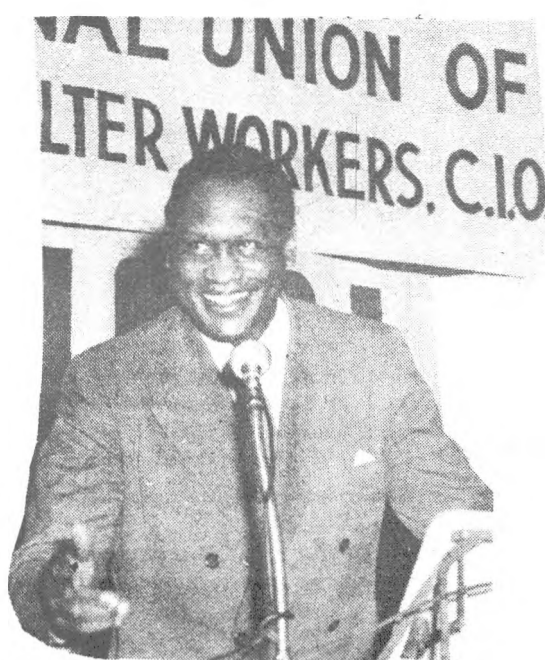
the anguish and sufferings of the Black people and the working class into words. And he never ceased to express their yearnings for freedom and liberty.

A tireless fighter against racism, Robeson held firm as he, himself, put it, to "my belief in the principles of scientific socialism, my deep conviction that for all mankind a socialist society represents an advance to a higher stage of life."

There was not money enough to buy Robeson. Even when offered hundreds of thousands of dollars to play parts in movies or plays, he refused if he thought they were racist stereotypes.

"I made a decision," he wrote, "if Hollywood and Broadway producers did not choose to offer me worthy roles to play, then I would choose not to accept any other kind of offer." His philosophy was, he declared, "the artist must elect to fight for freedom or slavery. I have made my choice. I had no alternative."

Nor could fame turn his head. In 1947 Robeson gave up his lucrative concert career so that he could maintain closer contact with the masses. "They can have their concerts," he explained. "I'll go back to their cities to sing for the people whom I love -- the Negro and white workers whose freedom will ensure my freedom."



It was for this reason that Paul Robeson was called before the House Un-American Activities Committee in the early 1950's. But the rows of congressmen in their pin-striped suits, their starched white shirts and their black ties could not intimidate him.

He told them, "I speak as an American Negro whose life is dedicated first and foremost, to winning full freedom and nothing less than full freedom for my people in America. Let me make one thing very clear. I care nothing, less than nothing, about what the lords of the land, the BIG WHITE FOLKS think of me and my ideas. But I do care and deeply care, about the America of the common people."

A MAN OF THE PEOPLE: Robeson, an All-American athlete, concert singer, Shakespearian actor, Black Liberation fighter and communist, here shown singing with dock workers in California in 1942.



Daily World photo

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Philadelphia Workers' Organizing Committee

WHO WE ARE



As a communist organization the PWOC sees the root causes of the day to day problems of working people as the capitalist system itself. We are committed to building a revolutionary working class movement that will overthrow the profit system and replace it with socialism. We seek to replace the anarchy of capitalist production with a planned economy based on the needs of working people. We want to end the oppression of national minorities and women, and make equality a reality instead of the hypocritical slogan it has become in the mouths of 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 their exploitation and today the movements in opposition to the monopolists are rapidly growing both in numbers and intensity. What is lacking is the kind of political leadership that can bring these movements together, deepen the consciousness of the masses, and build to

day's struggles into a decisive and victorious revolutionary assault against Capital. To answer this need we must have a vanguard party of the working class, based on its most conscious and committed partisans, rooted in the mass movements of all sectors of American people and equipped with the political understanding capable of solving the strategic and tactical problems that present themselves on the difficult road to revolution. The PWOC seeks, in conjunction with like-minded organizations and individuals throughout the US, to build such a party -- a genuine Communist Party. The formation of such a party will be an important step forward in the struggle of the working class and all oppressed people to build a new world on the ashes of the old.

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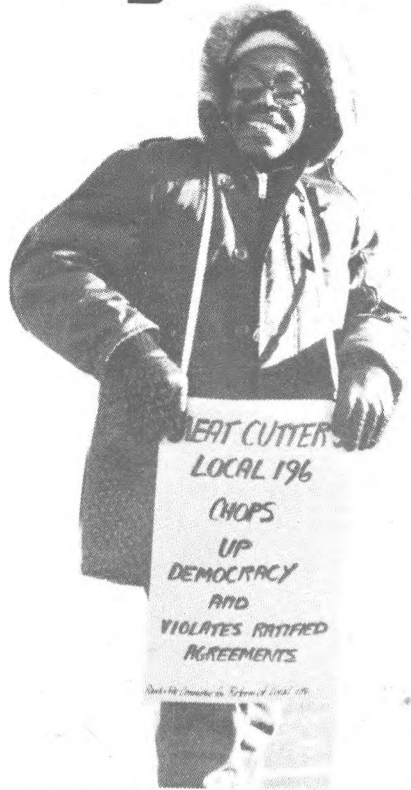
Also available from the PWOC:

Racism and the Workers' Movement, first in a series of pamphlets explaining the principles of the class struggle brand of unionism. 75 cents

The Trade Union Question 25 cents

Include 25 cents for mailing costs with all orders.
Bulk rates are available upon request.

Blue Bird Workers Fight for their Rights



This article was contributed by a worker at Blue Bird, member of Rank and File Committee for Reform of Local 196. The Organizer welcomes news on rank and file struggles from around the city.

On Saturday, January 10, workers from Blue Bird Food Products Co., in South Philadelphia, held a demonstration and picket over the handling of their health and welfare coverage. They weren't picketing the company but their union headquarters instead, in far away Willow Grove.

The immediate reaction of Local 196 - Amalgamated Food Employee's Union's Secretary-Treasurer, Rena Cassidy, was to call the police on the picketers. This is something that the members of Local 196 would expect from an employer but never from the officers of their union.

The police read off to the demonstrators their picketing rights: "If you go on the union property, you will be arrested; if any of you so much as park your cars illegally, you will be arrested; if you stop moving, you will be arrested." Well, so much for picketers' rights!

There must be some truth to the old adage 'strength is in numbers' because when the other 50 demonstrators arrived they began picketing on union property without a single word from the cops. All told, there were about 70 picketers representing the 200 Black, Puerto Rican, and white workers employed at Blue Bird.

The demands of the picketers were:

1. A Health and Welfare Plan equal to the one ratified in 1973 at no additional cost to the members.
2. The right to vote on any new Health and Welfare Plan offered and on all future Health and Welfare changes.
3. Complete, fully-paid hospitalization coverage for all members until and after the crisis is resolved.

Del. Co. Times Strike

Since the strike of Delaware County Times employees began Nov. 24, the editor-publisher has quit, scab newspaper workers have replaced the organized employees, the circulation of the Times has dropped by over 10,000 copies, and the strikers have begun to put out their own newspaper.

Strikers have their case up before the NLRB demanding that they be put back to work upon settlement. The position of the new management is that the scab employees are there to stay. "Whether it's union or

4. The restoration of all members' credit ratings that have been damaged due to union officials' negligence in promptly paying bills.

5. Prompt and accurate payment of loss of time benefits.

The problem began back on December 10 when the union leadership called a special meeting and tried to shove an inferior health and welfare plan down the member's throats. They were told by Secretary-treasurer Cassidy that their fully paid coverage at John F. Kennedy Hospital and Medical Center was terminated by the hospital administration. The Board of Trustees from the Local 196 Health and Welfare Department had picked for the members this "new and better plan."

At that time, all hell broke loose. The new plan was not better but worse; it placed additional financial burden on the members. The members wanted a vote and this was denied. They wanted a copy of their old health and welfare plan to compare with the new one and this was denied as it had been for the past two years. They were told by Rena Cassidy that they did not need one and if they did not sign the enrollment cards they would have no hospital coverage after December 15! How's that for union democracy -- Local 196 style!

Four shop stewards then sent in a grievance to the International but got no real help. Blue Bird workers then decided to hold the picket. At the demonstration, 196 President, James Cox, told the members that he would meet with all the shop stewards and delegates from each department in the plant to discuss the problem the following week.

That meeting took place on January 13 and needless to say, after an hour and a half of double talk and time wasted by union officials nothing was resolved. The members presented their demands and were told they'd hear something in 15 to 20 days. Meanwhile, they are being covered by the new health and welfare plan whether they like it or not.

At this meeting, union officials singled out one of the shop stewards, Ronnie Ardron, as a troublemaker. They charged him with being out for "personal gain" and "politicking." They said they had consulted with their attorneys and had grounds to take his stewardship away -- for "misleading the members."

Ardron was singled out because he is a member of the Rank and File Committee for Reform of Local 196 and has been a moving force in getting some of the problems at Blue Bird straightened out. In their typical fashion, the 196 officials tried to avoid the issues and get off the hook by slinging mud and discrediting those members who are willing to stand up for their democratic rights.

The Blue Bird Health and Welfare crisis is not over yet but the men who picketed say they are willing and able to go back to Willow Grove if their demands are not met.

non-union, anyone can turn out a damn good newspaper if you meet the need of a community to get the news," the new publisher was quoted in the Inquirer.

He also cited big plans to double the paper's circulation. So in spite of the fact that the strikers were thrilled and optimistic when their old boss quit, they now know that their new boss just wants to get out the paper and make money, and if it's a non-union shop, so much the better for him.

Ballot Stuffing at SUN SHIP

Local 802 of the International Boilermakers and Blacksmiths Union, at Sun Shipbuilding in Chester, signed a new contract in January after an 8-day strike.

During those days, the ratification vote was taken three times: the first time, union officials felt not enough workers turned out to vote for the

contract. In the second vote, too many ballots were cast in favor, indicating obvious incidents of ballot-box-stuffing. So a third vote was taken, and the contract ratified by a narrow 860-843 margin.

Rank and file militants have circulated a petition signed by hundreds which demands a thorough investigation of the ballot-stuffing incident.

STEELWORKER IS 'FED UP'

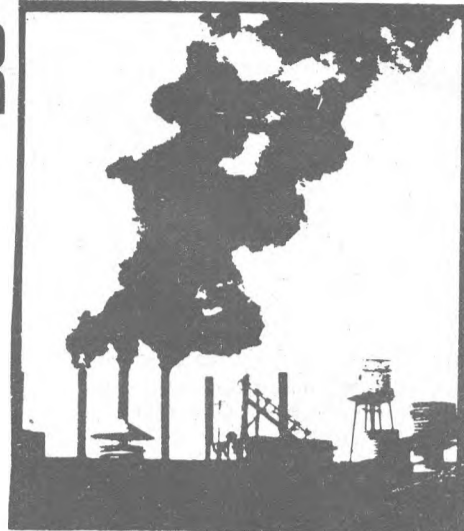
(The following was contributed by a worker at Alan Wood Steel Company in Conshohocken.)

On December 20, 1500 employees of the Alan Wood Steel Co. received the Company's Christmas Gift. Those workers not included in the usual weekly 700 laid off had been working too hard, due to increased work load, job combining, and speedup. The bosses were concerned with our "health and welfare" and decided that what we needed was two weeks of freedom and fresh air, two weeks to spend Christmas with family and friends. So we were given two weeks off as our Christmas gift.

This was the way our dear bosses showed their spirit of good will and cooperation with the Steelworkers (our union shows its spirit by agreeing to things like not striking at contract time.)

Well, Christmas has come and gone, and some of us are back at the plant. It was just a shame that Christmas was just a little down, because we couldn't afford to buy too much.

Apparently, the Company forgot that if we didn't work those two weeks, we lost all our holiday benefits, along



with two weeks regular pay. We figured the Company saved \$250,000 on holiday pay alone! But we'll get that pay some day... some way.

Hell, we hardly believed that the company could top their Thanksgiving gift to us. That was when they asked, because we're "one big happy family" to take a permanent \$2.00 an hour wage cut. It hurt us workers deeply to have to say "no." After all, the company had put its request so nicely: they said if we didn't agree, they'd shut the plant down. But we just had to say, "Thanks, but no thanks."

Just think, Valentine's Day is coming up. We steelworkers just can't wait to see what new kind of present the company has planned for us!



UFW Boycotts Continue!

In August of Last year the Farmworkers won a significant victory as a new California law went into effect guaranteeing them the right to organize without interference, and the right of the workers to secret ballot elections.

Immediately, elections got underway at dozens of establishments where Teamster collaborators had signed the disputed "sweetheart" contracts in 1973. The Farmworkers are winning the majority of the elections.

Still the battle is far from over. The growers continue to collaborate with the Teamsters to keep UFW organizers out of the fields, even though the law guarantees them free access to organize during non-work hours.

Firings of workers who talk with UFW organizers are commonplace, as are elections held on company property with supervisors looking on, saying "Vote for the horses, not the bird." (The insignia of the unions indicates to illiterate and non-English speaking workers where to mark the ballots.)

Many who have formerly supported the consumer boycott of iceberg lettuce, table grapes and Gallo wines are now saying the struggle is over, it's up to the California law now. Ernest and Julio Gallo (who are worth over \$500 million) even purchased TV time to call

on all "fair-minded" people to cease the boycott and let the law take its course.

The law is nothing but a piece of paper without the workers behind it. The strength of the rank and file farmworkers and the consumer boycott forced the passage of the law in the first place, and only that strength will force the administrators of that law to enforce it.

Further, the elections are only the first step in obtaining a decent union for migrant workers. The strength of the workers and the consumer boycott will also be a factor in winning an acceptable contract and seeing that it is enforced every day in the fields.

It is vital that all working class people and their allies pitch in to see that the farmworkers win their present battle, because no law is going to. We must do what we can to help out financially, especially by pushing our local unions to make donations.

And we must continue the boycott, telling our friends and families, raising the issue at union meetings, forcing our employers to stop serving scab produce in the cafeterias, etc. THE BOYCOTT IS NOT OVER. DON'T BUY ICEBERG LETTUCE, TABLE GRAPES, OR GALLO WINE.

Unemployment Council LEADS FIGHT FOR JOBS

In the past year the rate of unemployment has doubled in the Philadelphia area. Well over a quarter million workers cannot find work in the fourth largest city in the US.

The recession has hit the older industrial cities of the northeastern United States particularly hard. In an economic decline many small, outdated companies are forced out of business and others are severely weakened. Since Philadelphia has many such small scale enterprises, a recession always hits this city hard with long-lasting effects. The clothing industry, for example, once one of the two or three major industries in this city, has experienced a rapid decline in recent years.

Besides close-downs many manufacturing companies are leaving the city to take advantage of cheaper labor and lower taxes in the South and in Latin American countries. From 1972 through 1974, 190 companies—employing a total of 21,000 workers—moved out of the city or went out of business. There is no indication that this trend will change. The most recent figures predict that the city will lose an additional 23,000 jobs this year.

The unemployment situation can only degenerate as thousands of new workers enter the work force each year to fill fewer and fewer jobs. One economist predicts that between 1976 and 1985, 36 million new workers will be looking for jobs. However, even in a healthy economy, the system could only expect to create 16 million new jobs. The arithmetic is simple—20 million more people out of work in the next ten years!

UNEMPLOYED ORGANIZE

As unemployment has soared across the country it has sparked new organizations of unemployed people who are demanding jobs and improvements in the unemployment compensation system. One such organization is the Unemployment Council of Philadelphia. Its members have been organizing unemployed people in the area served by the 5th and Olney Bureau of Employment Security office for several months.

One of its members described the organization in the following way: "When you're out of work you have plenty of hassles. The number one problem is that you can't find a job because they just aren't there. Then some people find that they can't get unemployment compensation because of some technicality, others are getting benefits of about half their normal income—and they could barely feed their families when they were working. Then there's the problem of paying medical insurance when your company plan runs out. Rent and mortgage payments come up every month too. Everyday people are being thrown in the street because they can't find work."

"One person alone can't do anything. Everyone complaining to their friends in the laundromat or at the bar won't solve anything either. What we want to do is get everyone together, united, sort of like a democratic and militant trade union of unemployed people... and employed people too. This is everybody's fight. . . Black, white, Puerto Rican people, women and men, young and older. We want to show the big businessmen and politicians that they can't pit one group against the other and buy us off with political favors."

SIX POINT PROGRAM


The UCP has a six point program which it feels is necessary to deal with the unemployment problem:

1. Jobs for all who want to work.
2. 30 hour work week with no reduction in pay.
3. An end to race and sex discrimination.
4. Full unemployment compensation.
5. A moratorium on all consumer debts.
6. Slash military spending.

In addition, the UCP says that these measures cannot be financed by increasing the tax load on working people—the money must be raised by increasing corporate taxes.

Presently UCP members are busy getting support for a petition which they will present to City Council demanding jobs to rebuild the city, jobs with training opportunities and pay at union scale. But they are quick to point out, "We know that a few thousand signatures on paper isn't going to shake anyone up, but when we go to City Council, we intend to go with warm bodies—a lot of them. These politicians aren't going to move until they see what angry unemployed people look like—and remember, there are hundreds of thousands of us."

The Unemployment Council expects its battle to be a long haul and welcomes the help of anyone who would like to see its program become a reality. If interested, drop a line to: The Unemployment Council of Philadelphia, Box 24323, Philadelphia 19120.



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10 AM**

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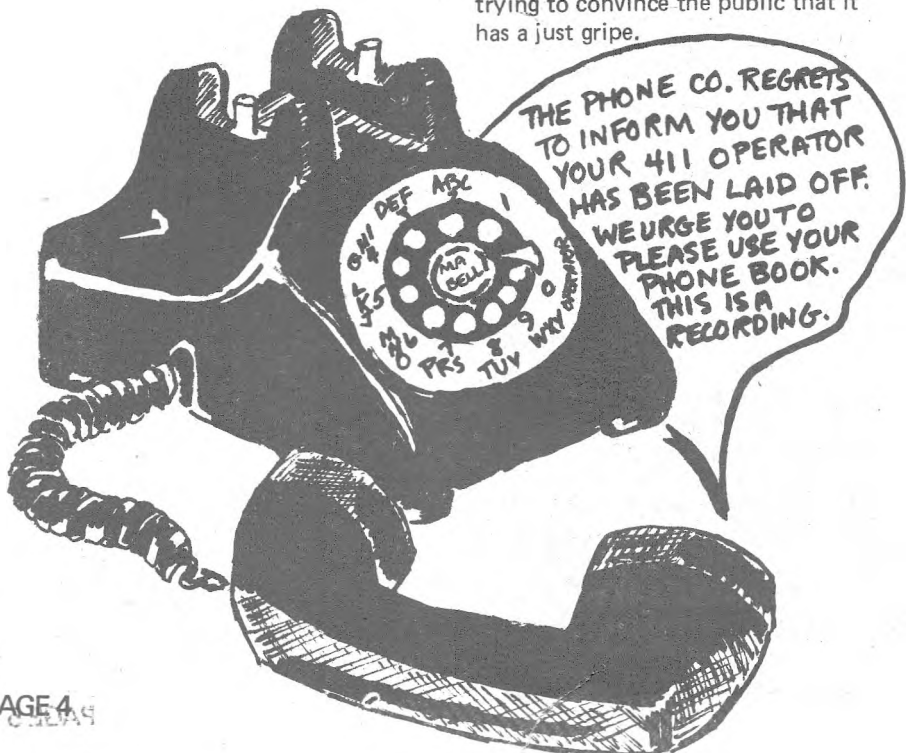
Or call DE 2-8300

OPERATORS AND CONSUMERS TO LOSE IF 411 CHARGE IS APPROVED

In the next step of its never-ending drive for more and more profits, A.T.&T. has now launched a new attack against operators and the public as well. Throughout the nation, the major Bell phone companies are pressing state utility regulators to approve charging residential customers for directory assistance calls.

The result of these new charges will be layoffs for operators, higher rates for customers, and bigger profits for Ma Bell.

In Pennsylvania, the Bell Telephone Company petitioned the Public Utilities Commission for these directory assistance charges in late October. While a decision on the rate increase was postponed, Bell is wasting no time trying to convince the public that it has a just gripe.



MA BELL SAYS USE YOUR PHONE BOOK

A well-planned campaign is being waged. Pamphlets have been included in your phone bills, and radio and TV announcements are frequent on all the major stations—they're all urging you to use your phone book. The theme is the same in all these appeals: only a very few people have good reasons to call Directory Assistance.

To make its point, Ma Bell lists some examples of good reasons for Directory Assistance, such as: to aid the blind and disabled, to find new listings and listings for places where no phone book is available, and to find numbers when phone books are misplaced. But it is clear that the main point is DON'T USE DIRECTORY ASSISTANCE.

Ma Bell is hoping to convince the public that cutting down the use of Directory Assistance will help to keep the cost of telephone service down. But the facts speak for themselves.

WHO GAINS, WHO LOSES?

Your phone bills, already high enough to adequately compensate for the service of directory assistance, will show who gains and who loses.

In New York, for example, the directory assistance charge was instituted in September for the first time in the history of the nation. All commercial and residential customers will be charged 10 cents for all information calls in excess of six calls a month.

And in New Jersey, the Bell proposal recommended an even more outrageous 20 cents charge for every direc-

tory assistance call beyond 3 per month. It would be more expensive to call information than it would be to make long distance calls to most places in the United States!

It is estimated that these charges will result in an increase of 5-6% in average residential bills. The only one who will save is Bell Tel—who will make even more than its \$3.17 billion profits for 1974!

OPERATORS MAIN VICTIMS

But the effects of these new charges will be felt the hardest by the operators, both directory assistance and "O" operators alike. It's not too hard to see that the higher costs and decreased number of calls will mean layoffs for operators.

In New York State alone, Assemblyman Arthur J. Kremer warned that about 8,000 operators would be laid off as a result of the charges. This is in addition to the 2,000 operators who are already on a 4-day work week as a result of mechanization.

In September, New Jersey Bell asked the Public Utilities Commission for a \$59.9 million rate hike including the Directory Assistance charge, which was approved in late November. Clara Allen, the director of the Communications Workers of America, the union which represents operators in New Jersey, stated that imposing this charge would mean layoffs of as many as 1700 operators. With 2400 operators being employed in this state presently, this could mean a 70% cut in the workforce!!

(continued on page 9)

HOSPITAL WORKER SPEAKS OUT

"The City Doesn't Give A Damn About PGH!"

Health care for poor and working people, never anything to brag about, has been one of the prime victims of the economic crisis. Job freezes and cutbacks are affecting hospitals throughout the city (see last issue of Organizer) but nowhere is the impact felt more than at PGH, the hospital of last resort. PGH is a city administered and funded hospital and as the following interview with a PGH worker shows, the conditions there expose the city government's callous indifference to the health of the people.

ORGANIZER: You have worked at PGH for almost ten years. How have things changed in that time?

ANSWER: Things really haven't changed all that much. Since 1965, the number of beds has decreased from around 1000 to between 500 and 600, but our patients are still poor and mostly Black. Many of them are elderly -- "disposition cases" they are called -- old people who aren't acutely ill, but who have no money, no family, and nowhere else to go.

They have cleaned up some of the wards and added some new equipment, but a lot of our equipment is still outdated and unsafe. For example, a couple of years ago it was discovered that three out of the six portable x-ray machines were leaking dangerous amounts of radiation.

I found this out by accident, and I still don't know if these machines were fixed or replaced. They might still be in use for all I know.

CHOU EN-LAI 1898-1976

Chou En-lai, Premier of the People's Republic of China, died at the age of 78 early this month, from cancer. Born into a wealthy Chinese family in suburban Shanghai in 1898, Chou became a revolutionary in the student movement of 1919 that fought for Chinese independence from European imperialism.

From that time on, he played an outstanding role in the Chinese revolutionary movement: in 1920 he helped to organize the Chinese Communist Party in Paris, France; in 1925, he led the Shanghai Insurrection; from 1932 until the establishment of the People's Republic he was political director and co-commander of the Red Army -- and a leader of the world-famous "Long March" of the Red Army 6,000 miles across China that preserved the Chinese revolution.

It was of course, this mighty people's army that defeated the Japanese invaders during World War II, and that went on to defeat Chiang Kai-shek and his army, despite his backing from China's ruling class of landlords and foreign-controlled businessmen -- and despite his backing (which continues to this day) from the US monopoly ruling class.

Thus when the Chinese people "stood up" in 1949 to begin their development as a free and independent socialist nation, Chou En-lai was one of their most important leaders.

Rejecting the future his background had prepared him for, Chou demonstrated throughout his life a tremendous ability to take up the cause of the working class, the cause of social-

Staffing at all levels is a major problem. In spite of what the city administration and the board of directors say, there is a chronic nursing shortage, especially at night and on weekends.

From midnight until 8:00 am, it's not unusual to have only one registered nurse covering the entire medical department -- up to 150 patients.

ORGANIZER: Could you describe a typical ward at PGH?

A: All of the wards are open -- no private or semi-private rooms. There is no privacy for the patients and no place for families to visit patients except at the bedside -- with only two feet of space between beds. Bathroom facilities are poor and there are no recreational activities at all, not even TVs on the wards. There is nothing for patients to do and the staff doesn't have time to sit down and talk to them.

There are no call bells and patients have to scream to get the attention of a nurse if they are in a condition to scream. I could go on but you get the idea.

ORGANIZER: How about the out-patient clinics?

A: Like clinics in most hospitals our clinics are crowded; patients often have to wait hours to see a doctor, and they seldom see the same doctor twice. Most of the care in the clinics -- and the wards -- is provided by interns and residents. They work hard, but they are just learning, and there are very few senior doctors around to help them or answer their questions.

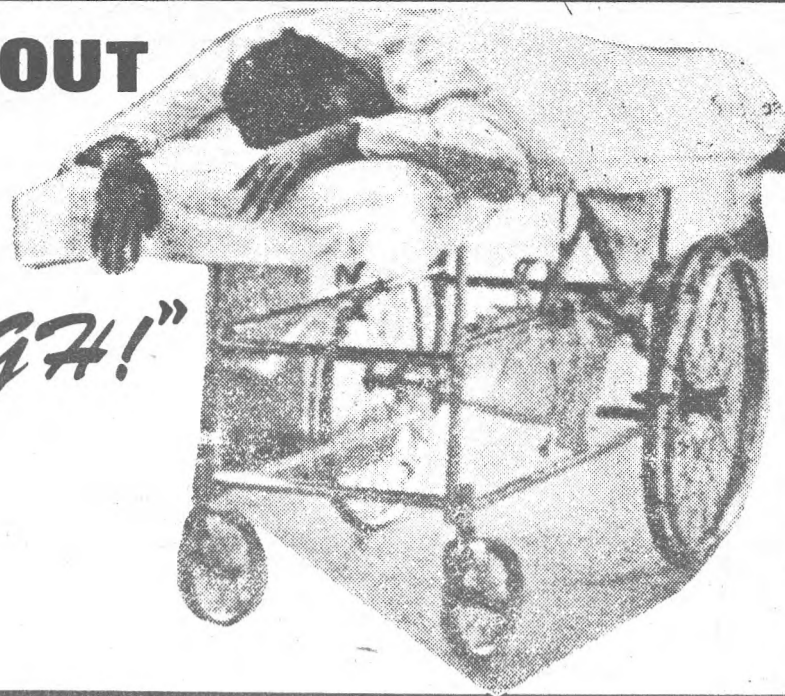
ism and communism, and to master the science of revolution, Marxism-Leninism.

After the revolution, when the working class and peasantry had seized state power and established the Chinese Communist Party as the ruling party, Chou became a great organizer of the new China and one of its chief diplomats. Even the most ferocious enemies of Chinese socialism -- and first in line is the ruling class of the US -- have been forced to concede their respect for Chou in this role, as one can easily see in the reports on his death in the official press in this country.

For the Organizer and the revolutionary minded workers and students of today, Chou's leading role in the critique of modern revisionism -- the sham Marxism of the CPUSA and their followers that aim at accommodating socialism and capitalism -- is yet another outstanding achievement to honor, and more importantly, to study and learn from.

The workers and oppressed national minorities, and the new communist movement, of the US have no reason to share our rulers' fear and hatred of the People's Republic of China and its leaders.

For us, Chou En-lai's memory will endure as one of the greatest revolutionaries of the century, as a man whose entire life was spent -- and how well-spent! -- in the service of the highest calling known to humanity; the construction of a future where the exploitation and oppression of human being by human being has been completely eradicated.



ORGANIZER: Could you add more details about working conditions at PGH?

A: First of all, the chronic understaffing is being made more severe because of a job freeze--workers who leave, for whatever reason, are not being replaced. This means harder work and worse conditions for those who stay plus a lot more overtime. It also means that workers end up doing jobs they weren't hired or trained for; for example, already overworked nurses often have to answer the phones and do a lot of extra paper work because there aren't enough ward clerks. All in all you just do the best you can.

ORGANIZER: Is there any ongoing education for hospital staff?

A: This is a real sore spot. There is hardly any inservice education for registered nurses, less than that for practical nurses, and for the aides and orderlies -- none. Even when conferences are given no one has time to go -- in some areas the staff doesn't even have time to eat lunch!

ORGANIZER: If working conditions are so bad then why do people stay there?

A: Well, the pay and benefits are good, and many workers are loyal to the hospital. Besides, where else can we go? You know many hospitals in the city now have the same kind of job freeze as PGH.

ORGANIZER: How would you describe the attitude of the Rizzo administration and past city administrations towards PGH?

A: Poor. The city doesn't give a damn about PGH. They have money for new stadiums and for the Chestnut St. mall, but very little for PGH or for health care in general. I've heard that the city is spending more than \$100,000 to study the needs of PGH. This is the third study like this done in the past ten years. The problems of PGH are obvious--that money should be going to improve patient care!

ORGANIZER: As of now, the University of Pennsylvania is the only medical school affiliated with PGH. What is the nature of that relationship?

A: Although Penn provides doctors to care for patients and to teach the interns and residents, I think the relationship is basically one of exploitation. Penn uses PGH to train its students. Some Penn doctors are paid by PGH to be there full time, but many of them are only there part-time, spending the rest of their time at Penn, in private practice or doing research, all with PGH money.

Another thing -- Penn uses the PGH prenatal clinic to make money for the the Hospital of the University of Pennsylvania. You see the patients have to go to the PGH prenatal clinic, but a lot of them are delivered at HUP, and the profits are in the deliveries, not in providing prenatal care.

ORGANIZER: Over the past few years it has been rumored almost every year that PGH will finally be closed. Another rumor is that the city will open a new "PGH-North" using the facilities of the old Landis state hospital on Girard Avenue. What do you see as the future of PGH?

A: Supposedly Landis is a reality, and eventually will be finished, but no one knows for sure. Basically its future is as up in the air as it ever had been. They're going to let it go and let it go, doing a few patch-up jobs here and there but never spending enough to turn PGH into a first-rate, modern hospital.

We do know through long experience that the city, the state government, and the board of directors don't really care about PGH or the health of poor or minority people in this city. We know that the only people who really care about PGH are the workers and the patients who use our hospital, so, really, the future of PGH is in our hands--if we are willing to fight for it!



Chou En-Lai: Above, during the historic Long March of the 1930's; below, Premier-of China, 1970's.



Hsinhua News Agency

ANGOLA:

NEO-COLONIALISM VS. NATIONAL LIBERATION

Anti-Imperialists Must Take A Stand!

The "Angolan question," as CBS news put it, stands at the heart of the worldwide struggle against US imperialism. How revolutionaries answer this question decides whether they stand with anti-imperialism or neo-colonialism, whether they ally themselves with the popular struggles for independence and national liberation or whether they choose to collaborate with imperialism. Thus no anti-imperialist, let alone a Marxist-Leninist, can avoid taking a stand.

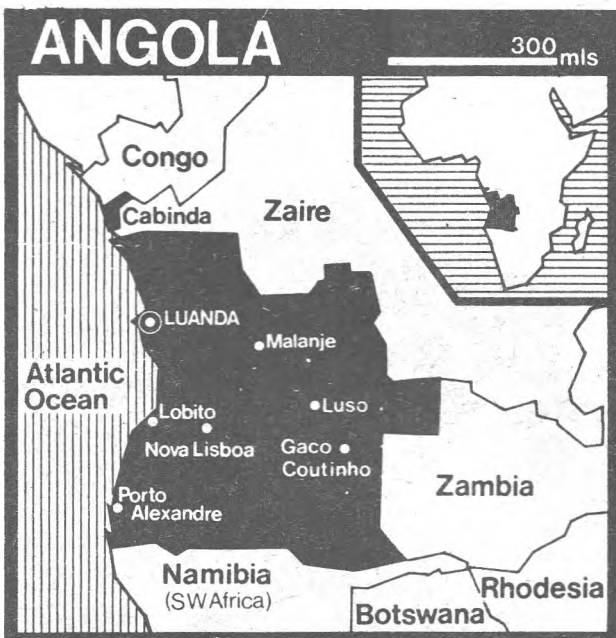
A brief examination of the two sides in the Angolan conflict demonstrates clearly which side represents the imperialists and which represents the Angolan people. On one side stands the Peoples Republic of Angola led by the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA). Formed in December 1956 the MPLA began its long struggle for Angolan independence from Portugal by organizing urban workers and peasants in the countryside upon a non-tribal, anti-racist and anti-capitalist basis.

THE MPLA, FNLA AND UNITA

After establishing a popular base the MPLA went over to armed struggle against the Portuguese in 1961. Since that time they have consistently borne the main brunt of the fighting against the Portuguese army right up until the armed conflict stopped in April 1974 with the overthrow of fascism in Portugal.

But the MPLA did not merely carry out armed struggle. In every territory liberated from the Portuguese, they worked diligently to organize institutions of popular power in order to lay the foundations for the building of a new society. They carried out literacy campaigns and organized medical clinics. They established mass organizations such as the National Union of Angolan Workers and the Organization of Angolan Women to express the people's aspirations. Production in both industry and agriculture was organized along collectivist lines.

On the opposing (and neo-colonialist) side is the National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA) and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA). The FNLA was established by Holden Roberto in 1961. Since then it has played only a minor role in the fighting and has had little popular support. Its main backing has come from President Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire, a country which receives substantial US aid and has in excess of \$800 million in US investments. And like Mobutu himself, Roberto, according to a report in the 19 December *New York Times*, has been on the CIA payroll since 1961 at the tune of \$10,000 annually.



UNITA was organized in 1966 by an ex-Roberto lieutenant, Jonas Savimbi. Savimbi became disillusioned with the FNLA's exclusive concentration on the Bakongo tribe in northern Angola and left the FNLA in the early sixties. He then attempted to join the MPLA but was turned down because he would only accept a top leadership position. Eventually he also established a tribally based organization, except that it was centered on the Ovimbundu tribe instead of the Bakongo.

And similar to its predecessor, UNITA also played a minor role in armed struggle—what little fighting they did was primarily directed against the MPLA—and likewise had little popular support. In fact, there is considerable evidence that UNITA was a creation of the Portuguese colonialists and their imperialist backers—a way of hedging their bets on an imperialist victory. According to the MPLA, correspondence between the Portuguese fascist dictator Caetano and Savimbi reveals that UNITA was established primarily as a counterweight to MPLA policy and popularity.

The two sides are equally distinct ideologically. Whereas the MPLA openly espouses a Marxist orientation, both UNITA and the FNLA claim to have been "too busy fighting the Portuguese" to care about ideology. This has allowed each organization to attempt to gain popular support by manipulating tribal antagonisms and to accept open imperialist backing. Perhaps Roberto himself best summed up the real meaning of the FNLA-UNITA "non-ideological" stance when he told *Newsweek* December 29, "I am calling on the West to save Africa from Communism. . . . The United States . . . is the guardian of world freedom. But it is a historical fact that the United States moves slowly in this role. In Vietnam it was always too little, too late."!!!

But by far the most damning fact about the FNLA-UNITA forces is their conduct of the present civil war. Not only have these two forces openly accepted US aid, but both have willingly cooperated with mercenaries and racist South Africa in the fighting. According to reports in the US press, FNLA-UNITA forces have been bolstered by some 600 mercenaries. About half come from Portuguese, French and Belgian extraction and the other half are CIA-financed US citizens—mostly Cuban gusanos, but including 15 South Vietnamese. To such great defenders of "freedom" the South African government has generously added a regular army force estimated at 4,000 men.

THE ROLE OF SOUTH AFRICA

Given that the South African regime is the main bastion of racism, reaction and imperialism on the entire African continent, it should be obvious that the South African troops would not be helping the Angolan people win their freedom. In fact, the intentions of South Africa's Vorster government to the contrary are quite clear. In the first place, Vorster is desperately concerned with shoring up his control of Namibia (South West Africa). The Namibian liberation movement led by the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) has been steadily gaining strength. Using southern Angola as a base area, SWAPO guerrillas have been stinging South African patrols. Vorster would like very much to cripple SWAPO and eliminate its Angolan sanctuaries.

Secondly, the existence of an anti-imperialist popular regime in Angola would severely threaten not only Pretoria's hold over Namibia, but also its ruthless oppression of the Azanian people as well (the African people living in South Africa). The victories of the national movements in Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, and Angola over the "old" Portuguese colonialism and the steadily deteriorating position of the racist Ian Smith regime in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) has already strengthened the fighting spirit of the Azanian people. A new victory in Angola over the "new" FNLA-UNITA neo-colonialism will only add more fuel to the fire.

Given the facts of the present situation in Angola it is clear that all progressive, let alone revolutionary, forces in the United States have the responsibility of supporting the MPLA. And for the most part, anti-imperialist forces have rallied to the Peoples Republic of Angola's cause.

However, there is a distinct trend which is failing to fulfill its responsibilities, a trend which has in the past generally played a progressive role in the struggle against imperialism. This trend is represented by the October League (OL) and others.

OL UNITES WITH KISSINGER

Like Henry Kissinger's recent statements (and with equal disdain for the facts) the OL has been calling for "unity" of the three liberation forces" and an end to "all foreign interference in the area." They have accused the Soviet Union of having "imperialist" de-

down broad st. in support of the MPLA



On February 7th, over 300 Philadelphians marched in support of the MPLA and against US/CIA interference in Angola. Carrying banners, leafletting motorists, and chanting slogans, the marchers went from Broad and Girard to 17th and the Parkway. There, a rally was held in front of the offices of Gulf Oil.

MCing the event was Jack Hart, Co-Chairman of the Phila. Coalition for Justice in Angola, the sponsor of the action. Included in the coalition are: the African People's Party, the Black Economic Development Council, the Black United Liberation Front, the New American Movement, the Phila. Anti-Imperialist Movement in Solidarity with African Liberation, the Phila. Coalition to Stop Rhodesian and South African Imports, the Phila. Workers' Organizing Committee, and Youth Against War and Fascism.

In her speech to the crowd, Rosemary Mealy, from the Third World Coalition of the American Friends Service Committee, stated that "everything African isn't Black." Ms. Mealy was referring to the US-South African backed groups, UNITA and the FNLA. She spoke out strongly against Black Americans volunteering to fight for these groups and stated that "the MPLA is the only movement representing the peasant and poor people of Angola."

This demonstration follows on the heels of many others throughout the nation. Over 1,000 people marched in New York on January 17th. These demonstrations are serving notice on the US ruling class that the people will not tolerate another Vietnam.



The MPLA, which began its fight against the Portuguese colonialists in 1961, bore the brunt of the fighting for national liberation. In liberated territories they carried out literacy campaigns and organized medical clinics. Production in both industry and agriculture was established along collectivist lines and people's mass organizations were established.

signs on Angola and the rest of Southern Africa. They maintain that these so-called designs caused the Soviets to exploit differences over "secondary questions," backing one liberation organization exclusively, and thereby disrupting an agreement for unity and fomenting civil war.

However, it has been clearly demonstrated that it was the US government and not the Soviets that disrupted the unity agreement signed on January 5, 1975. The *New York Times* in its December 19 issue of last year revealed that the CIA had initiated increased aid to both the FNLA and UNITA in January of 1975, a full two months prior to "the first significant Soviet buildup." Government officials also admitted that the increased aid from the USSR was "in part a Soviet response to the action by the United States."

The effect of this increased US aid on Roberto of the FNLA was accurately described by a State Department official: "That money gave him a lot of extra muscle. He'd been sitting in Kinshasa (Zaire) for nearly 10 years and all of a sudden, he's got a lot of bread—he's beginning to do things."

Furthermore, by maintaining that the Soviets caused the conflict by exploiting the MPLA's differences with FNLA and UNITA, OL implies that the main and leading force in the entire struggle for Angolan liberation is nothing more than an agent of the Soviet Union. Once again OL's implication dovetails neatly with US imperialism's propaganda. And once again the facts prove the opposite.

The MPLA has expressly declared its intention to bring Angola into the camp of non-aligned nations. It has maintained friendly relations with China and it continues to sell Mao's works in its bookstores and use them in its political education. As Agostinho Neto, leader of the MPLA, explained, "Just because the Soviet Union supplies us with weapons, it doesn't mean that we have become a satellite. We've never been one. We've never asked Moscow for advice on how to set up our state. All the major decisions in our country are taken by our movement, our government and our people."

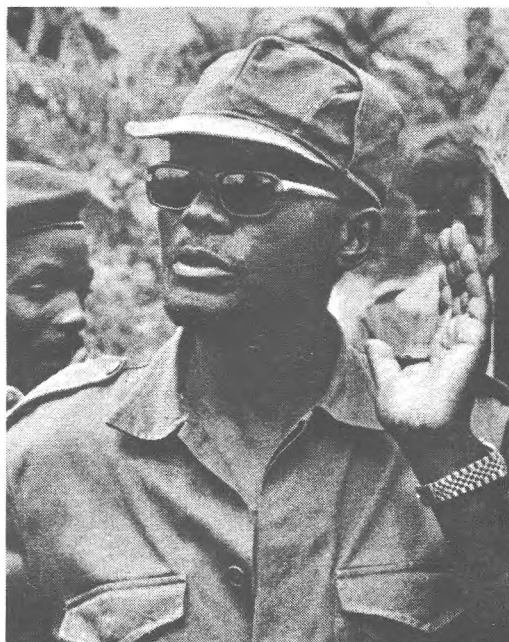
Moreover, to reduce the differences between the MPLA and FNLA-UNITA to ones of "secondary" importance shows a woeful ignorance of the tasks facing the Angolan people. While the Angolan workers and peasants have succeeded in driving out the old direct and open colonialism they must still take steps to preserve their independence from those who would use "new" methods to compromise their sovereignty.

In such a situation the question of whether Angola will provide a stable base for real independence and national liberation or merely defeat the "old" Portuguese colonialism only to fall into a "new" US dominated neo-colonialism is a question of primary importance. And this is precisely the question which divides the MPLA from FNLA-UNITA.

NEO-COLONIALISM VS. NATIONAL LIBERATION

Thus the call for unity between the MPLA and FNLA-UNITA forces is a call for unity between real national liberation and neo-colonialism, between real independence and US-South African domination. That such a call should be made at precisely the point when the balance of class forces in Angola are deciding the question in favor of national liberation and independence is *criminal*. One might just as well have called for unity between the Thieu regime and the PRG in the early spring of last year.

The demand for the end of "all outside interference" in Angola is equally bankrupt, especially when it is mainly advanced in opposition to Soviet aid. (In the December *Call* the OL's superficial article on Angola totally ignored the question of US intervention and *did not even mention* the South African invasion!!!) The MPLA as the only legitimate representative of the Angolan people has accepted aid from the Soviets for some fifteen years and has a legitimate right to continue to receive that aid.



Jean Guyaux

Holden Roberto of the FNLA(top) and Jonas Savimbi of UNITA. Roberto has been receiving \$10,000 annual salary from the CIA since 1961. UNITA was founded with the help of the Portuguese colonialists and has been dependent recently upon aid from racist South Africa. Both groups rely heavily on CIA financing and the recruitment of mercenaries.

To oppose Soviet aid is tantamount to opposing the Angolan people's right to take up arms to defend their country from US imperialist subversion and South African fascist invasion. To oppose Soviet aid is objectively to aid US imperialism in its efforts to overthrow popular power in Angola. What kind of revolutionary would oppose Soviet aid to the North Vietnamese, either now or in the past?

Thus it should be clear that the OL—and those who agree with its stand on Angola—have demonstrated in both word and deed that they are willing servants of imperialism. Every revolutionary must oppose their chauvinist stand.

But what is even more criminal on their part is that they advance their opportunist line in the name of sharpening the struggle against Soviet revisionism.

While it is true that the Soviets will undoubtedly try to use their aid to strengthen the hand of any revisionist elements that may be operating in the MPLA -- and we have no evidence that there are any -- OL's stand can only help the revisionist cause.

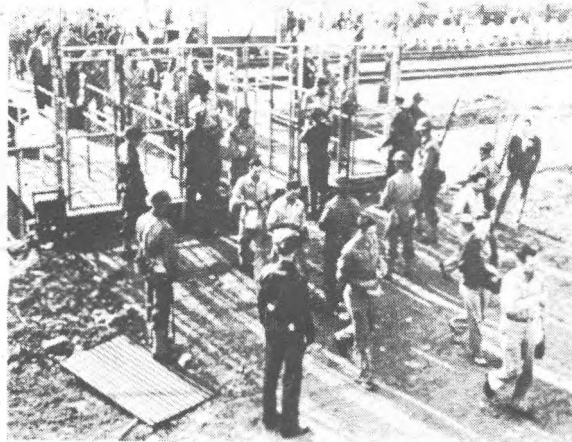
By making revisionism -- that is, the policy of accommodation with imperialism -- an even greater danger than imperialism, the OL can only serve to isolate itself from the worldwide anti-imperialist movement. For the unity of that movement is based on opposition to the class enemy -- imperialism. And struggle against bourgeois lines within that movement must always be seen *in the context* of strengthening the struggle against the enemy.

To remove the struggle from its proper context and focus one's attacks on an ideology of accommodation while allowing imperialism to continue upon its merry course unchallenged is quite obviously to do a disservice to the cause of anti-imperialism. It can only lead to a strengthening of the accommodationist policy and thus imperialism as a whole.

Thus on the "Angolan question" OL has proven itself to be an apologist for neo-colonialism. Behind their smokescreen of revolutionary phrases they are performing a valuable service to US imperialism while undermining the struggle against revisionism.



ARMY SMASHES AIRCRAFT WORKERS; UNITY WINS FORD STRIKE



Troops supervise return to work, 1941.

To hear the bigwigs of the UAW talk today you would think that the union descended from the skies, a gift bestowed upon we chosen workers. You would think that the union is the property of Leonard Woodcock and friends, existing apart from the dues paying membership. "We gave you this and we gave you that and you ought to be grateful for it" -- this is the message we get from the international down to its local lieutenants.

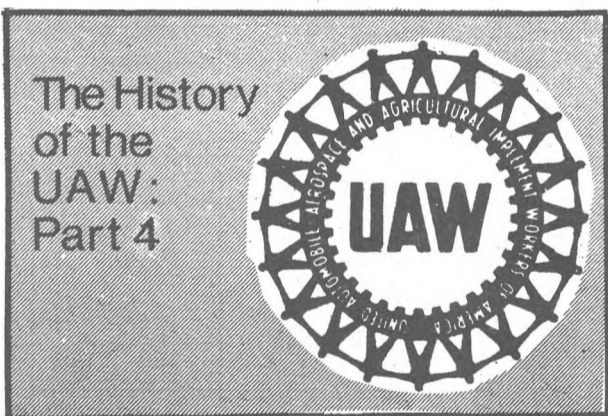
The real history of the UAW teaches us otherwise. The UAW was born out of the struggles of the auto workers themselves and the gains it has brought them have been paid in full with the sacrifices made by thousands of rank and file workers.

Beginning with this article, the ORGANIZER is going to retell that story. It is an important story not only to auto workers but to all workers. The history of the UAW has been the history of two different philosophies of unionism that have contended for control of our unions throughout the history of the labor movement.

One outlook, class struggle unionism, bases itself on the idea that "the working class and the owning class have nothing in common," that the workers can only gain at the expense of the employers and vice-versa.

The other school of thought, which is the dominant one today and in most periods in the past, contends that the workers and the bosses must cooperate to advance their "mutual interests."

The UAW, perhaps better than any other union, illustrates in its history what both these philosophies mean in practice. It is our hope that this look at the past will help the rank and file movement to understand where and how our unions have gone wrong and point towards what kind of measures are necessary to transform them into genuine fighting organizations for the whole working class.



At the 1939 Convention, the UAW had rid itself of President Homer Martin, whose dictatorial administration had sold out the Ford workers and split the union (see last issue of the Organizer.) Now the Union could move on to organize the remaining strongholds of the open shop -- the Ford Motor Company and the west-coast Aircraft Industry.

In July of 1939, right after the convention, the union sent Wyndham Mortimer to California to organize the Aircraft Industry. Mortimer had proven himself the best organizer in the union by his brilliant leadership of the GM Sit-Downs of 1936-37, but all his skill and knowledge would be put to the test in organizing aircraft. The industry was in the midst of a boom as a result of government war orders, and the plants were flooded with thousands of new workers, most of them young.

The first plant to be brought into the union, Vultee Aircraft, went from 600 workers to 4,000 in four months! Many of these young men had been lured to California by ads promising them jobs in "Aircraft Engineering" at large salaries, but after paying up to \$600 for an "Engineering" course plus their transportation to California, they found themselves bucking a rivet gun for 50 cents an hour, the going wage in the open-shop Aircraft Industry.

In the fall of 1940, the UAW petitioned the NLRB for a representation election at North American Aviation in Inglewood, the key plant in the Industry. Also to

be on the ballot was the IAM-AFL, one of the many craft unions who claimed "jurisdiction" over the Aircraft workers. The IAM had never lifted a finger to organize this or any other mass production industry, until the CIO came along and began to organize. The few contracts they held in Aircraft were sweetheart deals signed without the workers even knowing about them.

IAM TRIES RED SCARE

This sorry outfit had only one message for the Aircraft workers -- "vote for the IAM because the UAW-CIO are a bunch of Reds working for Joe Stalin! The IAM is a real 100% American union!" This tune was sung in perfect harmony with the Aircraft bosses, the US military, and the California newspapers. What Joe Stalin had to do with the 50 cent/hour pay or the \$600 courses in "Aircraft Engineering" the IAM never said.

The UAW wasn't turned aside by this attack. They kept hitting at the real issues -- the wages and conditions in the plant and the need for a union -- and pointing out that the "Red scare" was nothing but a smoke-screen to confuse and divide the workers.

The day before the election, when the whistle blew and the workers came streaming out of the plant, they could hardly believe what they saw -- eight American Indians, dressed in loincloths and feathers, handing out leaflets and urging each worker to "Vote CIO!"

Each leaflet had only one sentence printed on the front, "This leaflet was handed to you by a real 100% original American." This showed up the stupidity of the IAM red-baiting, and the next day the UAW-CIO won the election.

Right after the election victory, while the UAW prepared to start negotiations with North American, Mortimer received a sudden order from UAW Vice-President Richard Frankenstein to go to Seattle. Frankenstein and President R. J. Thomas were worried that Mortimer's success would win him too much popularity among the membership, thus making him a threat to their jobs. So Mortimer spent the next few months in Seattle while Frankenstein took over the North American negotiations.

In a bid to build a reputation among the UAW membership as a real fighter, Frankenstein pushed the company hard. He made a lot of militant speeches, and told the Company that the union wanted a 75 cent per hour minimum plus a 10 cent general raise, or else there would be a strike.

COMPANY TAKES HARD LINE

He set the strike deadline, and left the power to call the strike in the hands of the local bargaining committee. The Company took a hard-line stand; the President of North American put the company's position this way, "I don't need to pay any more to my workers because most of them are young kids who spend their money on a flivver and a gal."

The workers were in no mood for this kind of talk. Some were already quitting the union because of the long and drawn-out negotiations, while others were calling for wildcat action. Meanwhile President Roosevelt intervened and told Frankenstein and Thomas to stop the strike. At this point, Mortimer wanted to know why the President didn't end the strike by ordering North American to pay a living wage. He never got an answer.

Now Frankenstein and Thomas submitted the dispute to the Government's arbitration board without consulting the North American workers, and began calling for patience. They were doing their best to oblige the president, regardless of the effect on the Aircraft workers and their union.

But on June 5, 1941, the workers struck North American Aviation, on their own and without the authorization of the UAW officers. Mortimer, just returned from Seattle, supported the strike as did the local bar-

gaining committee. Frankenstein, on the other hand, ordered the strikers back to work, regardless of the fact that the Company still refused to budge on the union's demands.

A mass meeting of the strikers was called for Sunday, June 8, to allow Frankenstein to try to persuade the men to go back while negotiations continued. But the night before, Frankenstein went on national radio, denouncing the strike as "Communist-inspired and led" and the local elected officers as well as Mortimer as Communists trying to undermine America. When he appeared the next day at the mass meeting, the workers booed him off the stage for selling them out and for attacking their elected leaders.

US ARMY BUSTS STRIKE

Monday morning after Frankenstein and Thomas had given the green light by firing Mortimer and removing the officers, President Roosevelt sent the US Army to North American. That morning there was a mass picket line of over 10,000 union men surrounding the plant, but they were no match for the bayonets and automatic weapons of the 15th infantry. The picket line was smashed, 16 strike captains were illegally arrested, and the strikers went back to work under the gun. As a result, 25 union stewards and officers were fired and blacklisted from the industry, the plant was patrolled inside and out by armed soldiers, and unlimited speed-up and arbitrary firings were the rule. Frankenstein issued a press release praising the Army's conduct and offering to recruit strikebreakers should there be any shortage of skilled workers.

This traitor later removed all doubt about his true loyalties when he quit the union soon after the end of WWII to become a factory owner. The final result for the North American workers who escaped being fired was the granting of a small wage increase later that year.

ORGANIZING FORD MOTOR

Also during 1940 and 1941, the union was making its second attempt to organize Ford Motor Company. Ford was the last bastion of the open shop in Auto, and Henry Ford was determined to keep it that way. Ford's two main weapons were his "service Department" and the division among the Ford workers caused by racism.

The "Service Department" was a gang of 8,000 thugs who spied on the workers and punished any union men they discovered with a beating and instant discharge. Ford workers lived in constant fear of these goons, who sometimes attacked and beat a worker without any excuse, simply to instill fear and obedience into Ford employees.

Another major obstacle was the division between white and Black workers in the River Rouge plant. By 1940, Ford employed about 18,000 Black workers out of 80,000 at the Rouge -- the only company in the auto industry that would hire Black workers. Even though most of these workers worked in the foundry or as sweepers, Ford was still widely regarded as a friend to the Black workers. In contrast, most of the Black workers at the River Rouge were mistrustful of the UAW, having had plenty of bad experiences with the up-front racism of the AFL.

This justified mistrust was encouraged by a number of Black ministers in Dearborn in the pay of Henry Ford, and by the existence of racist outfits such as the KKK and the Black Legion, to which many white Ford workers belonged. Only by breaking with the racism of the AFL was the UAW-CIO able to win over these Black workers. The UAW policy against discrimination was widely publicized, and the Jim Crow policy of Ford was exposed.

Black organizers were hired to work on the drive, including some workers fired from Ford for union activity. Because of the CIO record of practicing as well as preaching equality of Black and white workers, many Black leaders and organizations were won to active support of the UAW. This support proved crucial when the strike finally came.

UAW HISTORY cont.

By January of 1941, the union was strong enough to hand out leaflets openly at River Rouge, a practice that had in the past earned union organizers bloody beatings by the Service Department goons. Union buttons were seen in the plant, and Service Department goons were getting a taste of their own medicine in certain departments.

In March, 3000 workers in one division sat down when eight union members were fired; one hour later Ford caved in and they were rehired. Departmental sit-downs continued, most resulting in quick victory for the workers. But on April 2, Ford fired 8 committeemen in the rolling mill, and refused to meet with the union to discuss the firings. The workers in the rolling mill and the other well-organized departments began to spread through the plants, convincing department after department to join the strike.

Within hours, the plant was shut down and the Service Department goons were routed. Early the next morning, the strikers received word from their officers that the strike was officially on, and they marched out of the plant singing "Solidarity Forever," the UAW anthem. Mass picket lines were set up surrounding barricades of parked automobiles, in case the Dearborn police or Ford's Service Department should try to bring scabs into the plant.

But one major problem remained. 1,500 of the Black Ford workers, unconvinced of the union's stand on racism and misled by the paternalism of Ford, remained in the plant. Walter White, executive secretary of the NAACP, came to the plant and spoke to the Black workers in the plant over a bullhorn. Hearing him defend the UAW while attacking Ford for Jim Crow in the plant, and seeing that the local NAACP had joined the picket lines, the remaining Black workers marched out and joined the strike.

BELL TEL con't

(continued from page 4)



UNITY OF WORKERS AND CONSUMERS NEEDED

It is clear that Bell is once again using us as its victim in its pursuit of higher profits. The only thing that can stop it is a united force of operators and the public displaying their outrage over this flagrant attempt by Bell to penalize us in its own drive for profits.

Operators must force their unions to take a strong stand in opposition to these charges and the public must demand to be heard on this issue.

In New York, a bill was proposed in the State Legislature which directed the state's Public Service Commission to rescind the decision granting the charges. It also demanded that public hearings be held before any public utility rate increases are put into effect in the future.

The bill passed overwhelmingly in the Assembly, only to be rejected in the Senate.

We must make sure that this does not occur in Pennsylvania.

And these layoffs will not only hit directory assistance operators but "O" operators as well. Previously, customers who wanted area codes would call the "O" operators to get them. But now in New York, customers are being instructed to dial directory assistance at a 10 cent charge to receive the area code! This is in spite of the fact that area codes for most cities are not even listed in the directories!

The phone companies are also asking for a charge for verification at the same time as the directory assistance charge. Customers will then have to pay 10 cents to find out if a phone is out of order.

These new charges all add up to higher rates for the consumer and fewer jobs for all operators!

Seeing the unity and determination of the workers hold firm, Henry Ford recognized the inevitable. On April 11, Ford recognized the UAW as the bargaining agent for the River Rouge workers pending an NLRB election, but still refused to sign a contract. On the 14th, the Rouge workers voted to accept this offer, and returned to work to await the outcome of negotiations. In June of 1941, Ford granted all of the unions demands, including the first union shop in the auto industry, and a clause guaranteeing equal rights to all Ford workers, regardless of race.

The UAW generally distinguished itself in these years by its commitment to building the unity of the workers and combatting racism and discrimination. When

500 white UAW members struck an Ohio aircraft plant to block the promotion of a Black worker to the tool and die department, UAW President Thomas removed the local official who had approved the strike and ordered the workers back.

But this commitment wasn't as firm as it could have been. The union made little effort to end the hiring discrimination practiced by nearly all Auto and Aircraft companies, and also failed to put up a real fight against the discrimination in upgrading that was practiced by those companies that did hire Blacks. When Philip Randolph prepared to march on Washington to demand that Black workers be hired in war industries, the UAW stayed on the sidelines.

WORKERS' VOICES



Eugene Debs ON WAR

Eugene V. Debs was one of the most eloquent and passionate voices that the working class in the US has ever had. For half a century Debs worked tirelessly in the cause of the emancipation of the working class.

He was the leader of the American Railway Union, a militant industrial union that waged one of the bitterest strikes in labor history against the Pullman Co. in 1894. He was a founder of the Industrial Workers of the World and all his life taught the gospel of militant class struggle unionism.

He was a revolutionary socialist who never stopped believing that the working class could and would overthrow the system that crushed it and build a new and better society. He was a steadfast supporter of the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia which he described as "the star of hope of the peoples of the world."

Perhaps more than any other revolutionary working class leader in the US, Debs had the ability to inspire the masses of working people. His own indignation and honest hatred toward all forms of injustice corresponded to the feelings of thousands of ordinary working people and gave Debs enormous moral authority.

Debs' popularity was so great that he received over a million votes for President while in jail. Debs was jailed because of his opposition to World War.

The two selections printed below, the first a statement he made while on trial and the second an article in a socialist newspaper, the Appeal to Reason, are almost sixty years old, but they could have been written yesterday.

WAR: ITS CAUSE AND ITS MAKERS

War does not come by chance. War is not the result of accident. There is a definite cause for war, especially a modern war. The war that began in Europe can readily be accounted for.

For the last forty years, under this international capitalist system, this exploiting system, these various nations of Europe have been preparing for the inevitable. And why?

In all these nations the great industries are owned by a relatively small class. They are operated for the profit of that class.

And great abundance is produced by the workers, but their wages will only buy back a small part of their product. What is the result? They have a vast surplus on hand; they have got to export it; they have got to find a foreign market for it. As a result of this, these nations are pitted against each other.

They begin to arm themselves to open, to maintain the market and quickly dispose of their surplus. There is but the one market. All these nations are competitors for it, and sooner or later every war of trade becomes a war of blood.

Wars have been waged for conquests, for plunder, and since the feudal ages, the feudal lords along the Rhine make war on each other. They wanted to enlarge their domains, to increase their power and their wealth and so they declared war upon each other. But they did not go to war any more than the Wall Street Junkers go to war. Their predecessors declared the wars, but their miserable serfs fought the wars.

The serfs believed that it was their patriotic duty to fall upon one another, to wage war upon one another. And that is war in a nutshell. The master

class has always brought a war and the subject class has fought the battle.

The master class has had all to gain and nothing to lose, and the subject class has had all to lose and nothing to gain. They have always taught you that it is your patriotic duty to go to war and slaughter yourselves at their command. You have never had a voice in the war. The working class who make the sacrifices, who shed the blood, have never yet had a voice in declaring war. The ruling class has always made the war and made the peace.

IN WHOSE WAR I WILL FIGHT

Since my characterization of the soldier in the Jingo edition I have been asked if I was opposed to all war and if I would refuse to be a soldier and to fight under any circumstances, and to make my answer through the *Appeal to Reason*. No, I am not opposed to all war, nor am I opposed to fighting under all circumstances, and any declaration to the contrary would disqualify me as a revolutionist. When I say I am opposed to war I mean ruling class war, for the ruling class is the only class that makes war. It matters not to me whether this war be offensive or defensive, or what other lying excuse may be invented for it, I am opposed to it, and I would be shot for treason before I would enter such a war. . .

But while I have not a drop of blood to shed for the oppressors of the working class and the robbers of the poor, the thieves and looters, the brigands and murderers whose debauched misrule is the crime of the ages, I have a heart-full to shed for their victims when it shall be needed in the war for their liberation. . . .

There is where I stand and where I believe the Socialist Party stands, or ought to stand, on the question of war.

The Bankers' Sting:

New Yorkers Get Fleeced, Is Philly The Next Victim?

It's next to impossible to make heads or tails of the flip-flopping economic crisis in New York by reading the daily newspapers or by watching the TV. There has been a lot of talk about New York "going down the drain," about welfare chiselers and greedy gargagemen, about credit ratings and bond sales. Everybody has a different theory about the crisis and how it was caused. It's all pretty confusing to most of us.

That confusion is not accidental. While most of us know something about the sleazy mechanics of the political side of city governments, the economic side remains mysterious and hidden. This is the world of "high finance" where men trade in millions of dollars over dry martinis at lunch.

Of course, the economic experts never tire of explaining these dealings -- in a language even they can't understand. Their twenty-five dollar words are supposed to persuade us not to ask further questions. Somebody "up there" apparently understands all this stuff and we should just pay our taxes and not worry our pretty little heads about a thing.

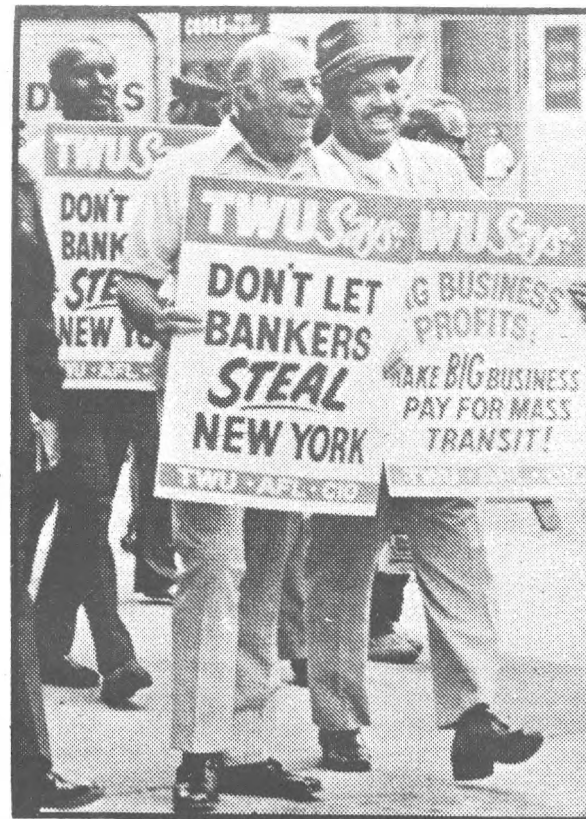
But plain old common sense tells us that when somebody gives us a line full of doubletalk and then expects us to shell out our money, we are being hustled. In New York, Philadelphia and other large cities, the hustle is basically the same, the Bankers' Sting.

Basically, it's a sophisticated development of the old loan shark game. We've all seen the late night movie about Joe, the guy who loses his shirt in a crooked poker game. The dude who runs the game, the one with the slicked back hair, pencil mustache and shifty eyes, offers to keep advancing the money until he can win it back. Of course, our hero continues to lose and he sinks deeper and deeper into debt.

It isn't until after the game that poor Joe realizes that not only does he now have a hefty debt, he has a hefty debt with a hefty weekly rate of interest. Joe never catches up on his debt. The interest keeps building up. Joe's life is ruined. His wife leaves him and he starts hitting the bottle. After Joe has been milked for all he has, the hired goons show up to collect the final debt. The movie ends with our hero taking a short trip off the Brooklyn Bridge.

FORD BLAMES WORKERS

In the case of New York, the plot is basically the same, the characters have changed and the whole thing is a bit more complicated. So let's review our story. In the past year, we've all become aware that New York is running out of money. The general theory has been, as advanced by Jerry Ford, that New York has been a soft touch and has been taken advantage of by money hungry municipal workers and free-



loading welfare chiselers. In other words, New York is in trouble because it gave in too easily to its citizens.

The facts paint a different picture. The Wall Street Journal reported that between May 15 and July 1 New York needed \$3.5 billion to pay its bills. It needed \$600 million to meet the city payroll, \$800 million to meet the expenses of running the city and \$2.1 billion to pay off city notes (short term loans) and bonds (longer term loans).

More than \$1 out of every \$6 in the City budget goes to the bankers to pay the debt. Almost all of the City debt is held by the bankers, investment houses, insurance companies, big corporations and rich investors. The bonds and notes held by the rich now amount to over \$12 billion with an annual interest rate of about \$1 billion a year. It is the municipal debt, not welfare or wages, that is the fastest growing item in the budget.

THE STORY OF A CRISIS who gets burned in the end?

For most New Yorkers, New York never has been "Fun City."

Now that New York has been "saved" from bankruptcy, life is even grimmer. The federal government has guaranteed \$2.3 billion in annual loans for three years which must be repaid at the end of each year. These loans will ease the cash flow problem in the city budget, but they will not "save" the city. The debt built by New York's big banks is being paid daily by millions of New Yorkers:

- 22,000 MUNICIPAL WORKERS HAVE BEEN LAID OFF. AS MANY AS 40,000 MORE MAY EVENTUALLY BE PUT OUT OF WORK.
- A WAGE FREEZE HAS BEEN IMPOSED ON THE REMAINING CITY WORKERS. ALSO OVERTIME HAS BEEN CURTAILED AND EMPLOYEES WILL BE MADE TO PAY HIGHER PENSION FUND CONTRIBUTIONS.
- ABOUT 11,000 TEACHERS AND PARAPROFESSIONAL AIDES OUT OF CLOSE TO 45,000 WERE LAID OFF OR ASKED TO RETIRE.
- CITY UNIVERSITY HAS BEEN ORDERED TO CUT ITS BUDGET NEARLY IN HALF. SIX OF THE TWENTY CAMPUSES IN THE CITY HAVE BEEN CLOSED, STUDENT FEES HAVE BEEN DOUBLED AND THE OPEN ADMISSIONS POLICY FOUGHT FOR AND WON BY BLACK AND LATIN RESIDENTS IN 1969 HAS BEEN ELIMINATED.
- TRANSIT FARES HAVE BEEN INCREASED FROM 35 TO 50 CENTS AND MAY EVENTUALLY BE INCREASED TO 80 CENTS. SUBWAY SERVICE HAS ALSO BEEN REDUCED.



- 300 MILLION IN NEW TAXES HAVE BEEN INTRODUCED, INCLUDING A 25 PERCENT INCREASE IN CITY INCOME TAX.
- HOSPITAL BUDGETS WILL BE REDUCED BY 10 PERCENT.
- DAYCARE CENTERS HAVE BEEN CLOSED DOWN BY THE SCORE.
- WELFARE PAYMENTS WILL BE ELIMINATED FOR 10,000 PEOPLE.

These measures will do little to effect the everyday life of middle class and wealthy New Yorkers. For the working class, the Black and Latin communities, the sick and the old the impact will be dramatic. For thousands it means the loss of a livelihood. For school children it means more overcrowding in schools that were bad to begin with. The loss of day care centers means that many working mothers will be forced to give up their jobs. Loss of health care services must result in pain, misery and death for many of the old and impoverished.

New Yorkers haven't taken these attacks lying down. Five hundred nurses at 18 public hospitals staged a walk-out in protest of the health care cuts. Thousands of older people have demonstrated to protest cuts in social service. Laid off workers were able to win back some jobs through militant demonstrations. Hardly a day goes by without some angry demonstration by parents or community organizations. But these actions are seldom reported in the newspapers or other media. The prospect of a united and fighting working class so frightens the city's rulers that there has been a near total blackout of these news events.

BANKERS PASS THE BUCK

The Bankers will admit that this is the case. But, they say, the city borrowed so much money because it needed it to meet the needs of the people. The real cause of this huge debt, they will say, are the municipal workers' unions which fought for decent wages and working conditions, the social service programs that provided education and health care for the poor, and the growing welfare rolls.

On the surface, this might seem to be a logical argument. But let's take a closer look at who is making this argument -- the banks -- the Chase Manhattan, the Morgan Guaranty, and the First National City. For most of us a bank is just a building on the corner. We think of it in terms of checking and savings accounts, car loans, and mortgages. But banks are much more than that. The big banks are sort of the "control towers" of capitalism. They deal with almost unimaginable sums of money, control vast financial empires, and influence our lives in thousands of invisible ways.

When banking leaders speak the politicians sit up and take notice because the banks represent real power, the power of capital. If New York was spending money carelessly, why didn't the banks stop the flow of money sooner? Why did the banks let New York sink deeper and deeper into debt?

DRIVE FOR PROFITS

The answer is that the banks wanted New York to borrow money. During the mid-sixties, the whole economy was going through a "boom" period. Banks and corporations were making huge profits. But during the peak of a capitalist boom period the rate of profit (the amount of profit as it compares to total investments) began to fall. If this falling rate of profit was not slowed down, there would have been a major recession in 1967 or 68.

The government and the bankers decided that the way to boost this falling rate of profit was to encourage government borrowing. All levels of government were encouraged to borrow for highway construction, industrial development and education. Everybody was borrowing from the banks and the banks were even borrowing from each other.



The uprisings in the ghettos and the government worker organizing drives of the sixties forced the government to borrow more for services and wages and less for big business boondoggles. The movements of people fighting to improve their living and working conditions influenced government spending policy. But the policy of enormous government spending and borrowing did not arise from the demands of these movements. The policy arose from the bankers' need to shore up their profits and those of their investors.

New York City borrowing helped maintain a higher rate of profit in two ways. First, it allowed the banks to finance increased city costs which either directly or indirectly aided business interests. For example, new construction directly benefited the construction companies while new highways indirectly benefited business by improving access and efficiency in commercial transportation. Since these things were being financed through borrowing, business could benefit from such improvements without reducing profits by paying additional taxes.

INVESTORS MAKE KILLING

Secondly, city bonds (whose interest is tax-free) directly boosts the profits of the investors which hold them. Municipal bonds have traditionally been available only to banks, insurance companies, corporations and wealthy individuals because they are usually sold in packages of \$5,000 to \$25,000.

These bonds are extremely profitable and that profit is almost guaranteed. For example, recently Philadelphia sold \$25 million in bonds at 9.49% interest. If someone buys a 20 year \$10,000 bond they will receive about \$19,000 in interest alone, tax-free, by the time the bond is retired. In other words the investment will nearly triple. It is easy to see why the banks are eager to loan money when the return is so profitable.

But New York was borrowing money which it had no way of repaying. If you or I walked into a bank and asked for a loan and could offer no solid collateral to back it up, we would be thrown out on our ear. Either the banks were partner to the policy of this type of borrowing or the Lindsay administration (the administration in power at the time) was pulling the wool over the bankers' eyes.

CITY MANAGERS AND BANKERS HAVE COZY RELATIONSHIP

If that were true it would seem strange that David Grossman, Budget Director under Lindsay, became a vice-president in the Chase-Manhattan Bank, or that Herb Elish, head of the Environmental Protection Agency and Sanitation Department was made top officer in the First National City Bank. Scores of other top and middle level managers under Lindsay also found homes in the city's banks. We can only conclude that bankers not only supported but even dictated city borrowing.

Why can't New York just continue borrowing money? Why is there a crisis now? The banks who made the loans soon find that they haven't much more money to loan and that current economic crisis has reduced the returns that they had anticipated. The banks find themselves heavily in debt and if they suffer too many losses they could be forced into bankruptcy. Now they have to play it safe. Whereas before, they gladly floated New York millions on the flimsiest of pretexts, now they sternly demand prompt and immediate payment of outstanding notes and bonds. Now they want solid collateral for their loans and hard cash in their vaults.

Before, when everyone was enjoying a phoney prosperity, it seemed that the policy of government borrowing was a good idea. The bankers and big corporations prospered, city workers got better wages, more educational opportunities were created, needed social service programs helped people to barely scrape through.

POOR AND WORKERS HIT HARDEST

Now that the bankers have declared a crisis, what is happening? The bankers and corporations are prospering, thousands of city workers have been laid off, a quarter of the school system's teachers have been laid off, the City University system has been drastically reduced, hospitals have been closed, and social services of all types have been eliminated or severely cut.

Now it is the school crossing guard, the third grade teacher, the working mother, the sick and the old that must pay for the government borrowing that so profitably served the rich. It is the working class, Black people, Latino people, the poor and the unemployed that are being made to sacrifice their livelihood, their education, and their health so that First National City Bank can maintain its better than \$400 million annual profit.

(continued on page 17)

Rizzo changes tune Wants SUPERTAX To save his hide

The true story of the Philadelphia fiscal crisis is gradually leaking out.

Two weeks after taking office Rizzo admitted what others have been saying for months -- that the city has a deficit of at least \$80 million dollars. The man who "held our taxes down" then announced his solution -- SUPERTAXES.

The number one supertax is supposed to be a proposed increase in the real estate tax. Rizzo is demanding a 14 mill hike. This means that if your house is assessed at \$10,000 you will pay an additional \$140 per year. This is not your ordinary run-of-the-mill tax increase. This is the biggest single jump in at least half a century and equals the combined increases of 16 years! This tax hits poor and working people the hardest, particularly retired people who are trying to get by on small fixed incomes.

Supertax II, a big increase in the city wage tax is already on the drawing boards and Supertax III another real estate tax increase, may not be far behind.

All these taxes are to keep the wolf from the door, Rizzo's door of course, not ours. The city is in a serious financial crisis similar to the crisis in New York. How did this occur? What have been the policies which have created this situation?



MOAK -- THE BANKER'S FRIEND

The architect of the city budget is Lennox Moak. This man is not simply a pencil-pushing accountant. He is perhaps the key figure in the Rizzo administration. The city's ruling circles support Frank Rizzo because he is a popular figure capable of enforcing their interests. But they are wary of his lack of political and economic sophistication. To keep Rizzo's big mouth buttoned they depend on Al Gaudiosi, the Republican from Montgomery County that Rizzo wanted to make chairman of the Democratic City Committee. To make sure that their economic interests are served they depend on Moak, a blueblood like themselves, who is expert in shuffling numbers and multiplying profits for the city's banks and insurance companies.

In the past few years, Moak has had a difficult job and has served his masters well. He inherited a very shaky budget from the Tate administration, one which seemed to make a major tax increase imminent. But Rizzo, in order to insure his election had promised that there would be no tax increase. Moak went to work quietly reducing public health care services, cutting public housing expenditures, increasing real estate tax appraisals, and chopping the number of municipal employees through attrition and a hiring freeze. Besides the cut in social services, Moak has used two other strategies -- increased federal aid (about 30% of the city's budget now comes from the state and federal governments.) and deficit spending.

For years he has disguised his deficit spending through budget slight of hand -- using money from the capital budget for operating expenses, creating in-

come out of thin air and floating bonds. This policy has its similarities to the New York fiscal policy, but from the standpoint of the city's ruling circles it was even better.

BUDGET BENEFITS BUSINESS

Not only did it delay a tax increase, it also put the bulk of city expenditures directly in the service of the city's business community. The center city office buildings, Chestnut Street Mall, the projected commuter tunnel between the Reading and Penn Central Stations -- these are the concerns of Lennox Moak and Frank Rizzo. They are also the concern of the big construction companies and the banks and insurance companies that finance these projects.

The people of Philadelphia, however, are concerned about other things -- like jobs, housing, health care, and education. Lennox Moak has a little trouble painting a rosy picture when it comes to the everyday life of most Philadelphians.

No amount of economic hocus-pocus can disguise the fact that Philadelphia is on the decline. The neighborhoods are riddled with empty factories and run down and abandoned housing. Over twenty percent of the population is receiving some form of welfare; unemployment has doubled in the past two years and 23,000 more will be lost in the next year; and the

city continues to lose population at the rate of about 30,000 people a year. The loss of jobs and population means that wage taxes will provide less and less income each succeeding year.

In November, Philadelphia had difficulty finding financing for a \$25 million bond package because of its decline and projected deficit. Moak, the creator of this deficit, is using the threat of default to force additional taxes on the working people of this city.

These taxes will not mean cleaner streets, improved housing or better education for Philadelphians. They will be going to pay back the debt -- \$157 million dollars in outstanding municipal bonds (loans).

Moak also expects to use the threat of crisis to smash the Phila. Teachers Union when contract time rolls around in the fall. The city's municipal workers who benefited from Frank Rizzo's election-time opportunism in their last contract, will also find a different attitude the next time around.

Rizzo's Supertaxes tell the story. Philadelphia's house-of-cards economy is falling apart and the poor and working people of this city are shouldering the burden. Rizzo hopes to weather the storm without disturbing his alliance with his big money friends so that he can get himself elected governor. When things get too shakey, Moak will probably retire "for reasons of health" and take some cushy high level job in one of the banks.

And we will be left holding the debt!

COALITION OF LABOR UNION WOMEN HOLDS CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION

CLUW LEADERSHIP REMAINS OBSTACLE TO PROGRESS AND RANK & FILE PARTICIPATION

Some 1200 women attended the Coalition of Labor Union Women constitutional convention this past December 6 and 7 in Detroit. In many ways the stage and outcome were set before the first member was registered. In the weeks before the meeting President Olga Madar sent a letter to all CLUW members warning them about the "minority of disrupters" out to divert CLUW from its goals.

CLUW's goals simply stated were to organize the unorganized (of which 32 million are women) and struggle for women's rights in their workplaces, unions and society at large. The "minority of disrupters," as President Madar calls them, are in fact the rank and file forces who have been struggling for more than a year and a half to bring to life CLUW's stated purpose.

These rank and file members of CLUW have called for some real action around the economic crisis and its hard-hitting effects on women. They have demanded aid for women involved in organizing drives through the setting up of support picket lines, etc.

They have struggled for CLUW to take a clear cut stand against racism around issues like the deportation of undocumented workers and the issue of busing that is affecting working people across this country.

It is precisely because these rank and file women were not content to let CLUW remain an idle paper organization that they were labeled disrupters!

MADAR'S PROGRAM

President Madar and her counterparts in the local chapters launched a two-pronged campaign of inactivity and red-baiting from the outset of CLUW. The inactivity was to be an obstacle in the path of those women trying to involve more rank and file women in CLUW—after all, who wants to join a do-nothing group!

The red-baiting was to divide and conquer those rank and filers who persevered through the long months of inactivity and kept plugging for a real program of struggle for women's rights.

The campaign was stepped up at the convention where President Madar beseeched the Lord in her opening remarks to protect her and the majority constitution and save the convention from the disrupters! This kind of cheap scare tactic brings back memories of witch-hunts and circus tent exorcisms and merits about as much respect as either.

The next point on the agenda was a show of hands of union officials elected and appointed or staff members—about 90% of the women raised their hands—and staff members seemed to outnumber the elected representatives. Almost all had been selected by their unions to attend the convention, all expenses paid.

THE STRUGGLE OVER STRUCTURE

Along with her letter of warning Olga sent two proposals for the constitution, a majority draft put together by President Madar & Co. and a minority draft which basically focused in only on areas of disagreement with the majority proposal. The major areas of disagreement were around structure and membership. The majority proposed that the national Executive Board be made up of one representative for each 150 members in CLUW from an international union and one representative per 100 members in a local chapter. Presently there are only 4 chapters with more than 100 members and many unions that are predominantly female have less than 150 members in CLUW, so they would be left out. This formula seriously undercuts the voice of union women in areas that are largely unorganized, like the South, where chapters are bound to be smaller due to the low level of unionization. The minority proposed a fifty member to one representative formula on the chapter level and won. This was the only vote won by the rank and file forces.

The question of membership centered around whether unorganized women should be members of CLUW and around the status of union women laid off in this period of economic crisis. The majority held that only union

members in good standing could join CLUW, while the minority was split, some calling for admission of all working women while others called for admission of only those women who had already signed cards in a union drive. The latter minority proposal was defeated, but only by a small margin. It is the feeling of the Organizer that a formula that gave unorganized women a voice without vote and set up special structures for dealing with their problems would be the best solution. Such a formula would maintain CLUW as a group of labor union women, while at the same time dealing with the real needs of unorganized women in a democratic way. In other words, CLUW wouldn't be in a position of trying to organize the unorganized without ever talking to them and finding out what their particular needs were in a given situation.

Beyond the struggles focusing on the constitution was the whole question of program and activity around the economic crisis. The majority maintained their focus on the legislative, lobbying-type approach to the problem, while the rank and file forces continued to call for mass mobilization and action in the form of demonstrations, pickets, public forums, etc.

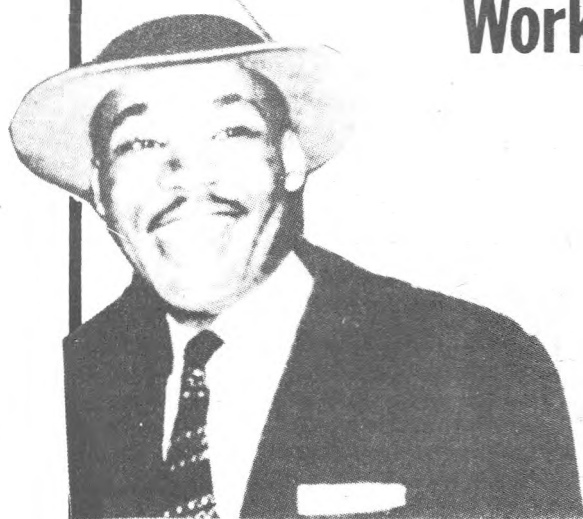
THE FUTURE

Because of the urgent need for a truly fighting organization like CLUW—where large numbers of union women join together in real labor solidarity to fight for their rights and the rights of working people worldwide—the only view to the future can be one of building slowly but surely until the rank and file "disrupters" are in the majority. And when we're ready, we'll disrupt the cozy, do-nothing sleep of President Madar and her bureaucratic camp, and more importantly, we'll give the bosses a run for their money too!!



Walkout At Budd

Workers Honor Martin Luther King's Birthday



On Martin Luther King's birthday, several workers in the press shop of Budd Co.'s Red Lion plant walked off the job at lunch time, refusing to work in honor of Dr. King, and in protest against the Budd Co.'s refusal to excuse workers on that day.

The demand for a holiday in honor of Dr. King is a popular one, which has already been won by some workers. Although Black workers are leading this struggle, demanding recognition not only of Dr. King but of their fight for equality, increasingly white workers are also supporting the demand.

Class conscious white workers understand that a blow against racism strengthens the unity and fighting spirit of the whole working class. Many workers also remember that Dr. King was murdered while aiding striking sanitation workers in Memphis. Martin Luther King understood the unity of interests between the Black Liberation Struggle and the struggles of all oppressed and exploited people.

REACTION MIXED

The reaction to the walk-out was mixed, especially since the company did grant some excuses, both on the 15th and in advance. This enabled the company and union officials to say that if all the workers who had wanted to leave had asked in advance they would have been excused.

It is clear, however, that the company would not have granted passes to the extent they would have been asked for—over half the department had requested excuses on that day, and were denied completely.

The workers who left were not fired, but were given warning slips. Among those who did not walk out, there was both sympathy and criticism for the action.

Most agreed that the action was poorly planned and too risky, and that pressure should have been put on the union and the company in advance of the 15th. Some said that if that had been attempted, and it was clear that the company was not going to cooperate, then a walk-out with much wider support could have been organized.

The moderate punishment by the company shows that they recognized the depth of the support for the demand in the shop.

The lack of preparation for the holiday on the part of the union officials is another indication of their racism and lack of concern for the real concerns of the rank and file.

In the aftermath of this incident, many workers are now clear that a holiday for Dr. King be a non-negotiable item in contract negotiations next fall.

LOCATION OF A BOMB IN THE WORKING CLASS

Marxism vs. Terrorism in the US

Are Patty Hearst & the SLA Really Revolutionaries?



WHERE THEY WOULD LEAD US.

"Terrorists bow to the spontaneity of the passionate indignation of the intellectuals who are incapable of linking up the revolutionary struggle with the labor movement. . . It is very difficult indeed for those who have lost their belief, or those who have never believed that this was possible, to find some outlet for their indignation and revolutionary energy than terror."

(V.I. Lenin, What is to Be Done?)

Terrorists in US society: they range all the way from the ultra-left political "Weatherman" to the real nuts like sociopath Charles Manson and his followers such as Lynette "Squeaky" Fromme. Whether their rhetoric has a "Marxist" ring to it or sounds just plain crazy, these terrorists have one thing in common: **THEY REJECT THE MASS STRUGGLE OF THE WORKING CLASS AND RELY INSTEAD ON BOMBINGS AND ASSASSINATIONS BY A SMALL GROUP.**

Terrorism grows out of the fury, frustration and even psychosis bred by the ugliness and brutality of our society. Marxist-Leninists understand this only too well. Lenin himself had a brother who was executed after taking part in an attempt to assassinate the Tsar. Lenin opposed this type of terrorism which is isolated from the mass struggle, not because he had any wish to see the Tsar live a long and healthy life, but because all true revolutionaries recognize that the work of such terrorists serves the ruling class, not the working class.

It ignores the day-to-day struggles of the working people, it ignores the need for organization (especially the communist vanguard party), it gives all "revolutionaries" a bad name, it terrifies the people it claims to serve, and it gives the police and the government a blank check for across-the-board repression against any and all progressive forces.

Isolated from the day-to-day struggles of the working people, terrorists hope to "spark" the revolution by setting off bombs or carrying out assassinations. Marxist-Leninists, however, know that a socialist revolution can't be "set off" like it was a stick of dynamite. It must be carried out steadily and methodically by the strength and unity of the organized and *conscious* working class.

Marxism-Leninism also teaches that the road to revolution is a long and dangerous one -- we must go through peaceful times and violent times, legal work and illegal work. On the one hand, we must fight for the day-to-day needs of our class -- better wages, safer working conditions, an end to discrimination. But at the same time we need to build the organization and understanding that will in the future enable our class to establish socialism.

TERRORISTS DISDAIN WORKING CLASS STRUGGLE

Terrorists can't understand this. They seek the quick and easy recipe for revolution, the Molotov cocktail. They shun the unglamorous routine of the shop-floor struggle and the union meeting, of study and teaching, of collective work and the patient building of organization.

Every idea in class society is the idea of a particular class. The kind of terrorism we're talking about is the idea of the petty-bourgeoisie "driven to frenzy" as Lenin says "by the horrors of capitalism." Essentially, it is petty bourgeois because while it shows a hatred of monopoly capitalism and the ruling class, it also shows a disdain for the proletariat. It has no confidence in the ability of the working class to wage a prolonged, steady and sustained struggle for its liberation. For mass action it substitutes the actions of a tiny elite.

THE ELITE VS. THE PIGS

Take the example of the SLA (Symbionese Liberation Army). This "army" (which was really just a sect or cult) was never more than 7 or 8 individuals--white youth from middle class backgrounds who blindly followed the command of "Cinque," a Black ex-con who hoped to change the world by "killing the pigs."

But who are the "pigs"? Who is the real enemy who must be fought? The SLA certainly had no understanding of who the enemy of the working and oppressed people is. Marxist-Leninists see the need for communists and the working class to find allies among all progressive forces, to "unite the many to defeat the few." But the SLA viewed reformist Black school administrator Marcus Foster the same way they viewed multibillionaire William Randolph Hearst.

By killing Foster, the SLA served only to isolate themselves and terrify the very people they claimed to serve! The SLA certainly found no sympathy among Black Philadelphians who remembered Foster for his efforts to improve conditions at Gratz High School. True revolutionaries *join* such movements, and point out the limitations of trying to reform the capitalist system. If we hope to make a revolution, we must win people away from the reformist and over to a revolutionary point of view, not shoot everyone who disagrees with us in the head!

"BOURGEOIS FADS"

Lenin says of such "petty bourgeois revolutionariness" that it is easily transformed into "infatuation with one or another bourgeois fad." In our decaying society--short on values and long on fads--there are all kinds of crazy groups, cults and philosophies around. Take the Manson bunch, for example. These people were very heavily into drugs, flirted with devil worship and human sacrifice, and are now into ecology coupled with political assassination.

Similarly, it seems clear that the SLA and its "political actions" like bank robbery and murder was nothing but a fad for the "poor little rich girl" Patty Hearst. Disillusioned by her parents who did not jump at the chance to trade their billions for her free-

dom, she played "Tania, the Urban Guerilla" for a while, complete with beret, machine gun and "kill the pigs" philosophy. (Certainly this is an insult to the memory of the real Tania who fought side by side with Che Guevara and others to liberate Cuba.) When the glamor and romance of the SLA wore off, Patty was only too willing to turn to Daddy to save her from prison.

ON LEADERSHIP AND ORGANIZATION

When asked in a TV interview what one thing she would do to save the world, Squeaky Fromme replied "Get Manson out of jail. . . he has it all in his head." This is just the opposite of what true revolutionaries believe; Marxist-Leninists know that the masses of people make history. While revolutionary struggles produce brilliant leaders such as Lenin, Mao and Ho Chi Minh, none of these leaders is seen as an all-knowing prophet or god. Revolutions are made in the real world by millions of real people--not in the imagination of some prophet.

"Leaders" like Manson and Cinque can only set up a top-down, obey-orders, militaristic type of commandism. Nowhere is there to be found collective work, criticism and self-criticism, democracy, education and ideological struggle, which are the lifeblood of a real communist organization.

Berkeley friends of Patty Hearst pointed out to her how sexist this commandist style of leadership was, in relegating the women "soldiers" to the role of idol-worshipping robots. In the case of Manson--who started his career as a pimp--this sexism was carried to a horrifying extreme of unrelenting sexual subjugation under LSD to bring the women "under his thumb."

WHY THE BOURGEOISIE LOVES THE SLA

Why was the SLA in the newspaper headlines across the country for weeks on end? Why were some 8,500 FBI agents (75% of the field force) employed in the SLA case at one time or another over two years? Surely many a gang of bank robbers have robbed, kidnapped, even killed and never received this kind of attention!

But the SLA were no "common criminals"--they claimed to be "revolutionaries." This is just what the bourgeoisie wants people to think revolutionaries are: a tiny band of terrorists who make little or no political sense and kill anybody who disagrees with them, all in the name of justice. And what of the hundreds of leftists and communists who work every day in the communities and factories of this country, struggling along with the rest of the working people and oppressed nationalities, writing, studying, discussing and spreading their ideas on how to make a better, more just society? You'd never find a word about these revolutionaries in the paper, unless occasionally to slander them with lies.

By avoiding looking at the true revolutionaries, the media hopes to give the word "revolutionary" a bad name. Revolutionaries are either crazy terrorists, or they are the subject of "Where are they now?" stories of ex-radicals who have settled down to law practice and suburban family life, or who have tripped off on another "bourgeois fad" such as anti-war activist Ren-

PWOC PLENARY CHARTS FUTURE

focuses on six areas of work

On November 23, the PWOC held its semi-annual plenary, an all-group conference to sum up our work over the past period and set tasks for the coming one.

The all-day meeting heard and approved a general report from the Executive Committee dealing with the full range of our current situation and tasks, a propaganda report summing up gains and identifying areas for improvement in that area and passed two resolutions, one further concretizing the PWOC's approach to party-building and the other creating a Women's Liberation Commission to strengthen all aspects of the PWOC work in this critical struggle.

The reports and resolutions had been the subject of internal discussion within the organization over the past two months and drew on input from all the units of the PWOC. The unanimous endorsement of the reports and resolutions indicated a high level of political unity in the organization.

NATIONAL WORK

The EC general report to the membership was the major item on the agenda. The report examined the international and domestic aspects of the crisis of imperialism and situated the tasks of the Communist movement and the PWOC in that framework.

Six areas of work came in for particular focus. First of all, the report noted the growth of an independent Marxist-Leninist trend nationally in opposition to both revisionism and dogmatism. The PWOC has begun to place greater emphasis on reaching out to forces that compose this trend in order to make our own contribution to further defining and strengthening its Marxist-Leninist character.

In the past period we have met with many groups and individuals and gained a wider circulation for our materials. In the coming period we must increase this work and begin to give it a more coherent organized form. (see party building resolution for a full discussion).

THE STRUGGLE AGAINST RACISM

The second area of focus was the struggle against racism. Gains in trade union work were cited. In election struggles in several unions concrete demands against discrimination were advanced and made central issues in the election agitation.

However, serious weaknesses still remain in our trade union work in this critical area. In contrast with the more advanced election work other cadre had fallen into tailism and side-stepped the question of racism.

In the first case, our work had served to build a firmer foundation for multinational unity in the rank and file movement by drawing Black workers into the struggle and educating the white workers in the spirit of class solidarity.

Where the struggle against racism was weak division in the form of a low level of Black-white unity remained the central problem. The report noted that

while our cadre had in general become more conscious and consistent fighters against racism, much room for improvement remained.

Our ideological understanding remains uneven and our practice must become more aggressive.

UNEMPLOYMENT WORK

The development of work among the unemployed was a third focus of the report. The central importance of this work in this period of economic crisis was underlined.

The attempt to build a mass organization of the unemployed over the last period has met with real success. Several months of consistent agitation have advanced the work to the point where a core of unemployed workers has developed and where the stage is now set for a campaign of mass action around jobs.

The importance of follow-up work with contacts made through leafletting, the need to broaden the composition of the leadership and the need to step up the struggle against both sexism and racism were all identified as problem areas needing attention in next period.

The report confirmed our commitment to the unemployment work and our intention to insure that it received all the organizational resources necessary to forge ahead.

BUILD MOVEMENT FOR DESEGREGATION

Another priority area of work for the PWOC in the coming period is the effort to build a mass movement for desegregation and quality education in anticipation of eventual court ordered busing plan here in Philadelphia.

We are committed, in conjunction with other forces, to building a broad coalition with a working class approach to the question of busing, which essentially means that we must fight for desegregation while simultaneously opposing further deterioration of the city's school system and demanding real improvements in the education of all working class children.

The EC reported that generally the PWOC has provided positive leadership in the beginning efforts to build such a coalition.

INDEPENDENT POLITICAL ACTION

Another area of review and further development was the struggle for Independent Political Action. In the last period we advanced the slogan of independent political action in relation to the mayoralty elections primarily through our treatment of the elections in the Organizer.

We also had a series of internal educationals to consolidate our understanding of this concept within the organization. We now must expand our agitation bringing the slogan into the rank and file movements and the various coalitions in which we are active.

We must also seek to develop relations with those forces in the city which are moving in the direction of independent political action. At this point in time, our main work is propagandistic rather than organizational.

We must popularize the slogan of independent political action and win broader forces to a commitment to move in this direction before viable independent formations can actually be formed. The report noted that the growing trend of disillusionment with the two capitalist parties both locally and nationally provides a fertile field for this agitation.

STRUGGLE AGAINST OPPORTUNISM

Finally, the report focused on the struggle against opportunism and called for an intensified struggle on the ideological front against both revisionism and dogmatism. In the struggle for the party here in the US we have to sharpen our critique of revisionism.

(continued on page 18)

RESOLUTION ON Party Building

The road to the vanguard party is anything but straight and level. It is a steep and winding path, climbing rocky inclines and traveling along narrow ledges where the mere loss of footing can result in a plunge to death waiting on the rocks below. Heavy rain and thick fog have obscured the path in some places. In others, rockslides have placed huge boulders in the way.

Like so many climbers, the Marxist-Leninist movement is struggling up the path. Its progress though slow has been steady. And while some forces have taken the wrong path and others have fallen behind, the column continues its relentless advance.

Both the numbers and the dedication of the party building movement continue to grow. The movement has deepened its ties to the working class from which it gains nourishment; there are larger numbers of activists in the trade unions than ever before and their influence is growing. The movement has also strengthened its grasp on the science of revolutionary struggle; it has sharpened its critique of revisionism and continues to accumulate ammunition for the struggle against dogmatism. Further it has developed its multinational character both in terms of its work in the mass struggles and its own organization.

It is true that there have been setbacks -- setbacks which are serious and must not be underestimated. There has been a definite consolidation of dogmatism in two of the leading national organizations. The RU has consolidated its bankrupt, racist ultra-left line; they now call themselves the Revolutionary Communist Party. They maintain that the new revolutionary party has been founded. And it appears that they have been able to hoodwink some honest revolutionaries into placing a vanguard label on rearguard practice.

The OL, never wanting to be left far behind RU, has also declared itself solidly behind dogmatism. While OL has always had strong dogmatist tendencies, there were countervailing pressures which for a time seemed to be making some headway. In the last year, however, dogmatism and its cohort, ultra-leftism, have gained the upper hand. This is demonstrated by OL's recent rejection of *any* 'unity of action' with the revisionists and, in addition, by their June Congress which altered their party building line. In June, party building became a "question of immediacy" and now they are calling for the "actual organizational work of party construction" to begin. It seems that we are to suffer two dogmatist 'vanguard parties.'

Beyond the RU-OL masquerade lie some even better examples of what our movement should *not* be. Organizations like Worker's Viewpoint and Marxist Leninist Organizing Committee, while they have stumbled upon some correct criticisms, have chosen to compound RU and OL's political errors. Rejecting dogmatism in favor of ultra-dogmatism, they advocate sounding a retreat from the working class movement, a retreat from the stormy seas of class struggle to the cushioned rooms of intellectualist study and debate.

It would be equally wrong, however, to overestimate these setbacks. While real enough, this dogmatist trend does not include the majority of those taking the road to the new party; its main strength comes from petty bourgeois elements -- those who are most susceptible to dogmatist opportunism. There are many schooled Marxist-Leninists who have not fallen prey to its wiles and it has been unable to make significant inroads into the bulk of the advanced workers who every day become more open to communism.

Opposed to these dogmatist forces are a growing number of activists who are searching for a different kind of movement. They seek a movement which bases itself primarily on the historical experience of the working class here in the US rather than in China or elsewhere. They seek a movement formed and shaped in the crucible of a real live class struggle, not in the dull grey reflection of that struggle in revolutionary literature. They seek a movement which expresses its internationalism through national forms of struggle, a movement led by real Marxist-Leninists, not by dogmatic, unschooled Bible-thumpers.

Party Building Resolution

Experience has led these activists to break with dogmatism on four key points. First, they identify US imperialism as the main enemy of the worldwide struggle for socialism and national liberation. Second, they regard dogmatism and ultra-leftism as the main forms of opportunism in the party building movement.

Third, they take the position that the Black people are an oppressed national minority and understand the centrality of the struggle for democratic rights. And finally, while recognizing the centrality of party building, they realize that our movement is not sufficiently mature as yet to take up the actual organization of such a party as an immediate task.

Taken together these four attitudes express an embryonic Marxist-Leninist trend. The first point embraces a concrete and objective internationalism rather than the abstract and subjective "united front against the two superpowers." The second shows a recognition that the harmful attachment to dogmatic and simplistic solutions to complex problems plays into the hands of revisionism and that it is the main block to strengthening our movement.

The third represents a break with an emotional attachment to the outmoded Black "nation" theory. And the fourth expresses a recognition of the real weaknesses of our movement and the need for a long range struggle to overcome them.

However promising, this embryonic Marxist-Leninist trend has significant weaknesses. In the first place, there is a great unevenness in understanding of those who share an anti-dogmatist perspective. Some, while they reject dogmatism on all points, have yet to bring that rejection to a positive expression. They can critique dogmatism but they have yet to provide an adequate alternative.

Others break with dogmatism on only one or two points and share common assumptions on the remaining ones. And many oppose dogmatism on instinct rather than analysis; their anti-dogmatism is necessarily superficial and uncritical. Secondly, while Marxism-Leninism is combatting dogmatism in many localities, here too there is great heterogeneity. In a few cities the Marxist-Leninists have the upper hand, but in most the dogmatists are stronger, better organized and further consolidated.

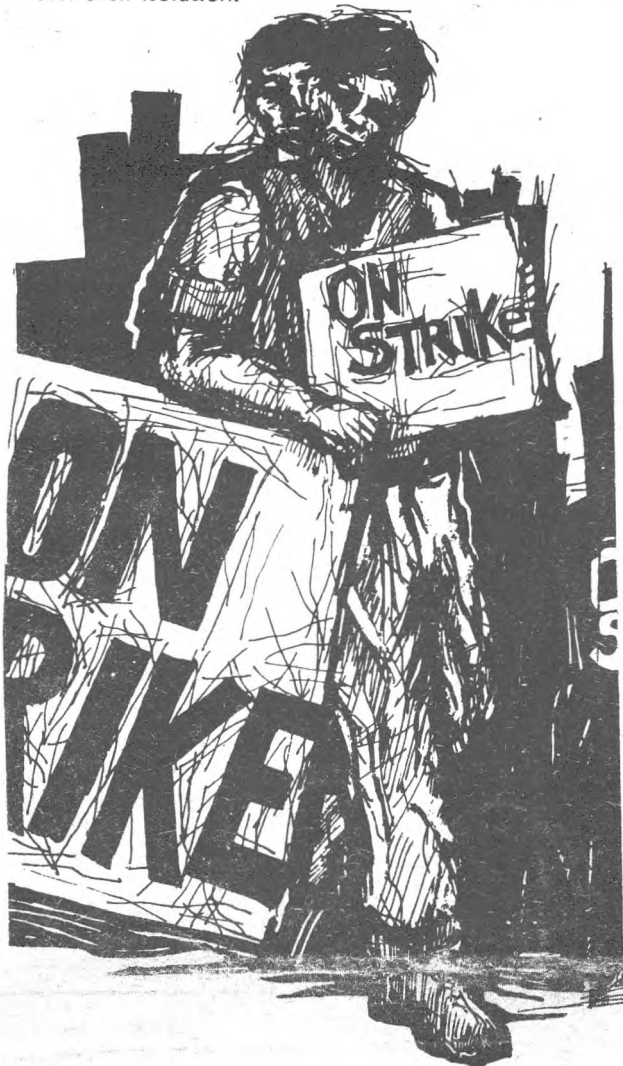
But by far the most important weakness lies in the fact that the Marxist-Leninist trend lacks a center. In spite of its uneven development our trend has significant strength which is not being mustered and thrown into battle. Highly developed Marxist-Leninist positions on critical questions do not reach into many areas, whereas the dogmatist clap-trap is everywhere. The revolutionary trend struggles to publish and distribute its contributions from isolated localities while the dogmatists have established national networks.

Furthermore, there is a great and unnecessary duplication of effort in our trend. Many organizations must pick their way through ground already crossed by others without the benefit of advice; the various localities are not gaining from the experience of others. The dogmatists, on the other hand, can coordinate local activities and develop a national division of labor.

A national center, however, would not just serve to allow the Marxist-Leninists to exercise the full weight of their influence; it would also be a great aid in the con-

solidation and building of the trend. The most developed elements could with the proper division of labor greatly accelerate their theoretical work; and accelerated theoretical work leads to expanded practice. The most developed would also be able to help those who are either still influenced by dogmatism or are rejecting it on instinct alone develop their critique and their understanding of the alternative. The same could be accomplished in the practical arena with the most developed practice blazing the trail ahead.

In addition, a national center would aid in strengthening the struggle against dogmatism. Not only could Marxist-Leninists strengthen their own anti-dogmatism but they could win new adherents by waging a coordinated national attack. Where formerly the dogmatists could spread their pabulum unscathed they would be challenged. Eventually a concerted attack would force them on the defensive and gradually further their isolation.



However, it is not sufficient to merely declare in favor of such a center, for it will not arise spontaneously. Nor is a center possible given the general unevenness and disunity among the organizations which make up the Marxist-Leninist trend. A center built on the basis of a mere commitment to the struggle against dogmatism would be both unwieldy and ineffective; elements whose rejection of dogmatism is more rhetorical than analytic would operate as equals to those with a more advanced understanding. The main lines of the struggle would have to be developed first.

Thus the first step towards a national center consists in the drawing of demarcation lines between Marxism-Leninism and dogmatism. The Marxists must put forward clear and concise positions which not only expose revisionism but dogmatism as well. In order to maximize their impact these positions must draw on concrete practical experience in the struggle against dogmatism.

The correct path to the vanguard party, which is the central question facing our movement, is also the central question in the struggle against dogmatism. The dogmatist approach to the question serves as an obstacle which must be overcome. By maintaining that party building consists of the mere uniting of available revolutionaries around a 'correct' line, the dogmatists place the struggle for the party on an abstract and intellectual plane.

The question becomes one of various lines contending for hegemony within the given party-building movement; the movement is accepted at face value with no attempt made to analyze its weaknesses, let alone correct them. By accepting our movement as it is -- a movement which for all its strength remains separated from the working class movement and thus predominantly intellectual in character -- the dogmatists advocate a party of intellectuals separate from the working class.

Marxist-Leninists, on the other hand, hold that the party will be shaped by the struggle to fuse the communist movement to the class struggle of the proletariat. For them, party building consists in winning over the advanced workers to revolutionary theory through

direct participation in their practical struggles. By developing the necessary theoretical and practical tools to help the advanced workers, the movement will not just win them over. The movement itself will be transformed, giving up its petty bourgeois baggage.

This critical difference -- the difference between posing the question of party building as an intellectual exercise and posing it as a question of winning over the advanced elements in the working class movement -- provides the starting point for the struggle against dogmatism. It is a difference which is so basic, so fundamental that even the most inexperienced revolutionary can grasp it. And while not profound, the point that a correct approach to party building must begin with a recognition of the central weakness of the party building movement immediately exposes the uncritical and undialectical nature of dogmatism.

But it is only the starting point. Beyond the question of the struggle for the party, lines of demarcation must be drawn on other questions as well. The Black national question is already a critical question in the struggle against dogmatism and the international question becomes more critical with the passing of events. In the future the question of the correct approach to the united front will become equally important.

Drawing lines of demarcation will not yield a center by itself. It will lay the ideological foundation, but an organizational foundation is needed as well. The Marxist trend must be consolidated in several local organizations that are united around a firm understanding of the main lines of battle. They must also be organizations which are rooted in the working class movement.

These organizations could then assemble and hammer out the initial principles of unity for a Marxist-Leninist trend steeped in the US working class. The proper principles of unity, of course, would be a question open to struggle. It is important that the level of unity not be characterized so high as to cut the most advanced elements of the trend off from those who are just groping in an anti-dogmatist direction. And it is equally certain that the level of unity has to be sufficient to muster the greatest overall impact in the struggle against dogmatism.

A conference of all who could adhere to the determined principles of unity could then be called. Full discussion on the Marxist-Leninist views on the essential questions would take place and efforts would be made to move the whole assembled body forward, furthering the level of unity.

If the conference is successful -- and there can be no guarantee of that -- it could proceed to establish a viable center. At the early stages this would consist in providing the trend with a means to establish a national identity and in addition the means to expand its influence and struggle for hegemony in the broader anti-revisionist movement. The most likely form would be a national theoretical journal -- or even better a newspaper -- which would draw on the strengths of the movement in each of its localities. To ensure a real leading and coherent center an editorial apparatus would have to be developed, elected on the basis of agreed upon principles.

Just where, and how fast, the trend would develop from here is a matter for speculation. It would depend partly upon the real level of unity and partly on the strength of the local organizations. Eventually a national pre-party organization needs to be built but a discussion of how, is at this point, premature.

The PWOC has a vital role to play in this effort. We have already begun to develop lines of demarcation on the Black national question and the struggle for the party. And we plan to take up the international question and the united front. In addition, we have a reasonably mature organization which has established as good a base in the working class movement as any other anti-revisionist organization we know of anywhere. Furthermore, locally we have the upper hand in the struggle against dogmatism. We are an important base of anti-dogmatism now and barring any catastrophe, should remain so.

For the present, we should greatly expand our efforts at national outreach. We should distribute our position papers, our pamphlets and our newspaper more widely paying particular attention to the most important base areas of Marxism-Leninism. We should spur on the development of our work on the party building question and the national question. And finally, we should expand our national traveling with an eye to helping other organizations to consolidate.

Beyond that, the way forward calls for a continued emphasis on strengthening our work in every arena -- education, propaganda, organization, in the trade unions, in CLUW, among the unemployed, in the struggle for democratic rights of national minorities and women, and in the mass political struggle. For us this constitutes the way forward.

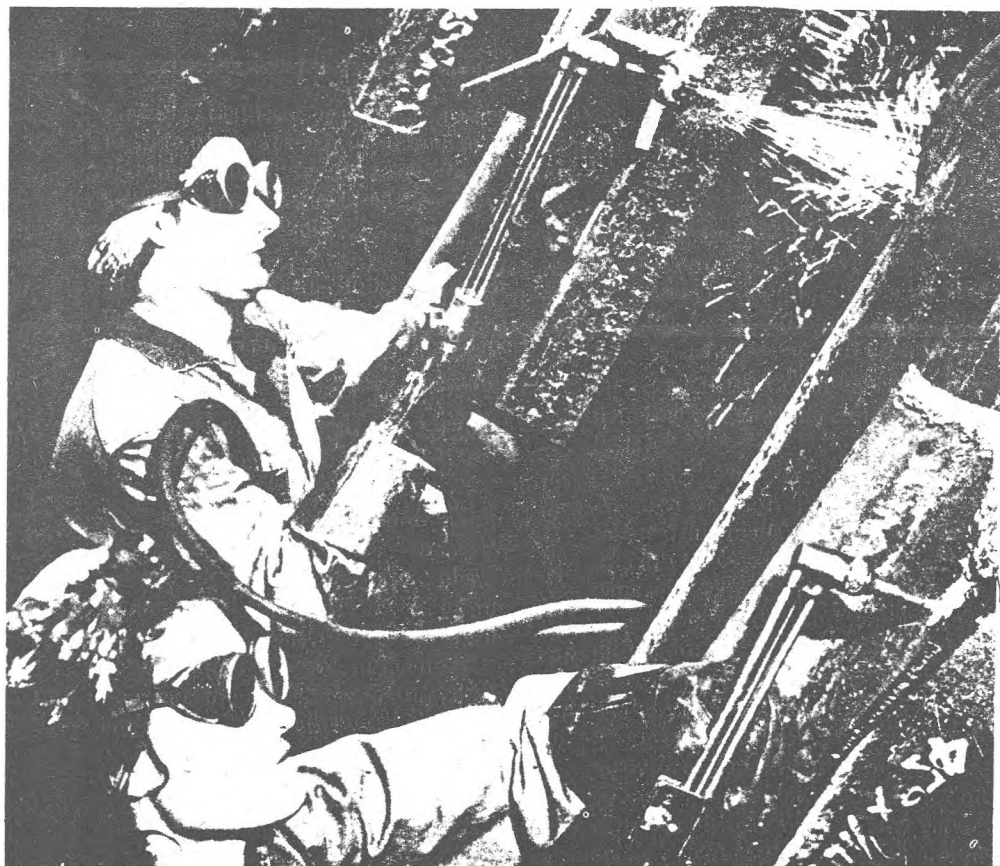


Miles Stryker/Workers' Graphics

NUTS & BOLTS

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

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



Discrimination at Work

* At your plant, a Black employee is discharged for assaulting a foreman who has been harassing him with racial insults over a long period of time.

* A woman employee is denied disability pay for pregnancy and she loses her seniority for the time she has to stay home after giving birth.

* Safety rules aren't enforced as strictly for the protection of minority workers as for others.

* Women doing the same job have a different job title and are paid less than male workers.

* Some departments are occupied almost exclusively by Black or Spanish-speaking workers, while others have almost all white employees.

how to use the law

In all the situations described above, workers' legal rights were violated. Discrimination happens every day, but often we can fight it and win legal victories, using the resources available under federal law.

The most important laws to know about and use as a tool are: 1) Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, 2) the Equal Pay Act and 3) the National Labor Relations Act (NLRA). It's important to remember that through these laws, our rights exist only on paper, unless we fight for them.

TITLE VII makes discrimination by employers based on race, color, religion, sex, or national origin illegal. You don't have to prove that the boss intended to discriminate by a particular action or a certain policy, just that its effect is discriminatory, even if on its face it appears neutral.

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The EQUAL PAY ACT, a section added in 1963 to the Fair Labor Standards Act (won by working class militancy in 1938) forbids employers from paying different rates according to sex. If a woman is paid less than her male co-worker for a job which requires the same skill, her rights are being denied according to both Title VII and the Equal Pay Act, and she can ask for remedies under both laws.

UNION MUST REPRESENT FAIRLY

There is also overlap between Title VII and the NATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS ACT (NLRA). First of all, the NLRA says that the union owes you -- whether you're a dues-paying member or a probationary employee -- a "duty of fair representation."

This means that it has the legal right to be your exclusive bargaining agent, and it therefore owes you the corresponding duty to represent you fairly. Race or sex discrimination violates this duty.

So when your union cooperates with the boss in race or sex discrimination -- for example, in running an apprenticeship program from which minority and women are excluded -- you can sue the union along with the company.

In one such case, where the union had negotiated a racially discriminatory contract, the National Labor Relations Board took away its certification as a bargaining representative. Obviously, no union wants this to happen, so these laws give rank and file workers another way of pressuring the leadership to represent them fairly.

So we can see that if the union won't let you in the hiring hall because you're a woman, it has violated not only Title VII, but also section 8(b)(1)(a) of the NLRA. What this means in practice is that you can go to both the NLRB and the Equal Opportunity Employment Commission (EEOC) to

complain. Even if the NLRB decides that the union hasn't committed an unfair labor practice, you have a separate right under Title VII and you can still win your case before the EEOC.

RIGHT TO CONCERTED ACTION

Another noteworthy point is that the NLRA also says that workers have the right to "concerted action," that is, to act together for our aid and protection. Discrimination divides us and impairs the potential for this unity.

Thus, the employer may also be said to violate the NLRA in some cases of racial discrimination. One court has held that when an employer's racial discrimination interferes with the exercise of workers' rights to act concertedly for their own aid and protection, the boss violates section 8(a)(1) of the NLRA. Even though the Board hasn't ruled this way yet, you can still challenge the boss by making this argument.

You may ask, "But doesn't filing with any of these agencies have to wait until you've gone through all the grievance procedures?" Not necessarily. You don't have to wait until you've gone through the grievance procedures at all to file a claim with the EEOC. And you also don't have to go through the grievance and arbitration procedures before going to the NLRB if you are claiming that the union's role in the grievance violated its duty to represent you fairly.

What do all these rights mean in practice? The simple answer is: less than what they say on paper, but more if legal actions are combined with rank-and-file militancy. The biggest problem with federal agencies like the NLRB and the EEOC is that they are set up not to defend working people, but to minimize class struggle by creating the illusion that there's a neutral, judicial way to solve workers' problems. There are so many discrimination complaints filed with the EEOC—twice as many as with the Board—that it may take years to get to court, even with a winning case.

Employers use every means they can to divide working people, including making out-of-court agreements with women and Blacks that undercut seniority rights, in order to set workers against each other rather than uniting against the company. The legal reme-

diaries available for discrimination—described below—are not adequate. Given all this, you may wonder why bother going to the EEOC or to the Board with your complaints at all.

RELY ON POWER OF WORKERS

If you *rely on* a federal agency or a court to defend you, then you will be sorely disappointed. However, if you can recognize the limitations of the legal remedies and keep in mind that only the collective power of rank-and-file workers can protect your rights, then a legal tool can be transformed into another weapon in your arsenal against the boss, and against a union leadership which fails to fight for you.

There are a number of legal remedies available to you when your rights under Title VII or the NLRA are violated. Some are more effective than others, and all of them are more effective when a rank-and-file group is standing behind them.

There are three things you can ask for under Title VII. One is called "injunctive relief," and means that you can demand that the EEOC order your employer (or union) to stop the practice which is discriminatory, or to adopt an affirmative program to remedy it.

The other demand you can always make is for damages, such as back pay for the time during which the discrimination went on. You can also ask for anything else which might raise issues you want to raise, whether or not a court is likely to grant it!

The EEOC doesn't and can't organize workers or really represent their interests, but there's no reason you can't use these channels to help with your efforts to get people together. Be creative!

You can also ask for, and get, attorneys' fees. This is important, because even though it doesn't cost you anything to file a charge before the EEOC—all you have to do is go down there and write up an affidavit, and their lawyers will do the work—you have a better chance of winning and of moving things along more quickly if you have your own legal help as well. Still, you don't *need* a lawyer to fight for even legal rights, so there's no reason to hesitate if you don't have access to one.

PWOC plenary

(continued from page 14)

It is over and against revisionism that the new party will come into being. At the same time the major ideological block to the development of the anti-revisionist forces is dogmatism which still holds sway over broad sections of our movement. A consistent struggle must be waged to break its influence if our movement is to mature.

We must also expand our struggle against revisionism in its international expression, namely the Great Power chauvinism of the USSR in its attempts to meddle in the internal affairs of other countries and its subordination of proletarian internationalism to the pursuit of detente with imperialism.

At the same time, we must expand our critique of international ultra-leftism. Recent events in Portugal, Angola, and

Latin America, demonstrate that the strategic line of the United Front Against the Two Superpowers is undercutting the struggle against US imperialism.

Both the right line of detente and the "left" line of a world-wide front against the two superpowers are incorrect and weaken the international class struggle.

In this issue of the Organizer we are reprinting the plenary resolution on party building. In future issues we will reprint other documents from the plenary. Complete copies of the EC general report will be available in the near future. Those interested in obtaining copies of this document should write The Organizer, c/o the PWOC, Box 11768, Phila., Pa 19101.

The Bankers' Sting

(continued from page 11)

If New York can't pay its debt it will default or go into bankruptcy. This means that the federal court would take over the administration of the city's finances and take whatever measures it considers necessary to insure that the banks get their money.

No one knows exactly what a default would look like. But one thing is certain -- it would be a circus to end all circuses. It could easily take ten years to unravel the mountains of red tape that a default would produce. Therefore nobody wanted to see New York default.

The banks didn't want a default because it would tie up their money for too long.

The municipal and teachers unions didn't want a default because the court is empowered to break current contracts and renegotiate a new settlement.

The federal government, despite Ford's bluffing, did not want a default because a default could seriously affect the entire national economy. The real impact of a default was brought home by a Federal Reserve Board report which disclosed that 546 banks nationwide have invested 20% or more of their capital in New York securities. Of the 13 Pennsylvania banks mentioned in the report, 5 have more than 50% of their capital in New York obligations.

Ford used the threat of a default like a gun at the head of the working and poor people of New York while the banks were getting the red carpet treatment.

While there seemed to be some dramatic moments from week to week as we watched New York totter on the brink of default on the six o'clock news, the banks were never really worried. The Federal Reserve Board had quietly assured them that it would come



to their rescue if things should accidentally get out of hand. All the drama was for the benefit of the people of New York and us. It was supposed to convince us that:

1. It was the poor and working people of New York that caused this awful crisis, and

2. They would now have to take their just punishment and "bite the bullet," that is, hand over their jobs, health care, education and many of their hopes and aspirations.

There are a number of factors that make New York different than most other US cities, but the problems of New York are not unique. We are destined to see financial crises in other major cities in the future and those which don't experience their own will feel the waves of these economic crises. Already all over the country cities are laying off workers, quietly phasing out poverty programs, reducing public health expenditures and other social services. And armed with the new threat of default and crisis, city governments are becoming much tougher in their dealings with teacher and municipal worker unions, some have openly begun union-busting tactics. The crisis for the working class in New York is a crisis for the working class throughout the nation.

What is the solution to this crisis? Some liberal politicians and union leaders say that the solution is more federal aid for the cities. As things stand now more federal aid will go directly into the coffers of the banks to pay off the city debt. The people of New York wouldn't see a penny.

In order to make any real gains in their standard of living, the people of New York -- especially the working class and poor -- must insist on a temporary cancellation of the debt. Furthermore, they must insist that not only should reduced educational opportunities and social services be restored, they should be expanded to meet the real needs of the people. And the real needs of the people include full employment.

Lastly, any federal or state aid must be raised through taxes on corporate real estate and profits. More deficit spending will only lead to another monetary crisis further down the pike.

There is no ultimate solution to the problem of the cities under capitalism. They will continue to decay and undergo crises. But there is no reason the working and poor people of any city have to be the permanent "marks" of high-class sharks, swindlers and thugs.

DISCRIMINATION

(continued from page 16)

REMEDIES UNDER NLRA

Under the NLRA, you also have several remedies, some of which the Board can grant itself and some of which require going on to federal court (the Board itself goes to court for you to get its orders enforced). If the union has breached its duty of fair representation, you can ask for a cease-and-desist order, reinstatement with seniority and back pay, an order that your grievance be processed fairly, and even revocation of the union's certification as bargaining representative in some situations.

What you will get will depend partly on what the discriminatory action was.

So, for example, if what you're claiming is that the union failed to process your grievance against the company because you are Black, all the Board may do is order the union to process your grievance—which doesn't deal with whatever the grievance was about. If you were fired and you're claiming that both the union and the company were guilty of sex discrimination in either firing you or failing to fight for your rehiring, the Board may order the company to rehire you with back pay. When the case reaches federal court, the two types of remedies available are (as under Title VII) *injunctive relief and damages* to compensate you for the harm caused by the illegal actions.

Again, you don't need a lawyer to file a complaint before the NLRB. If you aren't going through the grievance procedures because the union hasn't represented you fairly or won't, then you must say that in your complaint. For some things you might want to force the union to fight for you. Whether to go through the grievance procedure or arbitration, or to try and bypass it, is a tactical question. But you can always go to the EEOC, whatever your decision about which other tactic would be better in terms of your rank-and-file struggles within the union.

WORKERS' STRUGGLES WON THESE LAWS

Finally, and most important: remember that the federal government didn't just grant us these rights out of a sense of "fair play." Workers won

these rights through militant struggle. It is no coincidence that unemployment compensation became a legal right during the uprisings of the unemployed in the 1930's, or that the law against racial discrimination in employment was passed in 1964 when Black people stepped up their struggles for democratic rights. (Ironically, discrimination because of sex was included under this act because the southern Congressman adding it hoped this would prevent the civil rights bill's passage!)

Only a strong rank-and-file workers' movement will guarantee that the "rights" we have on paper exist in the workplace, and only a movement of women and men, Black and white, will prevent the bosses from using anti-discrimination laws to set us against each other rather than to unite us in the fight against the companies.

MARXISM VS. TERRORISM, Con't.

(continued from page 13)



Posters in Berkeley proclaim support for Tania

nie Davis working for the Guru Maharaji.

The police and the other law enforcement agencies of the state love terrorists as well, for it gives them the excuse they need to investigate all left and progressive groups, violating civil liberties in all kinds of ways, passing repressive legislation, and making shows of force, such as the shoot-out in Los Angeles which ended in the deaths of all but three SLA members. The response to the police repression by segments of the left in California after this massacre was to make martyrs of and glorify the dead SLA members. Thus the shoot-out gave the SLA more credibility among certain sections of the left and in turn gave the left less credibility among the masses of people. A more correct response would have been to mobilize broad coalitions of people against police repression of any sort, while criticizing the SLA tactics which gave the police a cover for such actions.

"ULTRA-LEFTISM" IN OUR MOVEMENT

As surely as the members of the new communist movement oppose petty bourgeois terrorism, we must look also within our own ranks for less obvious forms of "petty bourgeois revolutionariness" or ultra-leftism. In the new communist movement too there is a tendency to look for the quick and easy answer to revolution, to substitute revolutionary phrasemongering for mass organizing. There are the leftists who also disdain the "mere" shop floor struggle, and who hope to create a new communist party by simply calling a founding convention. And there are the workers who won't be bothered going down to the union hall—"unless you're going down there to bomb the place." Such attitudes are certainly the product of frustration and indignation, but like terrorism, they only serve to sidetrack or sabotage the slow but relentless movement of the working class toward the day of its liberation.



OL BRINGS PARTY BUILDING BANDWAGON TO TOWN

On December 13 at the 1199 Union Hall the October League in the persons of Chairman Michael Klonsky and Central Committee member Harry Wells spoke to some 35 people on "Party Building and the Fight Back." The presentation and the answers to questions from the floor were a further illustration that the OL is taking the well-travelled road to infantile sectarianism and isolation and will soon be comfortably seated in the swamp with the various other "new Marxist-Leninist parties" like the Communist Labor Party and the Revolutionary Communist Party.

DOGMATIST PARTY BUILDING LINE

The central theme of Klonsky's windy and rhetorical speech was the urgency of the formation of a new Communist party and the OL's intention of carrying out that task in the immediate future. Klonsky ignored any serious treatment of whether or not the subjective conditions necessary for a vanguard party had sufficiently matured. He belittled the idea that the Marxist-Leninist forces had to demonstrate the viability of their political line through their practice in the working class movement. Wells went as far as to say that "forming the party doesn't have anything to do with how many workers are involved." The theme of the OL speakers was that the danger of World War and fascism made the immediate formation of the party a necessity.

Neither Klonsky nor Wells ever bothered to explain exactly what developments internationally or domestically made the twin threats of war and fascism greater now than, say, six months or a year ago when the OL regarded the immediate formation of the party as a mistake.

But this is not really the central point. The danger of war and fascism along with all the other barbaric features of capitalist society unquestionably underline the urgency of forming the party. But showing the need for the party, which is obvious to all Marxist-Leninists, in no way demonstrates the ability to actually form it.

If only it were that simple! Klonsky and Co. by ignoring the requisites for actually calling a party into being and by reducing the task of party building to simply uniting Marxist-Leninists, have fallen squarely in line with the other dogmatists. All that remains is for the OL to baptize its sect a "party."

OL SIDES WITH REACTION

The rest of Klonsky and Wells' remarks were given over to a polemic against "centrism" represented by the *Guardian* and the PWOC. The real essence of this "centrism" is the refusal to unite with the OL's sectarian line. The *Guardian* was accused of being "one of the main defenders of revisionism in the world today" by Chairman Klonsky. Klonsky is outraged because the *Guardian* and PWOC with it have attacked the ultra-left in Portugal for siding with the fascists against the Communist Party and the progressive elements in the Armed Forces Movement, because the *Guardian* and the PWOC support the MPLA in Angola against CIA and South African backed neo-colonialism and because the *Guardian* and the PWOC along with virtually the whole Puerto Rican Independence Movement backed the Havana Conference on Puerto Rican Independence.

The OL is very long on "proletarian internationalism" in words. But behind the smokescreen of revolutionary sounding phrases against the "two imperialist superpowers" the OL is siding with reaction.

In Portugal, OL backs the ultra-leftists who openly urge an alliance with the right to fight the PCP which they regard purely and simply (and wrongly) as a fifth column aimed at turning Portugal into a "Soviet colony."

In Angola, Klonsky made the outrageous analogy that Cuban troops and Soviet weaponry are playing the same role that Hitler's planes and Mussolini's troops did in Spain; that Angola is the Soviet Union's testing ground for a new war just as Spain was Hitler's.

And in regard to Puerto Rico, no amount of stirring slogans about support for Puerto Rican independence can conceal the fact that OL has by its opposition to the Havana conference and its slander of the independence movement pitted itself against the real struggle for independence.

DEBATE ON THE NATIONAL QUESTION

Another area of contention was the national question. Klonsky and Wells congratulated themselves for having a "revolutionary approach" to the Afro-American national question. This approach consists of parroting the line of the Communist International, developed in 1928 and 1930, that there is a Black nation in the Black Belt south and the struggle of that nation for self-determination is the heart of the struggle for Black Liberation.

Because of the profound social, economic and demographic changes that have occurred in the Black Belt since the late twenties, many Marxist-Leninists (including the PWOC) have on the basis of a concrete investigation of those changes come to the conclusion that the Black nation in the Black Belt has been assimilated.

Klonsky and his ilk refuse to seriously address these changes because for them the idea of a Black nation is a holy dogma. Klonsky said in his response to questions from the floor that we had to study concrete conditions with a "bias," that bias being "our desire to uphold the right of the Afro-American people to self-determination."

Since as even the OL acknowledges, the right of self determination has no meaning except in relation to nations, he is saying in effect that we must study the Afro-American people's concrete conditions with the bias that they are a nation.

This is not Marxist-Leninist science but bourgeois metaphysics. It is also a raw capitulation to nationalism in that it puts forward the idea of nationhood as something Marxist-Leninists strive to build or preserve. It pits itself squarely against the progressive features of assimilation which have furthered the basis for class unity and laid a firmer foundation for Black Liberation.

Klonsky ended the evening by declaring that "some good struggle had gone on." This was perhaps the most serious misstatement in a night which had more than its share.

THE OL'S METHOD OF STRUGGLE

Klonsky's idea of good struggle is answering questions with evasions, distortions, slanders and lies. While Klonsky was short on principle and almost empty of an understanding of Marxism, he was long on gall.

The discussion of the national question illustrates Klonsky's approach to struggle. He accused the PWOC of misquoting Stalin's definition of nationhood by leaving out the phrase "formed on the basis of" in a position paper -- a bald-faced lie.

When a PWOC cadre asserted that Klonsky was wrong in his assertion that the CPUSA opposes the right of self-determination for the Afro-American people, Klonsky replied with perfect self-assurance that the PWOC was lying through its hat.

Anyone interested can read page 61 of the New Program of the CPUSA to see who is lying.

These relatively minor points are indicative of the general misrepresentation of the PWOC's position at the hands of Klonsky and Co. The audience was told that we hold that the national question is peacefully

one stomp on the road to the swamp



solved by capitalist development, and that we refuse to make any special demands for oppressed national minorities.

The most superficial reading of our materials on the national question and any acquaintance with our practice in the working class movement shows otherwise.

After the meeting adjourned an OL member, replying to criticisms that Klonsky had dealt with disagreements in an unprincipled way, shrugged her shoulders and said, "Why should we worry about being principled in dealing with a bourgeois line?"

In reply we would quote from the January 11 edition of *Claridad*, the organ of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, which in the closing sentences of an article on OL's sectarianism said, "... In a revolutionary movement, truth is important -- it supplies orientation, allows for evaluation, is essential for growth. The October League lies."

A PWOC Pamphlet

RACISM AND THE WORKERS' MOVEMENT

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RIZZO con't

ciudad continúa perdiendo gente a una tasa de alrededor de 30,000 personas al año. La pérdida de trabajos y población significa que el impuesto a los salarios proveerá de menos ingresos a la ciudad año tras año.

En el mes de Noviembre Philadelphia tuvo dificultades en encontrar financiamiento para un paquete de bonos por un valor de \$25 millones debido a su deterioro y estimado déficit presupuestario. Seguro que Moak, el creador de este déficit, usará la amenaza de una crisis para imponer impuestos adicionales a los trabajadores de la ciudad. Estos impuestos no significarán calles más limpias, mejores condiciones habitacionales o mejor educación para los que viven en Philadelphia. Se usarán para devolver la deuda -- \$157 millon en bonos municipales (préstamos) que están en circulación.

Moak también piensa usar esta misma amenaza para aplastar a la unión de profesores de Philadelphia cuando haya que renegociar los contratos el próximo otoño. Los trabajadores municipales, quienes beneficiaron del oportunismo de Frank Rizzo, en período de elecciones, al negociar su último contrato, también encontraran una actitud diferente la próxima vez.

El tiempo nos contará la historia. A lo más en unos pocos años la economía artificial de Philadelphia de derrumbará. Tanto Rizzo como Moak están conscientes de esto, pero ambos esperan ya no estar en la ciudad para entonces. Rizzo quiere mantener la imagen de una economía sana hasta arreglárselas para ser elegido gobernador. Moak, seguramente, se retirará por "razones de salud" y aceptará un puesto seguro y suave en un banco.

Y nosotros nos quedaremos sosteniendo la deuda!