

25¢

SECCION EN
ESPAÑOL

The ORGANIZER

Newspaper of the Philadelphia Workers' Organizing Committee

OCT-NOV 1976



Volume 2, Number 5

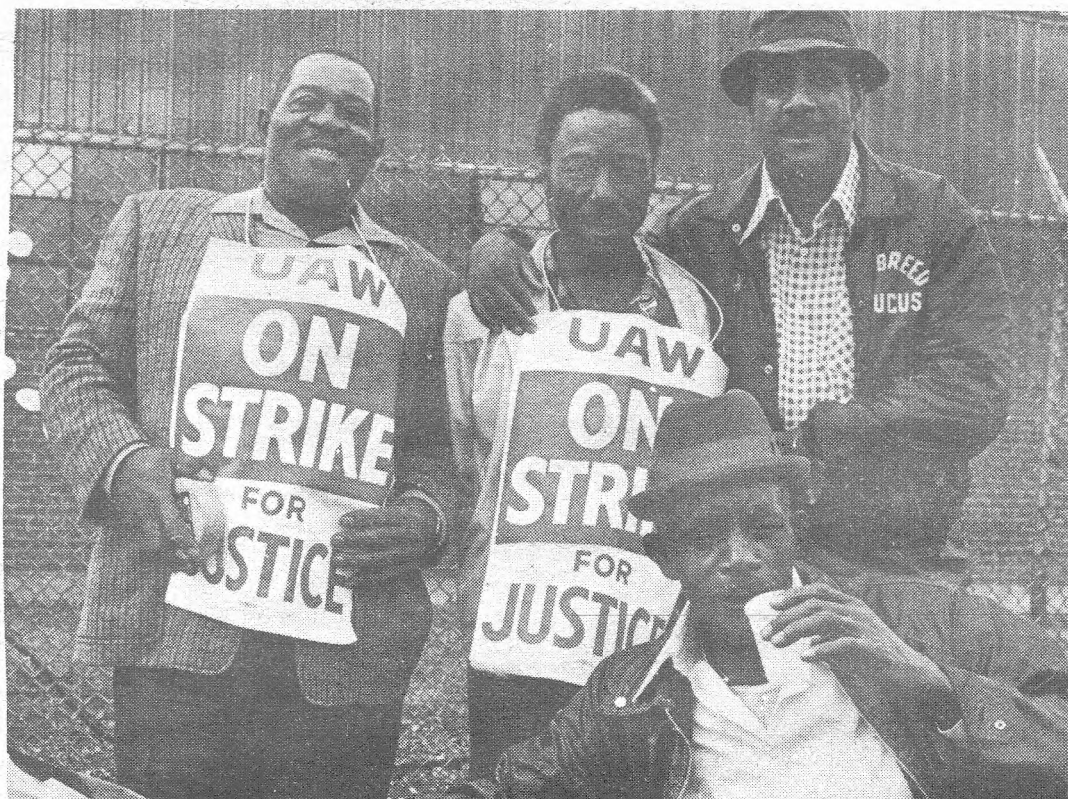


Carter Makes It... Just Barely pg.4

Rizzo A Kingmaker?

**Inside:
Special
Auto Edition**

Big 3 Agreement
Budd Contract
UAW Bureaucracy
And More



LNS

**The Native
American
People pg 16**

**Dogmatism
& Party
Building pg18**

Community & Workers Unite to Fight SEPTA Cutbacks



"Can't beat the system...SEPTA System."

In recent months, a coalition of community groups known as the Coalition for Better Transportation set out to do just that. The people of Philadelphia need to beat SEPTA's version of a transportation system and replace it with one that is clean, safe, convenient, and really meets the needs of all of us who must get around the city — whether to work, shop, go to school, go to the unemployment office or go to the park for a day of recreation.

Setting up a mass picket line at two North Philly depots in early October, the Coalition succeeded in shutting down 35 bus and trolley lines for two days. Although 100,000 riders were inconvenienced, Coalition spokesmen said, "We have no wish to inconvenience the public." But faced with no response when approaching SEPTA through regular channels, they took to the streets to make their demands heard.

The Coalition demanded: 1) Restoration of jobs to 300 laid-off SEPTA workers, 2) Restoration of "Night Owl" late night service cuts, 3) Safe and secure vehicles, 4) A freeze on fares and, 5) equal representation for the union and the community on the SEPTA Board.

40 ARRESTS

Repression against the demonstrators was swift. SEPTA supervisors ordered drivers to "ram the picket line", but drivers refused. An injunction against "mass picketing" was quickly obtained. Then the police moved in and 40 arrests followed. Two cases of police brutality were reported, and the Coalition has filed charges.

Drivers generally showed support for the protestors and for their demands. This was especially true among the Black drivers. Black workers were hardest hit by the layoffs, and service cutbacks are most severe in the Black community. The racist

effects of the cutbacks are all the more apparent when you consider that national oppression and race discrimination means more Black people -- especially women -- have to rely on SEPTA night service to work night shifts, and lower wages means fewer people own cars or can afford to put gas in them, pay for parking, etc.

However, we know that the poor quality of public transportation in the city hurts white workers and communities as well. We must unite to fight these cutbacks. The drivers spontaneously took up a collection to help with legal funds when arrests began. And despite orders, most refused to move their vehicles, citing as a perfectly legal reason that they "feared for their Safety."

UNION AND COMMUNITY MUST UNITE

The Transportation Workers Union has in recent months been staging its own protests by slowing down the system period-

ically with "safety checks" The union has stated "moral support" for the Coalition. However, if any significant gains are to be made, a broader and stronger Coalition which includes the union joined together with the community must be built.

We have only to ride the length of the El and see the contrast between the filthy, rickety stations in the neighborhoods, like at York-Dauphin and 40th and Market, then take a walk through the newly renovated Center City stations, complete with murals, fountains, gardens, maps and malls, to know that there better be a better way. We have only to wait and wait for a 31 bus or a 10 trolley, then take a look at the millions that went into the Chestnut Street Transitway and the hundreds of millions proposed for the commuter tunnel, to know that Philadelphia's transportation system must be "beat" and replaced by one that meets our needs, not the needs of Center City merchants and businesses.

AFSCME Workers Fight Discrimination



The clenched fist of support is raised among members of Local 1952 of the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees, who walked off the job October 18 in support of two Black workers, William Brett (third from right on front row) and Ronald Farms (4th from right), who were suspended from their Department of Transportation (Penn DOT) jobs improperly, the union says. Credit: Phila.Tribune.

Philadelphia Workers' Organizing Committee

WHO WE ARE



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

We seek to replace the anarchy of capitalist production with a planned economy based on the needs of working people. We want to end the oppression of national minorities and women, and make equality a reality instead of the hypocritical slogan it has become in the mouths of 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 movement in opposition to the monopolists are rapidly growing both

in numbers and intensity. What is lacking is the kind of political leadership that can bring these movements together, deepen the consciousness of the masses, and build today's struggles into a decisive and victorious revolutionary assault against Capital.

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

IN THIS ISSUE:

CARTER SQUEAKS BY.....	p. 4
BUTZ BLOOPER?	p. 5
SUPPORT FOR SOUTH AFRICA	p. 6
FOOD ELECTION PROGRAM.....	p. 7
RIZZO RECALL CAPUT	p. 8

SPECIAL AUTO EDITION

BUDD NEGOTIATIONS.....	p. 9
EDITORIAL	p. 10
WOMEN IN AUTO	p. 11
BODNER INTERVIEW.....	p. 12
BIG THREE IN SOUTH AFRICA.....	p. 14
UAW BUREAUCRACY	p. 15
BIG THREE SETTLEMENT.....	p. 16

BICEN WOMEN'S CENTER.....	p. 17
CHINA INTERVIEW	p. 18
NATIVE AMERICANS.....	p. 20
DOGMATISM AND PARTY BUILDING.....	p. 22
ESPANOL.....	p. 24

SUBSCRIBE!

SUBSCRIBE TO THE ORGANIZER, a bi-monthly newspaper of the Philadelphia Workers' Organizing Committee.

Enclosed is () \$3 for a regular one-year subscription.
() \$2 for unemployed or retired workers.
() \$1 for prisoners.

NAME _____
ADDRESS _____
CITY _____
STATE _____ ZIP _____

Enclosed is () \$3 for a GIFT SUBSCRIPTION for:

NAME _____
ADDRESS _____
CITY _____
STATE _____ ZIP _____

Send to: The ORGANIZER, c/o The PWOC
Box 11768
Philadelphia, Pa. 19101

Bulk, bookstore, institutional, airmail, first class, and foreign rates are available upon request. Back issues are available at \$.50 a copy.

CHANGE OF ADDRESS: Please send us your new mailing address along with your current address label.

Reformers Bend to Redbait

Two of the country's most powerful unions are now involved in internal reform struggles. In both the United Mine Workers and the United Steel Workers, the rank and file of the union, fed up with leaders who lined their own pockets at the expense of the members' wages and working conditions, have moved to replace their international leadership.

The process is farther along in the UMW, where Arnold Miller was elected president four years ago by a reform group called Miners for Democracy, ending the dictatorship of Tony Boyle. Miller's leadership has brought more democracy to the union, and a better contract last time around than could have been expected with Boyle.

In the USW, the retirement of I.W. Abel next year has opened the way for the rank and file to back a candidate who rejects the sell-out policies of Abel, such as the no-strike agreement in basic steel, and the undemocratic traditions of the union, which does not permit the rank and file to vote on their contract.

Ed Sadlowski, who defeated an Abel-backed candidate for director of the USW's largest district, 31, covering

Chicago and Gary, Ind., has emerged as a serious candidate on a platform built around those issues plus a reduction in union dues.

Miller and Sadlowski are both being attacked from within their union by their political opponents and officials of the Boyle and Abel machines as "communists." Both, so far, have given in to these attacks, not only by emphatically stating that they oppose communism, but by denouncing communists, and urging that they be purged from the union, as Miller moved at the recent UMW convention.



AFGE Women Fight for Equality

Although the majority of members of the American Federation of Government Employees are women, the National Executive Council is still unwilling to seriously consider the special problems of women workers.

At the last two conventions of the union, however, strong demands from women delegates, with the support of progressive men delegates, have made attention to their problems one of the most controversial issues of the gathering.

At the 1974 convention, a resolution was introduced from the floor calling for the establishment of a Women's Department, the director of which would be a member of the National Executive Council.

The resolution called for a Women's Advisory Council, composed of representatives elected from each District, and included among the responsibilities of the Department the development of programs that would deal both with on-the-job problems of women - childcare, maternity leave, discrimination in hiring and upgrading, and with discrimination women face in other areas of their lives.

The NEC argued against the resolution and against guaranteeing a spot on the NEC for a woman, claiming that this was discrimination. (The NEC has rarely had Black or women members although 53% of the union membership is women, and over 40% is Black). The resolution as finally adopted was weakened by having the Women's Department Director appointed by the National President, and not an Executive Council member.

While the appointed director was the person recommended by the women's caucus at the 1974 convention, the NEC rendered the department almost completely ineffective over the next two years by refusing to approve or implement its programs.

ATTEMPT TO ABOLISH WOMEN'S DEPARTMENT FAILS

At this year's convention, held Sept. 19-23, the Resolutions Committee introduced and succeeded in having passed a resolution which effectively discontinued the Women's Department. The delegates were not caught napping, however, and forced the re-introduction of the measure.

A picket line outside the hotel where the convention was held informed delegates of the issues and the importance of re-establishing the Department, even with the weaknesses it had had in the past. As a result, the Women's Department of the AFGE was retained, but continued pressure from the rank and file of the union will be needed to force the NEC to allow the commission to do its job.

The need for a Women's Department in the union comes directly from the fact that women are discriminated against on the job, and that their particular problems are not attended to by the union or

by the federal government which is their employer. Those voting for the department, including many of the men delegates, understood that without special attention to needs such as childcare, and equality in upgrading, the women members of AFGE will continue to be second class members.

Only with vigorous attention to their problems can the women members be drawn into full participation in the union, which will strengthen the entire union in its bargaining with the government.

Local 2006, representing 900 of the 2000 employees at the Social Security Administration in Philadelphia, has taken initiative at the local level to deal with the problems of its women members.

It has arranged childcare in the neighborhood for members with pre-school children, and its delegates to the conventions fought for the Women's Department.

As one woman officer commented, however, this success cannot make up for the lack of a coordinated national demand for government paid, union supervised childcare. And this cannot happen until the National Executive Council is compelled by its rank and file to give the Women's Department the recognition and support it needs.

PFT wins 19% wage hike

Philadelphia teachers came out ahead, this time. While most teachers are reeling under the blows of "fiscal responsibility" in city governments, and being asked to take cuts and layoffs, the Philadelphia Federation of Teachers obtained a two-year contract providing increases of about 19 1/2% for most teachers.

There were no cuts in preparation time, no increases in class size, while a clause was added guaranteeing job security for the length of the school year. Substitutes, for whom the PFT bargained for the first time, obtained a raise of almost 50%, their first in 20 years, and also gained fringe benefits for the first time.

Part of the reason for PFT's relatively good contract was, of course, the recall campaign. At that time, the mayor, fearing the possibility of a recall, was willing to try to reduce the opposition to him among teachers which resulted from the 1973 strike. If the negotiations happened now, we might see something very different.

The majority of the PFT's rank and file did not want to strike, if it could be avoided. Partly this is because of their memories of '73, but it's also partly because of their acceptance of the city's claim that there is no money to pay for improvements. This belief represents a serious weakness in the union, and one that could hurt it in the future.

TEACHERS MUST UNITE WITH PARENTS FOR QUALITY EDUCATION

The PFT is a trade union whose members are responsible for providing to all working people in Philadelphia a critical service - quality education. The interests of the PFT and of other working people in the city are thus connected in a unique way. The union has recognized this in some of their demands which affect the quality of education - smaller class size, prep time, etc.

To strengthen itself in the future and gain more support from other working people in the city, the Federation will have to do much more to educate its members about the real causes of the city's financial crisis. The PFT should teach its members that the lack of funds is due to the untaxed corporate wealth of Philadelphia, and that our tax money is allocated to the interests of business in Philadelphia, not working people. Thus there are millions for new malls and department stores downtown, but pennies for new school construction.

This strategy can lead not only to greater solidarity among the teachers and support of their demands by other working people; it can also force real concessions from city government, and provide a focus for actively organizing the 1/3 of Philly's teachers who are not members of the PFT.



Ed Sadlowski

These positions can only weaken the union, dividing it before the employers and providing an excuse for self-serving leaders to stamp out the discussion and debate so important for a strong, democratic union in which the rank and file is actively involved. The history of both unions shows that giving in to red-baiting weakens the union.

Both in the '30's and in the '70's, communists helped build the UMW - John L. Lewis understood this in the 30's and refused to allow red-baiting to deter the union from its organizing tasks and contract demands. Many open members of the Communist Party were organizers in the UMW at that time.

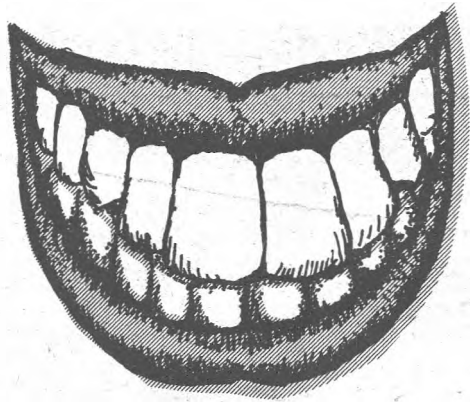
In the 70's, communists helped to build the Miners for Democracy, pushing for the most militant possible program, including the right to strike over safety. Since Miller's election, the MFD has led in the organization of 50,000 miners who had been forced out of the union by their employers during the Boyle era.

In 1947, Philip Murray, President of the Steelworkers denounced the Taft-Hartley Act requiring the registration of communist trade union officials as a body blow to union democracy and independence.

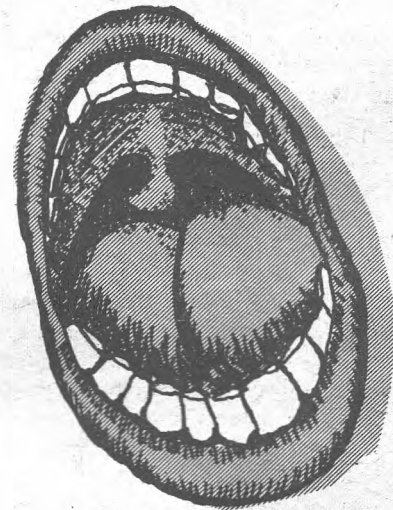
A few years later, however, both Murray and Lewis gave in to the pressure from the companies and the government, and from their limousines and walnut-paneled offices, became "labor statesmen." While they and their successors hunted communists, the number of members in their union dropped, wages and working conditions deteriorated, gains made in the struggle against racism were eroded, and finally, the rank and file has begun to stand up to take back their unions, to rebuild democracy and fighting organizations.

Now, as in the 30's, communist union members are active in the struggles for democratic, militant unions. If Miller and Sadlowski fail to defend them, or try to make political hay for themselves by attacking them, history may repeat itself. And again the rank and file would be the loser.

Jimmy slips in,



Millions tired of two party politics



Jimmy Carter will be the next President of the United States. An electorate dissatisfied with the policies of the Ford administration, but profoundly unenthusiastic about Carter, reluctantly and by the barest of margins has put the former Georgia governor in the White House.

Early reports spoke of a heavy voter turnout for the election, contrary to widespread expectation of voter apathy. As it turned out, only 52.6% of the voting population and less than 75% of those registered to vote went to the polls. This was the lowest voter turnout since 1948 when 51.1% of those eligible actually cast votes. (Last time around when Nixon beat George McGovern 55.4% voted). The low voter turnout reflects the lack of clearly defined issues in the campaign and the growing lack of confidence on the part of the electorate in the two party system and the alternatives it offers.

BLACK AND LABOR VOTES AID CARTER

The key to Carter's success was the Black and labor vote. Black voters went for Carter by margins of nine to one. This was clearly a vote *against* the unapologetic racism of the Ford administration with its opposition to busing, its benign neglect of the cities and its indifference to unemployment. It was much less a vote *for* Carter, who only a day before the election refused to resign from his all-white Church when it voted to continue its Jim Crow policy of "ethnic purity."

Carter also got sixty percent of the labor vote as the trade unions united this year behind the Democratic ticket. Again, from the standpoint of the rank and file, it was a vote *against* Ford's disastrous economic policies and by no means carried any great confidence in Carter.

Basically, Carter succeeded in reassembling the elements of the traditional Democratic coalition. Carter's percentage of the Spanish-speaking vote was comparable to his share of the Black vote. He also ran well with Catholics, Jews, youth and the elderly. But as the slim margin of his victory indicates, Carter did not succeed in turning out these various constituencies in the kind of numbers that could have represented a decisive mandate or landslide.

OPPOSED TO FORD, BUT UNSURE OF CARTER

Put simply, the majority of the voters, while opposed to Ford, were not sure about Carter. An NBC poll indicated that 10% of the voters had not made up

their minds until Election day itself. Carter got the votes of almost two-thirds of these undecideds, and that is what made the difference.

The election was so close, that in retrospect, the court decision to remove Eugene McCarthy from the ballot in New York probably made the difference. Had McCarthy been on the ballot, he in all likelihood would have taken enough votes away from Carter to throw the state to the Ford column and with it the election.

Here in Philadelphia the media is reporting that the big news is the 250,000 vote margin Frank Rizzo and the Democratic machine turned out for Jimmy Carter, an effort that has made Rizzo a "Kingmaker" according to the Philadelphia *Inquirer*.

The fact is that it was Gerald Ford, and not Frank Rizzo, who gave Carter his large margin of victory. The Rizzo machine actually failed miserably. First of all, in 1944, '52, '56, '60, '64 and '68 the Democratic vote was larger than this year's 490,000. In '64 it was 670,000, in '60 622,000 and both these elections were when the city's population was some 200,000 people smaller and the 18-year olds didn't have the vote.

The quarter million vote margin came because very few people could bring themselves to vote for Ford, not because a lot of Democrats went to the polls. In point of fact, the machine just didn't get its people out.

BLACK VOTE NOT RIZZO MACHINE

Secondly, of those who did vote the big vote for Carter came from the Black wards. Rough estimates show 40% of Carter's vote here in the city coming from these areas. In North and West Philadelphia, Carter won over Ford by margins of 88% and 84% respectively. By way of contrast, in the Northeast, where much of Rizzo's support is concentrated, Carter won by a much more modest 56%.

The 21st ward in the Manayunk-Roxborough area went for Ford in spite of the fact that the Democrats have a 3 to 2 registration edge. The ward leader in the 21st is Al Pearlman, the Rizzo crony who built Frank his first mansion. Rizzo can't claim any credit for the vote in the Black wards. The vote there simply followed the national pattern and Rizzo is hardly a favorite in North Philadelphia. In the rest of the city, neither the turnout or the margin was anything to write home about.

Republican frustration over Carter's victory produced yet another series of off-the-cuff racist remarks in a campaign which has been marked by the rawness of its racism. This time it was Republican Chairman William J. Devlin. "Black vote what's good for them, not what's good for the country," Devlin said and then added, "You got to promise Blacks something. . . they want a chicken in every pot." Finally Devlin complained that

even though the Republicans put Black city councilwoman Ethel Allen in charge of the local Ford Committee, "we lost a lot of Black votes."

By implication, Devlin believes that what is "good for Black people" (namely equality and an end to racism) is not good for the country. A chicken in every pot, which was Republican Herbert Hoover's campaign slogan in 1928, is ok to promise white people, but its bad for Blacks to expect the same thing. And finally, Black people should be moved to vote in droves for Republicans if you simply put a Black person at the head of a meaningless committee. With folks like Butz and Devlin speaking up freely in the Republican ranks, it is little wonder that the mass of Black voters turn to "Ethnic Purity" Carter as a lesser evil!

Political analysts have written reams about why Carter has failed to inspire the mass of voters. He lost a 35-point margin in the early polls, we are told, because people "don't trust him" and he is "fuzzy" on the issues. Underlying these reactions is something far deeper than a matter of Jimmy Carter's smile or his hedging on one issue or another. It is that the mass of voters, particularly the rank and file of the Democratic party, have become profoundly cynical about the ability of the leadership of that party to really represent their interests.

(continued on next page)



Michigan Free Press/cpf

(continued from last page)

TRADITIONAL LIBERALISM EXPOSED

The domination of the political process by the "special interests" (the biggest and most powerful interest being the monopoly corporations) is more apparent than ever before in the wake of Watergate. The failure of traditional liberal programs to deal with inflation, unemployment and poverty, the capitulation of Democratic politicians to racism and to the imperialist character of US foreign policy are all features of US political life that the masses have become increasingly conscious about. Jimmy Carter tried to appeal to this sentiment with vague anti-Washington rhetoric, but the cynicism of his attempt became clear to most voters. Essentially, this is why his campaign faltered and he was ultimately only able to squeak in rather than arrive in the White House in the grand style of a landslide.

The results of the election confirm the continuing disaffection of the masses from the two-party system. But the main political fact continues to be that there is no vehicle into which this disaffection can be channelled into a real challenge to the old capitalist parties. An independent party based on labor, the national minorities, women and other progressive forces with a program of struggle against the monopolies . . . this is the element missing from the present political equation.

Eugene McCarthy's feebly organized campaign while it put forward some progressive demands, generally lacked working class content and failed to take up the democratic demands of the oppressed nationalities and women. It was thus a poor focal point for building an independent political trend. Nevertheless, McCarthy garnered upwards of 600,000 votes (about 1% of the vote) and could have gotten several times that had not the race been so close and had McCarthy gotten ballot position in more states. As we go to press, we have not yet gotten tabulations on how other left and independent parties did. Ultra-rightist Lester Maddox got only 168,000 votes.

The next four years should intensify the potential for independent political action. The Democratic Party, for the first time since the Johnson years, now bears unambiguous responsibility for governing the country, controlling both the executive and legislative branches. Given this, its inability to provide real solutions will stand out in even sharper relief. But unless left and progressive forces begin working to build an independent party, this exposure will only translate into cynicism and passivity at best. At worst, it will be the ultra-right which will be the beneficiary of a discredited liberalism.

AGRIBUSINESS LOSES A FRIEND

Earl Butz resigns after racist remarks

When Earl Butz tearfully resigned recently, following his 'off the record' racist --and sexist -- remarks to Rolling Stone reporter John Dean, he wasn't the only one who was crying.

As Secretary of Agriculture Butz had aggressively pursued policies favorable to Agribusiness corporations and big farmers and harmful to small farmers, consumers, and labor.

Butz came to his job well prepared to play this role. He was on the Board of Directors of the Ralston Purina Co., the International Minerals and Chemicals Co. (a big fertilizer manufacturer), the J.I. Case Co. (makers of farm machinery) and the Stokely-Van Camp Co.

Butz's chief problem as an advocate of the food monopolies and a spokesman for big business generally, was that he never learned to keep his mouth shut and learn the art of double-talk necessary to mislead the people and conceal the government's subservience to big capital. His contempt for the masses was a deeply ingrained reflex which he never learned to hide.

BUTZ BLOOPERS REVEAL HIS POLICIES

When beef prices reached their highest in early '75, Butz remarked, in the face of consumer protests, that "profitable prices for cattlemen provide the best way to insure a good supply of the better cuts of beef that I prefer." When a housewife complained to Butz about high prices, he snapped, "You're wrong, prices are too low."

At the U.N. World Food Conference in 1974 Butz remarked that "some people are always starving somewhere" and Americans "are not going to eat less; we're going to eat more."



Butz and Ford

Under Butz's administration the Agriculture Dept. had eased government restrictions on the use of dangerous chemicals and insecticides. In opposing environmental legislation before Congress, Butz said: "The biggest danger to our lives would be to run out of food in ten years. . . that's more important than protecting some raccoon somewhere."

Butz was a consistent opponent of the food stamp and free school lunch program and tried to have them removed from the Dept. of Agriculture.

Two years ago Butz had stuck his foot in his mouth with his anti-Italian joke about the Pope ("He no playa da game, he no maka da rules"). Now in the midst of an election campaign Butz had finally messed up once too often with his ugly racist joke. (Butz's language was so obscene that none of the newspapers have carried the actual text of his remarks.)

The Butz incident reveals the depth of racism at the highest levels of government. Butz only further revealed his racism with his 'explanation' that he was only telling a story told to him by an old ward leader, as if you have to be the author of a racist joke in order to stand convicted of bigotry.

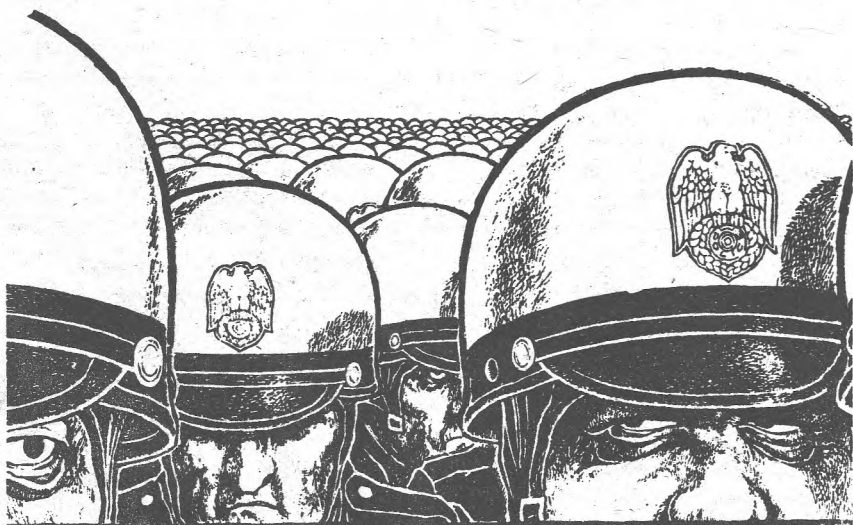
FORD INACTION; CARTER HYPOCRISY

But more importantly, there was the reaction of President Ford. Ford's reaction was reported as one of embarrassment, when it should have been outrage. Butz's remarks were "unfortunate" according to Ford. And rather than fire him on the spot, Ford simply reprimanded Butz.

This only underlines what we have known all along. . . the Ford administration practices aid and comfort to racism. Of course, Jimmy Carter and the Democrats were quick to lambaste Ford. But Carter, who lives in the glass house of his earlier "ethnic purity" speech, looks silly throwing stones.

The whole incident is simply one more indication of the fact that racism is part and parcel of the politics of the two capitalist parties. When public policy is racist it must be disguised with code words like "law and order" and "preserving the neighborhood school." But in the privacy of their offices, dining clubs, and living rooms, the politicians let it hang out. And every time a bit of the private reality comes to the surface, it adds to the overall exposure of the true nature of politics, capitalist style.

Afrikan People's Party under attack



With tactics reminiscent of attacks on the Black Panthers in the 1960's, FBI agents raided the home of members of the Afrikan People's Party in North Philadelphia on October 20. Residents and visitors were forced out onto the porch at gunpoint in the driving rain, including six half-dressed children ranging in age from eight months to ten years.

Neighbors in the community stood by as witnesses, taking photographs of the agents, calling encouragement to their brothers and sisters who were "up against the wall." Racist repression is no stranger to any North Philadelphians, and neighbors were quick to rally support upon seeing ten white agents invade the house.

Meanwhile, agents, under the pretext of seeking an alleged fugitive, claiming they didn't have or need a search warrant, rampaged through the entire house, opening closets, drawers, scattering books, clothing, folders and files. Afterwards, \$217.00 was found missing.

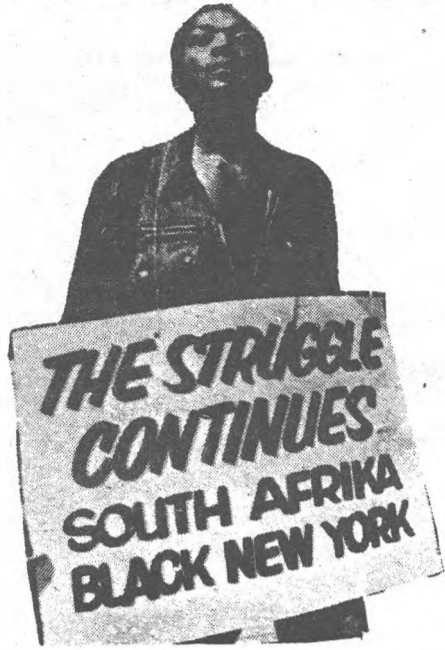
This is the third attack on Afrikan People's Party Members within a year's time. The first attack was led by local police and detectives, looking for the same alleged fugitive.

Recent revelations surrounding Watergate "dirty tricks" and the surveillance activities of the FBI and CIA, especially concerning leftists and other "enemies" of the system, make it all the more clear what the purpose of these attacks is. While Black people are subject to police harassment and brutality in their communities all the time, this particular raid was clearly directed against the political work of the Afrikan People's Party.

The powers-that-be define "enemies" as those who struggle -- and especially those who lead struggle -- against racism, repression, and the attacks on our living and working conditions. The Afrikan People's Party has been organizing in North Philly against unemployment, poor housing, drugs, poor schools -- which certainly is enough to qualify the Afrikan People's Party as a target for police harassment and FBI intimidation.

Most recently, the African People's Party has been very active in building a city-wide movement uniting Black and white groups in a coalition to protest cutbacks in the SEPTA system (see article above). The fact of the growing success of this movement and the raid on Afrikan People's Party members is no coincidence. The raid was timed so as to intimidate community people working in the coalition -- but the growing peoples' movements will see through these racist tactics, and will resist repression as necessary to build for a better future.

Support For Liberation Of Southern Africa Builds . . .



While Henry Kissinger shuttles around Africa double-talking faster than a Boardwalk auctioneer and fooling no one, Black and working people in the U. S. who genuinely support the struggle of the people of southern Africa for liberation are speaking out with a louder and louder voice.

Although the *Inquirer* and *Bulletin* don't consider it newsworthy, people have demonstrated in many cities across the country against South Africa's brutal murders of African protesters, and in support of majority rule now in Namibia (South West Africa) and Zimbabwe (Rhodesia).

These demonstrations have pointed to the real U. S. role in this part of the world -- to prop up the racist governments with arms, investments, and diplomatic support. Speakers have pinpointed the reasons for U. S. involvement with and support for apartheid -- tremendous profits at the expense of Africans working in conditions near slavery.

NO MORE "VIETNAMS"

Many of the people now involved in liberation support work remember well the anti-war movement of the Vietnam era and hope to build the kind of mass sup-

Across the US

port for liberation and sentiment against U. S. intervention which can prevent a repetition of that war.

Since World War II, when African nations began the modern struggle for independence from the colonial powers, they have had supporters among the people of the U. S. In recent years, however as the struggle has become more intense against the colonialists who wouldn't let go -- Portugal, Rhodesia, South Africa -- more and more people have been drawn into supporting the movement, mainly for two reasons: they understand the common interests of Black and working people on both continents in the struggle against racism, and they support the right of Africans to determine the future of their own countries, instead of allowing it to fall into the hands of U. S.-based multinational corporations.

Some of the important actions of the past year include:

February 7 -- 300 people march in Philadelphia, and several hundred in New York, Chicago, San Francisco and other cities demanding "US/CIA Out of Angola" and "Victory to the MPLA".

May 1 -- Over 500 people march in New York to protest apartheid at the South African U.N. Mission.

May 31 -- Over 150 people from around the country gather in Chicago for two days to hear representatives from the People's Republic of Angola and to plan ways to develop support for the newly independent country.

June 19-23 -- Hundreds march in New York, Washington, Chicago, Boston, and Atlanta protesting the Soweto massacres which began the continuing rebellion in South Africa.



SUPPORT KEEPS BUILDING

Since June, many demonstrations and other support actions have occurred in the cities mentioned and also Los Angeles, Denver, St., Paul, Minnesota, Newark, New Haven, and New Orleans.

The Congressional Black Caucus has condemned Kissinger and the U. S. role, while the demonstrations have been organized both by established organizations such as PUSH and the American Committee on Africa, as well as new local coalitions such as the United People's Campaign Against Apartheid and Racism in Philadelphia, the June 16th Coalition in

Washington, and others in San Francisco, New York, and Chicago.

Federal spending for arms for South Africa, instead of jobs for the unemployed, and the departure of industry from all parts of the country to South Africa make the liberation struggle there a concern of all working people in the U. S. Kissinger's open support for racism in South Africa shows the real attitude of the government toward racism at home. And despite the news blackout which tries to isolate us, more and more people are understanding the situation and adding their voice and support to the movement.

Here in Philadelphia

As the struggle in South Africa intensifies, progressive forces here in Philadelphia are taking important steps to build broader support for African Liberation. Recently a number of organizations and individuals joined together to form the United People's Campaign Against Apartheid and Racism (UPCAAR).

UPCAAR was formed on the initiative of the Philadelphia Coalition to Stop Rhodesian and South African Imports, a group which, in conjunction with local longshoremen, had successfully prevented shipments of Rhodesian chrome from docking here. The new organization has successfully involved rank and file auto-workers and longshoremen, community and church groups as well as political organizations.

UPCAAR is demanding 1) End All US Corporate Investments in South Africa; 2) End all Diplomatic Ties to South Africa; 3) End all Covert or Overt Military Aid to South Africa; 4) Victory to the Liberation Movements; and 5) End the Racist Attacks from South Africa to Philadelphia.

END RACISM IN AFRICA AND AT HOME

UPCAAR is pledged to active support, not only for African Liberation, but to the people who are fighting racist attacks here at home, whether it be the Black vendors, the city workers who are fighting to keep PGH open, or the victims of racist police brutality and vigilante violence. UPCAAR sees it as important to unite the struggles against imperialism in Africa with the struggles of the working class and the oppressed nationalities here in the US. We are all fighting against the same enemy.

In the last month, UPCAAR has been matching its words with action. The organization played an important role in the recent demonstrations at the World Federation Cup Tennis Tournament against the inclusion of both South Africa and Rhodesia. Picket lines of at least 50



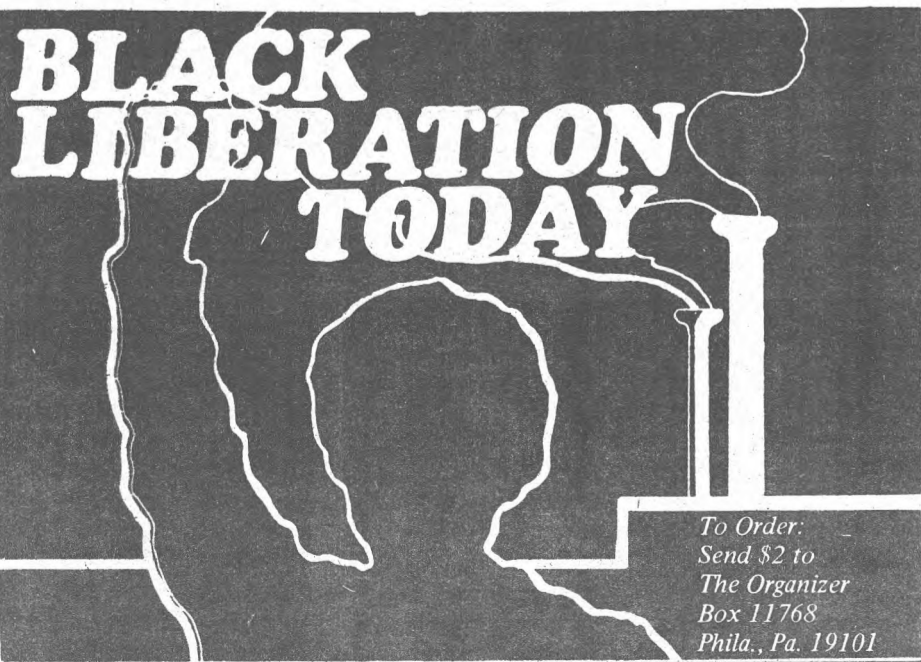
BLACK AND WHITE PHILADELPHIANS PROTEST at the Spectrum against the participation of Rhodesia and South Africa in the Federation Cup tennis tournament. International Sports events have been an arena for struggle against apartheid.

people, and upwards of 100 on weekends, were maintained over the seven days of the tournament. UPCAAR also held a forum to hear a representative of the South West African People's Organization (SWAPO) speak on the struggle in Namibia.

DEMO AT SEPT. DEBATE

Following the forum, some 80 people marched to 10th and Walnut where the Carter-Ford debate was getting underway. The anti-apartheid demonstrators made the demand that the US get out of South Africa, an important theme of the demonstration which saw over a thousand people gather to protest the anti-people thrust of both candidates of the capitalist parties.

UPCAAR is planning further actions for the fall. The next time either Ford, Kissinger or Carter come to town they can expect to be greeted by UPCAAR demonstrators.



To Order:
Send \$2 to
The Organizer
Box 11768
Phila., Pa. 19101

BLACK LIBERATION TODAY -- AGAINST DOGMATISM ON THE NATIONAL QUESTION. PWOC's position on the Afro-American national question. Includes summary of the general Marxist-Leninist theory; concrete analysis of the Black Belt, historically and today. Plus discussion of the Black people today, and strategy for Liberation. Points out unity of dogmatist and revisionist positions.

Foodworkers see program central to union elections

The Rank & File Committee for Reform of Local 196, Amalgamated Food Employees Union of the Amalgamated Meatcutters and Butcherworkmen, is fielding a slate in the coming union elections and is going all out to unseat the pro-company, anti-democratic and racist leadership of the local. The approach of the Committee to the elections offers lessons for other rank and file groups.

The key thing here is tying the slate to a class struggle program that points the way forward for the union, exposes the misleaders currently in control of the local, and educates the membership in the principles of rank and file unionism. By standing clearly for such a program, the Committee also makes it more difficult for

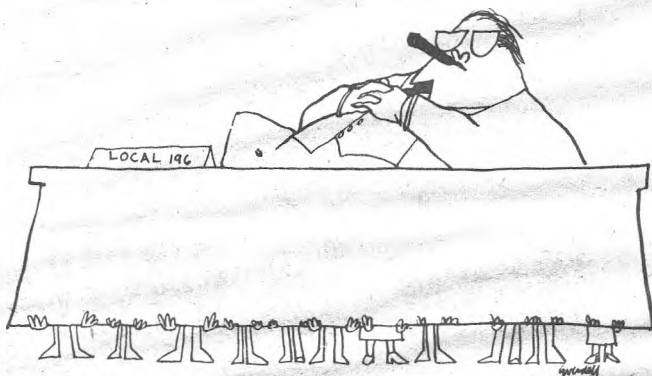
careerists to use the rank and file movement for their own selfish ends. All Committee candidates must not only endorse the program, but actively campaign for it and fight to implement it if elected. They will be judged accordingly by the membership.

The following program was adopted at the Committee's September meeting after full discussion and debate. Workers from Great Scot, Pathmark, and Shopping Cart markets, and from Blue Bird Food products came to the meeting and hammered out the program. The Organizer is reprinting the program in full in the hopes that other rank and file activists will find much in it which can be applied to struggles in other unions and industries.

Rank and File Committee for Reform of Local 196

(continued on page 19)

ELECTION PLATFORM 1976



Union Democracy

Without the strength of an educated and informed, active and involved membership, a union is just an empty shell. We want to build the active involvement of all members of Local 196. We want the members to be well informed and to participate in every level of union activities. A few union officials don't make up the union, WE DO. To build involvement and strengthen democracy, we stand for the following:

1. All shop stewards and district stewards should be elected for one year terms, with members having recall rights. Chief stewards should be elected by the other stewards. All business agents should be elected. There should be a two year term of office for union officials.
2. Salaries of union officials should be no more than the highest paid worker in the bargaining unit.
3. Union meetings should be held at least six times a year; members must have the right to add to the agenda.
4. A local union newspaper to keep members informed should be published at least six times a year. Members should be able to submit articles.
5. There should be a functioning union orientation program for all new members to inform them of their rights and responsibilities, on company time.
6. Written, detailed financial reports sent to the members at least twice a year.
7. No union expenses over \$300 unless approved by the membership (excluding regular operating costs) excepting in emergency situations. No expenses over \$100 unless approved by the executive board.
8. Elected representatives from all workplaces to be part of negotiating teams.
9. All additions, deletions or changes in contracts to be distributed in writing prior to ratification.
10. Executive Board meetings should be open to the membership to observe but not vote.
11. Union dues should be proportionate to a member's wages.
12. Reduced dues for all laid-off members.

Health & Safety

A fatter paycheck will do no one any good if they are too sick or too hurt to spend it. Our union must begin to fight for better safety conditions. Strong health and safety language must be negotiated into all future contracts. This is not the 1800's, it is 1976. There is no excuse for such conditions. For better health and real safety we stand for the following:

1. No workers should be exposed to any job that could cause illness or injury.
2. An elected health and safety committee in every workplace with the power to have repaired or shut down any hazardous job operation.
3. Preventive maintenance on all equipment - kickplates and guards where necessary.
4. All required or necessary protective equipment or clothing to be supplied and paid for by the company.
5. NO SPEED-UP. Production increases and/or cuts in the workforce should be negotiated. There should be a set ratio of meat wrappers to meat cutters.
6. All work areas to be clean, safe, and free from obstructions -- including bathrooms. Where possible, there should be separate bathroom facilities for workers and customers. A lunch room in all work areas.
7. Standard temperatures maintained in all work areas.
8. Any time required for medical attention as a result of job injury should not mean a loss of wages.
9. Polyvinyl chloride and the hot-wire wrapping method banned.
10. Fold-away stools for cashiers.



Equality for all workers

Unions are based on the belief that all workers are equal, both in the workplace and in the union. Lets put that belief into practice. We want all the rank and file members of Local 196 to unite to build a better union. We cannot afford to allow racism, sexism, or any form of discrimination keep us divided and fighting against each other. No one benefits except the companies. To fight against favoritism and discrimination by either the companies or the union, we stand for the following:

1. An end to all discrimination against Blacks, Puerto Ricans, other national minorities, and women in hiring, upgrading, promotions and apprenticeships.
2. The companies must provide on-the-job training so that all workers have the opportunity to move into more skilled or higher paid positions.
3. To avoid favoritism and discrimination, all job openings must be posted COMPANY-WIDE, to be bid on by any worker and awarded by strict seniority. The union must be notified of all job openings. No workers should be hired off the street until those presently employed have the opportunity to take the position.
4. Contract language around seniority must be strengthened to prevent discriminatory treatment. The phrase "the employer shall consider seniority in conjunction with ability and practicability" must go.
5. Company-wide seniority lists posted in all workplaces.
6. The union should take all necessary action against those companies that refuse to hire national minorities or women.
7. Where appropriate, all union and company notices, contracts, health and welfare, and pension plans should be printed in Spanish or any other language when needed. Translators should be provided for all union meetings and contract negotiation sessions.
8. Maternity must be treated like any other disability -- loss of time benefits for up to 26 weeks. Maternity leave for up to one year with no loss of seniority.
9. One week paid paternity leave for fathers, because the pleasure and responsibility of having a child belongs to both parents.
10. Part-time workers must receive the same hourly pay as full-timers; benefits should be pro-rated; there must be a 20 hour minimum guarantee of hours.
11. Part-timers have the right to be shop stewards.
12. A part-timer must have the right to become full-time before additional part-timers are hired.
13. Childcare should be provided at all union meetings.

Rizzo gets off the hook...



Why are these men smiling? Rizzo and 'advisor' Gaudiosi celebrate Rizzo's narrow escape from the hands of the people of Philadelphia.

"You believe in democracy, you work for democracy and then you get a slap in the face." . . . Volunteer for Recall Committee after hearing of Supreme Court Decision.

"Let's hear it for the U.S.A." . . . Shelly Yanoff, Recall Leader.

"I never had a doubt. . . I would have won bigger than I did last time." . . . Frank Rizzo, still the Mayor of Phila.

Frank Rizzo was facing the biggest crisis of a crisis-strewn political career. Following his reelection, Rizzo had quickly turned his back on his main campaign promise to "hold the line on taxes" by ordering a whopping 30% increase in wage and property taxes. Rizzo continued to cut back on city services, most notably ordering the closing of PGH.

Rizzo reacted to a satirical article in the Inquirer by getting his allies in the building trades to shut the newspaper down. While continuing to posture as the "friend of the working stiff," Rizzo took up residence in a \$400,000 Chestnut Hill mansion complete with doorknobs that cost more than many of us working stiffs make in a month.

Obviously Rizzo believed you can fool most of the people all of the time. But events proved him wrong. A recall campaign mounted by the Philadelphia Party and the Americans for Democratic Action met with surprising mass enthusiasm. Angry citizens volunteered in droves to go out and get signatures and over 200,000 voters signed the recall petition. When Rizzo's political hacks on the City Board of Commissioners threw the petitions out on a series of absurd technicalities, the Recall Committee went to court where Judge David Savitt upheld the petitions and ordered the Recall be put on the November ballot.

RUNNING SCARED

While Rizzo now says he never feared the recall, his behavior shows he was running scared. Suddenly Rizzo was out campaigning again after months in seclusion. He was quick to twist arms and call in political debts, announcing that unless Senatorial candidate Bill Green and Democratic Presidential nominee Jimmy Carter came out for him on the Recall issue, the local Democratic organization would not support them.

Rizzo was running scared for good reason. Polls showed that a majority of the city's voters favored his recall. In 1971 at

the height of his popularity Rizzo had gotten 394,000 votes. In '75 that figure slipped to 321,000 and at the present time even Rizzo's most optimistic aides admitted he could only count on 250,000 votes and at best muster 300,000. On top of this, in a Presidential year a much larger percentage of the electorate votes, particularly among the traditionally anti-Rizzo sections of the voting population.

Then, in last year's election Rizzo's businessmen buddies and political cronies had raised an unprecedented 2 million for his campaign. This time around that kind of cash wasn't available. Finally, the Recall movement had the initiative. Taking all these things together, Rizzo looked like an underdog in a tight November election.

The recall vote would have been more than a referendum on Rizzo. Rizzo has become a symbol of racism, repression, and reaction. His recall would have been a resounding statement to the powers that be that his anti-popular policies and his racist trickery and demagoguery were no longer going to be tolerated by the people of this city.

Perhaps that is why the Justices of the State Supreme Court were anxious to find reasons why Rizzo and the capitalist system he so ably represents should be spared such an ordeal. The Judges, by a 4 to 2 vote, threw out the Recall provisions of the City Charter as unconstitutional. Rizzo could now drink champagne instead of hemlock.

As of this writing, the Judges have not yet issued their full legal opinion but the gist of it seems to be that the State Constitution makes no provision for recall and the 1947 enabling act that allowed the city to have its own Home rule charter calls for observance of the election rules in the state constitution. Greg Harvey, attorney for the Recall Committee, argued these state election provisions apply only to state officials and not local ones.

These technical arguments may be of interest to lawyers. What stands out in the Judges decision, for the rest of us, is that these Justices do not want the people to have the right to recall public officials.

Judges and politicians generally like the idea that once elected, they are safe from the voters for several years at least. Billy Meehan, leader of the local Republican Party, spoke for them all when he said: "If everytime a public official did something unpopular and could be recalled

from office, no political leader would be safe. It would be chaos."

INACTION, DEMORALIZATION AHEAD?

In the wake of the defeat of the Recall movement there will be a danger of demoralization among the anti-Rizzo forces. The liberal leadership of the Recall Committee has no plans for building the movement against Rizzo and in fact plan to dismantle it. Now that the legal options have been exhausted, the liberals are ready to go back to the Democratic party and wait until the next primary.

Greg Harvey, Recall leader, has said that there are no plans to try to utilize the 200,000 recall signatories as a base for a new political party. Without any political leadership, the many who were mobilized in the Recall Movement will fall into demoralization and inaction.

Instead of putting the anti-Rizzo movement on the shelf until the next elections, we must work to build it now. The policies that led to the recall effort in the first place will continue. We don't have to and we can't afford to wait until 1979 to protest these policies.

Mass mobilizations calling for keeping PGH open, for desegregated, quality education, and for transferring the tax

burden from the city's working people to the banks, corporations and the wealthy, should be first on our agenda. We should call for Rizzo's resignation as he clearly does not represent the majority of the people. What was lost in the courts can be won in the streets.

To defeat not only Rizzo but Rizzoism, a new party in 1979 will be necessary. Neither the regular Democrats nor the liberal Democrats are an alternative. Both these elements showed that they are unreliable friends of the anti-Rizzo movement. The regular Democrats care most about their patronage and continuing their political careers. George Schwartz, for example, thought Rizzo was no better than Hitler after the Mayor had kept a squad of cops busy full-time looking into Schwartz's private life and business affairs. But Schwartz apparently finds that his political principles allow him to work with the likes of Hitler. Once Rizzo was reelected, Schwartz was quick to make his peace.

Bill Green, the darling of the liberal democrats, is another one who clearly puts his political hide before any liberal anti-Rizzo convictions. And even the Recall leaders themselves, by their efforts to keep the anti-Rizzo movement politically tame and free of any substantive political program, and by their desire to limit the movement to electoral and legal maneuvers, have shown they are inadequate for the task of getting Rizzoism out of city government.

ALTERNATIVE TO LIBERALISM AND RIZZOISM

The kind of political party we need must offer a real programmatic alternative to both Rizzoism and liberalism. It must be a party that is willing to take on and fight the Big Business interests that run Philadelphia and are responsible for its decline. It must necessarily be a party that relies on the working people -- that works to forge a coalition of labor, Black people, women and all other progressive forces.

One possibility is the Philadelphia Party, which will be on the ballot in 1979 by virtue of its showing in the last election. The Philadelphia Party presently lacks either the political leadership or the program to be the kind of real alternative that is needed. Its principal benefactor, Charles Bowser, is undoubtedly interested in it only so far as it can be used to advance his own political career.

However, the Philadelphia Party has a rank and file that supplied much of the drive for the Recall movement and who are undoubtedly more committed than before to building the party as an independent and permanent political vehicle. The Philadelphia Party needs to be challenged to adopt a program that really speaks for the city's working people, and on that basis, broaden its support.

with a little help from his friends



THE ORGANIZER

special autoworker edition

Budd Rank and File

Preparing for Contract Battle

On January 15, 1977 both the national and local UAW-Budd agreements expire. Negotiations for a new contract will affect close to 12,000 workers.

Almost half of all Budd workers are here in Philadelphia, represented by Local 92 (Red Lion Plant) and Local 813 (Hunting Park Plant). Local UAW leadership has begun to formulate both local and national demands.

Aware of the rank and file discontent over the Ford contract, the leadership of both Philadelphia Budd locals have hedged on giving all-out support to the pattern established at Ford and have remained purposefully vague about setting priorities for the January negotiations.

Typically, Budd negotiators are content to get the "trickle down" from the Big Three agreements. The Budd national agreement usually falls short of the Big Three -- particularly in benefits, such as sickness and accident benefits.

The weakness of the Ford settlement gives the Budd union leadership two options: defend the international agreement, settle for something less than the Ford sell-out, and face an angry rank and file; or rally the rank and file support which is readily available and push for a contract that goes beyond the pattern agreement.

RANK AND FILE MOVEMENT A FACTOR IN CONTRACT TALKS

As negotiations progress, the leadership of Locals 92 and 813 have had to take into account a growing rank and file movement within both plants. Great pressure is presently being brought to bear on the eventual outcome of contract talks by the recent display of unity represented by the joint publication of a contract newsletter.

"Rank and File News," as it is called, is the first of a series of papers put out by two caucuses -- "The Blue Ribbon Group" of Red Lion and the "Concerned Members of Local 813," Hunting Park. "Rank and File News" puts forward a 25 point program for the upcoming contract which speaks directly to the most burning issues facing Budd workers.

The program is divided into 5 areas: Job Security, Equality, Union Rights, Health and Safety, and Income Protection. The most progressive and far-reaching aspects of the program center on the demands for the Short Work Week (32 for 40) at full pay and an end to racism and discrimination in upgrades and apprenticeships.

Other highlights of the joint rank and file program include the demands for hiring more women and company financed daycare, guaranteed SUB (Supplemental Unemployment Benefits), the right to strike, innocent until proven guilty in the grievance procedure, union control of overtime, the right of stewards to shut down unsafe jobs, and a Cost-Of-Living in the Pension Agreement.

JOB SECURITY AND EQUALITY -- KEY DEMANDS

Like all autoworkers, job security is clearly the most important concern of Budd workers. It is even more important because Small Parts Suppliers depend on subcontracting from the Big Three. The Short Work Week is extremely popular among the rank and file membership. It is the strongest guarantee against layoffs in the industry. Combined with union control of excessive overtime, the Short Work Week is the strongest job-creating demand of the rank and file movement in Auto. In a period of high unemployment for all workers, it is truly a class-wide demand.

However, neither the Short Work Week or control of overtime are the chief priorities of the International UAW leadership. They are clearly demands that are being spear-headed by progressive rank and file caucuses within the UAW against the wishes of the more conservative union bureaucracy.

Demands around ending racism in upgrades and apprenticeships is long overdue, both at Budd's and in the rest of auto. A small percentage of skilled jobs are presently held by Black workers. Yet the leadership has continually either ignored or underestimated the importance of removing racist barriers, the key to

future unity of all Budd workers.

Reaction to the unified rank and file program by the majority of workers at both plants has been supportive and favorable. At the September union meetings of both locals, the program was adopted by the bargaining committees.

This does not mean that the leadership is determined to wage an all-out fight to win these goals. In fact, the leadership has resisted every attempt by the rank and file to set priorities; to say which demands are key and inexpedient and which are secondary.

BUDD WAGES REMAIN AT EARLIER LEVEL

Both the Red Lion and Hunting Park Budd Plants work on a modified piece-work or incentive system. Wages are higher in production than in auto assembly plants, but the work is faster and harder and more dangerous than hourly work. The last Budd contract (Dec., 1973) was negotiated during the Nixon wage freeze. For that reason, wage increases for each year of the contract have only averaged 17 to 22 cents an hour.

Combined with the quarterly Cost-Of-Living payments, the yearly wage increase for Budd workers has only kept them even with the heavy inflation of the last

three years. Real wages -- in terms of what you can buy with your take-home pay -- have not increased but remain frozen.

The Budd Co. is enjoying a year of record profits, higher than in any recent years. It will most surely fight to maintain those profits at the expense of Budd workers. Budd management has become more stubborn and repressive as the contract nears termination. In the past year, Budd has clamped down hard on absenteeism and discipline. It has arbitrarily dealt out firings and punishment to hundreds of workers.

Budd will have closed down at least one-third of the Hunting Park facility by January, 1977. And this past summer, with the threat of closing down the Plant, the Company successfully removed the limit on rates in the Automotive section at Red Lion. This will lead directly to a speed-up of work, at both plants.

It will take the kind of contract demands and unity represented by the "Rank and File News" to win real gains in the January contract. Whether or not the leadership of the two Locals fight for that unity and those demands, depends on how rank and file Budd workers participate in the struggle for a good contract in the coming months.

HUNTING PARK, RED LION WORKERS JOIN FORCES

For the first time in many years, Budd workers are looking beyond the problems in their own shops to the much larger questions facing working people today. In doing so, many are beginning to see that only a united working class can wage the kind of effective struggle which can lead to real gains.

Building unity in the shop, between Black and white workers, between men and women, between the skilled and production workers, between the different departments, are goals all Budd workers must fight for. Similarly, unity must be built between different plants in the Budd system, as well as in the entire UAW, and finally between unionized and unorganized workers, and among workers of different countries.

The corporate bigshots of the Budd Company are sure enough united and clear and strong on where they stand, make no mistake about that! And the Budd workers will never move them an inch as long as they are scattered, uncommunicating, in a half dozen different locals, each in turn divided and weakened by a leadership that operates in secret, by racism among the white workers, by lack of a clear and defined program for struggle!



This is why the beginning step of building unity between the Hunting Park and Red Lion plants in Philadelphia is such a significant step in this contract year.

RANK AND FILE FORUM LAUNCHES JOINT WORK

The first step in this important process came last spring. The Blue Ribbon Group, a rank and file caucus at Red Lion, sponsored a rank and file forum at which Pete Kelly, Jordan Sims and Erwin Bauer -- all leaders of the Coalition for a Good Contract, a national rank and file organiza-

tion in the UAW -- spoke to about 90 workers from both plants.

On November 7, Pete Kelly returned to Philadelphia to speak at a "Budd-UAW Rank and File Convention" attended by workers from both plants. Kelly spoke of a growing rank and file movement based in Detroit and spreading throughout the country. He promised Budd workers that come January, they would not be alone. They could count on the active support, he said, of hundreds of UAW brothers and sisters across the nation.

(continued on page 13)

introduction:

One Step Forward!

dedicated to the fight for a good contract in '76

The struggle of the working class for a decent standard of living, a secure job, humane working conditions, and for equality between workers of all nationalities often seems like a never ending battle. The workers make an important advance, but only to discover that the capitalists have found some new method to all but nullify their forward motion. This circular movement of the workers' economic struggle is right now quite apparent in the auto industry.

In 1937, with massive sit-down strikes and the organization of the UAW, the hated incentive system was seen by many as the root cause of the workers' daily oppression, responsible for the unbearable pace of automobile production and for thousands of major accidents each year in the industry. Yet today, even without the incentive system, speed-up and hazardous conditions of work are the rule in auto.

INFLATION: A CONTINUING PROBLEM

In 1948, in a period of labor militancy, autoworkers won a Cost of Living Allowance which was supposed to protect the workers' income from the ravages of inflation. Yet today, as prices and taxes soar, the incomes of autoworkers are once again falling further and further behind.

In 1955 the UAW won an agreement which provided for Supplemental Unemployment Benefits. This program was hailed as a guaranteed annual wage and as real protection against the financial and emotional strain of being unemployed. Yet today, more than ever, the issues of job security and financial protection against unemployment are burning questions for over 800,000 autoworkers across the country.

In the 1960's, in the midst of the civil rights movement, the Big Three auto companies made a contractual agreement to end discrimination against Black and other minority workers. Yet today, discrimination against Black autoworkers in hiring and upgrading persists in every auto factory in the United States.

The 1976 contract negotiations have once again brought to the fore these basic and fundamental demands of autoworkers; job security, income protection, control of the pace of production, and an end to

discrimination. Now how can this be explained? Why is it that after forty years of struggle these same issues present themselves as unresolved problems for workers organized into one of the most powerful unions in America?

The answer to this question can be found by understanding the basic workings of the capitalist system. Under capitalism the working class cannot win a stable and constantly rising standard of living. The captains of industry, the owners of the factories, mills and mines, invest their money in production only to make a profit. But where does this profit come from? It can only come from the unpaid labor of the workers!

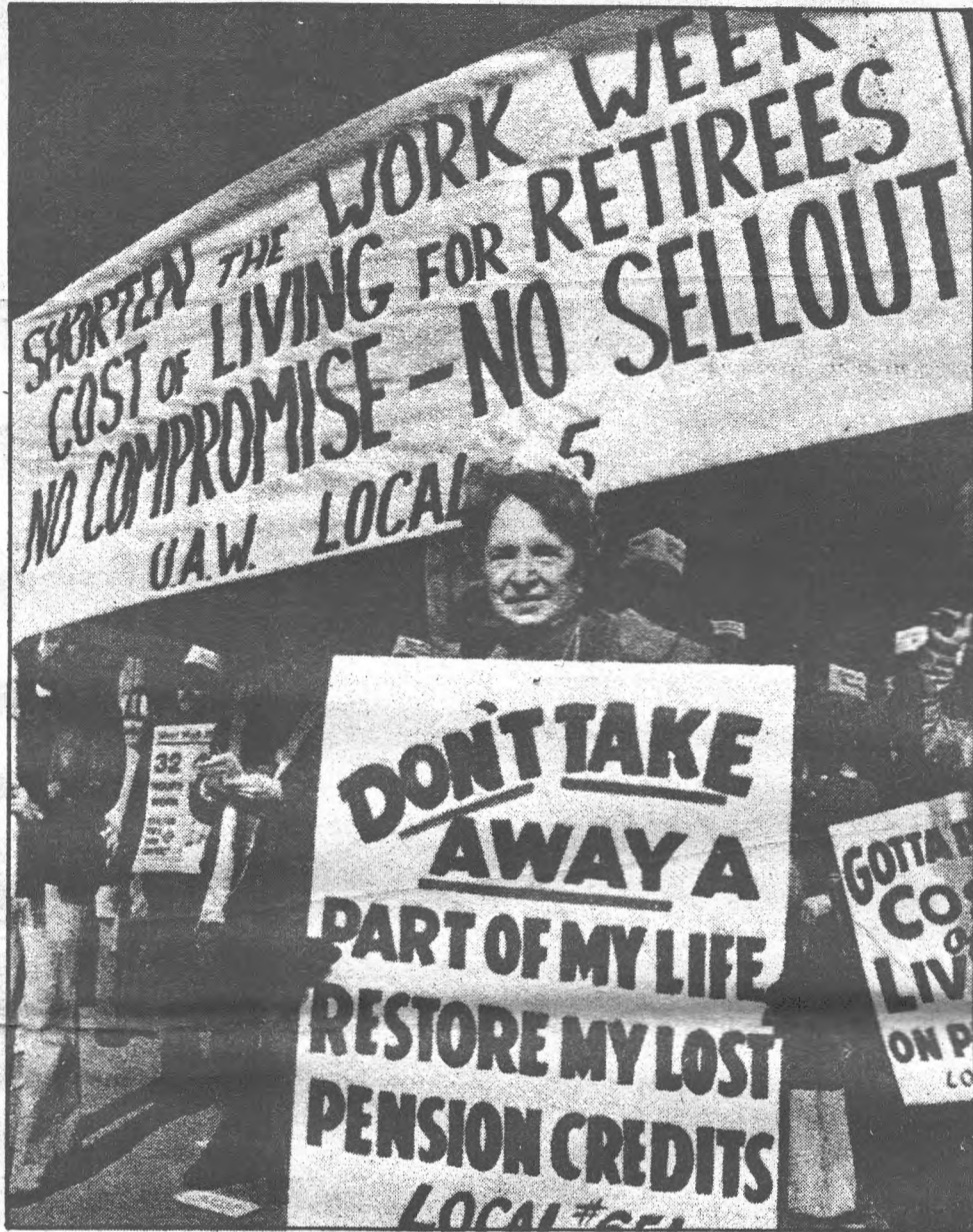
PROFIT DRIVE PUSHES WORKERS BACK

Workers are paid a weekly wage, but their earnings are far less than the value of the product which they turn over to the capitalist. The lower the wages and benefits of the workers, the higher is the profit for the capitalist. If the capitalist finds that wages and benefits cannot be held low enough, because of the strength of the workers' trade union organizations, he will give with one hand but attempt to take back with the other by means of constantly rising prices. And this is precisely what has been happening in the U. S., especially during the last ten years.

Under capitalism, the workers cannot win a secure job nor control over the pace of production. Due to the threat of competition and the thirst for ever greater profits, the capitalist must necessarily strive to modernize production and increase productivity if he is to survive. Yet since the market for the products of industry is restricted by the limited purchasing power of the people, this increased productive capacity leads to higher unemployment; fewer and fewer workers are needed to man the production lines.

In auto, where workers are now under the lash of a vicious speed-up campaign, production is reaching record levels while at the same time over 170,000 jobs have been permanently eliminated from the industry!

Under capitalism, the working class cannot win full equality and an end to discrimination against national minority and



UAW rank and file members have been demanding the short work week for job security and a cost-of-living allowance for retirees. Both active workers and retirees have suffered greatly as a result of the recession.

women workers. The monopoly corporations are able to reap an immense superprofit off the backs of Black and women workers by relegating these workers to the lowest paying jobs in both industry and commerce. The ranks of the unemployed are also disproportionately swelled by Black and women workers. And this large army of unemployed workers is also a necessary feature of capitalism; necessary to hold down the wages of the employed section of the working population.

Besides a handsome superprofit the capitalists are able to create a divided working class, white against Black, men against women, and in this manner undermine the fighting capacity of the workers.

SOCIALISM IN THE U. S.?

It is because of these very limits of the workers' economic struggle under capitalism that the Philadelphia Workers Organizing Committee is trying to build a revolutionary workers movement in the U. S. If we had socialism in the U. S. the workers would be masters of the means of production. Our economy would be organized to meet the needs of the people rather than to enrich the few.

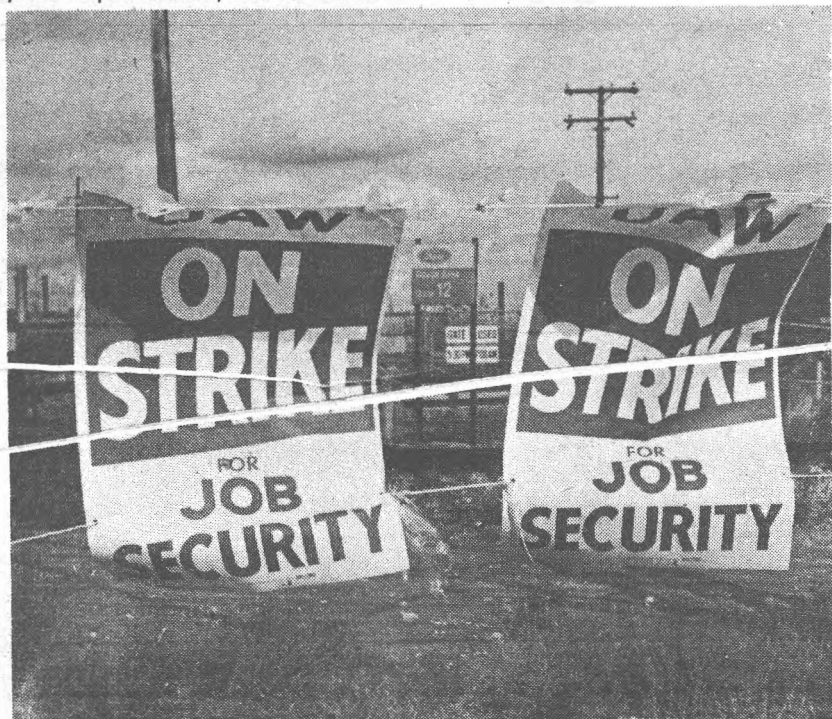
There would be no unemployment under socialism, our standard of living would rise as the economy developed, we would be able to control the pace and conditions of our work, and discrimina-

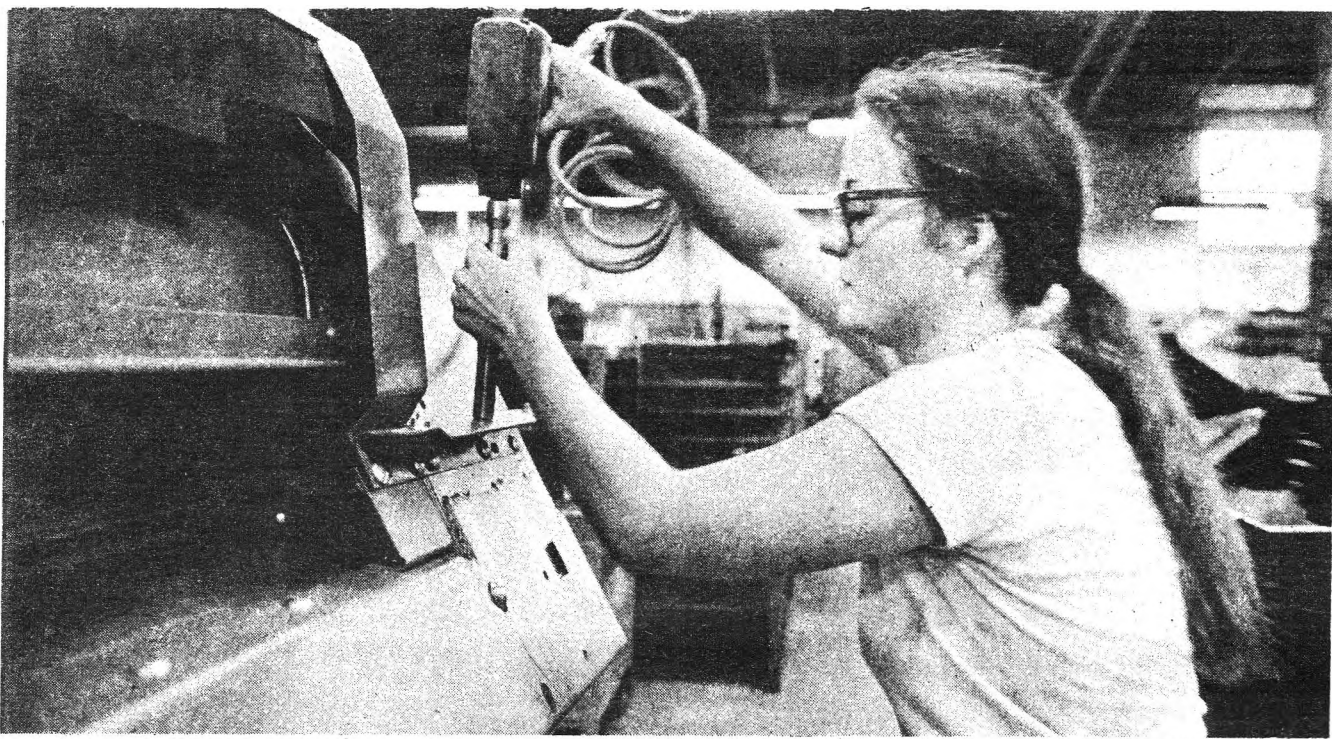
tion and social oppression of national minority and women workers would be reduced to a relic of the past.

The goal of socialism is something that every autoworker should embrace if they want to achieve their long sought after program. Unfortunately, socialism is not yet an immediate objective of our movement because the preconditions for a socialist revolution do not yet exist. So what are autoworkers to do in this contract year?

Should they altogether abandon the contract struggle as an effort in futility? To do so we think would be an incorrect conclusion of all that has been said. Despite the limits of the trade union struggle, a well organized and militant movement round this 1976-77 contract can bring autoworkers some measure of relief from capitalist exploitation.

But equally important, if not more so, this contract struggle can help develop the consciousness, unity and organization of autoworkers, provide an important example to the rest of the working class, and thereby bring us close to the day when capitalist exploitation and oppression can finally be eliminated. To advance the cause of socialism the rank and file movement in auto should strive to link itself with the growing revolutionary movement in the U. S. It is with this in mind that the Organizer dedicates this special supplement to autoworkers struggling for a decent contract in 1976!





Women in the Auto industry- a long way to go to equality

As the 1976-77 contract approaches, the auto industry is just recovering from the severe layoffs of 1974-75. In many auto plants women workers were among the first to be laid off.

In the Fremont, California GM plant there were no women left on the assembly line. At the Linden, N. J. Cadillac plant, hundreds of women workers, recently hired, were on indefinite layoff. Across the country, thousands of women autoworkers had lost their jobs. At General Motors, largest of the auto monopolies, the number of women workers decreased from 96,882 in 1973 to 79,602 in 1975. 17,000 women, a majority of whom were blue collar workers, lost their jobs in a three year period.

In the early 1970's larger numbers of women were hired in auto as a result of federal legislation that was passed in the '60's, following in the wake of the Civil Rights Movement's demand for equal employment opportunity. Later, the growing Women's Movement also forced many industries and professions to hire women, where they had formerly been discriminated against. The trend toward fairer and larger employment of women in auto has been partially reversed by the economic recession.

WOMEN AND THE HISTORY OF THE UAW

Women have played a key role in the auto industry ever since the UAW was first organized. The "Flying Squads" of women in 1937 fought off hired thugs and sheriff's deputies, organized food distribution, and produced and passed out thousands of pro-union leaflets. They played a major role in building morale and unity that was necessary to win the early militant strikes that gave birth to the UAW.

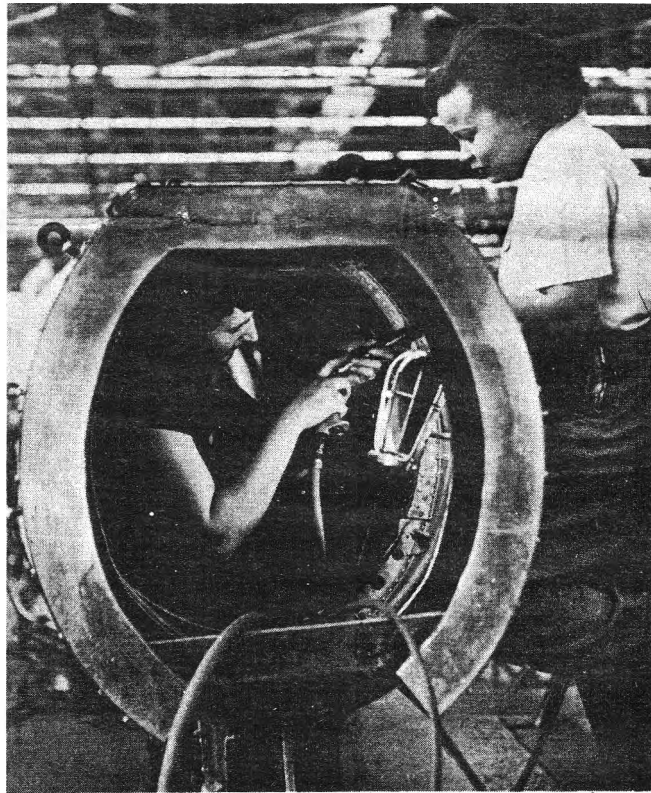
During World War II, large numbers of women entered the auto industry as they did many other basic industries such as shipbuilding, transportation, and steel. Between 1940 and 1945 six million women entered the workforce. In many occupations, federally financed daycare facilities were made available during this period.

Women worked as welders, laborers, machine operators, and did jobs that were traditionally thought to be a 'man's' work. After the war, thousands of women stayed on in the auto plants, working side by side with their male counterparts. Women struggled to keep their jobs despite a national campaign to encourage them to return to the home

and family. Federal daycare was abolished, no longer providing a service necessary to the continued labor of thousands of women who were the heads of households and the sole support of their family.

World War II was an important period for the integration of women into heavy in-

been systematically restricted to unskilled job classifications in auto, as well as other industries. When the war ended, the auto monopolies no longer needed women to perform tasks formerly done exclusively by men. They therefore pursued a policy of discrimination against



dustry such as auto. The variety of occupations and jobs successfully held by women during the war should put to rest once and for all the myth that women cannot do a "man's job". Only the most back-breaking labor, difficult for an average sized person, male or female, could be said to remain a man's job. In reality, such heavy labor was becoming more and more the job of machines and not people, as automation steadily increased.

WOMEN WORK TO SUPPORT SELVES AND FAMILIES

At present, an increasing number of women are entering the auto industry for the same reason that men are - out of economic necessity. One out of four women workers are heads of households. Inflation and higher costs for rent, food, clothing and education have forced women to become joint partners with their husbands in earning wages to support themselves and their families.

The auto corporations admitted women workers, as they did Black workers, as a result of the necessity of war production. And, like Black workers, women have

women. Management erected barriers to the access of jobs. "You can't do the work" was the familiar reason for refusing employment to women.

In 1976, close to 40% of the total workforce of the country is women. Although women remain a small proportion of autoworkers, their numbers are slowly increasing. In particular, large numbers of Black women are entering the ranks of the UAW, driven by the economic necessities of higher unemployment and lower paying jobs - the direct effect of continued racial and national oppression.

BROTHERS MUST SUPPORT UAW SISTERS

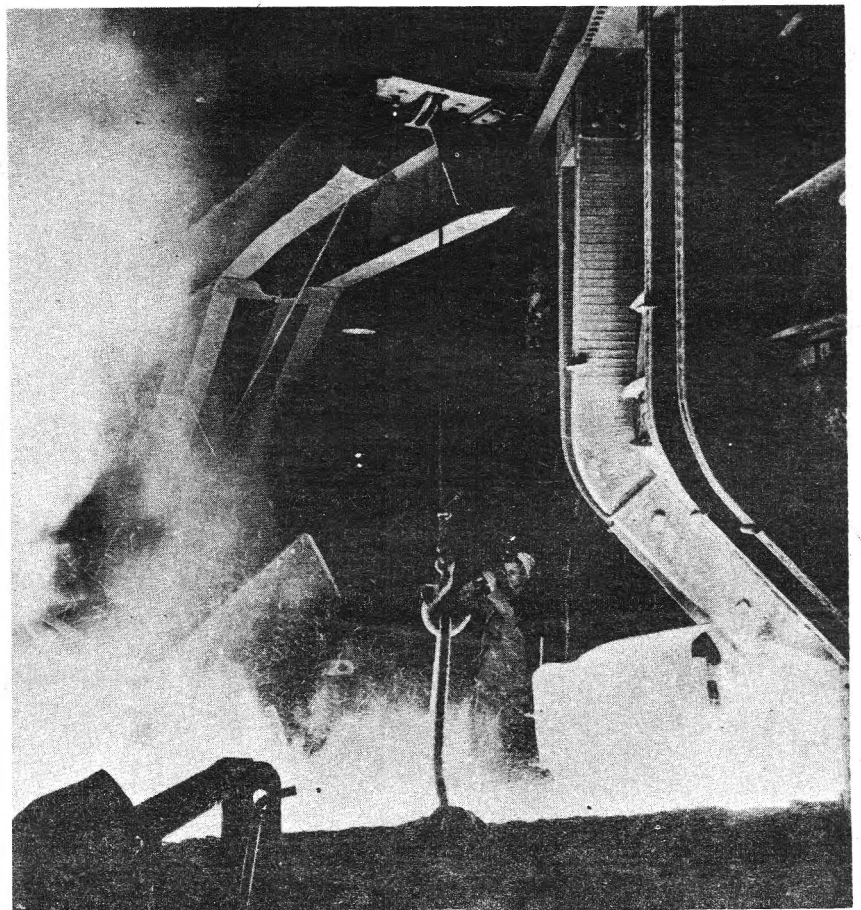
It is crucial that UAW brothers insure that women autoworkers are accepted as full members; that the corporations are not allowed to raise phony excuses to turn away women seeking employment. Corporate or government financed daycare should be a major goal of the UAW at the bargaining table and in the political arena. Working mothers or parents should not have to bear the financial burden of an extra "payroll deduction" to send young children to private daycare facilities.

Maternity leave should be improved. In Sweden, women are not only given six months leave, as in the UAW, but that maternity leave is also paid. Everyone has a right to a job. Women should not be penalized or denied that basic right because they have the added responsibility of bearing children who will be the next generation of workers. Health and safety rules must insure that no pregnant women are exposed to possible harmful fumes or working conditions that could cause harm to the fetus or miscarriages.

Much of the protective legislation covering women workers should be extended to cover men, as well. No one should be compelled to do heavy work that in the long run takes years off the lives of autoworkers.

The UAW must encourage the full participation of women workers in every aspect of union affairs and make sure that management allows fair access to higher skilled jobs. Sexual harassment and procurement in the shop is not only degrading to women workers, but it undermines the ability of women to take their rightful place on an equal basis with men. Sexual discrimination, like racism, weakens the unity of all workers and their strength to fight corporations like GM, Ford, or Budd.

MEN'S WORK? During World War II women did many of the jobs in heavy industry that are now considered "men's jobs." After the war, industry re-erected barriers that keep women out of better paying and skilled jobs.



A Budd Worker Talks

Bruce Bodner is a worker and activist at the Budd Co. Red Lion Plant. He is a member of the steering committee of the Blue Ribbon Group, a rank and file caucus within UAW Local 92.

Bruce's answers to the Organizer's questions reflect his own views, and are not the official views of the Blue Ribbon Group.

Organizer: What is the Blue Ribbon Group?

Bruce: Well, the Blue Ribbon Group is a rank and file caucus within the UAW at the Budd Red Lion plant. Actually, the caucus got started in September of 1973, a year in which our union was negotiating a contract. A small group of workers came together and tried to influence the demands that our local would fight for in that contract. At that time we were called the Concerned Members of Local 92. This was the beginning of the rank and file movement at Red Lion.

The Blue Ribbon Group came into existence two years later when there was a plant wide election for union office. All of the Concerned Members of Local 92 merged or allied themselves with a number of other workers who were interested in running in that election. So we changed the name of the caucus to the Blue Ribbon Group.



Organizer: What does the name stand for? How did you choose that name?

Bruce: Well, the name was chosen by one of our members and I think that his logic for calling it the Blue Ribbon Group was because it was the name of a winner.

Organizer: Number one.

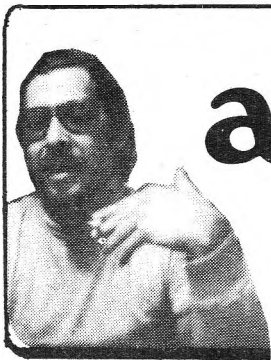
Bruce: Yes, number one.

Organizer: Were you involved with this from the beginning?

Bruce: Yeah, I was involved from the beginning. I was hired at the Budd Co. in May of 1973, but prior to having worked at the Budd Co. I was involved in the anti-war movement and to some degree with the civil rights movement. I was influenced a good deal by those two struggles—one fighting against an unjust war and the other against inequality and social injustice. And prior to working at the Budd Co., I did do some work for another union.

Organizer: Did you get involved in unions because you felt they could produce some of these changes?

Bruce: Yes, my involvement in the local was not just because of the particular problems that workers face at Red Lion, of which there are many. Like I said, prior to having been hired at Budd, I was involved with these other movements and I had come to realize, I think, that the only way to really end war, eliminate poverty, and end the inequality which exists in our society, it was necessary for the working people, who are after all the victims of these injustices, to take



an interview with bruce bodner

a stronger role in these movements. And a natural way for them to do this would be through strengthening their labor movement.

Organizer: I know that the BRG has been involved in the basic shop struggles, for more democracy, better working conditions, and a better contract. In what ways do you feel it has contributed to the development of these broader political movements?

Bruce: Well I think that at this point, we've only been around for three years, our caucus has not yet been able to develop a program that speaks to these broader issues in our society. I think that our focus up til now has been to deal with the particular problems faced by autoworkers in the U.S. Of course now, even within this limited framework, we are organizing against racism, which is very prevalent in the auto industry.

Organizer: How do you go about doing this? What has the caucus done to build the fight against racism?

Bruce: In our first effort to organize at Red Lion, around the '73 contract, we thought that we had to develop some kind of program that would speak to the basic needs of Red Lion workers. We got together about ten people who had recognized from their own experience that the local bargaining committee and the international leadership was not likely to produce the kind of contract that reflected the needs of the workers.

We sat down and worked out our program. It focussed on production rates, health and safety, and the fight against discrimination. And so from the very beginning we did recognize that it was necessary to include the struggle against racism in our program and in our work. We wanted to build unity between Black and white workers. But we understood that to make this unity lasting and strong it had to be on the basis of the struggle against discrimination and not just on the basis of wages and working conditions.

Organizer: Well let me ask you this. Do you feel that the Blue Ribbon Group has succeeded in building a strong caucus of Black and white workers? What's been your experience along these lines?

Bruce: Well, this has been one of our main difficulties. The main weakness of our caucus is that we have not been able to recruit enough white workers as active members. We do have some very strong white workers in the Blue Ribbon Group, but not enough. The caucus is made up primarily of Black workers.

Now, it's important to understand that the Budd Co. has long practiced a divide and conquer policy among the workers. Budd's hiring and upgrading practices have been *consciously* designed to keep Black workers out of many skilled and semi-skilled jobs. And this has had the effect of driving a wedge between Black and white workers, not just because we remain isolated from each other in different parts of the plant, but also because along with the skilled or semi-skilled

job goes a higher wage, more job security, and better working conditions. All of this undercuts the militancy of the white workers, even though the living standards, working conditions, and job security of *all* workers are now under attack.

On top of this we have to consider the constant barrage of propaganda that we have been fed all our lives about Black people and other minorities. Racist ideas take many forms but those of us who have been trying to unite workers have seen, that, for example, many white workers are reluctant to attend a meeting if it is held in an integrated community; many white workers are hesitant about voting Black workers into union office and many distrust the Blue Ribbon Group because we raise the issue of discrimination against the Black workers.

Many white workers just do not yet realize that racism is a poison being exploited by the company to weaken and hold down *all working people*. But the struggle of the rank and file at Red Lion is beginning to teach people that racism hurts all workers and that the white worker has as much at stake in the fight against racism as the Black worker.

One thing that opened people's eyes, I think, was the recent struggle against a Budd speed-up campaign. Production workers are paid on an incentive basis and for years there has been a cap or daily maximum quota set on production in the automotive division. The company reasoned that if it could remove this cap it could get greater production from automotive and by focusing its speed-up campaign on one division it could exploit the divisions between the mainly Black automotive workers and the mainly white railcar and skilled trades workers.

Many white workers, especially those affected by the speed-up in automotive were able to see exactly what the company was doing. So, through our campaign against the removal of the cap and now in our fight for a good contract a lot of white workers are coming to see that it is the Blue Ribbon Group that really is fighting for the interests of all workers -- Black and white -- at Red Lion.

In fact, we have been able to mobilize a good number of people in the past few months. Many white workers have supported the Blue Ribbon Group in the fight against removing the cap, many have signed petitions at different times about various issues and recently many white workers demonstrated their support for a Black shop steward who belongs to our caucus when he was suspended for 30 days by the Company. So we are making progress.

The problem that still persists is that not enough white workers are active in the day-to-day work of building the Blue Ribbon Group. What seems to hold back many of these workers is the social pressure that their fellow workers are able to impose on them if they become directly involved with the caucus. This kind of pressure intimidates people for a while, but it won't last long. I feel confident that we will soon overcome this problem.

Organizer: So your thinking is that as the workers gain understanding of the struggle against racism in the shop the caucus will be able to generalize this into the struggle against racism in other areas of the society, like school desegregation, for example?

Bruce: Yeah, I think this is true not only about the struggle against racism, but about all the issues which our caucus has taken up. Because, the more experience we get in the rank and file movement, and the more we learn about the history of our labor movement, the more we come to realize that we cannot really deal with the problems we face as workers in the plant and as citizens in the community if our focus is too narrow, if it is limited to the struggle against the Budd Co.

Like, I have no more bones to pick with the Budd Co. than with any other big corporation. In my opinion, the Budd Co. is no better and no worse than most big corporations. But what I do think, is that the problem is that the big corporations, Budd included, are in control of all of the major economic and political decisions that are made in our country. And what has to change is that working people have to have the say. Working people, who are the majority, should have control over their lives and I think that that's what the struggle of the rank and file movement is eventually going to be all about. That's really the only way we can really safeguard and advance our interests.

Organizer: Some people would say that sounds like communism. Do you have any trouble with that? Have you been red-baited?

Bruce: To tell you the truth, we've been red-baited from the very first time we opened our mouths. Like the first time we put out a leaflet in 1973, which was a very innocent piece of literature. It only dealt with simple shop problems. But at our union meeting that month, the Chairman of our Grievance Committee, Joe Robinson, who now is an international rep for the UAW in this region, attacked us as being communists and he said that the workers should beware because communists were on the move in 1973.

So we have had to take up the issue of red-baiting from the very earliest stages of organizing a caucus. The fact that we had to deal with this from the beginning, before ever having raised broader issues, speaks to how red-baiting is used against the workers. It's used as a tool to discredit all militancy among the workers. And whether or not you're a communist, if you dare to criticize Local leaders, or if you dare to raise the issues that face the working people, or dare to try to organize struggle against the company, you're going to be red-baited. There's no way around it.

Organizer: Does the BRG allow communists in the caucus?

Bruce: Well, the position of the BRG is that we believe in trade union democracy and that anybody, no matter what their political beliefs should be able to participate, not only in the Blue Ribbon Group,

About Organizing



but in the UAW. We discussed this in the caucus.

I think that what has helped many of us to understand, not only that red-baiting is a trick, a tool, against all militant workers, but what's helped us understand the need to defend the rights of communists to participate in the caucus is the history of our own union, the UAW.

I thought the history of the UAW you did in the *Organizer* really helped us in this. Many of us in the caucus read and discussed these articles. Many of the caucus members had never realized before that it was the communists in the 1930's who played a leading role in the organization of the UAW. Had it not been for Wyndham Mortimer and Robert Travis, both communists and leaders of the Flint sit-down strike, I can't be too sure we would have a union today.

Organizer: Speaking of the Organizer, that leads me to ask, do you feel the Organizer can be used to build the rank and file movement at Red Lion and in auto?

Bruce: Yes, I do. I've found many articles in the *Organizer* that could be of great use to workers interested in having a stronger union.

See, I don't believe we can go just on our experience. I don't think that this experience teaches us all we have to know. To organize successfully we need to know how to develop a program. To do this, for example, it may be necessary to know something about economics. We may need to project whether the next few years will bring unemployment in our industry if we are to deal with this issue in a program.

We also need to know about tactics, how best to fight the company. We need to know about how to build organization,

and how to build unity in the trade unions. We should know how other workers have successfully or unsuccessfully organized in similar situations. This is the kind of knowledge essential to the successful organizer and leader, in any plant. And this is what is so important about the *Organizer*. It has this kind of information.

You know, because of red-baiting and because of anti-communism many workers are reluctant to take the *Organizer* when its being passed out. To me this is a crime because the *Organizer* is not forcing anybody into believing anything. People can read it and form their own opinions. But because of anti-communism, some people feel that its going to take them over, seize their minds or something. And so they refuse to read it.

You know, I myself, like most other people, was brought up on a heavy diet of anti-communism. In fact when I was 18 or 19—I think this shows you how absurd anti-communism is—I met some people who were organizing a food co-op, for poor people. When I heard what they were doing I assumed that they were communists. This was the way I grew up. Imagine. I even thought of reporting them to the FBI. Crazy. Go to the FBI because they were helping poor people.

Now that I know better I feel almost ashamed to tell this story. But I do feel that telling the story is important because it does show that all of us to some degree or another have been, at one time, anti-communist. It's a prejudice which only holds back our own development and it is entirely destructive to the cause of working people. The *Organizer* which is a communist paper, has a lot to offer workers at Red Lion. Yes, I think it does.

Organizer: Where do you see the Blue Ribbon Group going from here? What is the future of the rank and file movement in the UAW where there is a powerful bureaucracy? Where do you see it going in the next few years?

Bruce: Well right now we are engaged in organizing for the 1976-77 contract. What's really significant about our work at this time is that for the first time we have been able to establish close connections with autoworkers at other plants, especially the Hunting Park Plant here in Philadelphia.

For a long time we recognized the importance of building unity beyond our own local, because we realized we are up against a very powerful company and a powerful bureaucracy within the union itself. Its not so much the local leaders that hold back the struggle of the workers, but its the international leadership that holds the real power in the UAW. Behind every conservative local leader you will find the shadow of the international bureaucracy.

In the last six months or so we made two breakthroughs in extending our contacts beyond the local. First, last May we established a relationship with Pete Kelly, Jordan Sims, and Erwin Baur, all members of the United National Caucus, who have been organizing within the union for many years. Recently, through a joint newsletter, we established ties between ourselves and Hunting Park workers.

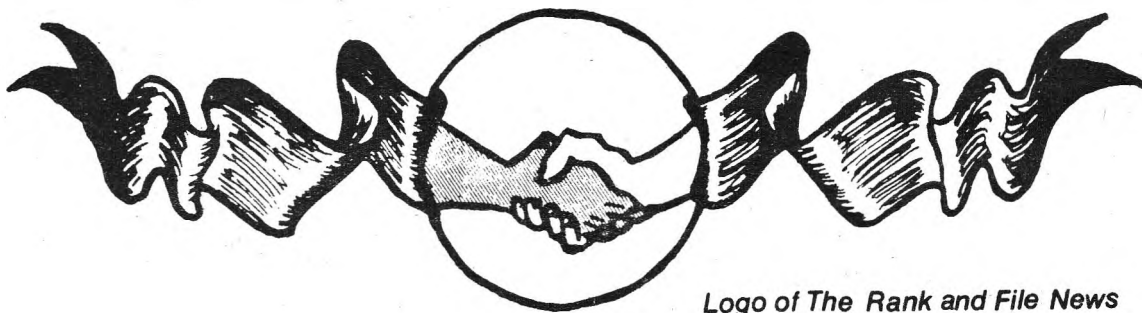
Now what we see is that during this contract period we have a real opportunity to build unity between Hunting Park and Red Lion workers and between workers in Philadelphia and workers in Detroit. We hope that, no matter what our effect on the contract, whether we win some of our demands or not, that we will come out of the contract struggle with a higher degree of unity with these workers.

If we can achieve that, we will be able to lay the foundation for a strong national organization of rank and file workers in auto. And perhaps next year at the UAW convention, or perhaps three years from now when our next contract is negotiated, we'll be in a much stronger position and much better able to influence the outcome of the negotiations.

Organizer: Well, good luck to the Blue Ribbon Group!

Bruce: Good luck to the *Organizer*. I hope more workers will start reading your newspaper!

Budd Workers Close Ranks cont. from p. 9



Logo of The Rank and File News

At the Convention, the steering committees of both the Blue Ribbon Group and the Concerned Members of Local 813 proposed eight demands that they saw as central to the contract struggle and a plan of action to prepare for the negotiations. Both proposals were adopted by the Convention.

Already this year, at both plants, the International has seen fit to interfere in the internal affairs of both locals when the company needed them to squelch the rank and file. And now, the unity that is beginning to develop is sending shivers up their spines.

At the union meeting following the first issue of the joint newsletter of the two rank and file groups, Joe Robinson, the UAW International Representative for the Red Lion Plant (who just happens to have two sons who are in management at Red Lion) showed up to "cool out" the growing militancy. He argued strenuously against a motion that would have required rank and file participation in the

contract negotiations through special membership meetings.

Since then, the concerned members of Local 813 and the Blue Ribbon Group have been working hard to establish ways to work together, not only to strengthen the struggle for a good contract, but to build a united rank and file movement for the future.

Just like workers all over the country, from the steelworkers to the farmworkers, autoworkers are realizing that we are all in the same boat -- and if we don't join together, this stormy economy will sink us! The problems of job security, the right to strike, health and safety, and income protection are problems all working people face -- and to make real gains, we have no choice but to join together with other workers willing to fight for these demands.

INTERNATIONAL BUREAUCRACY: OBSTACLE TO UNITY

But the obstacles to victory are only

beginning to be seen. Besides the staunch position of the Auto Companies going into this years bargaining, the rank and file must also be prepared for the sellout and class-collaborationist influence of the International UAW bureaucracy.

Nothing scares these bureaucrats more than the thought of having to keep their membership informed and allowing the membership to decide what's most important in this contract. We should not be surprised if similar moves are made by the International as the contract struggle moves forward.

At the same time, however, this unity is also already bearing victories that could be significant in the long run. Both Bill Hill, President of Local 92, and Henry Gryn, President of Local 813, are being forced into a much more conciliatory position. Both went to great pains to hear out the demands of the rank and file.

Whether this "conciliation" can be transformed into actual militant struggle for the demands rests solely in the hands of the rank and file. If these leaders see their members strong, united, and prepared to fight for a contract that really meets their

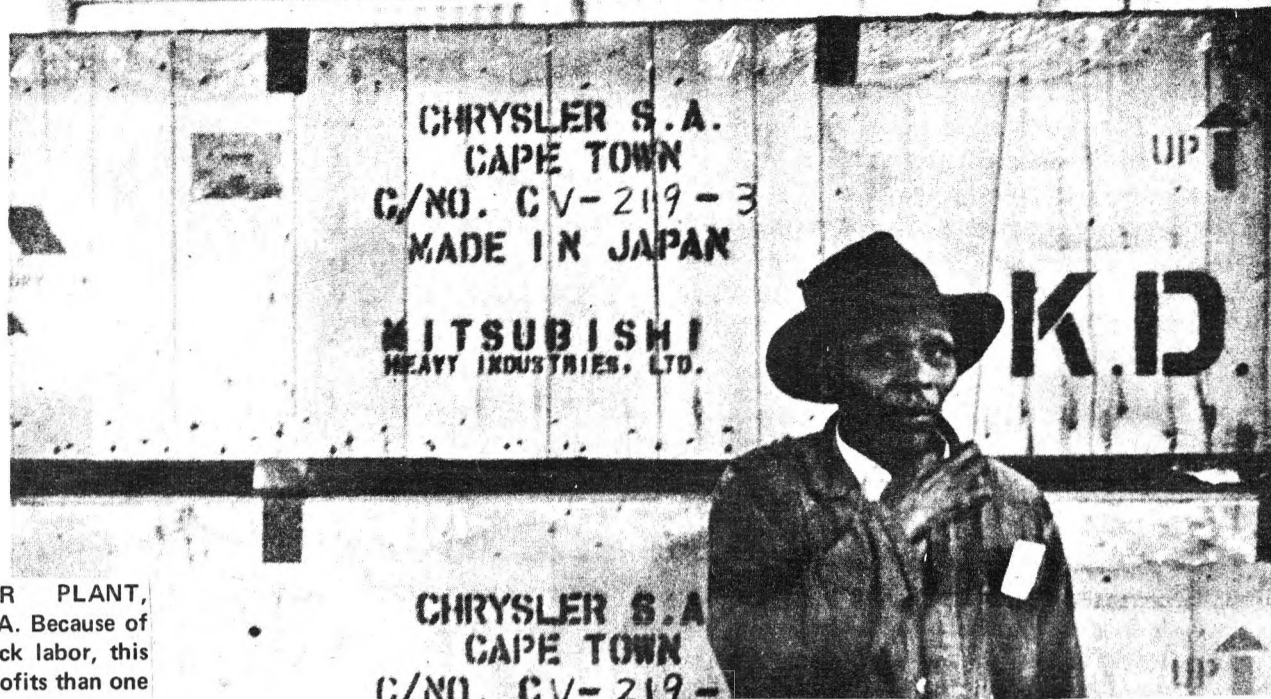
needs, the possibility of the leadership taking up that fight is a real one.

In addition, the strength of the rank and file nationwide is beginning to make its influence felt as we can see in the Ford strike. This can only help the Budd workers in their efforts.

While the joint work among the rank and file is an important step forward, much work is needed to make this a strong and lasting unity. The memberships of both locals must show their officials that they will not accept an agreement that does not deal with the problems. For example, a firm footing has been established in the fight against racism. But if these demands are not taken up by both white and Black members, then the leadership will relegate them to the "circular file."

Just as important as the outcome of the contract struggle itself is the degree to which Budd workers can strengthen their organized unity. The unity between Hunting Park and Red Lion is only one step in the direction of uniting all working people to fight together for the problems we all face.

To GM, Ford, and Chrysler



OUTSIDE A CHRYSLER PLANT, CAPETOWN, SOUTH AFRICA. Because of the brutal exploitation of Black labor, this plant produces much higher profits than one like it in the U.S.

apartheid means superprofits

Ford, GM, and Chrysler together have \$270 million invested in South Africa, 20% of all U. S. investment there.

All of these companies have established plants in South Africa for the same reason. Apartheid, the South African system of legal racism, guarantees them higher profits than they can make at home. The African workers, who are almost 100% of the production work force in the South African plants, are forbidden by law from forming unions, striking, or obtaining skilled jobs. With the South African police ready to squash all workers' protests, it isn't hard to imagine how these workers are treated. The actions of the auto companies are a good example of the activities of all U. S. corporations in South Africa.

While corporate PR men talk piously about equal opportunity, respect for the dignity of the worker, and partnership in production, the wage levels of African workers tell the true story of how the company feels about the people who produce its wealth.

Job Reservation laws prevent Blacks from entering the skilled trades, Ford's actual practice goes far beyond what the law calls for. It is clear that given a free hand, Ford and the other companies will intensify their racism as much as possible to obtain the extra profits it yields and to divide the working class.

White workers are taught that Africans are inferior, but they are constantly threatened with the loss of their privileges if they go against the company's interest. Now with South Africa on the defensive, the government and corporations are calling in their debts. An Anti-Inflation Pact between business, government and labor has largely frozen wages in a time of intense inflation, and more and more South African whites are being pressed into military service in foreign countries.

CORPORATE WORDS, ACTIONS DIFFER

Publicly, Ford, GM, and the rest express their concern for the problems in South Africa, but state emphatically that they

U.S. workers know quite well the record of the auto corporations in obeying the law of the land. Laws which help increase their profits are obeyed. But on laws which may hurt those profits, such as those requiring safety procedures, outlawing discrimination in hiring, or protecting the right of workers to organize unions, the record is clear. These laws are evaded by all possible means.

When the Sharpeville massacre in 1960 provoked the greatest crisis in South Africa prior to the current uprisings, Ford and GM were among the first U.S. corporations to express their confidence in the racist government by announcing major new investment plans.

While in the U.S. these corporations publicly recognize the right of workers to form unions, in South Africa they refuse to deal with the unions of Black workers in their plants. Although these unions are technically illegal, some industries and employers have bargained with them without government interference, because of the unions' real strength within the plants. The automakers continue to ignore them, and rely on the police to end strikes and job actions which have occurred over the years in Port Elizabeth, the "Detroit" of South Africa.

LESSONS FOR AMERICAN WORKERS

What has all this to do with U. S. auto-workers? For one thing, it should make clear that the only thing separating us from this kind of treatment is our organized strength, both directly through our unions and indirectly through the laws which we have won that protect our rights.

It should also point out that our strength is dependent on the unity we achieve between Black and white workers, and on our struggle against racism. The wedge of racism between Black and white workers opens the door not only to economic attacks on all workers, but to the weak-

ening of the political strength of the working class in general. For example, in South Africa all union contracts are subject to approval by the government, and laws against strikes, even by white workers, are much stronger than in this country.

Another important lesson we can learn from the condition of autoworkers in South Africa is that there is a close relationship between our struggles with the companies. 25% of the investment and profit of Ford and GM come from overseas, and it is increasing. These investments provide an important cushion with which to fight the demands of workers at home. Just look at the fact that almost 50% of the rubber industry's profits come from abroad: this was an extremely important factor in allowing the companies to hold out as long as they did in the recent United Rubber Workers strike.

The companies would like to see working conditions in all countries reduced to the conditions of the worst and do everything in their power to prevent unity across national boundaries. We can recognize the need for unity between Black and white in each plant, between the different plants in one company, and within the entire union in our fight with the corporations for better wages and working conditions. Similarly, we should be able to recognize that unity among workers must extend as far as the corporation extends -- that is, to workers in other countries.

Although the forms of support for their struggle are different from those we would show a sister local, they do exist. Direct financial support to the Black and multinational unions of South Africa, boycotts of corporations whose practices are particularly vicious, and pressure on the government to end its support for the racist regime: these all strengthen the position of the South African workers, and ultimately our own position, in relation to the auto giants.

FORD WAGE SCALES -- July '72
(.69 rands = \$2.00)

Labor Grade	Minimum Hourly Rate Rands	Max. Rate Rands	No. White	Colored	Black
1	0.40	0.58	0	627	165
2	0.42	0.62	0	777	15
3	0.44	0.66	0	278	100
4	0.46	0.70	0	432	16
5	0.50	0.74	1	264	5
6	0.56	0.83	3	68	5
7	0.62	0.88	12	95	4
8	0.69	1.00	82	35	0
9	0.90	1.00	297	51	5
10	1.05	1.50	463	0	0
11	1.10	1.75	1.04	0	0

Apprentices

The first eight categories, in which 99% of the Black and 98% of the Colored (racially mixed) workers are confined pay less than poverty level wages. In real buying power 0.69 Rands (minimum hourly rate in grade 8) is equal to about \$2.00 per hour. Labor grades 10 and 11, reserved exclusively for whites, include all skilled work. The average wage of whites, who are members of a union, is about three times that of Colored workers, and four times that of African workers.

It is important to realize that these wage levels are determined by the company, not by the government and that while the

are not political. They claim they are merely obeying the law of the land in their racist practices, and are quick to say that there must be no violence or law-breaking in solving the racial problems of South Africa.

While opposing violent solutions to the oppression of Black people, the auto corporations do not recognize as violence the starvation faced by African children because the wages they pay cannot support a family. They do not recognize as violence the harsh conditions on the assembly lines where there are no unions to offer any resistance to speed-up, unsafe conditions, arbitrary firings, etc. For Black and Colored workers, there is no such thing as seniority or job security.

The UAW Bureaucracy



The UAW's top leadership, (left to right) Douglas Fraser, Pat Greathouse, Leonard Woodcock, Ken Bannon and Irving Bluestone.

Which Side Are They On?

"General Motors and the UAW have a greater community of interest than of conflict."

"I have nothing but the kindest feelings for the General Motors Corporation."

—INTERNATIONAL UAW PRESIDENT
LEONARD WOODCOCK

Many UAW members know that the leadership of our International Union has given up the idea of taking on the Auto Companies head on. The days of the sit-down strike and the mass picket line are over, as far as Woodcock is concerned. When a strike is called, an all-out effort to force the companies to grant our demands is dropped in favor of half-stepping and passivity.

In explaining the Leadership's approach to strikes, UAW International Secretary-Treasurer Emil Mazey says that a strike takes the wind out of the membership and makes it easier to sell them a bum contract. In his words, "I think that strikes make ratification easier. Even though the worker may not think so, when he votes on a contract he is reacting to economic pressures. I really believe that if the wife is raising hell and the bills are piling up, he may be more apt to settle than otherwise."

(Mazey misses the point that many thousands of striking auto workers are women with husbands at home and still thousands more wives aren't sitting at home griping about the bills but are out working or perhaps even striking themselves.)

The leaders of the UAW are much more sophisticated than the bureaucrats who dominate the AFL-CIO. Woodcock and Co. are good at looking like fighters while they sell the workers mediocre contracts and praise Jimmy Carter as the saviour of the working class.

When you look below the surface, though, the UAW and the AFL-CIO are basically the same. Lack of democratic control over the leadership and its policies, high salaries, powerful positions in

the government, and social status from hob-nobbing with the rich -- all these things form the foundation of the UAW bureaucracy and its pro-company stand.

WHAT MAKES A BUREAUCRAT?

UAW International officers earn far more than the average autoworker. Leonard Woodcock makes about 40,000 dollars a year, plus expenses. International officers direct a staff of one thousand employees, and control a treasury that stood at 162 million dollars in 1974. The strike fund alone was up to 170 million dollars in 1976.

Occasionally they supplement their income with payoffs and cash from the union's till. International Vice-President Richard Gosser, long-time buddy of Walter Reuther and the senior UAW Vice-President, resigned from the union in the early 60's after being investigated by the Senate and convicted of income-tax evasion.

UAW officers often serve on government boards and commissions, and sometimes are offered high-paying government jobs when they leave the union. Jack Conway, former President Reuther's right-hand man, left the union in 1961 to take a job with the Federal Housing Administration. Soon after, Leonard Woodcock (then a UAW vice-president) was offered an ambassadorship or a sub-cabinet post.

More recently, Woodcock has been named to the National Productivity Commission and the National Commission for Industrial Peace. And it's an open secret that if Jimmy Carter becomes president of the US next January, Woodcock will be named Secretary of Labor or Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare.

INDUSTRIAL PEACE = "LABOR PEACE"

The US National Commission For Industrial Peace is a good example of the close ties between the top leaders of the unions, big business, and the Government. This Commission, created by President Nixon in 1973, included Woodcock, President George Meany of the AFL-CIO, I. W. Abel of the United Steelworkers

Union, Frank Fitzsimmons of the Teamsters, Chairman of the Board of GM James Roche, Vice-Chairman R. H. Larry of US Steel, W. Riston of the National City Bank, the Assistant Secretary of Labor, and the heads of the Cost-of-Living Council and the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service.

Two of the final proposals made by the Commission were that Federal law should be changed to allow International Unions to take direct control of locals that buck the International, and that strikes no longer be used to resolve disputes between labor and management. GM Chairman Roche could hardly ask for more cooperation than that!

There are also ties, kept secret for the most part, between the UAW bureaucracy and the CIA. Shortly after Victor Reuther publicly denounced the AFL-CIO for working with the CIA, a former CIA agent came forward to reveal that he had personally handed \$50,000 in cash to UAW President Reuther for CIA operations in Europe. Reuther admitted taking the money, justifying it on the grounds that the funds went to "fight Communism."

The UAW leadership is also closely tied to the Democratic Party. The Democrats, although they like to portray themselves as the party of the "common people," are both financed and run by the same class that controls the Republicans -- the capitalist class.

Many UAW officials, from the International on down, use their union office as a stepping stone into important Democratic Party posts. Recently, Woodcock was the main organizer of the "Labor Coalition Clearinghouse"; this group secured more delegates to the Democratic National Convention than did the AFL-CIO.

If Carter wins the Presidency and names Woodcock Secretary of Labor, the UAW International will be drawn even closer to the top ranks of the Democratic Party. All this is quite a contrast to the fate of militant unionists in the 40's and 50's, when militant unions refused to toe the Company line and were smashed by the Taft-Hartley Act and other anti-labor legislation. Woodcock and Co. have no intention of giving up their present cozy relationship with the corporation's government for anything so dangerous.

HOW DEMOCRATIC IS THE "DEMOCRATIC UAW"?

The UAW, although more democratic than most AFL-CIO unions, is still a long way from being really controlled and directed by the rank and file. International Officers are elected every three years by convention delegates, and they have bitterly fought rank and file demands that the UAW Constitution be changed so officers are elected by a

referendum ballot of the entire membership.

Contract ratifications in the UAW follow the so-called "unit rule" -- where each local votes to accept or reject the contract, and 100% of the local's membership is then counted as a block. Using the unit rule, and concentrating on a few large locals, the International can get a contract ratified without a majority vote of the members.

Although the leadership would like to hide it, they have a well-organized and well-financed national caucus to protect their positions. This caucus functioned continuously since the 1940's, first led by Walter Reuther, and now by Leonard Woodcock. You don't get elected to any important positions in the union unless you're the candidate of the Reuther-Woodcock caucus. A conservative estimate of the funds collected "voluntarily" from UAW officers for the caucus is \$150,000 per year, *not counting* the funds collected in the local unions.

For a rank and file candidate to beat this well-oiled, national machine would take a great deal of time, effort, and organization. No single individual, or even a single local caucus, could successfully take on this machine -- only a national caucus, rooted in the locals and well-organized and led nationally, could recapture our International union for the rank and file members.

We have seen how the UAW bureaucracy is made up of highly paid officials and staff members whose earnings, as well as their social status and career ambitions, depend on their willingness to steer the UAW in the direction of "industrial peace" and "labor-management cooperation." If they behave themselves, they'll be rewarded by big business, whose tremendous wealth and power in this country allow for some pretty sizable rewards.

In order for the rank and file to eliminate these traitors and rebuild our union, union democracy must be one of our main demands. If we were to succeed in electing a new slate of honest and militant officers, but left the union structure as it is, our gains would almost certainly be only temporary. As soon as those new officers were elected, they would be subjected to the same heavy pressures from government and big business that have corrupted or broken many an honest trade-unionist. The only way to insure that our union would remain in the hands of the rank and file is to tie our leaders as closely as possible to the rank and file with real trade union democracy.

As long as a few control the wealth and the government of the country, there will always be a tendency for union leaders to become bureaucratic and corrupt. But we can build important protections against bureaucracy into our union. Here are some of the most important reforms we must demand:

- 1) Referendum election of all officers by secret ballot of the entire membership.
- 2) A recall election must be held upon presentation to the International Executive Board of petitions signed by 20% of the membership, or upon passage of recall resolutions by 20% of the local unions.
- 3) All elected officers shall receive a salary no higher than the top pay scale of working UAW members.
- 4) All major national UAW policies, including proposed contracts, must be submitted for ratification by a referendum vote of the entire membership.

Finally, rank and file UAW members and honest union officers must build a united, national caucus to fight for militant unionism, unity and an end to racism, and for trade union democracy. This caucus must never be disbanded, even if its candidates win election, in order to continue and broaden the fight for real rank and file unionism.

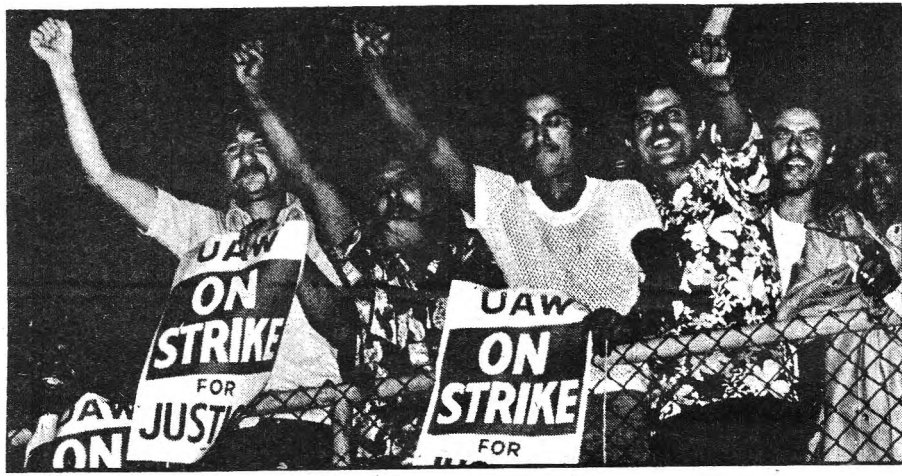
Woodcock prefers "Industrial peace..."



"I say that labor and management must cooperate. Management gives the orders and labor cooperates by obeying them..."

THE FORD PACT:

Rank & File Has a Better Idea



The Ford strike lasted 28 days but the Ford workers failed to win back in concessions what they lost in work time. No major gains were made in an industry having its most profitable year.

The newspapers are playing up the new UAW-Ford contract as "historic" and "the first step towards the 4-day work week." We wish it were true, but it's not. The actual number of new days off in this contract are: none in the first year, 5 in the second, and 7 in the third year.

This "shorter work time" clause in the Ford contract cuts working time by 2% per worker, and so will create roughly 4,000 new jobs by the third year of the agreement (and that's an optimistic estimate.) Given that Ford was allowed to keep the right to schedule 14 hours of mandatory overtime per week, and that 20,000 jobs were permanently eliminated due to automation and speedup during the last contract at Ford (according to the UAW newspaper), it's certain that seven days of "shorter work time" won't even slow down the loss of jobs over the next three years. It's plain that this isn't even a baby step towards a true short work week!

COMPROMISE OR SELL-OUT

The rank and file were calling for the "32 for 40" week -- four days work with no cut in pay, but the International shot this down as "unrealistic." If a compromise was necessary, the union could have settled for the 7 hour day with controls on overtime, such as many construction unions have. This "35 for 40" work week would have created over 20,000 jobs in the Ford plants, and would have easily been paid for out of Ford's all-time record 1976 profits (estimated at over \$1 billion!).

Such a compromise would have been a real step towards the short work week. That's the difference between a compromise and a sellout.

Let's look at some of the other provisions of the Ford Agreement.

WAGES -- The contract calls for 20 cents increase up front, plus a 3% increase (about 20 cents) each year. There's no improvement in the cost-of-living allowance (COLA). This means that Ford workers will continue to fall behind inflation; our COLA formula covers only about 80% of the true amount of inflation.

In 1975, the Philadelphia Inquirer reported an increased output from each auto worker of 7.7% in one year; yet the Ford workers are to get only 3% more wages in each year -- less than half of their increased productivity.

COLA IN PENSIONS -- A \$600 one-shot bonus will be paid to all 30-year retirees, Oct - Nov, '76, page 16

with less money to those with less than 30 years in the plant. The money for this payment comes out of the money due working members under the COLA -- in other words, working UAW members are paying a bonus to the retired members, and the Ford Motor Co. is paying nothing. Even for those who get the full \$600, this will cover only about half their loss to inflation.

SKILLED TRADES -- The skilled workers are getting an extra 25 cents wage increase, not even enough to catch up with inflation, let alone give them parity with skilled workers in the building trades. No protection was won against sub-contracting to non-union shops, only the same empty promises as were in the last contract, that the work would be done in the UAW shops "whenever feasible."

SUB FUND -- There is some more money in the SUB fund, plus a second "back up" fund for workers with 10 or more years seniority. The exact amounts of the increase aren't known as we go to press; the *Organizer* estimates an extra 5 cents per hour new money for SUB.

the strike is over...

RACISM AND DISCRIMINATION -- No new protections are included to insure fair and job-related standards for upgrades and apprenticeships. The Ford contract includes no guarantee that the present discrimination in hiring and upgrading against Black, Spanish, and women workers will be ended. The International didn't consider ending racism in the plants as something important enough even to be mentioned in the talks, let alone fought for.

OTHER BENEFITS -- There's an assortment of minor benefits in the Ford Agreement; a co-pay eyeglass program, a one-time holiday on July 3rd, 1978, minor improvements in insurance programs, a partial form of voluntary inverse seniority during layoffs, and so on.

So lets add it all up. Ford workers struck for three weeks before a tentative contract was signed. The new Ford contract includes a token 7 days off in the last year that will save almost no jobs, 2) a token 3% wage increase, 3) a bonus to the retirees paid for by the working members, 4) no protection against company racism, and 5) no protection against sub-contracting to scab shops.

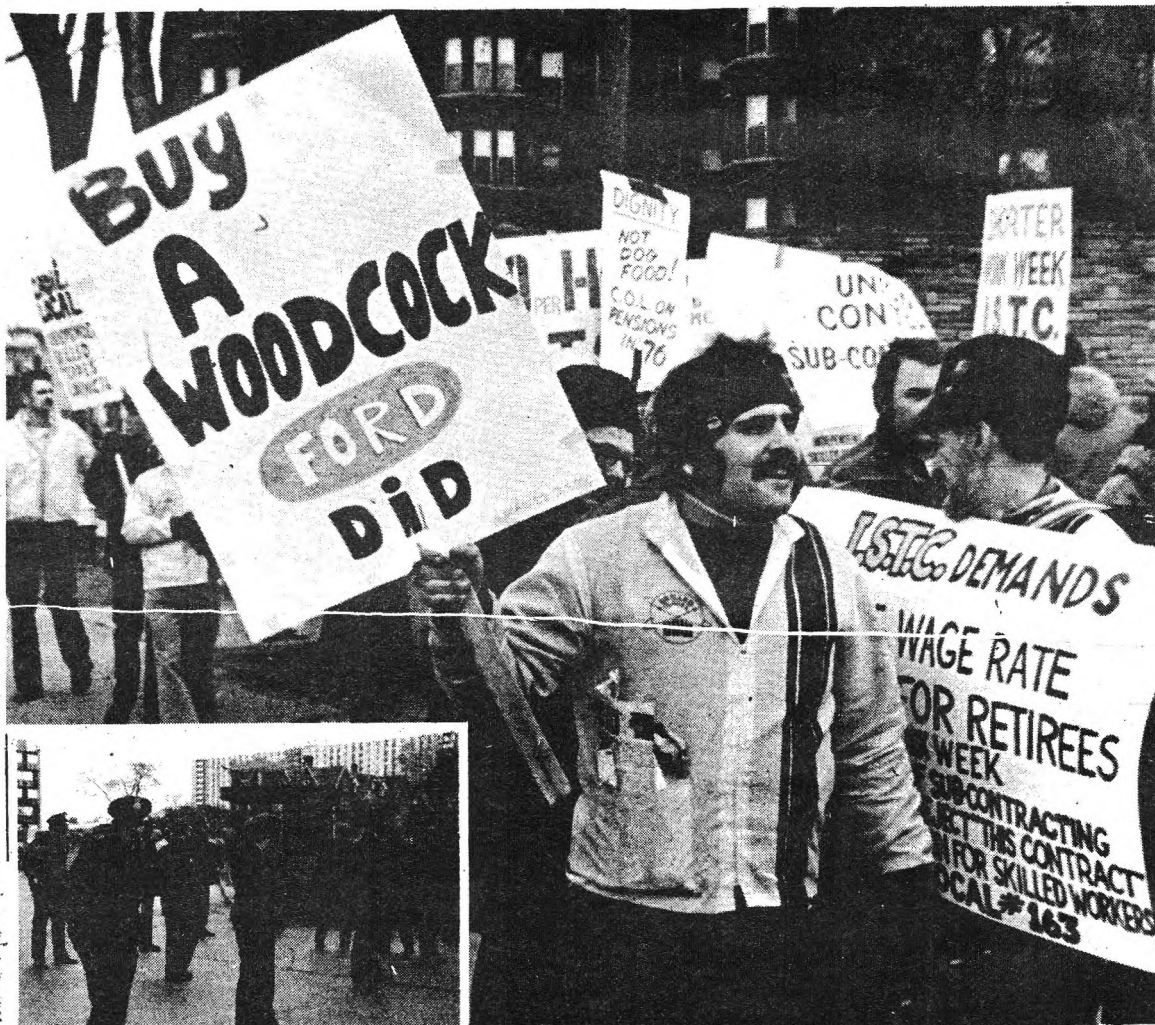
In a year when Ford is earning the highest profit in its entire history, you can only call such a weak contract one thing -- a sellout. The Ford Motor Company's own

economists estimate that this contract will boost their labor costs only 10% a year, and that's an exaggeration! With higher car prices already announced, and worker productivity rising at over 7% a year, the "benefits" in this contract won't even put a dent in their profit margin. And Ford's profit margin is nearly double the average profit in American industry!

Thousands of Ford workers voted "No" to this sweetheart agreement, but opposition was not enough to send Pres. Woodcock and the UAW Ford director Ken Bannon back to the table. Not only Ford workers, but thousands of other workers in auto and related industries will be forced to live with this pattern package for the next three years, as indicated by the fact that the Chrysler contract -- a carbon copy -- came down without a strike threat.

The rank and file in several locals, by refusing to swallow a similarly bankrupt agreement on the local level, are saying loud and clear what they think of the pattern contract. They baked the pie; they deserve more than just the right to smell the aroma! While the UAW leaders hail (as usual) "the best contract ever negotiated," those that have to live with it for three years know better. Auto workers must spend the next three years organizing to see that no such settlement is ever shoved down their throats again!

but the fight goes on!



Thousands of UAW members protested the Ford contract outside of Solidarity House, UAW Headquarters, on November 4. The UAW leadership was so afraid of its rank and file that it surrounded its offices with rows of police -- police on horses, police with dogs, police in helicopters, and police on the rooftops. The police, however, can't save the bureaucracy from the growing militancy of autoworkers across the country.

Bicentennial Women's Center: A Review



The Center, like the democratic women's movement itself, fails to speak to the struggles of working and minority women.

In Philadelphia's Bicentennial summer, the word "democracy" often echoed amid the red-white-and-blue, as we were told how wonderful it was to be celebrating "200 years of democracy" and to be living in "the greatest democracy the world has ever known," etc. But to the unemployed looking for a job, Black people facing racism in every aspect of their lives, women struggling for recognition as equal human beings, the rhetoric about "democracy" is empty indeed -- lies and false promises, long ago exposed.

At the Bicentennial Women's Center, however, the question of "democracy" was a real one. As the Center's brochure says, "The Bicentennial Women's Center came into being after recognizing that the Bicentennial raises specific questions and poses specific challenges for women today."

This is an understatement to say the least. In Bicentennial '76, women in the United States still do not have equal rights under the law, guaranteed by the US constitution. The Bicentennial Women's Center took a step in exposing some of the nonsense of the Bicentennial hoopla, but was limited in its ability to speak to the real needs of national minority and working women in Philadelphia and in the US. Instead, it focused on providing an educational and cultural resource center for the women's movement, and tried to appeal to Bicentennial tourists through such activities as a tour of the city telling how famous women played a role in US history.

CHILDREN'S CORNER AND RESOURCE CENTER

One of the most interesting aspects of the Center itself was the children's corner and resource center. Toys, activities, and supervision were provided in what was both a living exhibit on non-sexist children's toys as well as a service which could really allow women to explore the center and participate in its activities without bored and itchy children climbing all over them.

Accompanying the children's corner was a library which contained catalogues, books, and textbooks, literature on non-sexist teaching ideas and problems. It ranged from a discussion of problems in educating kindergarten children who are already imbued in stereotypes and prejudices about women, to a progressive non-sexist junior high school sex education textbook, to sample courses of studies for post-graduate women's departments in universities.

Many of the children's books tried to deal with the problems of racism and sexism in our society by depicting families who are not the standard lilly-white middle-American Sally, Dick and Jane. Stories about children with single parents, working parents, divorced parents, racially mixed parents, city-dwelling parents attempt to provide an alternative to the blonde suburban children who spend every summer on Grandma's farm, and express instead the reality and diversity of lives of *real* children.

Such literature has many political weaknesses; it generally fails to meet racism head-on, glorifies individualism, shows little of the struggles of national minority and working people: How about a story about a kid who was bused? Whose daddy was on strike? Who went to a demonstration with mommy when the day care center was threatened by cutbacks? These books have yet to be

published. Nevertheless, this was a valuable and useful resource center for parents and teachers alike.

PHOTO EXHIBIT: WOMEN AT WORK

The main floor of the center was taken up by a photo exhibit by Betty Medsger entitled "Women at Work." This exhibit revealed and expressed perfectly the main weaknesses of the Bicentennial Women's Center and of the democratic women's movement itself.

The reality of our lives as women workers is that we are channelled into the most menial, marginal and low-paying jobs -- and Black and other minority women into the worst of these; that we are struggling to organize ourselves, to unite with our fellow-workers, to overcome the racism which divides us; that the fight for living wages, safe working conditions and an end to discrimination confronts us daily.

Yet the photo exhibit has as its theme: women are capable of doing any kind of work you can think of. Thus along with more traditional jobs we see photographs of a woman novelist, potter, nuclear engineer, blacksmith, orthodontist, zoo-keeper, karate instructor, jet pilot, forester. We would agree with the political message implicit in this display: that women can perform and learn all the same kinds of jobs and skills that men can, and it is their democratic right to do just that.

DOESN'T SPEAK TO MASSES OF WOMEN

For the millions of national minority and immigrant women working their lives away in sweat shops for minimum wages, for the millions of mothers looking for work that would pay more than the welfare check, it's not too meaningful to be told, "Yes sisters, we too can be zoo keepers, forest rangers and jet pilots."

One photograph in particular did have meaning for millions of working women. It showed a young Black woman who is a welder in an auto assembly plant, and was accompanied by a text saying how before she got this "man's job" she worked full time in a nursing home plus had to collect welfare in order to feed her family. The exhibit, however, did not tell us that since that photo was taken, women in auto and other basic industry -- who have low seniority because these companies have only recently been forced to hire women at all -- have been laid off because of the economic crisis, and are once again eating beans and rice on their unemployment checks, welfare checks or minimum wage jobs.

In fact, no real difference is expressed between the text on the Black woman welder and another photo which shows a woman who is president of a steel company and makes \$1 million a year. In looking at the class differences between women, the exhibit focuses our attention on the fact that, like men, women can be both welders and corporate presidents. What is missing altogether is the united struggle of the women and men welders and assemblers against exploitation by corporate bosses, whatever their sex.

FILM: "THE EMERGING WOMAN"

Another ongoing event at the Bicentennial Women's Center this summer was the twice daily showing of the film, "The Emerging Woman." While this film is beauti-



fully composed and professionally documented history of women in US society, the film reflects the general failure of the women's movement to deal with the class character of women's oppression and especially to deal with the struggles of Black women. The film attempts to do this, but lacking the correct political perspective, this attempt is a mere mechanical interspersing of segments showing "Meanwhile, in the textile mills. . ." between segments on the history of the bourgeois women's rights movement.

Even more blatant is the racism of the film, which even implies that Black women were better off under slavery, because their husbands were not present to dominate them. The whole attitude of the film toward marriage and the family is especially racist and anti-working class -- making it appear that it is the family itself, and not class exploitation, race and sex discrimination inherent in the capitalist system that is at the root of our oppression as women.

POSTER EXHIBIT

Similarly, in the poster exhibit: While many of the posters are excellent, especially the Cuban posters such as the one in solidarity with the struggles of the Angolan people, most of the posters failed to speak to the concerns and realities of most women. They depicted women being suffocated to death by their families, showed lesbian lovers, and said "F--- Housework." The exhibit reflected accurately the many currents of the women's movement today, and unfortunately many of those currents are incapable of speaking to the needs and the future of working class women.

With all its weaknesses, the Bicentennial Women's Center provided a useful resource center and a forum for educational and cultural events concerning women. The workshops and presentations given in the evenings covered a very broad range of subjects: Women in Church and Synagog, Music of our Foremothers, History of Women through Stamps, Women Parachutists, and on the other hand, the more useful and relevant Equal Rights Amendment, Health and Safety of Women Workers, Wife Abuse, Breast Self-Examination, Job Rights.

NEED FOR ONGOING STRUGGLE

Unfortunately, and perhaps not surprisingly, the Center -- which was housed by Pennwalt Corporation and funded mainly by Pennsylvania Bicentennial Commission and Philadelphia '76 -- was a one-shot deal for the Bicentennial summer. An ongoing city-wide center could have continued as a valuable resource for women, and a forum for ongoing political struggle which could, and eventually must, move the women's movement to take up as its essence the struggles of working and national minority women. Only in this way will the women's movement be able to unite with the workers' movement and the movements of the oppressed nationalities and make our struggle for survival victorious.

An American Worker Talks About His Life in China

Jim Venaris comes from a small steel town in Western Pennsylvania where he worked in the Steel Mills before he was sent to fight in Korea. Captured during the war in Korea, Jim chose to remain in the People's Republic of China.

Now Jim has just completed a visit to the US. He came back to see his elderly mother who is ill in California and visit friends in his hometown. While here Jim has also been trying to tell people about what life in revolutionary China is really all about. He was in Philadelphia recently for the US-China People's Friendship Convention and talked to the Organizer:



CHINA IS A WORKERS' STATE. The government officials, like the one above, are not allowed to forget this. They spend part of the year working in a factory.

ORGANIZER: I guess a question you get asked a lot is why you decided to stay in China in the first place?

VENARIS: Before I used to think that the Communists were terrible people... that if we didn't fight, they'd take away our freedom and all the rest of it. But while I was in the POW camp, I changed my mind about a lot of things, not because of torture or brainwashing or anything like that -- but mainly because of the example of the Chinese and Koreans.

They made it clear by their actions that they did not consider the working people in the US their enemies. We were treated well, like we were their own families. The Chinese have a saying: "You can test the stamina of a horse by the speed it travels. You can tell the heart of a man by the passing of time." After three years with the Chinese and Korean people, I saw the firm hand of friendship.

ORGANIZER: You were a steel worker here in the US. What do you do now in China?

VENARIS: Well, in China I'm a worker too. I work in a paper factory. But being a worker here and a worker in China is like two different worlds. Here the workers are on the bottom of the heap and in China they're on the top.

ORGANIZER: Could you give us some specifics about your factory?

VENARIS: There are 2,000 workers in my factory, half of them women. We work 8-hour days, 6 days a week with three shifts. The shifts are rotated so nobody works 20 years on a graveyard shift like some places here. Because of years of foreign domination and feudalism, China had very little industry at the time of the revolution. Since then, production has been built up enormously and the Chinese people are dedicated to building it up continuously so that there can be a better life for everyone. So we work hard -- but it's not like working for somebody else.

One big difference between factories here and in China is in the way in which they are run. We discuss and play a role in deciding what and how much we are going to produce. We elect our foreman and supervisors. It's not like here where you have some slavedriver who you can't get rid of. Also our supervisors are not allowed by the law to fire anyone. If someone has to be disciplined, this is determined democratically.

Another thing, our factory isn't just a place to work. The factory has a cultural center with books and music, a basketball court and a big meeting hall. Besides having meetings in it there are movies, too.

ORGANIZER: What kind of money do you make?

VENARIS: My wages are equal to \$45 a week. That doesn't sound like much, but you have to remember that the necessities of life in China are free or very cheap. Medical care, for example, is all paid for by the state. My rent for me and my family is only *nine dollars a month, including utilities.*

In the US, of course, people -- at least some people -- have more things (cars, refrigerators, and so forth) than people have in China. As I said before, China is still developing industrially. But in China, people don't measure progress by how many transistor radios or cars you own. People look at the welfare of all the people first. They're concerned with raising the standard of living of *everyone*. And that's happening. Everyone is assured a job, enough to eat, clothing, an education, medical care... to me that's a better way to go about it.

ORGANIZER: When do people retire in China?



A FACTORY MEETING IN CHINA. The woman speaking is a worker as well as a member of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party. Venaris says, "We discuss and play a role in what and how much we are going to produce. We elect our foremen..."

VENARIS: Between the ages of 55 and 60, although you can work longer if you want to. You retire at full pay too.

ORGANIZER: You mentioned that half the workers at your factory are women. What are the conditions like for women workers?

VENARIS: One of the principles of Chinese society is equality between the sexes, and it's put into practice in the factory. For example, there's a nursery right in the factory with around-the-clock childcare. My 4-year-old son goes to the childcare center. Men and women can do the same jobs and they do, except if a woman is pregnant, she is given an easier job. Mothers get 53 paid maternity days. Women who are nursing babies can stop work to go nurse the child.

ORGANIZER: What happens if there is discrimination?

VENARIS: If a man discriminates against a woman, he is criticized by the whole plant. It might even be written up in big wall posters. The criticism is aimed at correcting the behavior. The main thing is that he admits his mistake, understands the roots of it and then he goes back to work. I myself have been criticized because I don't cook at home and my wife has to do it. I do wash all my clothes and those of the kids.

ORGANIZER: What about racism in China?

VENARIS: There are many national minorities in China. Before the revolution, they were denied equal treatment. But now discrimination against these peoples has been wiped out. The right to their language and free cultural expression is guaranteed and fully respected. Areas in which these national minorities live have been made priority regions for economic development to eliminate any inequality between them and the rest of China.

ORGANIZER: How did you manage to come here?

VENARIS: The Chinese Constitution provides for those who have family members who live far away. You can get fifteen days off with pay for a visit. In my case, I was given a six-month leave of absence with pay. Two new suits were made for me and my ticket was paid for. My mother said "God Bless Chairman Mao" when she heard that.



LUNCHTIME IN A FACTORY NURSERY. In China, childcare is provided right at the workplace. Mothers can stop working to go nurse their infants.

Guardian

the most widely
read independent
radical
newsweekly
in the U.S.

SUBSCRIPTION RATES

Enclosed is:

- \$12.50—one-year
- \$20.00—two-years
- \$1—prisoners, one-year
- \$1—eight week trial

name _____

address _____

city _____

state _____

zip _____

Mail to Guardian, Dept. O, 33 W. 17 St., N.Y.C., 10011

Mao Tse-Tung 1893-1976



Mao Tse-Tung, leader of revolutionary China for more than half a century, is dead.

It is impossible to describe in a few words Mao Tse-Tung's extraordinary role in modern history: few individuals in the seven or eight thousand years of all recorded human history can equal it.

As a young student from educated parents in the China of the early 1900s, Mao, like many of his generation, ardently supported the aspirations of the Chinese people for an independent, modern, democratic Republic of China, free from the twin burdens of feudalism and foreign

colonial exploitation. But Mao came into contact with the theory of Marxism, and grasped with all his might recognizing the tool that, in the hands of the Chinese people, would lead the way to their true liberation.

His career from that point on was phenomenal: one of the handful of Marxist students and intellectuals in China in the early 1900's, a young working-class organizer and founder of the Communist Party of China in 1921, a Party leader in the early Chinese revolutionary periods of the mid-twenties, the military leader of the anti-Japanese resistance of the thirties and forties, the internationally recog-

nized leader of the Chinese workers and peasants in the final victory of the socialist revolution in the revolutionary civil war of the late 40's the leader of the Chinese workers' and peasants' state and and the Chinese Communist Party in their mighty efforts to construct socialism in the largest country of the world, and finally, the leader of the current within the international communist movement that broke with modern revisionism and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in order to uphold the revolutionary heritage and truth of Marxist science and stand fast on the path from socialism to communism.

Theoretician, military scientist, poet, philosopher, general, organizer, party leader, statesman: throughout, it is Mao Tse-Tung the Marxist that stands out, for it was his firm grasp of Marxism that provided the foundation for all his immense contributions to China and the peoples of the world.

For us today, eulogizing his death, the most fitting tribute we can pay is to learn from Mao Tse-Tung's life...to learn from Mao Tse-Tung the Marxist. Mao understood that Marxism is above all a living science, that its power and strength as a science reside precisely in its ability to grow and develop with society. Mao rose to leadership within the Chinese Communist Party in the struggle against

mechanical and dogmatic "Marxists" that insisted that socialist revolution would come to China exactly in the manner that it had to Russia. Throughout his lifetime he reinforced that leadership in similar struggles against "Marxisms" that were unable or unwilling to recognize that the test of Marxism is its ability to transform society. His lifetime of leadership culminated in the critique of revisionism centered in the CPSU, a sham "Marxism" that abandons the revolutionary transformation of society, capitulates to the inevitable difficulties on the road to revolutionary progress, and seeks to accommodate itself to capitalism, both internationally and domestically.

Much has been made in the past in the U. S. press and mass-media of the so-called "cult of personality" around Mao Tse-Tung; we have been indoctrinated in a thousand ways to believe that Mao was a "power-mad" dictator. Much of this mythology has been undermined in the recent period as the basic facts about Chinese society become more known to the U. S. public; it will entirely disappear in the near future as the revolutionary movement in the U. S. grows.

History, the final arbiter of all human endeavor, will judge Mao Tse-Tung as one of the greatest leaders and teachers humankind has yet produced.



Mao's cave at Yen-an, from which he led guerrilla struggle.

foodworkers cont.

(continued from page 7)

Labor Solidarity

All too often, our unions operate in a selfish manner. They think only of their own needs and ignore the problems of other workers and unions. Just as we must support each other, throughout Local 196 even if we work in different companies, we must support other unions whenever we can. In the interest of labor solidarity we stand for the following:

The union should support the struggles of other workers and other unions. This could be done by boycotts, petitions, fund-raising, and other means. Some current struggles that need to be supported are the United Farm Workers and the fight to save PGH.

Strong and Fighting Unionism

Unionism that depends on the generosity or good will of management, or understandings between the companies and the union officials will get us nowhere. It never has and it never will. We want a union that consistently stands behind the members and fights in their behalf. We do not want our basic rights as union members bargained away. To become a strong and militant union, we stand for the following:

1. Contracts should be enforced on all levels (seniority, overtime, etc.).
2. No more non-union workers. Everyone in the union after 30 days — no exceptions.
3. The right to strike during the life of the contract if other solutions have been exhausted.
4. A speedy grievance procedure where unresolved disputes go to arbitration within 30 days. Workers innocent until proven guilty in disciplinary matters.
5. No contract — NO WORK. No contract extensions.
6. No overtime two weeks prior to a contract settlement.
7. Disciplinary action against a union member who crosses any picket line at their workplace.

Improved Wages and Benefits

Economic issues are not limited just to pay rates. Health and welfare benefits, cost-of-living increases, and overtime rates are important issues also. Part-timers do not receive their equal share of benefits. Many workers have inferior health and welfare plans — no dental, no eye care, no cost-of-living increases. When contract time comes around, the union should fight to equalize and upgrade ALL Local 196 contracts.

1. No more than two year contracts. Yearly wage re-openers.
2. The 40 hour week. An end to mandatory overtime. (Bluebird)
3. Retail overtime rates to stay as they are: time-and-a-half, double time, double time-and-a-half. NO back-sliding.
4. No layoffs due to automation (the UPC or anything else).
5. No overtime while any workers in the same classification are laid off.
6. Health and welfare benefits up to six months during lay offs, paid for by the company.
7. Full benefits after 30 days — you pay dues so you deserve benefits.
8. Dental coverage, eye care, and prescription cards for ALL Local 196 members.
9. Equalize loss of time benefits throughout the union. Compensation should be equivalent to average weekly net pay.
10. Cost-of-living clauses that mean something. One penny for every penny rise in the consumer price index.
11. Severance pay at all workplaces. One week's pay for each year of service, regardless of reason for leaving.
12. Workers out on disability should not lose any vacation time.

The Native Americans...



"They made us many promises, but they never kept but one; they promised to take our land, and they took it."

Sioux Chief Red Cloud

In Montana, the Crow and Northern Cheyenne tribes struggle against energy companies intent on stripmining their reservations rich with the largest known deposits of coal in the world. In Maine, the Penobscots and the Pasamaquoddies win a major legal case in which they assert that most of the state was taken illegally from them and that they are entitled to the land. Sioux traditionalists, in forums throughout the nation, assert their treaty rights and organize against harassment from the FBI. A number of tribes in the state of Washington begin implementing treaty fishing rights as a federal court orders white fishermen to obey the treaties.

These battles and hundreds more like them are current manifestations of the struggles of Native Americans. Long regarded as forgotten and disappearing, Native Americans are fighting for their dignity and control over their destiny. Though there has been some coverage of that struggle, most of the popular media coverage has been superficial when not downright inaccurate. What is the history of that struggle and what does it mean for the rest of us? Let us explore these points.

MANY TRIBES OF NATIVE AMERICANS

Native Americans are not monolithic. When Christopher Columbus first mistakenly landed in the Western Hemisphere, there were scores of Native American tribes. The present range is still enormous, with Native Americans in all sections of the country.

According to the 1970 Census, there are 763,594 Native Americans. (This is a serious undercount, but it does accurately convey the comparatively small percentage that Native Americans represent of the total population of the United States.) Unique among non-white people in the United States, a majority (55.4%) of Native Americans live in rural areas. These rural areas are reservations, the established homeland areas for Native Americans.

Reservations are primarily federal land areas, though there are some state reservations such as in New York and Maine. Reservations range in size from a few acres for very small Indian tribes to the massive Navajo Reservation equal in area to the state of West Virginia.

Most reservations are structured within a very confusing and demeaning set of legal relationships with state and federal authorities. Most reservations are west of Mississippi by virtue of the land removal policies undergone with the westward expansion of the United States.

Most Native Americans live in the West, with Oklahoma, Arizona and California having the largest populations. By most statistical indicators, Native Americans are the poorest group in the United States. By income, education, health and employment levels, Native Americans are last or next to last. The unemployment levels on some reservations for example, reach as high as 75%.

Oct - Nov, '76, page 20

Combined with underemployment, the overall rate on reservations averages 55%. The median family income of Native Americans, for another example, is one-third of that of white families.

By standards of material well-being, Native Americans experience the same basic conditions as other oppressed nationalities do. What makes them different is their history and their legal and political relationship with the United States. From the earliest days of the republic, Native Americans have been perceived as an obstacle to continued development of the continent. Operating at first from a position of weakness, the early United States government negotiated for land claims and access rights with the Indian peoples such as the Iroquois Confederacy. We must remember that much of the land ostensibly controlled by the United States, and the English and the French before that, were not secure and were functionally dominated by various Native American nations, the most powerful of these being the Iroquois who dominated most of New York state.

CLASH OF SYSTEMS INEVITABLE

Clash was inevitable between the communistic society of Native Americans and the ceaselessly expansionist capitalism of the United States. Relentless appeals to racism, the internal logic of a social system hungry for land and eager for development, and the power of advanced armaments and technology soon meant the continuing retreat of Native Americans from their original lands.

Until 1871, when a congressional act abolished treaty-making, this was the policy of the US toward Native Americans. Though ceremonially understood to be between equals, the reality of treaties was otherwise.

Treaties were usually described as mutual exchanges of commitments, trading off land access for certain material supports by the United States with commitments of mutual friendship. Though much of allocation of federal Indian resources continues to be based in some degree on these types of treaty obligations, most of American Indian policy was done through the barrel of the gun. All treaties have been violated by the United States.

Though there continued to be battles with Native Americans the American government had achieved full control over the land mass of the continental United States by the end of the 19th Century. Native Americans were on the brink of extinction by that time; most of their land taken away and their means of living off the land seriously undermined.

Reservations were established throughout the West. Usually these were on lands considered the most worthless. When it was found out otherwise, such as in the case of oil found in Oklahoma (then called Indian Territory) effective control of the land was taken away again from the Native Americans. A clash of civilizations had taken place and Western capitalist civilization had won.

ATTEMPT TO BREAK UP RESERVATIONS

With victory over Native Americans, the next phase of American Indian policy began. This was the land allotment policy with the purpose of making landowners and farmers out of Native Americans. The policy was implemented Congressionally through the Dawes Act of 1887. The act sought to break up the reservations and allot individual land holdings to Native Americans, in effect bypassing and undermining tribal government.

Besides weakening traditional tribal social structures, the Dawes Act continued the rip-off of Native American land. Within less than 20 years, from 1881 to 1900, Indian landholdings shrank from 155,632,312 acres to 77,865,373 acres. Most of this was land sold as "surplus" to white settlers. The land allotment policy can be clearly seen as an attempt to force assimilation upon Indians since the act opened the way for making Indians citizens of the United States and dissipating the land base, the cornerstone of Indian culture. Not for the first time, nor the last, the Dawes Act was hailed as a progressive step for Native Americans without ever seriously consulting them. Once again, Native Americans were the objects, not the subjects, of actions done for their presumed good.

American Indian policy was yet to make other turns though white control was never disputed. Among the most significant turns was the passage of the Indian Reorganization Act (IRA) of 1934. Hailed then as a positive step, the IRA sanctioned the formal and uniform development of tribal governments (in the form of tribal councils) that would be elected by popular vote. These IRA sanctioned governments would in turn be the official conduits for federal resources through the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA). Once again, this act was passed without consultation with Native Americans. There was (and is) considerable opposition to IRA on the grounds that it imposed a foreign model of government upon Native Americans.

As with other people in the country, there was a shift into urban areas by Native Americans, although this has not happened with the intensity or the rapidity that has characterized others, such as Blacks, for example. This set the stage for the next twist in Indian policy. The 1950's saw the dreaded termination policy, which strived for the total assimilation of Native Americans and the end of their special relationship with the United States by eliminating reservations. This was to be done by land purchase and per capita payments to tribal members whose tribes had voted to terminate.

The land thus bought by the federal government would then go into local governmental or private hands. This policy affected severely the Menominees of Wisconsin and the Klamaths of Oregon. (Through a long sustained struggle, the Menominees have reclaimed their reservation after near economic collapse.) Needless to say, the termination policy received only the superficial consultation of Native Americans before being implemented. Whatever the shortcomings of the reservation system (and they are many and obvious) the termination policy, had it run its full course, would clearly have meant the destruction of the land base of Native Americans. Overwhelming opposition prevented termination from continuing openly.

Throughout the twists and turns of American Indian policy, Native Americans miraculously survived. Indian policy clearly reflected the imperatives of a developing United States. Removal, extermination, and forced assimilation have as we have seen, all been tried with various degrees of emphasis at various moments, and sometimes all three at the same time. Despite that and despite the political hegemony of white culture, Native Americans have maintained, in surprisingly extensive ways, their customs, traditions, and languages; all of those things that have marked them as distinctive since the arrival of whites on the North American continent. Obviously, years of interaction with the dominant white culture have had tremendous impact as has the passing of the material conditions that sustained Indian life in the past.

TRADITIONALISM IN THE MOVEMENT TODAY

But the current Native American movement, certainly its most militant sectors, cannot be understood without some understanding of what is called traditionalism. Through the worst of times and the apparent victory of the US ruling class, significant parts of Native America never reconciled themselves to white domination. Preservation of a land base, spiritual traditions, and language became for many Native Americans, forms of resistance in the face of impossible struggles on other fronts (military struggle being clearly out of the question and participation in political struggle being seen as a form of assimilation). Traditionalism varies in its particulars from place to place in Native America, but its general world view usually encompasses these basic points.

First, land is viewed as sacred and as a basis for spiritual support; the view of land as a commodity that can be bought or sold is regarded as totally foreign and slightly mad. And second, the traditional forms of governance and decision-making of Native Americans based on consensus and non-electoral leadership are the only legitimate ones. Most forms of traditionalism draw strong reference to themselves as nations. Even the seemingly secular American Indian Movement (AIM) formed in Minneapolis in 1968, draws heavily on traditionalism, and many of its supporters would define themselves as traditionalists.

(continued on next page)



From Oppression To Resistance

(continued from last page)

The base of traditionalism is a broad one with significant support on most reservations and most large urban Indian settlements. (The largest of these is Los Angeles.) Critics of traditionalism point to its mysticism, its lack of a scientific approach and its political vagueness. But in the context of the Native American movement presently what stands out, and what gives it its broad appeal, is the uncompromising rejection of white paternalism and its assertion of Native American identity.

In one way or another the present focus of the Native American struggle is on gaining greater autonomy for the Native American peoples. For some this means independence and the creation of fully sovereign Native American states. For others it means increasing the authority of the tribal governments. Whatever the form, it reflects the Native American peoples' growing determination to gain control of their land and natural resources and end centuries of exploitation.

The struggle over who is to control the Native American lands is sharpening as the multi-national corporations, hungry for new energy sources, move to rip off the vast mineral wealth on Indian reservations. Coal deposits on the northern plains, for example, have brought in companies like Peabody Coal, Shell, and Chevron.

ANTI-IMPERIALIST OUTLOOK GROWS

Increasingly, the Native American movement is taking on an anti-imperialist outlook. The parallel between the exploitation of the countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America by US imperialism and their rip-off of the Native American peoples within the US has not been lost on Native American activists. The recently formed International Indian Treaty Council has moved to strengthen ties with national liberation movements elsewhere in the world, seeks to use international forums

like the U.N. to press for Indian rights and has applied for membership in OPEC (Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries).

With the growth of Native American militance has come intensified repression. AIM (The American Indian Movement) in particular, has been targeted by the government because of its leadership in well-publicized actions like the occupations of the BIA offices in Washington and in the village of Wounded Knee on the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota. Besides putting AIM leaders on trial, the FBI has stepped up harassment of the group and in a replay of the tactics used against the Black Liberation and anti-war Movements, has resorted to infiltration of informers and provocateurs.

Clearly the future of the Native American movement is bound up with the struggle of the working class and other oppressed nationalities in the US for socialism and equality. The basic unity of interest between Native American peoples and other progressive forces is increasingly reflected in the anti-imperialist movement. The Native American contingent in the recent July 4th Demonstration here in Philadelphia was one expression of this.

Obstacles to greater unity exist as well. White chauvinism and paternalism toward Native Americans is prevalent among white Americans and exists on the left as well. Some Marxists show a know-it-all arrogance toward a complex subject they know little about. Other leftists adopt the paternalistic posture of uncritically embracing often contradictory positions of various Native American groups and glossing over narrow nationalist weaknesses in the Native American movement. Chauvinism and paternalism must be replaced by a principled solidarity with the Native American struggle if this fragile unity is to be furthered.



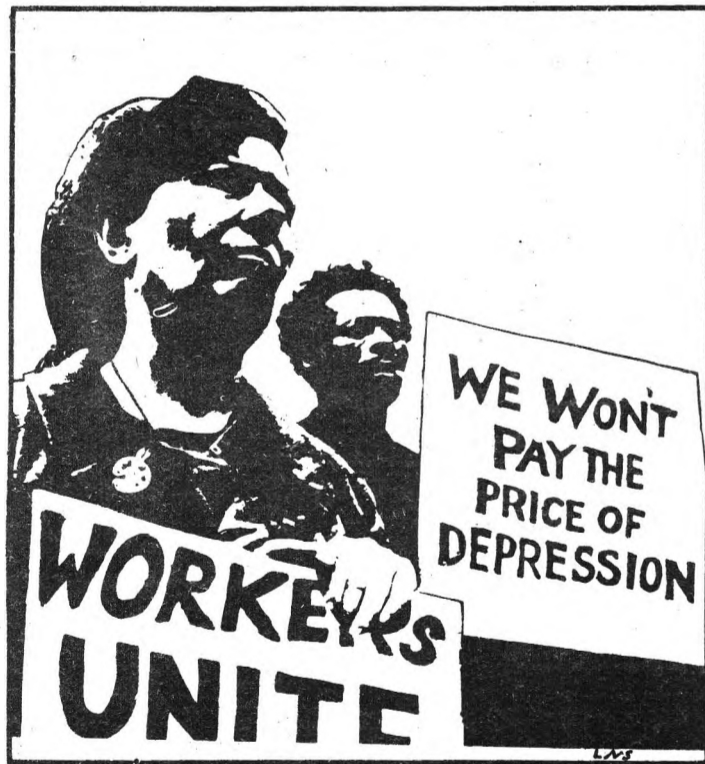
Dogmatism and the Struggle for the Party

In September and October, 160,000 workers struck the Ford Motor Co. Thousands of workers were prepared to battle the second largest auto manufacturer and one of the largest monopolies in the world. They had raised the critical demand for the short work week with no cut in pay. And yet in October the strike ground to a close, a poor settlement was accepted with no organized opposition except in the skilled trades.

At the same time, there are already several newly-created vanguard parties and one more on the way. Not one was able to provide leadership to this critical struggle. Not one had the slightest influence on the course of the strike. Each was reduced to lecturing the workers from the sidelines, calling on them to "throw out the class collaborationist traitors," while all the while braying that they represent the advanced guard of the working class.

NEED FOR A PARTY

No doubt party-building is the central task facing our movement. Without a vanguard party the working class cannot possibly transcend its present state. Its picket lines, demonstrations and strikes will remain sporadic and disorganized. Revolutionary leadership and class-



conscious political content will continue to be absent. Spontaneity will deal the cards, and the bourgeoisie will dominate the bidding.

Although the centrality of developing a new vanguard party was identified fully 18 years ago, the working class still suffers without its 'general staff'. In recent years there have been almost as many vanguards proclaimed as there are commercials in a half-hour TV show. But all these self-declared parties—and the one which is presently organizing its own christening as well—share a marked resemblance to a soap opera; both present distorted pictures of reality.

Why is it that all previous efforts to found a vanguard party have failed? Basically, because the forces that organized them did not understand the essentials of the party building process. Each effort adopted a voluntaristic approach to party-building which was based on a mad scramble to capitalize on a vacuum of leadership.

For each, party-building reduced itself to an effort to unite sufficient numbers of Marxist-Leninists behind the banner of a single, hastily assembled organization. The primary consideration was the development of a following, the establishment of a hegemony over the exist-

ing stock of revolutionaries. Party-building therefore, became primarily an organizational question, a mere numbers game.

NO CONCRETE APPROACH TO PARTY-BUILDING

None of these jerry-built national organizations developed a clear and consistent approach to party-building. Each assumed that the question of the party was adequately addressed by the classics of Marxism-Leninism, that revolutionaries had no creative theoretical tasks in the U.S. Each reduced the development of political line on party-building to the mere defense of the historic necessity of a vanguard party and the recapitulation of what had already been said, and said better, by Lenin or Stalin.

Not one identified clearly in advance the prerequisites for the founding of a party. And not one stated how their practice demonstrated that they were ready to assume the mantle of the working class' vanguard. Each based its call for the formation of the party on a combination of: 1) The rather profound observation of the fact that there was no such party in existence, 2) The quantitative growth in the number of revolutionaries, and 3) the growing dangers of war and fascism.

And what is even more revealing is that none of the organizations that have organized 'parties' or are now calling for their immediate formation have developed a thorough-going critique of their predecessors in failure. To the extent that they voiced criticisms, they were criticisms of imperfections in the line of the previous organizations which were only indirectly related to party-building. Not one recognized that there was a fundamental flaw in their forerunners' basic approach to laying the foundation for a party.

All of these attempts have shown that they did not understand the *essence* of the party-building process. They failed to understand what ties together all the tasks of communists in the party-building stage and what defines the key tasks. They have not been able to identify the basic contradiction which must be overcome in order to establish a viable vanguard.

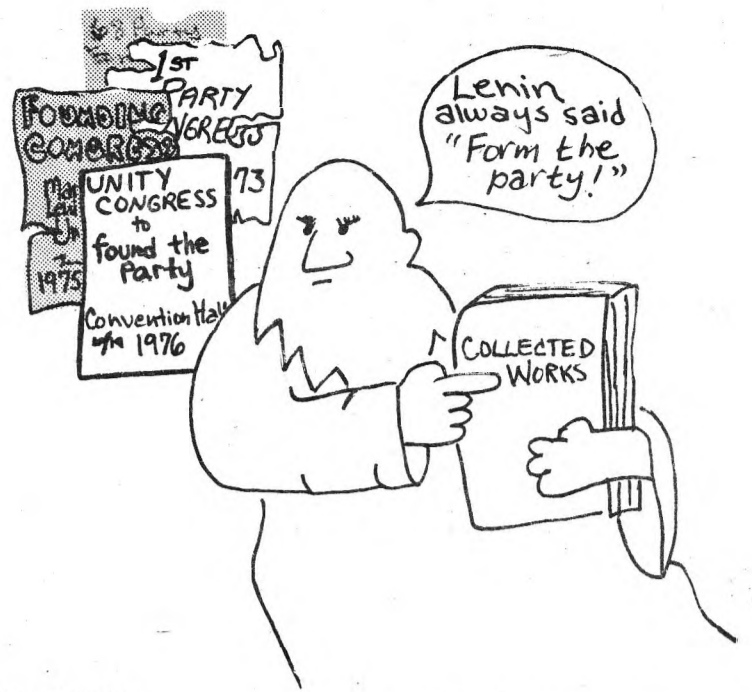
In our opinion that basic contradiction is the one between the aims of communists and the objective state of the consciousness of the working class movement. The essence of the party-building process is the struggle to join communism with the most advanced fighters from the movements of the working class and the oppressed nationalities.

FUSE COMMUNISM AND THE WORKERS MOVEMENT

As Lenin pointed out, the historical experience of all countries shows "a constantly growing urge to fuse socialism with the working class movement into a single *Social-Democratic movement*." (Col. Wks. Vol. IV, 257; Lenin's Italics) In our time the term communism should be substituted for socialism and Communist for Social Democratic.

In the earliest stages, communism and the working class movement exist apart, in isolation from one another. On the one hand the workers struggle against the capitalists, engaging in strikes, and developing their trade union organizations. On the other hand the communists develop first among intellectual strata and therefore stand outside the working class movement, developing their critique of the capitalist society and demanding its replacement by a higher social system.

This situation inevitably leads to fundamental defects on each side. As Lenin explains, "The separation of the working class movement and socialism gave rise to weak-



nesses in each: The theories of the socialists unfused with the workers' struggle, remained nothing more than utopias, good wishes that had no effect on real life; the working class movement remained petty, fragmented, and did not acquire political significance, was not enlightened by the advanced science of its time." (ibid)

THE PARTY: FIRST STEP IN FUSION

The first stage in the resolution of this contradiction is the development of the vanguard party. However this can only come about as a result of a step forward in the fusion of communism and the workers' movement. Lenin wrote, "When this fusion takes place, the class struggle of the workers becomes the *conscious struggle of the proletariat* to emancipate itself from exploitation by the propertied classes, it is evolved into a higher form of the socialist workers' movement—the *independent working class Social-Democratic party*." (ibid—Lenin's italics).

In the United States, we have to repeat this process. While communism was at one time fused with the working class movement, (as represented by the CPUSA) that fusion ended with the triumph of revisionism. For nearly twenty years, the workers struggled against capitalism without communist influence. On the other hand, our movement originated predominantly among intellectual strata who developed as Marxist-Leninists apart from the mass movements of the working class and the oppressed nationalities.

Thus in our concrete circumstances, the development of an independent working class Communist party demands the joining of communism and the workers' movement. More concretely, it demands the merger of the concrete application of Marxism-Leninism to the practical problems facing the working class with the most advanced fighters drawn from (but not *out of*) the movements of the working class and the oppressed nationalities.

While this may seem elementary, it has not been understood. The various party-building movements have not succeeded in fusing themselves with the working class movement, a fact which is demonstrated not only by their political line, but also, and even more sharply, by their practice. The practical isolation of the 'self-declared vanguards' in the working class movement is a fact!!

What attempts these movements have made to merge with the class struggle of the proletariat have only succeeded in isolating the advanced workers. The October League affords the best example of this fact precisely because it has had the most success in developing roots in the working class.

EXAMPLE OF THE OCTOBER LEAGUE

In the last year it has become quite clear that the small minority of October League cadre that have been drawn from the working class have become isolated in the process. The OL has encouraged them to retreat from the nerve centers of the growing mass movement against capital into more 'pure' organizations, organizations whose purity is based on the revolutionary phrase.

Thus in Philadelphia, the OL has urged the advanced workers to leave the rank and file movement and enter its National Fight Back Organization (NFO). The rank and file movement, they maintain, is too reformist, whereas the NFO (or is it UFO?) is r-r-revolutionary.

But in this city, far from being a mass organization, the NFO is little more than a *Call* committee. The rank and file movement, on the other hand, is a *mass* movement which is objectively attacking capital. At times it has reached *thousands* of workers with mass action, not just with leaflets!

"The various party building movements have not succeeded in fusing themselves with the working class movement."

Nor is Philadelphia an isolated exception; our experience has been confirmed by individuals and organizations all over the country. Moreover, it is confirmed by the *Call* itself.

In an article entitled "Present Tasks in the Unions", the *Call* fails to even discuss the critical tasks facing communists in actively organizing the rank and file movement. To the extent that it treats the rank and file caucuses, it discusses them "as instruments for derailing and suppressing the genuine rank and file rebellion." It sees the rank and file movement as a totally spontaneous movement from which the advanced workers must be diverted.

Furthermore, they attack the progressive Sadlowski campaign in the United Steelworkers. Sadlowski, who has called for an end to the no-strike Experimental Negotiating Agreement, a rejection of the racist Consent Decree and the abolition of the anti-communist clause in the Steelworker's constitution, is one who should be supported, albeit critically.

Certainly Sadlowski is open to criticism on a number of counts and no movement built around his candidacy should assume that he will carry through on his promises without an organized and independent rank and file movement to maintain pressure on him after his election. However, to treat Sadlowski as just another I.W. Abel is both childish and a ticket to isolation.

No wonder the *Call*, which used to have substantial coverage of the rank and file movement, more and more speaks with the shrill and frenzied tone of an isolated and irrelevant outsider!

A movement which merges communism with the working class movement at the expense of isolating the advanced workers from the masses does a profound disservice both to Marxism-Leninism and the advanced. The working class movement will never attain any 'political significance' if the advanced workers are unable to give concrete leadership to the practical struggles of the masses.

Moreover, the question of fusion cannot be reduced to the mere winning of a handful of workers to Marxism-Leninism. In order for the fusion of Marxism-Leninism with the advanced workers to represent a real step forward in the overall struggle to merge communism with the working class movement, the advanced workers must *continue and strengthen* their role as active leaders of the day to day practical struggles of the masses.

COMMUNIST CURRENT

Of course, their leadership will have changed in character. They will not lead the mass struggle as they did formerly, but as open communists. Thus the fusion of communism with the advanced workers assumes the development of a communist current in the working class movement. Such a current, quite obviously, does not yet exist.

It is not just because they lack understanding that October League and its fellow dogmatists have been unable to grasp the question of fusion with the class struggle of the proletariat. Like children with learning disabilities, they have a mental block. That mental block is modern dogmatism.

Dogmatism on the question of party-building means failure to study the historical lessons of the development of vanguard parties in other countries *in conjunction with an examination of the concrete conditions of the U.S.* Thus the dogmatists fail to identify the critical weakness in our movement—that it still exists in isolation from the working class movement and will thus remain—to the extent that it retains this isolation—powerless.

Failing to recognize this critical weakness, they have failed to address themselves to the tasks for solving this very concrete practical problem. Instead, they have merely borrowed from Lenin's *What Is To Be Done* applying it crudely and mechanically to the U.S.

Because Lenin in *What Is To Be Done* emphasizes that the current task in Russia was to defeat "economism", a form of right opportunism, and to unite Marxist-Leninists, our dogmatist party-builders play monkey-see-monkey-do. And because Lenin did not outline how to lay the foundations for a revolutionary party, our dogmatists are totally incapable of giving anything but the most general guidance.

For the dogmatists, the preconditions for the formation of a party reduce themselves to the 'correct line' and sufficient cadre to implement it. On the question of how that correct line will prove itself and what kind of cadre are necessary, they have had—and continue to have—little to say.

The dogmatists do not recognize that the testing ground for theory is the class struggle and its verifiers are the

advanced workers. Theory proves its correctness based on its ability to address the practical question facing the working class movement, and consequently aid the development of the *political* side of the class struggle. And the dogmatists do not recognize that the cadre for a vanguard party have to *demonstrate* their advanced capabilities in the practical struggles of the workers.

Thus, for the dogmatists, the question of party-building is understood in a purely quantitative fashion. For them the foundations of a party are laid by accumulating sufficient cadre, addressing enough 'theoretical questions' and having enough practice. Whether those cadre demonstrate vanguard capabilities, whether their theory was capable of solving the real questions facing the working class movement and whether their practice demonstrates a real fusion with the class struggle is irrelevant.

It is just this kind of dogmatism which has led so many self-proclaimed 'vanguard parties' down the primrose path. And this dogmatism continues to hang like a storm cloud over our movement. The failure to recognize the critical question of fusion leads inevitably to a voluntaristic approach, a course which advocates 'boldness' without a reference to material conditions. Such boldness always proves itself to be nothing more than adventurism.

Those who have recognized that the essence of party-building is the development of the union of communism and the advanced fighters will do well to learn from the errors of dogmatism.

As Marx pointed out, history does repeat itself, first as tragedy, then as farce. The failure of those Marxist-Leninists who broke with revisionism in the '50's and '60's to create a vanguard party was a tragedy. The fact that the largest and most influential anti-revisionist organizations today are travelling the same road of dogmatism and left sectarianism increasingly resembles farce.



Lenin on Party Building

This is an excerpt from *Lenin: A Retrograde Trend in Russian Social Democracy*; Col. Works., p. 257-8.

At first socialism and the working class movement exist separately in all the European countries. The workers struggled against the capitalists, they organized strikes and unions, while the socialists stood aside from the working class movement, formulated doctrines criticizing the contemporary capitalist, bourgeois system of society and demanding its replacement by another system, the higher, socialist system.

The separation of the working class movement and socialism gave rise to weakness and underdevelopment in each: the theories of the socialists, unfused with the workers' struggle, remained nothing more than utopias, good wishes that had no effect on real life; the working class movement remained petty, fragmented, and did not

acquire political significance, was not enlightened by the advanced science of its time. For this reason we see in all European countries a constantly growing urge to *fuse socialism with the working class movement in a single Social-Democratic movement.*

When this fusion takes place the class struggle of the workers becomes *the conscious struggle of the proletariat* to emancipate itself from exploitation by the propertied classes, it is evolved into a higher form of the socialist workers' movement -- *the independent working class Social-Democratic party.* By directing socialism towards a fusion with the working class movement, Karl Marx and Frederick Engels did their greatest service: they created a revolutionary theory that explained the necessity for this fusion and gave socialists the task of organizing the class struggle of the proletariat. (Lenin's italics.)

