



The ORGANIZER

The U.S. and Southern Africa

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Chemical Bank
Esso
GM
Ford
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UNION CARBIDE

We've been in South Africa a long time... We like it here!

SEPTA Strike Drags On... Can Transit Workers Beat the System?

by SARA MURPHY

The promotional advertisement for the public transit system in the greater Philadelphia area is a jingle which says, "You can't beat the system." However, transit workers involved in the current strike are trying to do just that.

The strike began March 23, and is now well into its second week with no end in sight. The walk out culminated a week of activity by rank and filers following the union leadership's tentative agreement reached minutes before the contract expiration deadline. In militant fashion, the rank and file rejected the agreement which their officials had reached with the SEPTA (Southeast Pennsylvania Transportation Authority) Board.

HISTORY OF MILITANCY

The Transport Workers Union in Philadelphia has had a history of militancy in the past several years. The present strike represents the third in six years. In addition, the union has often conducted "safety checks" of vehicles, thus slowing down the system, at critical months in the struggle. An example of this took place last spring when such a slow-down followed the layoff of 300 drivers and substantial service cutbacks.

The current president of the TWU, Ned LeDonne was quoted just hours before the contract deadline as saying the chance of a strike was "100 %." The press and TV were playing up the inconvenience workers and commuters should expect the next day. The entire city was geared

up for a strike. But minutes before midnight, a surprise settlement was reached.

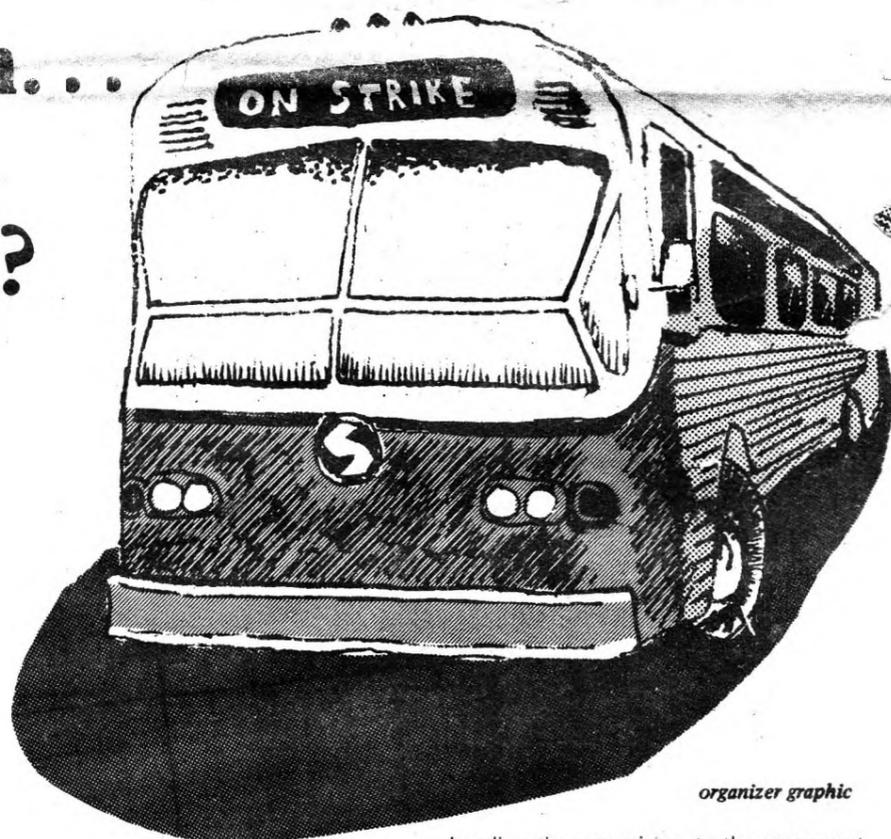
RANK AND FILE REACTS

The feeling among the rank and file was one of being let down and a great urgency to find out what kind of contract they were being offered without a strike. However, they learned it would be several days before terms were revealed, and ten days before a ratification vote was taken.

During the next two days, a spontaneous uproar broke out. Workers, including the Committee for a Decent Contract, a rank and file group, gathered at the union office and demanded to know the contract terms. Making no headway there, they moved on from one depot to another, gathering steam as they moved through the city. Many called in sick or claimed family emergency rather than report to work.

Anger and frustration on the part of over 200 workers involved in the spontaneous demonstration climaxed in shouts to "shut down the system." A key depot, Frankford, was stormed by angry rank and filers who blocked buses and the Frankford Elevated train. Fifteen were fired.

Overall, the wildcat failed because of lack of planning and organization. The fired workers, however, immediately received support from among the rank and file, and the company quickly negotiated a "settlement" to diffuse the anger over the firings. However, this was really no settlement at all, as it amounted to a 30-



organizer graphic

day suspension plus a less publicized final and permanent warning. This meant any of the 15 could be fired for the slightest infraction any time in the future of their working lives.

CONTRACT DISAPPOINTING

Along with the letdown over the last minute secret contract settlement, and anger over the firings, the workers were again let down by the terms of the agreement itself. While they won \$1.10 in their last contract, and had demanded \$1.00 this time, they were given \$.60 over the life of the contract, and only \$.32 up front. Septa workers are presently among the worst paid transit workers in the country with only New Orleans and Phoenix paying lower wages. The overwhelming sentiment was that they had been forced to give up without a fight.

Leading the opposition to the agreement, the Committee for a Decent Contract found its ranks swelling in the days before the ratification vote. It demanded \$.60 up front, a wage reopener in a year, and a cost-of-living clause over the life of the contract, as well as a demand to rehire the 300 laid off workers and drop the permanent warning from the 15 suspended workers.

So it was 10 days after the surprising settlement that the city was caught by surprise once again, when the TWU rank and file rejected the agreement by a substantial margin of some 800 votes.

ULTIMATUMS AND RED-BAITING

Mayor Frank Rizzo has vowed the strike will not be won. He has stuck his neck way out and stated that the TWU can stay out for ten years, and they won't get

(continued on page 5)

Letters To The Editor...

Beginning with this issue the Organizer is running a letters column. We welcome communications, criticisms and ideas from our readers. Please indicate when

you write us, whether or not your letter is for publication. Letters must be signed with return addresses. We will withhold names on request.

Studying Marxism-Leninism in Prison

Dear Comrades,

I am a twenty-six year old African-American, serving a 16 year sentence. During the 6 years I've already served, inspired by the example of George Jackson in particular, and the radical prison movement in the late 60's and early 70's, I began a self-education program leading me to the study of scientific-socialism.

For some years, I have been heavily influenced by the writings of Jackson and the adventurous activities of organizations like BLA, WUO, SLA, etc. But as my theoretical understanding developed, as my knowledge grew, I became increasingly dissatisfied with these organizations, their tactics, strategy, and their analysis of contemporary America.

A comrade traveling through America sent me a copy of "Black Liberation Today: Against Dogmatism on the National Question" and a few copies of your newspaper. The pamphlet impressed me enormously and showed me the necessity of a detailed analysis of the society we intend to revolutionize.

I am a student of Marxist-Leninist theory, and am preparing myself to be cadre for the communist movement when I am able to return home. I am interested in any

information you can send me concerning your work, ideas, etc. Is it possible to receive a subscription of your paper? I haven't the money to pay, but am keenly interested in the work of the PWOC.

Is it possible to establish some sort of correspondence with active comrades?

Proletarian Greetings!
We Will Win!!!!!!!!!!!!

Name Withheld

Solidarity Message

The PWOC regrets that the following message of solidarity was inadvertently omitted from our International Women's Day program. Therefore, we are printing it here with apologies to our Portuguese sisters:

In the impossibility of being present, the Portuguese Women in Philadelphia send the best revolutionary greetings to all the American comrades who fight for the woman's emancipation and for the end of the capitalist exploitation.

A LUTA CONTINUA
(The Struggle Goes On)

Long Live the International Women's Day

-- From the nucleus of the Portuguese Revolutionary Women

Reflecting on Int'l Women's Day

Dear PWOC:

On the plane home from Philadelphia I jotted down a few notes about Sat. night's program. I was still excited by what had happened at the International Women's Day Celebration.

Why was the evening in Philly so inspiring and even different somehow from other very worthy efforts to celebrate IWD that I have been involved in? I tried to put my finger on it.

The main thing is that the struggles of working women was and should be the particular focus of IWD. For it was from the struggles of working women in the deplorable clothing factories in the northeast that the day was born.

To concentrate on working women pays tribute to a sector of the population which is almost never celebrated for anything in our society. Yet working women have played and will play a tremendously important part in the leadership of the struggle to emancipate us all. And most importantly Black and other National Minority women are found in their greatest numbers among working women.

Reasons for uniqueness of Philly celebration:

1) The PWOC solicited a great audience. Of the people there, clearly most were working people having a new experience.

2) The two historical/political speeches -- one on why men should celebrate and support women's struggles (by a white male factory worker!) and the other on what women's lib means for the working class and especially national minority women -- were excellent particularly

because of the number of concrete examples they used to make their points. New people and "radicals" learned a lot from both speeches.

3) The purely cultural presentations were all fine examples of the new use we must put our cultural efforts to. We cannot depend on Stevie Wonder or the disco sound to relate the realities of our struggle or to highlight the lessons we learn. We must put our artists to work for the struggle.

4) Bev Grant with her twangy white country style and well done political music helped to accomplish another important aspect of what we learned that night. The bringing together of the struggles of white working women with those of national minority women is an important development now as we begin to give the women's movement a new working class focus. Bev's presence and the modern-day scenes she evoked from the lives of working class white women made a connection between our lives in the concrete.

5) And finally, the contribution of the Third World Women's Creative Workshop and Teatro Alma Latino was icing on the cake to the concept of the solidarity of working women the world over. The excellent portrayal of Black rural women arriving in the cities to join the ranks of their sisters in the sweatshops captured all our hearts. And certainly the extremely moving choreographic/poetic account of the struggle of the women of South Africa for liberation crystallized for us the fact that the struggle for the liberation of working women is an international one.

G. D., Cincinnati, Ohio

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 the capitalist politicians. We work toward the replacement of the rule of the few -- the

handful of monopolists -- by the rule of the many -- the working people.

The masses of people in the US have always fought back against 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.

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

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Labor Round-up



On March 10th, the overwhelming majority of workers at Sun Shipbuilding Co. walked out when a crew of workers on third shift, including a steward, were disciplined for refusing to perform an unsafe job, a job which resulted in the death of a worker three years ago. This is the second time in less than a year that Sun Ship workers, members of International Brotherhood of Boilermakers Local 802, had to walk out to protest the company elimination of a needed worker from a job.

Last July, the company eliminated one of two men from a combination boring mill and lathe, a job which killed one man working it alone several years ago. The remaining machinist was fired for refusing to work the unsafe job and Sun Ship workers walked out, demanding the man be reinstated and the job remain a 2-person job. After a 5 day strike, despite opposition to the strike by the local union's leadership, they won their demands.

COMPANY SHORTCUT THREATENS SAFETY AGAIN

This time the company refused to give a crane operator a needed signal man, endangering the lives of several workers on the job. Two nights in a row, the crew was forced to refuse the job, and the company disciplined them and sent them home. On the second night, a large group of third shift workers followed the crew out the gate in solidarity.

After the union leadership warned the company that the yard might walk out, the job laid idle for a week and then the harassment began again. This time first and second shift followed third shift out the gate.

During the two day strike, the leadership did nothing to inform or organize its membership, only appearing to repeatedly ask workers to return to work and let the leadership handle the problem. But the strikers stayed out, feeling it was too important an issue to leave in the hands of a leadership they have lost faith in due to its past practice.

But on the third day, after the company obtained a court-ordered injunction, Sun Ship workers returned to their jobs. As one worker described it, "the leadership practically got down on its knees and begged us to go back because they would be fined and jailed if we didn't."

"SAFETY EXPERT" TO DECIDE WORKERS' FATE

A few days later, the union put out a leaflet saying that it had agreed to let a "safety expert" decide whether the job was safe without the signal man or not, and his decision would "supercede the Grievance Procedure." If the decision favors the company, all disciplinary action taken against the third shift crew stands. The union also agreed to reprimand the stewards who were involved in the walk out and "reinstruct" them as to "the proper procedure in handling grievances." Finally,

the leaflet never mentioned that strikers would not be disciplined, but it warned them that the company would be tougher the next time.

Many members of Local 802 feel this leaflet is an example of how their leadership has been selling them down the river since the last contract was signed in January 76. The rank and file had voted that contract down 3 to 1, and after a week long strike, the leadership rammed the same contract down its membership's throat.

The contract was only approved by 51% and many feel it was approved by ballot stuffing. Since the contract took effect, unsafe practices, job combinations, speedup, firings and general harassment have been the rule.

If Local 802's stewards had the right to shut down a job that presented an immediate danger and if the contract contained the right to strike over health and safety grievances, the company would probably have put the signal man on the job at the threat of a strike. And if a strike had to be called, it would have been without the threat of fines and jail sentences or disciplinary action against the workers. These are demands that must be raised and fought for when contract time rolls around again.

Police Re-enact "Roots"

Auto Workers Defend Union Brother from Racist Beating

The following article was sent to us by workers at the Melrose Park International Harvester plant in Chicago.

Recently, a Black worker in a large factory in the Chicago suburb of Melrose Park was nearly beaten to death by the local police. His fellow workers have organized a movement in his defense in the plant and are attempting to gain broad outside support; they are demanding that the trumped up charges be dropped and the police be indicted for attempted murder.

Bennie Lenard, the victim, has worked for International Harvester Company's Melrose Park Plant for over 13 years. On the morning of Monday, January 31, 1977, he left work at the end of 3rd shift where he works as a tractor repairman. The day was bitter cold; he had car trouble. Shortly after noon-time, with his car fixed, he became involved in a traffic accident. He was making a turn at an intersection by the plant when his car collided with another vehicle. The other driver, apparently without a driver's license, was reluctant to call the police. Bennie insisted that they be called to report the accident.

When the police arrived, the other driver, a white woman, accused Bennie Lenard of assaulting her. The police let the woman go and handcuffed Bennie. This all took place 2 days after the last episode of the TV movie *Roots*. Bennie is 41 years old and the father of 11 children, one of whom works at the IHC plant.

RACIST EPITHETS, SAVAGE BEATING

Bennie was thrown into the police car handcuffed. Amid racist epithets includ-



ing "nigger," and many lines straight from *Roots*, he was beaten with a savagery that could only be fueled by race hatred. Within minutes, he was unconscious. This initial beating took place only yards from the company property.

Bennie Lenard was then driven to the police station. There he was stripped naked and thrown into a cell. The police opened the windows in the cell and poured cold water all over his body.

His wife was not called until 7:00 p.m. When she and other relatives arrived, they were given a very hard time. Bennie Lenard had been beaten almost beyond recognition. While his family was anxiously trying to get him released, the police intercom rang out with cackling sounds and a voice yelling "Chicken George, Chicken George." For those unfamiliar with the movie, Chicken George was the man who trained fighting cocks in his youth and at the end of the film outsmarts the Southern vigilantes and leads his family to escape.

This story, unbelievable as it sounds, had one more episode. Late that night, the police took Bennie Lenard to Westlake hospital in Melrose Park. One of "their" doctors examined him and told the police

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LOCAL 10

The Guild News



THE NEWSPAPER GUILD (AFL-CIO)

STRIKE EDITION

PHILADELPHIA FEBRUARY 19, 1977

The masthead above is from the newsletter which Local 10 of The Newspaper Guild (TNG) published daily for its 840 members striking *The Inquirer* and *Daily News* last February and March. The strike by TNG against Philadelphia Newspapers, Inc., (PNI) resisted substantial cutbacks, and was one of the better organized strikes in Philadelphia in recent months. There are things we can all learn.

The main strengths of the strike were in keeping the membership informed and active. Strike headquarters across the street from the *Inquirer* building were always filled with members involved with some activity in the strike, even if they were not on picket duty. Committees were established to produce the News, to seek support for the strike from other workers, and unions, and a Family Day was set up to invite relatives of striking union members to be "guests" on the picket line.

The Guild News kept the membership informed of every step in the negotiations, reporting changes in the company positions, and educating the membership on the union's demands, and why they had the demands they did. Articles in *The Guild News* discussed the rate of inflation

in Philadelphia, and warned union members against civil disobedience plainclothesmen hanging around the picket lines. A story on the overall profit picture of Knight-Ridder Corp., the owner of PNI and dozens of other newspapers, made it clear the company could well afford the union's demands. The secret agreement with the *Bulletin* was exposed, as well as connections between Judge Fogel, who issued the injunction against picketing, the *Bulletin*, and the *Inquirer* management.

The Guild's tactics give the lie to the claim made by many union officials that discussion of the bargaining process will weaken the union's position; here it clearly strengthened it by helping to maintain the strikers' morale.

These tactics paid off, with the Guild members receiving \$22 more per week than the company offered before the strike, and defeating the company proposal to take away certain important benefits, such as a severance pay provision under which a worker can accumulate 40 weeks severance pay after 16 years seniority.

Nevertheless, the union leadership did not claim a smashing victory, or cover up the

concessions which had to be made. One problem the union identified was the problem of different expiration dates of contracts with the several unions representing *Inquirer* employees. Teamsters, mailers, pressmen, and machinists have no strike clauses in their contracts and were fined for honoring TNG's picket line.

The major weakness of the TNG's strike activity was the failure to link it to the general attack on all workers which is part of the economic crisis in this country. Newspaper workers have been under particular attack, with many, including the *Washington Post*, busting unions entirely out of their plants. Others have cut the workforce in half with changed work rules, speedup, and new techniques.

There was no direct criticism of the old-fashioned craft union system of the newspapers where several unions represent workers in the same shop, giving the management numerous extra opportunities to divide the workers. Lastly, the Guild could have gone more directly to other workers in Philadelphia for support -- newsletters passed out to the working people who are the readers of the *Inquirer*, perhaps at City Hall, might have generated the financial and moral support the Guild needed for a decisive victory.

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uaw local 92 Elections at Budd Red Lion

by JOE LEWANDOWSKI

At the Budd Co.'s Red Lion plant, leaders of the Blue Ribbon Group, the rank and file caucus of UAW Local 92, are cautiously optimistic about their chances of making some gains in this month's shop steward and committeemen elections.

A member of the caucus told the *Organizer* that several more Blue Ribbon Group members expect to be elected to shop steward positions in the plant's automotive division. Currently, one Blue Ribbon Group member holds elected office, a shop steward in the press shop.

The reason for the BRG's caution is found in the results of the election for delegates to the UAW national convention which was held last month. In that election the "Administration Team" (or Red Ticket, as it is known in the plant) the slate which controls most of the elected positions in the local including all officers and the entire Executive Board swept all three delegate and all three alternate delegate positions by sizeable margins.

The delegate elections generated an unusual amount of activity this year. Nineteen candidates ran for the six positions. Nearly 900 votes were cast, a large turnout for a delegate election. And it was clear that the voters had seriously considered their choices and were committed to them because they had to cast their ballots in the far corner of a muddy parking lot on a cold, windy, and rainy day.

The Administration Team had a few aces in the hole—140 retiree votes (usually a solid bloc for the incumbent forces), the rainy weather, and the fact that the polling place was inconveniently located for the hundreds of workers who enter through the west gate (where, coincidentally, there is more opposition to the union leadership).

The victory for the union leadership wasn't surprising, but most rank and file observers were surprised by the margin of the victory. The Administration Team gathered between 575 and 448 votes for its six candidates. The three Blue Ribbon Group candidates places 10th, 12th, and 13th, with 137, 131, and 121 votes. While not outstanding, it was a respectable showing for candidates without high seniority or experience as union representatives.

The results showed that the rank and file movement at Red Lion has not been able to sustain the momentum which it gener-

ated in the struggle against the removal of the cap (daily production quota) last spring. A year ago the Blue Ribbon Group appeared to be on the verge of mounting a serious threat to the incumbent leadership.

This threat was not lost on the leadership which was shaken by the strength and militancy of the Blue Ribbon Group led opposition. In the past year the Administration team has spent a great deal of energy consolidating their forces, attempting to develop a younger generation of supporters, and trying to discredit the Blue Ribbon Group through the tired tricks of red-baiting and racism.

THE THREE R'S

Rumor-mongering, red-baiting and racism have contributed to the support the Administration Team received in the delegate elections. The leadership has found that one way to cover up their own weaknesses is to yell "Communist!" every time they are challenged. On the other hand, the Blue Ribbon Group has consistently laid their cards on the table and has spoken up freely for what they believe is right.

In the elections and in the months prior to the contract ratification the BRG kept their program right up front. They have consistently spoken out against the Budd Co.'s racist placement practices, they have proposed various measures to make the union function more democratically,

and they have always called for the militant defense of the working conditions and the standards of living of all workers. In the short term, the union leadership's scare tactics will have some impact, but in the long run the workers will not be fooled by cheap McCarthyite witch-hunting. For this reason the BRG should stick to its guns and not water down their program to pick up a few more votes.

It is not sweetness and light for the Administration Team nor is it darkness and doom for the rank and file forces. The delegate elections showed that the Blue Ribbon Group has a solid core of support which could quickly mushroom if it was well organized. The BRG leaders admit they haven't always been accurate in interpreting the pulse of the majority of workers in the plant, especially in the railcar division and the skilled trades, a shortcoming which hindered their ability to mount an effective fight for a better contract a few months ago.

One sign of growing dissatisfaction with the Administration Team was the large number of independent candidates who entered the delegate election. Many of these candidates were progressive rank and file workers who have a real contribution to make to the rank and file movement at Red Lion. But uniformly their weakness was in not informing their fellow workers what they intended to do at the UAW International Convention.

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"Strikebuster" Fraser to head UAW

by ABEL CALHOUN

Over 3000 local union delegates will be assembling in May for the UAW's 1977 Constitutional Convention. The UAW holds Conventions every three years, supposedly to democratically decide on the policies of the International Union.

But in reality, International President Woodcock and the other International Officers do everything in their power to make these conventions nothing more than rubber stamps for whatever the International wants.

The Woodcock Administration Caucus (yes, they have one too!) has already met and decided what it wants out of this Convention. First, they want endorsement of Vice-President Doug Fraser as the "unanimous choice of our union" for the next International UAW President. Second, they want endorsement of Jimmy Carter and the Democrats as the great hope and salvation of the working class. Third, they want endorsement of the 1976 contracts as the "greatest ever negotiated by your union."

Their convention agenda boils down to: "Listen to our speeches, vote yes, and go home." Period.

But rank and file activists in the union have another agenda in mind that goes more like this: First, launch a campaign to win the 32 hour work week for all workers. Second, reform union election rules to provide for more membership control over the officers. And third, build unity between Black and white workers by committing the whole union to a fight against racism in the auto plants and in the society.

Let's take a closer look at these two completely different agendas, to see which really deals with the most pressing problems of the UAW membership.
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WOODCOCK TAPS FRASER TO SUCCEED HIM AS PRESIDENT

President Woodcock must retire this year. He's at the mandatory union retirement age of 65. The Woodcock Caucus and the International Executive Board has already endorsed Vice President Doug Fraser as their nominee for the UAW Presidency.

Fraser, head of the Chrysler Department and the Skilled Trades Department, has been a loyal flunkey of the Reuther-Woodcock administration for 30 years. Regardless of his liberal image in the press, he'll be no better than Woodcock. Fraser's true colors can be seen in his response to a series of wildcat strikes that shut down several of Chrysler Corporation's Detroit plants in the summer of 1973.

Chrysler's Detroit Forge plant wildcatted at 11 PM on August 7th, as a result of several workers losing fingers, one worker's arm being crushed in a conveyor, and all kinds of other safety hazards. Later that week, 15 strike leaders were informed by telegram that they were fired. At a meeting that Sunday, Fraser tried to talk the Forge strikers into returning to work without an agreement from Chrysler that conditions would be corrected or that the fired workers would be reinstated.

When the Forge workers voted to stay out, he ordered them back to work anyway and adjourned the meeting. He later justified this to a reporter by saying, "You can't make an illegal strike legal just by asking people whether they want to go back to work or not." On Monday, the strike was broken, with some fired workers getting long suspensions and others fired for good.

On August 14, the Mack Avenue Stamp-



Outgoing UAW president Leonard Woodcock and heir-apparent Doug Fraser enjoy a chuckle over the recent Chrysler contract.

ing plant was shut down over health and safety grievances and the firing of a chief steward. Earlier in the summer, Chrysler had given in to the demands of a sit-down strike at its Jefferson Assembly plant, and now Fraser was telling the *Detroit Free Press* that the Mack Avenue wildcat was the result of Chrysler being too soft on the Jefferson strikers, that it had been "absolutely a mistake" to grant the workers' demands at Jefferson Assembly.

When trickery, threats, and smooth talk failed to get the Mack strikers to shut down their picket lines and return to work, Fraser mobilized a goon squad of 1000 International loyalists from other plants. Early in the morning of August 16th, Fraser and his goons broke up the Mack picket lines with baseball bats,

while the Detroit Police stood by smiling. After the strike was broken, 72 Mack workers were fired, including a dozen workers with more than 20 years seniority. This is the kind of "leadership" that

the International wants to foist on us at the Convention.

CONTRACTS AND CARTER

The 1976 contracts, negotiated in the year when the major auto companies made their biggest profits in history, did nothing to protect the job security of auto workers. A couple more days off each year, taken at management's discretion, won't do anything to force the corporations to hire more workers. And Jimmy Carter has already broken his campaign promises about creating jobs for all after only 4 months in office. No honest delegate can endorse such a losing record as the way to defend the living standards and jobs of the UAW membership.

At the convention itself, hand-picked committees from Rules to Resolutions will make sure that only the Woodcock Administration's proposals reach the
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septa strike

(continued from page 1)

one dime more than the settlement they rejected. He has repeated this ultimatum time and time again, supposedly in the name of the people of Philadelphia who have had "enough."

Rizzo has blamed the militancy of the TWU rank and file on a handful of "dissident outsiders."

"I don't know how these people ever got jobs in SEPTA," Rizzo proclaimed, and has vowed that no disrupters who don't care about the "welfare of our city" are going to get a dime out of him.

The media, of course, comes out in all its full anti-labor finery in a public service workers strike like this one. They dwell on the inconvenience, especially to suburban commuters, until the interviews



about the impossibility of the traffic jams and the overfilled parking lots sound like a broken record. And of course, they keep saying that "of course" a fare hike will follow whatever settlement is finally reached, a fare hike which SEPTA has been unable to obtain in a year of trying.

THE WAY TO WIN

The strike now threatens to be the longest in city history with no sign of a settlement as of this writing. SEPTA management is playing a waiting game, a big difference from the past when they ran to the courts to get an injunction within days after a strike began. (Under Pa. law, public employees can be enjoined from striking if there is a "clear and present danger to the public interest").

The reason the SEPTA big boys are taking this approach is clear enough. First of all, they are actually saving money during the strike since they ordinarily operate at a loss. They figure if they just sit back the transit workers will become demoralized without strike benefits and with bills piling up. They figure public anger at the strikers will mount and add to pressures for a settlement favorable to SEPTA.

The SEPTA bosses are getting aid and comfort from the LeDonne leadership which has made little effort to organize and promote the strike. Picket lines at the depots have been left to wither. The union leadership has called no mass meetings or demonstrations to build morale and dramatize the workers' plight to the public. Most importantly, the union has proclaimed its indifference to how the settlement is to be paid for and has not opposed a fare increase.

A strike of public service workers is an easy situation for the mass of the working class to be turned against the strikers, not only because of the inconvenience and hardship workers must endure, but also because their tax money must go to pay for increases in wages and benefits for the service workers. It will take a class conscious leadership to bring out and advance the unity of interest between transit workers and the riding public.



RALLY AT CITY HALL: Transit workers and supporters gathered for a small but spirited demonstration April 9. Supporting groups included NAACP, CEPA and the Coalition for Better Transportation. To win, broader sections of SEPTA workers and community groups must be united and mobilized.

Such leadership and organization could build a truly political strike, demanding better, safer transportation paid for by restoring the tax on corporate profits which Rizzo abolished shortly after taking office.

It could link up the struggles against national oppression with the strike, a most urgent task, as close to half the SEPTA workers are Black, and the poor, dirty, unsafe transit service affects the Black and Puerto Rican communities the hardest of all. The Black SEPTA workers live in these communities, and the community people all have relatives and neighbors who work for SEPTA. Building an effective coalition between the community and the workers can only be accomplished by making the struggle against racism a spearhead of the fight for better transportation.

The situation for such a coalition is ripe in Philadelphia, where a coalition of community organizations was recently defeated in its attempts to overturn a city decision to use \$300 million in federal money to build a downtown tunnel to link two commuter rail systems. The coalition had demanded that the tunnel

project be abandoned in favor of improving the SEPTA system.

The Committee for a Decent Contract has worked to combat the organizational weaknesses of the strike and has belatedly sought to rally public support. While the Committee for a Decent Contract opposes a fare increase and wants service cutbacks restored, this has not been a major focus of their agitation among the rank and file. An Easter weekend demonstration called by the Committee for a Decent Contract to support the strike and oppose the fare increase failed to bring out either large numbers of TWU members or community supporters:

If SEPTA's strategy for defeating the strike and imposing a bad contract on the TWU is to be averted, a broad movement that simultaneously supports a decent contract for SEPTA workers, while demanding restoration of service cuts and no fare increases must be built. Unions and community groups must be mobilized to oppose this attack on the TWU and the riding public. We have to work to turn a potential defeat for the TWU into a victory for the whole working class of Philadelphia.

WORKERS' VOICES



William Z. Foster: Driving a Trolley in 1901

and became the Party's chairman. A skilled labor organizer and mass leader, Foster was instrumental in leading the packing house organizing drive during World War I and was a key figure in the 1919 steel strike. The following selection is from Pages From a Worker's Life, an autobiographical work.

I worked several months in 1901 as a motorman on the Third Avenue lines in New York. The electric trolley car, now on its last legs, was then in its heyday. The old horse cars had almost died out, there were as yet no subways the automobile was just being born, and the elevated trains were still being hauled by slow, chugging steam locomotives.

Our wages were only twenty-two cents per hour and we worked ten hours per day seven days a week. The men were unorganized and the bosses ruled with an iron hand, abusing and discharging workers on the slightest pretext.

The motorman's work was hard and nerve-racking. New York streets were then jammed with slow-moving, horse-drawn trucks, and to pilot a street car through this maze, and not fall behind, was a real task. We had no airbrakes, seats or vestibules. We had to stand up all day twisting heavy hand-brakes and being ful-

ly exposed to the weather. Many's the time I was soaked with driving rain and half frozen from cold. It was a man-killing job.

The workers thoroughly hated the company. As for the conductors, many of them helped themselves freely, with no twinges of conscience, to the fares they took in. There were no pay-as-you-enter cars, and with the conductors collecting in the densely packed cars even the army of company "spotters" could not keep tab on them. The "nickelers" and "short-arm artists," as they were called, were located mostly by bookkeeping methods. That is, when a run failed to bring in the regular average of receipts the conductor was fired forthwith for "nickeling."

We motormen deeply resented our unnecessarily hard work and exposure to severe weather conditions. We demanded airbrakes, seats and vestibules. But the company bosses and engineers assured us that these things, although in use elsewhere, were impossible in the dense traffic conditions of New York: the airbrakes would speedily wear out from incessant use, the seats would lessen our alertness, the vestibules would obscure our vision, and all three together would make for more accidents. But this was only a hypocritical, profit-grabbing defense. Years later the company was compelled to

introduce these much-needed improvements, and the service was thereby greatly improved.

Determined to end the abuses from which we suffered, some of us younger workers began to organize. We set up groups of platform men in the several barns of the Third Avenue lines and also those of other companies. Then I contacted an A.F. of L. organizer, Herman Robinson. All he gave us was sympathy and a promise to "take in" the men if we would line them up. It was my first experience with A.F. of L. armchair organizing methods.

A few others and myself managed to become members of the union, and we were making considerable headway, when one day the half dozen of us in the 66th Street barn were called into the Super's office and given our walking papers. In those days of the brazen open shop the boss made no bones about telling us we were fired for union activity. He took a similar course the same day in the other barns, and our nascent union was killed. It was more than thirty years later when, after many fruitless struggles, New York's army of transport workers finally got organized into the C.I.O. Transport Workers Union.

The following account tells of conditions in transit before the coming of the union. Even with unionization many of the problems William Z. Foster talks about, like safety conditions, still plague workers and the riding public alike. The militant spirit that built the TWU-CIO is the same spirit that transit workers are now showing in their fight for better wages and working conditions the restoration of service cuts and the rehiring of laid off workers. As Foster's account shows, transit workers have every reason to stand by and protect their union.

William Z. Foster was born in South Philadelphia in 1881. He went to work at the age of ten, laboring in the lumber, farm, construction, chemical and transport industries. When unable to find work, Foster hoboed, seeing much of the US. As a sailor he traveled around the world facing harsh exploitation as a worker. Foster turned to the labor movement. He joined the Industrial Workers of the World, and later founded the Syndicalist League of North America, a revolutionary trade unionists' group. Foster later joined the Communist Party

THE MEANING of MAYDAY

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

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

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

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

THOUSANDS STRIKE ON MAY 1ST

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

Even before May Day the strikes began. In April 1,000 brewers reduced their hours from sixteen to ten a day, the bakers who formerly worked 14 to 18 hours won a ten hour day. Furniture workers won the 8 hour day and a 20% increase in wages. The cutters in garment shops won an 8 hour day for 10 hours pay. On May 1st 30,000 workers went out on strike. Perhaps twice that number joined the demonstrations.

HAYMARKET INCIDENT

But the employers were also prepared for a struggle. On May 3rd police fired into a

crowd of workers who were fighting strike breakers at the McCormack reaper factory killing four and wounding many others. That night, at a rally at Haymarket Square called to protest the brutality of the police, a bomb exploded in the ranks of the police who had arrived to disperse the crowd, killing one of them and wounding others. The police fired into the crowd. 70 people were wounded and one killed.

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

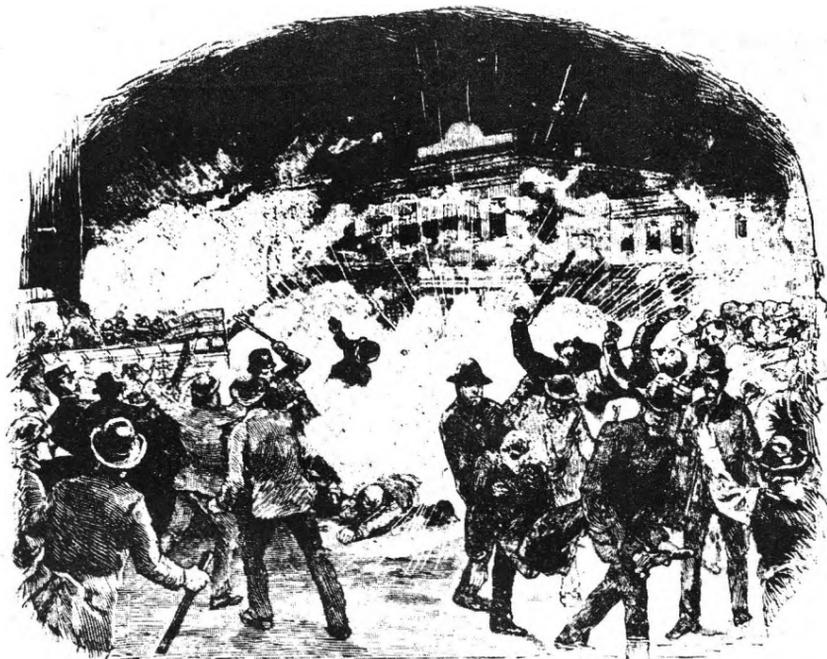
Employers organized in associations to blacklist strikers and institute Yellow Dog contracts forcing workers to swear they would never join a union. This wave of reaction broke the back of the movement, but it was only a temporary setback.

MAY DAY TRADITION CONTINUES

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

On May 1st, 1890, demonstrations and strikes occasioned this new holiday in both Europe and the US. In France and Austria, the Socialists used the occasion to demonstrate to the capitalist rulers the power of the working class, calling general strikes. From this time on, the idea of May Day was firmly established among the workers and May Day meetings, demonstrations and strikes in the name of the international labor solidarity became a tradition.

When the Second International betrayed this solidarity by failing to oppose the imperialist war in 1914, the Third International, organized by Lenin and the Bolsheviks, rescued May Day and contin-



The Haymarket Incident (pictured above) gave the police and the employers a weapon to help break the back of the 8-hour day movement which had called 50,000 workers into Chicago streets on May 1, 1886.

ued its revolutionary tradition. More recently, with the triumph of revisionism in the old-line Communist parties, it is the anti-revisionist Communists who have sought to continue to bring the real meaning of May Day home to the working class.

MAY DAY 1977

What is the meaning of May Day for us in 1977? As in 1886, the working class today faces sharp attacks on its living standards -- unemployment, inflation, speed-up, and declining social services. There are some parallels here with 1886. We cannot fight these attacks city by city or industry by industry -- we must unite across union lines and form a broad national movement to effectively wage this struggle. And like the workers in 1886, we cannot expect the leadership for this effort to come from the timid "labor statesmen" who head up our unions. It is the rank and file that is going to have to take the lead.

In yet another parallel with 1886, the shorter work day is a key demand for us too. The demand of 30 hours work for 40 hours pay shows signs of becoming a great rallying cry as the call for the 8-hour day was almost a hundred years ago.

In 1886, the demand for "equality without distinction to sex or race" was part of a six-point Manifesto drafted by Albert Parsons and Albert Spies, two revolutionary leaders of the 8-hour movement who were framed and hung for the Haymarket riot. In 1977, the demand for equality remains at the top of the agenda. It is the key to uniting the working class and rallying the democratic forces to our banner.

STRUGGLE AGAINST RACISM

Most critically, we must unite Black and white workers in the struggle against racism. We must fight discrimination, whether it be Black workers getting all the dirtiest lowest paying jobs in the plant, or Black kids being segregated into firetrap schools.

Similarly, we must rally all workers behind the fight for women's equality, taking up the fight against discrimination on the job, the demand for free public childcare, and ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment as concrete expressions of this concern.

Most workers understand that without unity we can win nothing. But what is less well understood is that without fighting for equality we can never achieve a real and lasting unity. . . a point the bosses understand very well.

STRUGGLE FOR DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS

The May Day movement of 1886 was broken by the ruthless power of the

capitalist state. Spies, provocateurs, cops, militia and court injunctions were hurled at the workers. Today we face a state far more powerful and sinister -- Watergate-ism and dirty tricks is just the tip of the iceberg. We have to fight to limit the powers of the FBI, CIA and the Pentagon. We have to knock out legislation like the S-1 Bill, which would curtail civil liberties. To defend our gains and go forward, we have to fight each and every attempt to curtail our democratic rights.

INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY OF WORKERS AND OPPRESSED

We cannot forget that May Day originated as an international holiday, with organized workers in both the US and Europe proclaiming their solidarity. Today our solidarity must be built not only with the workers of the other advanced capitalist countries, but with the oppressed peoples of Asia, Latin America and Africa with whom we have a common enemy in international monopoly capital.

The storm center of the struggle against imperialism today is in the Third World, particularly at the present moment in Africa (see special edition in this *Organizer*). It is the US monopoly corporations and government which is the biggest oppressor of the world's peoples. Thus, we have a special interest and responsibility in building an active solidarity with the workers and oppressed peoples throughout the world.

These are in very general terms our immediate tasks. Ultimately, the emancipation of the working class requires the overthrow of capitalism and the creation of a socialist society. We cannot secure our living standards, win genuine equality, real democracy and lasting peace under capitalism. But it is from the struggle to realize these aims that a revolutionary movement for socialism will emerge.

However, such a movement will not emerge spontaneously, that is, without conscious leadership which draws out the lessons of the struggle and generalizes correct strategy and tactics for consolidating and developing the movement. It is the absence of this leadership which is the overriding and critical weakness of the working class movement today.

WORKERS NEED A VANGUARD PARTY

Thus on May Day we must dedicate ourselves to the building of a revolutionary vanguard party that can provide this leadership. Such a party must represent a coming together of Marxism-Leninism, the theory of scientific socialism, with the most class conscious workers. The revival of May Day as a revolutionary event by Marxist-Leninists throughout the US marks one step in the process of achieving that merger.

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rizzo and fitzpatrick

by JOE LEWANDOWSKI

Frank Rizzo has already started chilling the champagne for his victory party on May 17. On that day, voters will choose candidates for district attorney and city controller in the city's primary elections. No Rizzo isn't running for both of these offices, too, but he may as well be.

If Rizzo's handpicked candidates emerge victorious, as they probably will, Rizzo will have tightened his iron-fisted control of the Democratic Party machinery. This in turn will mean even more corruption, patronage jobs, silk suits, deals and steals in City Hall. And you can expect to see even greater influence by the local chieftains of organized crime.

Rizzo's main man is Emmet Fitzpatrick, the incumbent D.A., and Frank's other choice is Andrew G. Freeman, candidate for City Controller, a Black man, a life-long Republican, the director of the Philadelphia Urban League and, most importantly, a faithful Rizzoite.

KLENK -- ODD MAN OUT

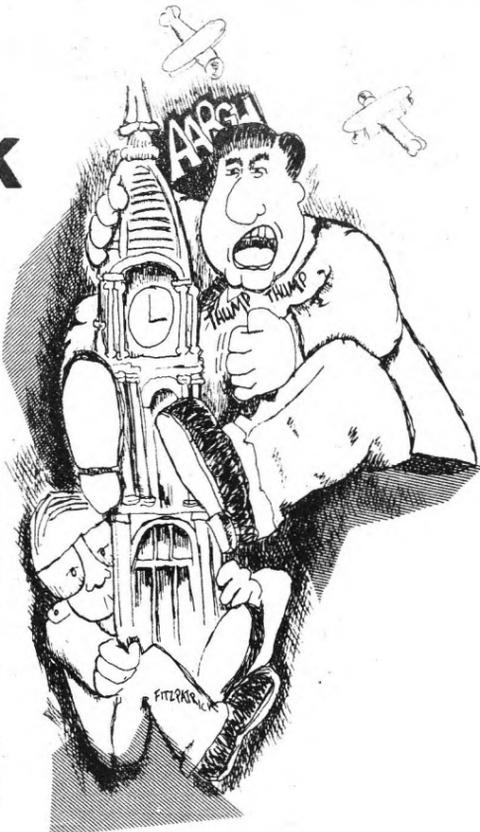
The odd man out is William Klenk, the present city controller who blew the whistle on Rizzo's phoney budget prior to the last mayoral election. Klenk has taken to blowing the whistle on so many of Rizzo's little tricks that he's starting to sound like the Philadelphia Orchestra. Klenk's investigations have cost him the support of the Rizzo machine, but he's running anyway as an independent candidate along with Edward Rendell, a former assistant district attorney, who will be challenging Fitzpatrick for the D.A. job.

Rizzo's endorsement of Fitzpatrick is an ironic demonstration of the growth of Rizzo's political muscle in the last four years. In 1973, Fitzpatrick and Klenk were the candidates of former Democratic boss, Pete Camiel, who was at war with Rizzo. Unable to beat Camiel in the Democratic City Committee, Rizzo went up against him by backing the then incumbent D.A. Republican, Arlen Spector. Fitzpatrick and Klenk's victory in that election was a big coup for Camiel, because it was entirely due to the work of the party organization and the decline in Rizzo's popularity during the first two years of his administration.

After the '73 elections, the Rizzo forces saw the futility of trying end runs around the still powerful Democratic party organization. Changing strategy, they began to chip away at the fragile alliance of Blacks, liberals and party hacks which made up the Camiel majority in the City Committee. Rizzo used the carrot and the stick (dollars, jobs, promises and more than a little armtwisting) on ward leaders until he had the votes to oust Camiel last year.

When Rizzo became boss, Fitzpatrick dutifully fell in line behind him. Now they're a team, the King Kong and the Godzilla of city government. Both are living testimony that the game of power politics in Philadelphia is played with a minimum of finesse and a lot of muscle.

Fitzpatrick's lack of subtlety is well-known to anyone who reads the newspapers. Fitzpatrick's taste runs to safari suits, pleasure jaunts around the country,



and flashy limousines -- all at the expense of city taxpayers. His muscle comes from what he does -- and does not do -- as district attorney.

FITZPATRICK'S FRIENDS

Early in his career as D.A., Fitzpatrick negotiated the parole of Joseph Nardello, an organized crime figure who was convicted in the robbery of a \$2.5 million coin collection.

Later, Fitzpatrick was named as a subject of a federal grand jury investigating organized crime operations. When called to testify he took the Fifth Amendment and refused to answer any questions.

Recently newspaper reporters have discovered a plaque bearing slain gangster Major Coxson's license plate hanging in Fitzpatrick's summer home in Ocean City. The plaque was given to Fitzpatrick by two former officers of Chestnut Hill Lincoln-Mercury, underworld figures Marvin Greenblatt and Harry Brown.

Greenblatt and Brown were indicted in March on charges of loansharking, mail fraud, and racketeering in connection with a phoney \$175,000 robbery of their dealership. The robbery was allegedly staged to pay off huge loanshark debts to the syndicate.

Greenblatt and Brown also figured in the sale of a car to Rizzo's son for almost half

UAW member beaten

(continued from page 3)

that he was okay; they could take him back to jail. His face was so swollen that he could not see; he could hardly walk. Besides broken facial bones and a battered body, Bennie Lenard, according to his own doctor who examined him later, had almost frozen to death. Weeks later, he still lies seriously injured in the hospital.

THE IN-PLANT RESPONSE

Within a couple days, pictures of Bennie Lenard were being circulated in the plant. A leaflet put out by a militant workers group described what had happened, put forward a list of demands including the dropping of all charges and the indicting of the police for attempted murder. The leaflet also called upon all workers to attend the upcoming union meeting of their local, Local 6 UAW, to form a rank-and-file defense committee.

A wave of outrage and support for Bennie Lenard swept the plant. The local union officials contacted the regional office and

"king kong" and "godzilla" team up

of its sticker price. Both Major Coxson and Brown were clients of Fitzpatrick before he became district attorney.

Rizzo's choice of Andrew Freeman for Fitzpatrick's running mate is an example of the rawest type of opportunism. Rizzo obviously thinks that any Black face, no matter what kind of bankrupt politics it represents, will collect votes in the Black community and serve as a cover for his racist administration. The fact is that Freeman's candidacy is in itself an insult to the Black citizens of Philadelphia, and it only serves to carry on Rizzo's history of indifference to the real needs of the Black community.

WHAT DOES KLENK REPRESENT?

Of the two independent Democratic candidates, Klenk clearly has the better chance of upsetting Rizzo's plans. Klenk is popular among thousands of voters who were angered by Rizzo's phoney budget and the huge tax increases which followed it. Klenk also has support in the small liberal wing of the Democratic Party machine and seems to have the secret support of some ward leaders who object to Freeman's Republican history.

Klenk's greatest virtue is that he represents some honesty in an otherwise thoroughly corrupt Rizzo administration. There's little to indicate, however, that his views on city finances are at all progressive. For example, during last year's money crisis, Klenk favored drastic cutbacks in city employment as a solution to the city's fiscal problems, offering no program to shift the burden of the crisis to the large corporations and the wealthy.

A victory for Klenk would serve as a brake on Rizzo's ability to deceive and rip off the people of Philadelphia, but it would do little to solve the basic problems of unemployment, a decreasing standard of living, and cutbacks in social services that are part and parcel of an urban capitalist economy which is on the decline.

visited the state's attorney. At the union meeting hundreds of workers showed up, overturned the official agenda, and steamrolled over the local union leadership. The case of Bennie Lenard was placed first on the agenda, and a resolution was passed to establish an official union defense committee for Bennie Lenard with broad powers.

Currently, the beginnings of a broad support movement are taking place as the Local 6 UAW Bennie Lenard Defense Committee attempts to involve workers at other plants, other unions, groups in the Black community, and various progressive and revolutionary groups.

red lion elections

(continued from page 4)

None of them ran on a program, but relied instead on personal popularity and departmental loyalties for most of their votes. As many have since learned you cannot confront an entrenched leadership machinery on this kind of basis. You must either run on a program that meets the real needs of the workers or be swallowed up by the machine.

PHILADELPHIA PARTY

The Philadelphia Party has announced plans to write-in Rendell and Klenk as their candidates in the May primary. If they are successful, it will guarantee a spot for the two candidates in the fall elections no matter what their fortunes may be in the Democratic primary. This is clearly a holding action for the Philadelphia Party, which has not announced a slate of its own for this election.

In taking this action the Philadelphia Party, which up to now has had a mostly Black constituency, is recognizing that it must broaden its base. But it remains hamstrung by confining itself to the political fortunes of Charles Bowser and a handful of other Democratic Party dissidents.

We've all heard politicians promise "clean and honest" government many times in the past, but as long as banks, corporations, and gangsters control the purse-strings of the political parties, the politicians' promises will all turn to lies. If the Philadelphia Party wants to make a real break with the past, it must make a break with the money men who control city politics.

Its only hope is in rooting itself in the progressive movements of people of this city -- neighborhood organizations, labor unions, rank and file caucuses, Black, Latin, and Asian community groups -- anyone willing to fight for democratic rights, for an end to racist discrimination and oppression, for raising living standards, and for increasing social services to the people of this city.

If the Philadelphia Party remains nothing more than a party of convenience for a few politicians, it will soon wither away. If the Bowsers, Klenks and Rendells are serious about providing an alternative to the city's voters, they will have to come up with a program to fight corruption, gangsterism, and corporate control every day of the week, not just at election time.

Activities underway are a boycott of trade in Melrose Park, where many of the workers used to cash their checks and make purchases, a mobilization to support a federal suit against the police due to be filed within the month, and publicity to support the defense of Lenard, who faces a series of charges against himself for the outrages done to him.

Contributions are very much needed and can be sent to:

Bennie Lenard Defense Fund
c/o Seaway National Bank
645 E. 87th St.
Chicago, Illinois.



Clothing contract coming up

spawn hole-in-the-wall sweat shops and small jobbers who obviously are not going into business for their health but because there's money to be made.

RANK AND FILE DEMANDS

The experience of the last few years is reflected in the demands of the rank and file for the coming contract. The ACWA Rank and File Committee, which led the struggle against the sweetheart contracts of both '71 and '74, is calling for a one year contract with a dollar wage increase.

Reflecting the growing dissatisfaction with the piece rate system, they call for the increase on the clock. The committee also is demanding that the pure piece rate system be replaced with an incentive system that would guarantee every worker the average hourly rate regardless of their production. An improved cost-of-living clause is also called for.

Joining the trend for a shorter work week, the clothing rank and file are calling for 30 hours work for 40 hours pay to put back to work the thousands of unemployed clothing workers. Another demand that speaks to job security calls for a contract clause that would force any company that moved to take the union contract with it wherever it reopened -- a blow at the runaway shop. They are also demanding early retirement at full pension at 55 for women and sixty for men.

(continued on page 9)

contract. Where the members had the vote, the contract was either voted down or passed by the closest of margins. The demand for democratic ratifications is thus uppermost in the minds of militant rank and filers.

INDUSTRY CONDITIONS DETERIORATE

The last three years have seen a deterioration in the conditions of the clothing workers. In 1974, over 110,000 members were covered by the contract whereas today it is almost 30% less. Along with layoffs and plant closings have come wage cuts in the guise of changing and consolidating operations and in the process cutting piece rates.

The ACTWU leadership, who practice collaboration with the employers with a vengeance, have generally failed to enforce contract provisions protecting the workers against wage cuts. The most glaring example of the union leadership's class collaborationism was when the workers were forced to give up their June

'75 wage increase in order to shore up the sagging health insurance plan, a plan which is supposed to be paid for by employer contributions. In spite of rank and file protest in a number of cities, the leadership used the threat of loss of health insurance to ram the wage cut down the throats of the workers.

While clothing workers have been hard hit over the last few years, the manufacturers have shored up their position by taking advantage of the ACTWU's weakness to raise productivity and profits.

They have intensified their efforts at automation, while at the same time, speeding up work by cutting piece rates.

While the clothing bosses continue to moan about how they're going broke, a number of firms like Hart, Shaffner, & Marx, After Six, and Pincus Bros., have reported record profits. Joseph H. Cohen's (now Botany 500), after closing several floors, has in the last year expanded production again. At the other end of the spectrum, the industry continues to

by JIM GRIFFIN

On May 31st, the national men's clothing contract covering some 70,000 workers will expire. Three years ago, under enormous pressures from the rank and file, the ACTWU leadership called the first nationwide strike in 53 years, only to settle for another miserable 3-year agreement.

The Finley-Sheinkmann leadership was able to foist off another sweetheart deal on the clothing workers because ACTWU union members in the majority of markets were denied the right to ratify the

Fanny Lou Hamer she wouldn't let nobody turn her around

by JIM GRIFFIN

*"Ain't gonna let nobody turn me round,
Keep on walkin', Keep on talkin',
Marching to the Freedom Land"*

Fanny Lou Hamer used to sing this song at church meetings and civil rights gatherings all over Mississippi and beyond. It said what she and thousands of other poor Black people like her were all about. Now that mighty voice is stilled. Fanny Lou Hamer is dead at 59.

AIN'T GONNA LET THE BOSSMAN TURN ME ROUND

Granddaughter of a slave, daughter of a sharecropper, Fanny Lou Hamer went to work in the cotton fields of Sunflower County Mississippi when she was six years old. She knew first hand the backbreaking labor, the lynchings and the Jim Crow segregation that were the lot of the sharecroppers.

In 1961, Fanny Lou Hamer was a sharecropper on the Marlow Plantation and had been for 18 years. SNCC had just begun organizing in the county. Mrs. Hamer and 17 others went down to the courthouse and tried to register to vote. The next day she was evicted from the plantation. Two weeks later her husband Perry was fired from his job at the Ruleville cotton gin. Fanny Lou Hamer got a job working for SNCC.

AIN'T GONNA LET THE POLICEMAN TURN ME ROUND

Fear was the main weapon used to keep Black people from voting. . . sheriffs and state police, the KKK and the White Citizens Council made that fear very real. Mrs. Hamer's courage inspired many to overcome that fear. All over the state, Hamer and other SNCC activists travelled, standing up and openly calling on the people to register and vote. The racist powers that rule Mississippi struck back.

Fanny Lou Hamer was jailed and beaten and suffered the pain of these beatings the rest of her life. But she kept on.

AIN'T GONNA LET THE POLITICIAN TURN ME ROUND

In 1964, Fanny Lou Hamer was one of the organizers of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, organized because the regular Democratic Party excluded Black people. In the primary of that year, Hamer got 33,000 votes for Congress in the MFDP column.

At the Democratic convention, the MFDP delegation challenged the right of the regular delegation to be seated since that delegation had been selected in clear violation of the party's rule. It was more than a procedural challenge. Speaking to the nation on TV, Fannie Lou Hamer challenged the rule of racism in Mississippi politics.

But Lyndon Johnson didn't want to offend the racist southern politicians. He asked Hubert Humphrey to work out a compromise. The MFDP were offered two seats at large. All the liberals in the Democratic Party pleaded with the MFDP delegates to accept this "compromise." Hamer replied: "We didn't come all that way just for two votes. It is all we get in Mississippi -- a token of our rights. We want equal votes."

This incident marked a turning point in the Black Liberation Movement. It showed the civil rights activists that they couldn't rely on the white liberals of the Democratic Party. Shortly afterwards the slogan of Black Power was raised. Many of the civil rights leaders of the period were left behind by the new militancy. But Fanny Lou Hamer kept on.

As the war in Vietnam grew, the liberals and moderates counselled the civil rights



leadership to keep quiet so as not to "compromise" their cause. Fanny Lou Hamer was one of the first to speak out against the war. She understood the struggle was international in scope, a conviction that was strengthened when she was part of a SNCC delegation that met with liberation movements in Africa.

As a national and international figure, Hamer travelled far and wide but she continued to work in Sunflower County -- organizing cooperatives to improve the economic conditions of the residents of a state where per capita income is \$3,700 a year.

One of the weapons the ruling class used to divide and intimidate the movement was red-baiting. James Eastland, US Senator, is also a resident of Sunflower County, the owner of some 50,000 acres

of choice plantation land. James Eastland didn't like the idea of Black people in Sunflower or anywhere else organizing to demand equality. As head of the Senate Internal Security Committee he labelled the civil rights movement "a communist plot." Fanny Lou Hamer answered back: "We have sense enough to know who is using us and who is abusing us."

Now she is gone. 5,000 people gathered on March 20th in her hometown of Ruleville, Miss., to pay tribute to this great woman. Veteran civil rights leader Ella Baker told the crowd how we should see her passing. "The important thing is what we do now. Like Mrs. Hamer, we must know what's wrong and have the conviction and strength to do something about it. In this way we really celebrate and honor the life of Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer."

IWD Celebration A Success!

by SARA MURPHY

"It is us -- the women on the assembly lines, in the shops and offices, on welfare and on unemployment lines -- who are most directly affected and who are the most willing to fight for full equality for all women..."

The critical role of working class women in the struggle for women's equality rang out loud and clear throughout the evening of March 12 at the PWOC's International Women's Day Celebration. "It seemed to speak to *everyone*," said one Black hospital worker who attended.

There were close to 300 in the audience; close to half of these were national minority people, with representation from both the Black and Spanish-speaking communities. All age groups were there -- folks brought their parents as well as their children, and ages ranged from 3 months to 73 years!

The audience was also about half men -- the leaflet which built the event emphasized how men had much to celebrate on this workers' holiday. One woman remarked, "It was really the first time I saw men and women celebrating International Women's Day *together!*"

Those attending included political activists, workers and rank and file organizers, community organizers, members from city-wide campaigns to end school segregation, and to end apartheid in South Africa, activists from the women's movement, the Black Liberation movement, and more. Friends of the PWOC from cities across the country were there. Such a large multi-national gathering of a broad spectrum marked a real step forward for the PWOC and for the struggle against sexism.

Debbie Bambino, the Emcee for the evening, welcomed the participants, and speaking of the long and arduous road ahead of us, emphasized the need for a new vanguard party of the working class to lead the way.

A Puerto Rican sister from El Comitè, a working class organization in NYC, gave a statement of solidarity.

Starting off the entertainment was Lady Fay and Company -- a Black musical group. Their first number was particularly



striking, especially to the factory workers there: it said, "Hey, Mister Boss Man, Why we goin' so FAST?!" as the line continued to speed up. The workers got their answer at the end of the number with a lay-off slip.

Choreography with narration by the Third World Women's Creative Workshop and Teatro Alma Latina premiered two original poems by Rosemary Mealy-Whitehorne. One depicted the growing unity of women clothing workers as they defended a sister from a racist attack. The other, which climaxed the evening's event, was a moving tribute to the courageous struggles which the women of Chile and South Africa, "From Santiago to Soweto," are waging on behalf of their peoples.

Other cultural events of the evening included music by Richard Watson and a poster exhibit. Music by Beverly Grant of the Human Condition was one of the highlights of the celebration. A fine musician with a powerful voice, Grant and her bass player sang of the illusion of the American Dream so many of our parents believed in, of the police murder of a Black child in NYC, of how male supremacy and the pressures of working class life led to the breakup of Janie and Charlie, and told how "Default is de fault of the de rich." The audience joined in to sing "Together we can move mountains, but alone, we can't move at all!"

Mark Klimo, active in a rank and file caucus in the auto industry, gave an analysis



to all who were present as to why men need to support equality for women. He exploded many of the myths which teach men to help bosses in keeping women down -- particularly that women don't need decent wages because they are only working to "help out."

He directed his remarks especially to the working men present, and showed the utter falsity and danger of the myths which say "Women can't do men's work" and "Women don't make good union members." He cited the facts that women literally ran all of heavy industry during the Second World War, and said "If a job is too heavy for the average woman, *nobody* should have to do it!"

And if women in unions like the UAW don't make "good union members," it is because of the sexism of their union leaders and brothers, because hospital, clothing and office workers, who are mostly women, have been in the forefront of union organizing drives for many years.



QUIET VICTORIES

Today is a day that we celebrate -- the quiet victories of the women in the shop

For Mar and Bea

For young Sin Yee and Maria Ruiz

For Mrs. O'Malley -- who walks with a cane, eking out a living in spite of the pain

this is the day we celebrate

For Lottie Brown and Ida Jones

came up from the South, got stuck at Cohen's

this is the day we celebrate --

Today is a day we celebrate, the tolerance of the women in the shop, whose foremen are like drivers

Always

Pushing too far, forcing the workers to demand pay, which never comes out equal to their rate --

this is the day we celebrate

This is the day we celebrate for the women who stood tall in the face of the loss/ the day Bea was called "nigger" igniting a fire which almost triggered a bloody riot.

And, had it not been for Maria Ruiz, explaining away in her own language

"La unida se necesita. Vamos a llamar

una huelga, si se no se excusa por su acto"

It's unity we need, Let's call a strike, unless he apologizes for his act --

And Grace chimed in --

Tall, graceful, Black

and Painfully thin --

' We have nothing to lose, our dignity is at stake' --

Some more reasons for why we celebrate --

Rosemary Mealy-Whitehorne

This contract program reflects the growing maturity of the clothing rank and file movement following the hard experience of the last three years. But the going will be tough in the fight for these demands. The defeats of the last few years have weakened the morale of the movement, and the recession drove many activists out of the industry. The lack of organized rank and file forces outside Philadelphia is also a problem.

UNION LEADERSHIP'S PROGRAM

The union leadership is calling for a "substantial" wage increase, early retirement (59 for women, 62 for men) at 70% of the pension, and increased fringe benefits and holidays. Reportedly, the Cloth-

Finally, he discussed how the idea that women exist only as sex objects for men is harmful for all of us.

Ros Purnell, a Black woman, and chair of the United People's Campaign against Apartheid and Racism, gave the main political address of the evening. She discussed what "women's liberation" means for working class and national minority women. She explained what is meant by the "triple oppression" minority women are saddled with, and showed very concretely how there can be no gains for any women -- Black or white -- if white sisters do not take up the struggle against racism.

She inspired many with her description of heroic women workers' struggles from pages of history we seldom see. And she really hit home with a discussion of women's "second shift" -- the housework we get to do after work or on weekends. Also, she criticized the weaknesses of the democratic women's movement which grow from its middle class outlook, and explained how only working class and national minority women are in a position to unite the women's movement behind the workers' movement and the movements of the oppressed nationalities.

actwu contract

(continued from page 6)

FIGHT DISCRIMINATION

Blacks, foreign speaking and immigrant workers and women are all direct victims of the clothing bosses' drive to extract greater profits through systematic discrimination. These workers are concentrated in the lowest paying jobs and are almost completely excluded from the highly skilled, best paying operations. The divisions these practices create hurt all clothing workers.

Recognizing this, the Rank and File Committee calls for an upgrading program based on seniority. Presently, hiring and promotion to better paying jobs is at the discretion of the employer. The Committee is also demanding company-funded childcare and disability pay for pregnancy, demands with a special importance for women workers.

Constant contract violations and a weak grievance procedure are major concerns of the rank and file. The Committee calls for the abolition of the no-strike clause as the key step toward a real grievance procedure.

ing Manufacturer's Association has offered 50 cents over three years. Earlier, the manufacturer's had talked about a moratorium on wage increases. Between the greed of the employers and the needs of the workers there is a huge gulf.

Unless the rank and file can demonstrate real strength in the next month, the Finley-Sheinkmann leadership are likely to bow to the employers at the bargaining table and bring back a contract that will probably be even worse than the one in 1974. On the other hand, if the rank and file gives evidence of resistance to a sell-out, the leadership may well be forced to put up a show of a fight and perhaps call another strike. The key to what can be gained this year is in the hands of the rank and file.

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The U.S. and Southern Africa



a special supplement
in honor of
**AFRICAN LIBERATION
DAY**

Chemical Bank
Esso
GM
BETHLEHEM STEEL
Union Carbide

We've been in South Africa a long time... We like it here!

SOUTHERN AFRICA

they wanted to, because they would be prosecuted by the government. In fact, most corporate practices go far beyond government limits. Wages are lower than government regulations, and job segregation is more rigid. No company bargains with the African unions, which exist even though they have no real right to bargain or strike. Any corporation wishing to give some evidence to its claim to oppose racism has the possibility as a first step, of negotiating with an African Union. None have done so.

Many corporations provide strategic weapons and intelligence systems to the government, which are used to reinforce apartheid. IBM has designed a computer system to keep information on pass laws.

The most incriminating evidence of corporate support, however, is that whenever there is a crisis in South Africa, U. S. banks are quickest to move in with loans on the best terms, U. S. corporations are the first to announce new investments and their confidence in the government. This is an immeasurable economic boost which stimulates investment by all other important capitalist countries.

Despite the atrocities in Soweto last year, Standard Oil of California along with Texaco announced plans to spend \$134 million on a new refinery; and Kennecott Copper is spending \$300 million for new titanium mines.

U. S. banks, which have no money to lend in New York for daycare or in Philadelphia for mortgages, loaned \$800 million to South Africa last year.

APARTHEID'S DEFENDER AT THE UNITED NATIONS

The U. S. is second only to Britain in its economic ties to South Africa, but it is the most influential and outspoken defender of the regime in international diplomacy. At the U. N., the U. S. pretends to be opposed to apartheid, but has a 100% record of voting against any measures calling for condemnation of South Africa's practices or for effective economic pressure against the regime. Table 2 lists a few.

Although U. N. resolutions do not have the force of law internationally, opposi-

tion by the U. S. makes it much easier for other countries to avoid putting into action those measures which are passed.

The recent repeal of the Byrd Amendment which gave the O. K. to U. S. imports of Rhodesian chrome in violation of a U. N. embargo was an empty gesture. U. S. trade can no longer help the doomed Smith regime. The most important factor in the repeal was the fact that Rhodesian chrome is no longer needed by U. S. industry — it is now getting in from South African mines!

The new U. S. Ambassador to the U. N., Andrew Young, while more liberal sounding than Daniel Moynihan, is still only a mouthpiece of U. S. policy, not a policy maker. He has made it clear that the U. S. cannot support the liberation movements, and has endorsed the notion that the corporations will end racism. . . we can't expect him to bring major changes in the U. S. role at the U. N.

DON'T PLAY WITH SOUTH AFRICA!

A major campaign against South Africa is the worldwide attempt to exclude it from international sports competition. Integrated sports are strictly forbidden in South Africa, and teams sent abroad are either white or integrated *only* for foreign play. The U. S. is one of very few countries which will compete with South Africa or allow its athletes to compete within its borders.

MILITARY AID

In addition to arms sales, the United States cooperates with South Africa through NATO and the Supreme Allied Command in the Atlantic (SACLANT). These organizations are supposed to be concerned only with the North Atlantic, but South Africa has been included secretly as a "strategic partner" in the defense of Western Europe from "communist aggression". Of course, the defense of Western Europe includes the defense of the investments of western European and U. S. corporations in southern Africa. This logic saw NATO weapons flow to Portugal for its colonial wars. . . why should South Africa be different? South Africa's Cape of Good Hope controls a navigation channel as important as the Suez or Panama Canals.

A SYSTEM FOR EXPLOITATION

When all the evidence is in, when the fancy speeches are ignored in favor of the real actions, it is clear that the U. S. — both the federal government and the multi-national corporations — are partners in apartheid with South Africa. This partnership is not an accident but the logical extension of the interests of U. S. corporations around the world. . . and the name for it all is imperialism. Like the junta in Chile, and the Shah in Iran, South Africa is a junior partner in U. S. imperialism. Working people in Africa and America are being swindled by this partnership, and they are the only ones who can, and will, bring it to an end.

U.S. Corporations Keep Apartheid in Business

by S. BUNTING

U. S. business has over two billion dollars invested in South Africa, in everything from mining and automobile manufacture to hotels and fast food chains. Profits on this investment average 20%, or about two and a half times the average return in the States. This is why shops are running away to South Africa at a record pace.

These profits are a result of apartheid. South Africa's legal racism denies African workers the political and economic rights which most American workers take for granted. For all practical purposes unions are illegal, and organizing a strike can earn an African a life term in prison.

Clearly the corporations investing in South Africa do not want to see majority rule in that country. They fear it will mean what it has meant in Angola, Mozambique, and other countries — an end to uncontrolled exploitation and oppression of the working people. To protect their interests, the corporations, and the U. S. government which serves them, work from many angles to guarantee the security of the apartheid regime.

MANY FORMS OF SUPPORT

Continued investment, bank loans on very favorable terms, sales of weapons in violation of an U. N. embargo, military cooperation, and diplomatic defense at the United Nations and in other international forums are the ways in which the U. S. supports South Africa. In addition, the CIA and other agencies work tirelessly to de-stabilize the independent governments of southern Africa, especially socialist Angola and Mozambique. They hope at least to prevent these countries from giving effective support to the liberation struggle in the still-enslaved countries of South Africa, Namibia, and Zimbabwe (Rhodesia). At most, the CIA is hopeful that they can be overturned by fascist coups and returned to the orbit of South Africa.

Now that the facts are out about conditions in South Africa, dramatized by the mindless slaughter of innocent children in Soweto, the corporations are pressed to make all kinds of excuses for their participation in apartheid. Some claim that they are merely there to do business and are unconcerned with politics. Others state that their presence will help undermine segregation because of their enlightened practices. (What have their "enlightened practices" accomplished here in the U. S.?)

INVESTMENT REINFORCES RACISM

In fact, South Africa boasts of the reasons for high profit rates, and this is precisely why corporations seek to invest there — because the highest profit is the greatest good, regardless of the blood, sweat and tears which flow in the production of those profits. In fact, in the competition among monopoly corporations, increasing this exploitation and racism is the key to increasing profits.

Because of South Africa's laws which dictate job separation by race, and which establish wage levels and other conditions, corporations could not oppose racism if

SOME MAJOR US CORPORATIONS IN SOUTH AFRICA

NAME	TOTAL INVESTMENT	NO. OF EMPLOYEES	AVERAGE WAGE OF BLACKS	AVERAGE WAGE OF WHITES
GM	\$125 million	4000	\$100	\$320
Ford	\$100 million	4000	\$100	\$330
Mobil Oil	\$87 million	2000	\$158	\$420
GE	\$55 million	1500	\$130	\$400
Firestone	\$30 million	1550	\$72	
Rubber				

Women on the move in socialist Mozambique

by BELINDA

"With the proclamation of the People's Republic of Mozambique, we are starting a new phase of our history in which we are going to put into practice throughout the country the political, ideological, economic, social and cultural gains won during the struggle."

To say "The People's Republic" is not to voice an empty and demagogic formula. To say "The People's Republic" means to give substance to the aspirations of millions of dominated and exploited Mozambicans for whom independence is a precondition for the end of exploitation and the establishment of a people's regime.

To say "The People's Republic", is to say Independence; to say "The People's Republic" is to say Revolution."

— President Samora Machel
June 25, 1975

INDEPENDENCE

On June 25, 1975, the flag of the new People's Republic of Mozambique was raised. The flag of Portugal was lowered and Mozambique became an independent African state. The People's Republic was born — to quote Mozambique's President, Samora Machel, of the "people's struggle for freedom and independence." It was a struggle which continued for many centuries, and now continues, to create a nation in which the interest of the masses of the people — the workers and the peasants — is the determining factor for all decisions.

In a People's Republic, there is no room for those who wish to exploit and profit from the labor of others. That was the way before independence. Portuguese colonialism had dominated the country — its economy, social services, police, political structures, land and natural resources. Now it is the people who are taking on the responsibility for their own society and providing the leadership which is building a better future for Mozambique.

In order for the heritage of poverty, and social and economic backwardness fostered by the colonialist system to be overcome, the old patterns must be unlearned and replaced. FRELIMO, the governing party in Mozambique, has undertaken the tremendous tasks of educating, organizing, and mobilizing the masses towards a new and necessary consciousness.

A significant aspect of the struggle to create a socialist society in Mozambique is the struggle for the emancipation of women. As stated by President Machel, "... the liberation of women is a fundamental necessity for the revolution, a guarantee of its continuity and a pre-condition for its victory". For the women of Mozambique, their struggle for liberation is not separate, but is bound to the reconstruction of their country. At the same time, the building of the socialist society in Mozambique cannot be divorced from the development of women's consciousness of their own dignity.

OPPRESSION OF RURAL WOMEN

There is much to overcome. The mobilization of women is a complex process because Mozambican women were so severely oppressed, both by colonialism and by the traditional society. For the women of the countryside, their lot was the most oppressive in colonized Mozambique. Peasant women were reduced to the role of being — in the words of President Machel — "an object of pleasure, produ-



Robert Van Lierop

Women relax during a rally for FRELIMO, the governing party of Mozambique.

cer of children and subsistence for the family, (as well as) the unpaid worker at the service of the 'head' of the household, the man..."

The women of the rural areas knew colonialism as a system of oppression that directly affected them. It was colonialism which encouraged the separation of the family. Husbands and sons were the cheap labor force that made colonialism prosperous. Often the men were forced to work in the cities while the women remained behind in the countryside.

Women's inferior status was reinforced by the ideas and culture of traditional society. An infinite variety of practices kept women under control of the men to whom they were related. Initiation rites, forced marriages, bride price and polygamy are all customs which served to hold back the development of women, and of the society as a whole.

EXPLOITATION OF URBAN WOMEN

For Mozambican women who lived in the city, there was a different set of problems. As the center of Portuguese colonialism, the city has been described as the place where "... the class struggle is the sharpest and the woman feels most violently her double exploitation." As a

worker, the city woman is forced to sell her labor at the lowest of wages, and was often reduced to selling her body as well. As a housewife, she existed to serve her husband who in turn was exploited by the system.

Mobilizing women to play a full part in the struggle to build the new society will be a long and complex process. The development of a strategy for the expansion of women's role in the new society was the topic discussed by over two hundred members of the Organization of Mozambican Women (OMM) at a conference held in Maputo last November.

ORGANIZATION OF MOZAMBIKAN WOMEN

The Organization of Mozambican Women was born out of the struggle to oust the Portuguese. Its seed lay in the Women's Detachment of FRELIMO, formed in 1966. Primarily a military organization, the Women's Detachment's main tasks were to mobilize the population and to serve in the FRELIMO army. As it grew, however, the need for its expansion was soon recognized. In March, 1972, FRELIMO cadres from the Central Committee, women delegates from every liberated zone, and members of the Women's Detachment met to form the OMM as a

broad-based organization, a mass organization, which could bridge the gap between the women in the army and the hundreds of thousands of Mozambican women, peasants and workers, who had remained on the periphery or beyond the reach of the liberation struggle.

The conference, called in November, was an effort to review and evaluate the work that had been done by OMM and the tasks that lay ahead. Discussion among the delegates was open, critical, and frank. Considerable time was spent analyzing the general problems of women in the countryside and in the cities.

The overwhelming consensus, after much discussion was that OMM had not effectively mobilized the masses of Mozambican women. The women criticized their Organization's view that women's activities were secondary and support tasks. As a result of this conference OMM sees itself entering a new phase. One of the main concepts that was emphasized was the need for the liberation of women to be integrated into the larger context of national reconstruction. The aim of OMM, therefore, by way of implementation, is to "engage women in erecting the material and ideological base for the construction of socialist society."

BUILDING SOCIALISM DEMANDS WOMEN'S EQUALITY

Resolutions were passed to ensure that Mozambican women be given equal opportunities to learn new techniques and new theoretical knowledge, to have access to the use of all machines, and above all, to participate in political structures, management, and administration. The commitment to incorporate women into political life and leadership will be a process that is difficult and will take a long time. It is important to recognize, though that this struggle is part and parcel of that of the entire nation.

As stated by President Machel, "The consciousness of women about their own dignity, which they must defend, is a class consciousness, (and it is one that) will be born from the practice of socially oriented work and from political participation. And it will be from working women that active militants will emerge forming the cadre of OMM and FRELIMO, for only they carry the values of revolutionary society."

Perhaps the best statement of the nature of the commitment inspired by this conference came from one of the delegates, a member of the Women's Detachment, who saw the struggle not for herself, but for those who will follow "It will be a lengthy process. It doesn't advance the struggle much to speak of equality between men and women, if the woman has no possibility of realizing this equality. But perhaps her children will have. We are doing our best to insure that they do."



Josina Abiatar Machel participated in clandestine political work against the Portuguese when she was still a child. By the time she was 20, she became a militant in FRELIMO and a leading spokesperson promoting the emancipation of Mozambican women.

When she died in 1971, the Executive Committee of FRELIMO wrote: "A fighter in the front line, she was one of the leaders of the Women's Detachment of FRELIMO — the women's fighting corps of the People's Forces for the Liberation of Mozambique. She was head of the Section of Social Affairs and was responsible for External Affairs in the FRELIMO's Women's Section."

—from "The Guardian"

Josina Machel

"A fighter on
the front line..."

*This is the time we were waiting for.
Our guns are light in our hands
the reasons and aims of the struggle
clear in our minds.*

*The blood shed by our heroes
makes us sad but resolute.
It is the price of our freedom.
We keep them close in our hearts
from their example new generations
— revolutionary generations
are already being born.*

*Ahead of us we see bitter hardships.
But we see also
our children running free
our country plundered no more.*

*This is the time to be ready
and firm.
The time to give ourselves
to the Revolution.*

JOSINA MACHEL



In Southern Africa the struggle wages on ...

Liberation is coming to southern Africa. Apartheid — the forced separation of the races, the absolute denial of political power to the non-white peoples, and the super exploitation of Black labor in field and factory — is on the ropes. The future belongs to what Agostinho Neto, leader of the MPLA calls people's power:

"Our objective of people's democracy springs from the will of our people to establish what we call people's power throughout the country. It is essential that the workers, the most exploited of all social classes — who have fought for independence and who are the driving force of the revolution we are making, be represented on all decision-making bodies that administer the state. I think that in the not too distant future we will have created the conditions whereby our workers and peasants, who make up the most exploited classes, can participate most effectively in the running of the country. From that moment on, our people's democracy will be a reality, and the people in power."

Soon the people of Namibia, Rhodesia, and South Africa will be deciding for themselves the best way to make the resources of their country serve their need for jobs, housing, education and health care.

Liberation is not automatic, however. The bitter resistance of the white racist regimes, backed up by U. S. financial, diplomatic, and military power, has left the liberation movements no alternative but that of a prolonged armed struggle for freedom and independence. And still further ahead lies the difficult task of reconstruction — of overcoming the legacy of a century of racism and colonialism and building a new order based on people's power. But the victories in Angola and Mozambique have brought this into sight.

In each country still under colonial, imperialist rule, liberation movements have emerged with common goals, and have learned well the lessons of the heroic struggles of Vietnam, Mozambique, and Angola. Solidarity and support from progressive people around the world has helped these organizations prepare themselves for the continuing struggle.

The Southwest African People's Organization, of Namibia, the Patriotic Front and Zimbabwe People's Army of Zimbabwe, and the African National Congress and other organizations of the South African people have learned one important lesson from other liberation struggles. Their liberation cannot come about merely through taking power from the colonialists. They must go beyond to a complete revolution in the economic and political organization of their countries. The giant corporations which control the resources of southern Africa, which dictate the terms of labor, which encourage and profit from racism and tribalism must be eliminated, along with the racism and exploitation they are based on.

Many countries in northern Africa show clearly what happens when there is a change in political control without a challenge to the economic system. Black faces replace white faces, a new flag goes up, but conditions on the plantations, in the factories and schools remain the same. Real control of the country remains in the strangle-hold of international capitalist corporations, which control the economy.

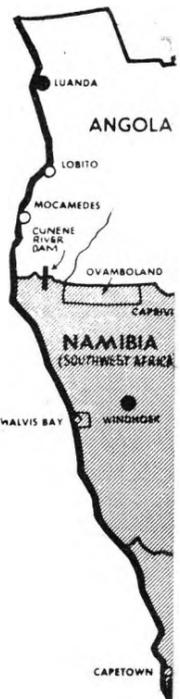
PEOPLE ARE THE GREATEST STRENGTH

Mozambique and Angola won their struggle against the military power of Portugal, backed by South Africa, the U. S., and NATO because they relied on the people, and showed the people in the liberated areas, what the end of exploitation would be like. United against their common enemy, the people learned in practice the fruits of unity. Amilcar Cabral, leader of the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands (PAIGC) expressed the growth of the revolution by saying that before the struggle "... we were tribes of Fula, Balante, Mandinka, ... now we are a nation of Guineans" And independent Guinea is a model of progress in West Africa.

Let's look at the state of the struggle in the three countries — Zimbabwe(Rhodesia), Namibia (Southwest Africa), and South Africa itself.

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three countries still not free



South Africa

With the most powerful army in Africa, and the most developed economy, John Vorster's racist regime is a formidable enemy. Even so, the 80% of the population which is oppressed under apartheid will not tolerate it much longer, and is taking steps to end it. When ten-year-old students have to be gunned down in the streets to end their opposition to apartheid, South Africa's desperation, not its strength, is showing. The South African defense budget has been increasing at the rate of 50% a year, partly to pay for their aggression against Angola, and for greater repression at home.

Because of the extreme degree of police repression in South Africa there can be no legal opposition to apartheid. Many organizations, however, are active secretly, and their work, plus the spontaneous anger of the people, continues to rock the country with protests, strikes, and sabotage of the government and industry. The continued struggle has disrupted the economy and has shown the emptiness of the reforms offered by the racists which do not attack the basis of apartheid -- systematic exploitation based on race.

In the bantustans, the barren tracts of land which South Africa would like to claim are becoming independent nations, resistance to the African puppet leaders is so intense that they require more police protection than even the top white politicians.



Guardian/cpf



Liberation - an international

In Portugal the people overthrew their oppressors. In Cuba volunteers to longshoremen refused to unload chrome ore, and tested against the racist policies of the government, despite their own hardship and the aid of the United States. Through the Organization of African People's Solidarity, the United States government has supported the armed liberation struggle.

Aid given to Angola in its battle against the oppressors, equipped by the U. S., aid given to Cuba, confused with the intervention by the U. S., and the exploitation, as Agostinho Neto has again said:

"We are a sovereign state and we defend our territorial integrity, our independence, and our land. No country has the right to tell us what we should do. The United States speaks of putting what it wants is nothing more than precisely those which are helping the colony."

By their own efforts, and with the support of the people of southern Africa will build a new

three countries still not free



Namibia

SWAPO has been the unchallenged leader of the liberation struggle in this country for nearly a decade. South Africa was given trusteeship of Namibia after World War I, to guide it to independence. Instead, it turned it into a colony of its own, promoting native reserves and apartheid. The U. N. has long since declared South Africa's control illegal, and demanded its withdrawal in favor of a government formed by U. N. supervised elections.

South Africa knows that free elections would be won overwhelmingly by

South Africa

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Zimbabwe (Rhodesia)

South Africa attack Mozambique

Nyazonia, Mozambique, Aug 8, 1976 — 618 people are killed and 1000 injured in a surprise attack by Rhodesian forces on a village of refugees from Rhodesia. The troops entered the town without difficulty disguised as FRELIMO and opened fire with machine guns. Ian Smith claims the attack was in "hot pursuit" of guerilla fighters.

Tete Province, Mozambique, Oct. 31, 1976 — Rhodesian troops invade with fully equipped battalion. 200 civilians are killed before they are expelled Nov. 7.

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These are only a few of the attacks made on the independent countries of southern Africa by the U. S. supported racist governments of South Africa and Rhodesia. Although this terrorism against border villages is always reported as "hot pursuit", it is clear from the actual events that they were planned attacks on civilian populations.

Liberation - an international struggle

In Portugal the people overthrew their own fascist government in order to end the wars in southern Africa. In Cuba volunteers to serve in Angola were turned away. In the U. S. longshoremen refused to unload chrome and coal from Rhodesia and South Africa in protest against the racist policies of the governments. Tanzania and Zambia have given tremendous aid, despite their own hardships, and despite aggression against them by South Africa. Through the Organization of African Unity, almost every country on the continent has supported the armed liberation struggle.

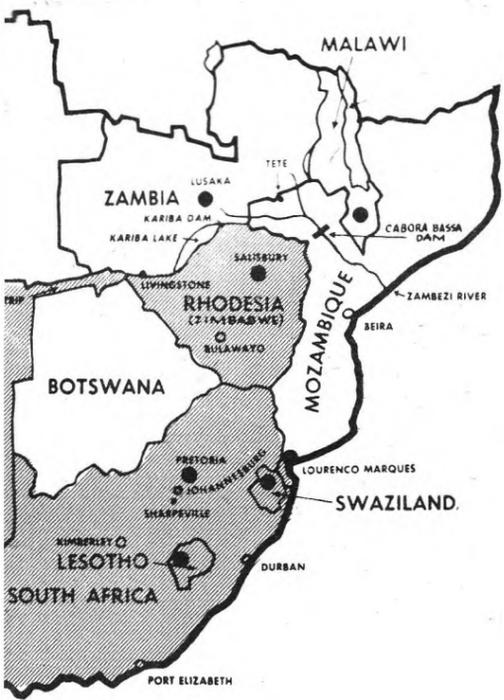
Aid given to Angola in its battle against the combined forces of South Africa and Angolan traitors equipped by the U. S., aid given on the basis of international solidarity cannot be confused with the intervention by the U. S. and South Africa to protect their rights of exploitation, as Agostinho Neto has again summarized so clearly:

"We are a sovereign state and we seek help from anybody we please to defend our territorial integrity, our economy, and the reconstruction of our land. No country has the right to accuse us on that score. When the United States speaks of putting an end to foreign interference, what it wants is nothing more than the expulsion of the socialist forces, precisely those which are helping us avoid becoming a new American colony."

By their own efforts, and with the support of progressive people of all countries, the people of southern Africa will build a new society, free of exploitation of man by man.



Guardian/cpf



Namibia (Southwest Africa)

SWAPO has been the unchallenged leader of the liberation struggle in this country for nearly a decade. South Africa was given trusteeship of Namibia after World War I, to guide it to independence. Instead, it turned it into a colony of its own, promoting native reserves and apartheid. The U. N. has long since declared South Africa's control illegal, and demanded its withdrawal in favor of a government formed by U. N. supervised elections.

South Africa knows that free elections would be won overwhelmingly by

SWAPO, and therefore refuses to allow them. It has promoted its own brand of independence through the Turnhalle Conference. This plan would institutionalize "separate development" and give decisive control of the central government to the white minority. SWAPO and the U. N. have categorically rejected this scheme, but South Africa still hopes to have it recognized by the U. S. and other major powers.

While the diplomatic charade continues in the capital city of Windhoek, there is an all-out war in the northern zone. South

Africa has just constructed a massive military and air base at Grootfontein in northern Namibia. From this base the soldiers of apartheid have attempted to make a ten mile wide no-man's-land on the border with Angola, an area cleared of vegetation and people, where any trespasser will be shot on sight. This strategy has failed to prevent increasing popular support for SWAPO soldiers. The troops of South Africa also regularly terrorize villages in Namibia, and also Angola and Zambia in an attempt to find guerillas, or scare people out of supporting them. Nevertheless, SWAPO continues to grow.

Zimbabwe (Rhodesia)

In the past year, the two major people's movements, the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) and the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) have come together in the Patriotic Front. The people of Zimbabwe forced out the dishonest elements of their leadership, and have come together in the Zimbabwe People's Army — and they are on the offensive against the Smith regime.

The Geneva conference was a recognition of this fact by the racist regimes which wanted to use it to buy time for themselves and look for divisions among the people of Zimbabwe.

Their plan backfired, and every important African leader made it clear that if

independence could not be won at the conference table, then they were prepared to win it on the battlefield.

Inside Zimbabwe conditions are steadily worsening for the Smith regime. Hundreds of thousands of Africans have been moved to "protected villages". Enclosed by barbed wire, these are prisons used to keep the people away from guerilla fighters. The northwestern two-thirds of Rhodesia is now the theatre of military operations. Zimbabweans are leaving the country in large numbers to avoid the "villages", and many of the young people, men and women, are joining the liberation army. U. S. military strategists have estimated that the minority regime can last at most two more years unless there is massive intervention in support of Smith.



South African, Rhodesian troops attack Mozambique, Angola, Zambia

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South Africa and the western powers have not given up the idea of again exploiting the wealth of Angola and Mozambique for their own profit, and the military campaign against these two countries, they hope, will contribute toward that end. The direct goals of the attacks have two main aims:

First, they seek to undermine economically the new socialist governments. Mozambique and Angola are hard-pressed to rebuild their countries after years of war and centuries of colonialism. Each railroad bridge bombed by invading troops costs many hours of difficult labor to rebuild, when every hand is needed for the basic tasks of feeding, housing, and educating the population, as well as beginning to build modern, industrial econo-

mies. Smith and Vorster hope that they can create enough trouble that the people will turn against FRELIMO and MPLA and accept a "peaceful" government backed by South Africa.

The second major goal of the attacks is to divide the peoples of the independent countries from the freedom fighters; this is done by claiming that if those countries didn't help the liberation fighters of Namibia and Zimbabwe, they would not be attacked.

Although their desperate and senseless massacres will cost many lives, they will not turn the tide in favor of the racists. So far, they have only pushed the independent countries to work more closely, and to endorse armed struggle as the only course for liberation in South Africa today.

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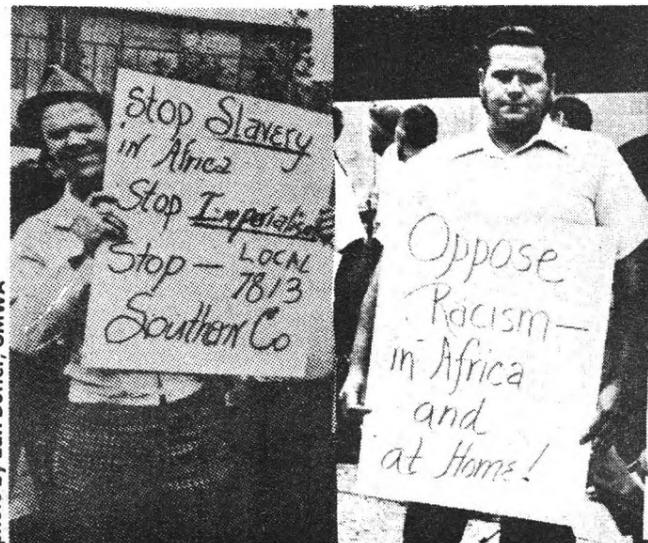
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Apartheid- the enemy of U.S. workers

Black Mine Workers in South Africa.

U. S. Mineworkers demonstrate in support of their African brothers.



by JOHN MALACHI

All workers in the U. S. are affected by the continual exploitation perpetrated by American corporations in South Africa. The ability to exploit workers in South Africa gives American corporations an added weapon in their arsenal aimed at stopping the demands of American workers for better conditions.

For example, the ability of many American corporations to hold out during strikes is often directly related to their profits gained from foreign investment. The threat used by companies to close and move abroad is also used to keep workers quiet and on the defensive.

In addition, protecting U. S. corporate investments abroad requires a huge military establishment paid for by taxing the workers. And when the monopolies decide that they have to resort to war to protect their investments, it's the workers who pay — not only with their dollars, but with their blood as well.

WORKER'S INTERNATIONALISM

In their striving for ever greater profits, the monopolists recognize no national boundaries. For workers in the U. S. to wage an effective fight against these multi-national corporations, we have to practice an internationalism of our own.

Here in Philadelphia recently the newspaper workers gave us a good example of how to counter the unity of the employers with labor unity. Just as the *Inquirer* and *Bulletin* bosses worked hand in hand for their mutual interests, so do the U. S. monopolists and the apartheid rulers of South Africa. And just as the *Inquirer* and *Bulletin* workers met this unity with a greater unity of their own, so U. S. workers must unite with South African workers and build solidarity with the liberation struggle.

The U. S. Trade union leadership, for the most part, opposes this kind of solidarity. Recently the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions passed a resolution condemning apartheid in South Africa. This was endorsed by the leadership of the UAW. However, the UAW's gesture was merely a token. Jerry Dole, an aide to Leonard Woodcock, when questioned on what the UAW was going to do in practice, refused to speculate. However, he did say that the UAW would not do anything to jeopardize the jobs of Blacks and whites in South Africa! We should compare this with the British Transport Workers and Dockloaders Union which have called for workers to do everything in their power to impede and harass trade with South Africa.

Many Black and other minority workers have engaged in support activities for South Africa. While some may not have a clear understanding of the economics of imperialism, they have seen that the struggle against racism in South Africa is linked up with the struggle against racism here in the U. S.

RANK AND FILE MUST ACT

The rank and file movement must begin to take up the issue of southern Africa in demanding that their unions show active support and solidarity. There are various actions that workers can do through the union. One is to get your local to pass a resolution condemning South Africa and demanding a withdrawal of all economic support of South Africa.

The union rank and file should establish southern Africa rank and file committees. These committees could develop programs for material aid for the liberation movements, join with other forces in the community for mass action and continually pressure the unions to support the liberation struggles. They could demand that the resources of COPE be used to pressure the government and companies to withdraw from South Africa.

Black workers who know first hand the discriminatory practices of U. S. Steel, General Motors, and AT&T also know

that Andy Young is sadly mistaken to suggest that large American corporations are committed to equal rights in South Africa.

RACISM HURTS WHITE WORKERS

White workers in this country must begin to realize that racism hurts all workers both home and abroad. The mass media is aware of this as it perpetrates years of racist reporting. Headlines like those describing the liberation forces as "raging mobs" are subtle approaches used to suggest that the only concern in South Africa is that Blacks will massacre whites. The media refuses to show how the Mozambican and Angolan governments allow all people of Portuguese descent (who choose to stay) to participate fully in the rebuilding of those countries, and have included them in the newly formed governments.

The government and the monopoly corporations try to sell their support of the apartheid system by appealing to racism. By the same token, we can win masses of white Americans to the struggle against apartheid only by taking up the struggle against racism here at the same time. We must approach this task in the spirit of Samora Machel, the President of Mozambique, when he said, "Solidarity is not an act of charity; but mutual aid between forces fighting for the same objective."

a national program for the liberation support movement

Over the last several years, a growing mass movement has developed in the U. S. in support of African Liberation (see adjacent article). While thousands of people have been drawn into struggle through demonstrations, film showings, and other actions, the movement remains fragmented and localized. Clearly what is needed is a national center that can develop and coordinate national campaigns and actions. Support groups need to coalesce around a common program to maximize their impact.

NEED FOR A PROGRAM

The problem of developing a united, national support movement is not simply organizational. Political confusion and ideological weakness are at the roots of the present fragmentation of the movement. Marxist-Leninists, in order to provide real leadership, must bring to the movement a clear analysis that provides a political footing for a broad unity, while identifying the various trends that hold the movement back.

We believe the support movement must coalesce around three central demands:

1. End All U. S. Economic and Military Support for the Racist Regimes.
2. Victory to the Liberation Movements! Long live the People's Republics of Angola and Mozambique!
3. End the Racist Attacks in South Africa and the U. S.

The first demand — End All U. S. Aid — identifies U. S. imperialism as the enemy and focus of our struggle. It draws clear lines of demarcation with those liberal forces who are prepared to temporize with U. S. policy. . . . who are willing perhaps to call for a change in this or that aspect of the policy but not for an unconditional withdrawal of all U. S. aid. We have to make it clear that given the character of the racist regimes in southern Africa and the role of the U. S., the ending of such aid is the only basis for a democratic solution of the conflict.

This demand also must be counterposed to those who want to "balance" our attack on U. S. imperialism by demanding that the Soviet Union's support be terminated as well. This is the line of bourgeois liberals and out-and-out reactionaries who want to sidestep or justify U. S. involvement by raising the spectre of Soviet aggression or gain.

It is also, of course, the political line of any number of so-called Marxist-Leninists who see "Soviet Social Imperialism" as the main danger to the African people. Given that the Soviet Union is providing critical material aid to the liberation struggle, objectively the call for the termination of such aid is an out-and-out blow against liberation and a real service to Vorster, Smith, and the U. S. imperialists.

The demand for an end to U. S. aid and intervention in South Africa is the minimal basis on which the support movement can be built. For Marxist-Leninists to call for anything short of this is nothing but an abandonment of proletarian internationalism.

NO NEO-COLONIAL SOLUTIONS

The second demand, calling for victory for the liberation movements and solidarity with the People's Republics in the already liberated nations is closely linked with the first. The U. S. and other imperialist powers and elements in the ruling classes of South Africa all favor a neo-colonial solution to the conflict. They are prepared to modify the most visible evils of the apartheid system, and share political power with Black "moderates" while maintaining the privileged position of foreign capital.

Such a "solution" leaves the masses powerless and without real independence.



epf



Support Grows for African Liberation Struggles

by AARON GIBBS

While the peoples of South Africa, Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) and Namibia wage a courageous struggle for their own liberation, action in their support continues to grow across the United States. Black community and political organizations, civil rights groups, trade unions, church groups, communist organizations, and anti-imperialist coalitions have joined together in opposing the racist governments of those countries.

DEMONSTRATIONS SUPPORT AFRICAN LIBERATION

Last June, many actions were sparked by the murderous attack on Soweto children by South African police. The students began their protest against the use of the language of their oppressor — Afrikaans — in their schools. In Chicago, PUSH (People United to Save Humanity) led a demonstration of over 400 people, which featured a speaker from the African National Congress, the outlawed liberation movement of South Africa. That same week, demonstrations of 300 to 600 people occurred in New York, Boston, Washington and San Francisco.

In September, people demonstrated in New York, linking the federal government's refusal to assist New York City with the indirect military support it supplies to South Africa. Sponsored by Blacks in Solidarity with South African Liberation, the protest drew 600.

On November 26, several hundred people demonstrated in Washington to expose the fallacy of the "independence" of the Transkei, one of the reservations set aside for Africans by the racist government. Sponsors included the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, City-wide Housing Coalition, D. C. Statehood Party, Organization of African Students, Republic of New Africa, National Alliance Against Racism and Political Repression, Non-Intervention in Chile and the July 4th Coalition. Speeches were given by representatives of the ANC and the Pan Africanist Congress, also an outlawed liberation movement.

PROTEST APARTHEID AND RACISM

Several hundred people demonstrated in New York City in November in support

of the struggle of the liberation forces in Zimbabwe. At the same time a militant picket line protested the Broadway opening of *Ipi-Tombi* a racist and sexist play which depicted Africans as happy on the reservations. The play was forced to close after losing money for two months.

Public outrage at the conditions in South Africa has brought many City Councils to pass resolutions against dealing with corporations investing in South Africa. Important among these cities are Madison, Wisconsin, Gary, Indiana, and Washington, D. C. Denver, San Antonio, and the National Council of Churches have recently passed resolutions urging people not to buy Krugerrands, a gold coin being marketed in this country to raise money for South Africa.

Protests were not the only forms used to express solidarity with southern Africa. 1976 saw several celebrations as Mozambique noted its anniversary as an independent nation. Over 3,000 attended the New York premier of *O Povo Organizado* (The People Organized), a film about building socialism in Mozambique. This world premiere kicked off a series of benefit premieres in many cities which have raised \$40,000 to build a maternity hospital in Mozambique. The Philadelphia premiere raised \$1700.

PHILADELPHIA SUPPORT ACTIONS

Philadelphians, Black and white, have been part of this nationwide movement. The first activity of the United People's Campaign Against Apartheid and Racism (UPCAAR), a new Philadelphia group formed in 1976, was organizing for a spirited picket line of 100 people against South Africa's participation in the Federation Cup International Tennis Tournament at the Spectrum last summer. Other groups participating in this action were the National Anti-Imperialist Movement in Solidarity with African Liberation, and the American Friends Service Committee. In October UPCAAR led a demonstration at the Ford-Carter debate, and in November sponsored *O Povo Organizado*, seen by 600 people.

In March, several actions commemorated the Sharpeville massacre which occurred March 21, 1960 — South African police fired on a peaceful demonstration against pass laws and killed 69 persons. UPCAAR and the Venceremos Brigade sponsored a night of solidarity March 19th, attended by 300 people; the Sharpeville Day Coalition conducted a day of solidarity March 20th at the Black History Museum, and on March 26th, the March 26th Coalition led a march of 200 people from the Church of the Advocate, 18th and Diamond Streets, to City Hall. There were marches in over a dozen cities nationwide on that day.

LEADERSHIP IN THE SUPPORT MOVEMENT

It is clear that at present the liberation support movement is on the upswing. The people involved are not relying on Washington policy makers or Carter's "human rights" campaign. They know from past experience that despite any pious speeches, U. S. policy will continue to support "peaceful change", and place the interests of U. S. corporations above those of the African people. The Black community, and Black and white working class people are taking the initiative, as only they can, to build a strong grass roots movement that says NO to apartheid and racism.



To counter this, we must expose the real character of these neo-colonial schemes and demand recognition of the popularly based liberation movements—who are committed to genuine independence and the expulsion of imperialism—as the only legitimate voice of the peoples of Africa.

This demand is, of course, unacceptable to common liberals who — either out of ignorance or design — favor a neo-colonial solution. It also meets opposition from certain forces on the left. . . pacifists are appalled at apartheid but cannot support those who fight it because they have resorted to armed struggle. . . our so-called Marxist-Leninists who view the liberation movements as pawns of "Soviet Social Imperialism" and our equally chauvinist Trotskyites who dictate the correct program for the liberation movements from their armchairs here in the U. S.

We should, in fact we must, make a critical analysis of each liberation movement. Only such an analysis can tell us which forces are most resolutely fighting imperialism and best carrying out the tasks of liberation. But to seize upon either real or imagined shortcomings of the movements as a basis for denying them support plays into the hand of the enemy.

FIGHT RACISM IN AFRICA, AT HOME

The third demand — End the Racist At-

tacks in South Africa and the U. S. — links up the struggle of the African people with the Black Liberation struggle here in the U. S. It points to the roots of racial and national oppression in imperialism's drive for super-profits.

Only if the support movement raises this slogan and develops real campaigns that concretize it can the powerful weight of the Black Liberation Movement be brought fully into coalition with other forces. But even more importantly, only if the support movement aggressively takes up the question of racism can it hope to win masses of white workers to its banner. Racism is the main ideological prop of U. S. support for the Vorster and Smith regimes. Only if we are able to show the white workers how racism, both here and abroad, is an attack on the whole working class can we build a working class-based, multinational movement.

This demand, too, has its detractors. There is the Socialist Workers Party with its single issue mania. In the name of building the broadest possible coalition around the lowest common denominator, the SWP accommodates racism and fails to educate the masses in an anti-imperialist spirit. Paradoxically, they narrow rather than broaden who can be united, because, as we have already argued, only a consistent struggle against racism can win masses of whites to support African liberation.

There are also backward forces who, while not making any principle out of it, simply omit the struggle against racism because it never occurs to them that the two struggles are closely bound up with each other. This was the same kind of white chauvinism which plagued the anti-war movement.

Finally there are the advocates of the white skin privilege analysis of racism. These forces are militantly opposed to racism in words. However, since they believe that white workers benefit from racism and imperialism, they completely undercut the whole political basis for winning over masses of white workers to the struggle. Their high-sounding phrases are a poor substitute for class conscious white workers.

WHITE CHAUVINISM — BLOCK TO UNITY

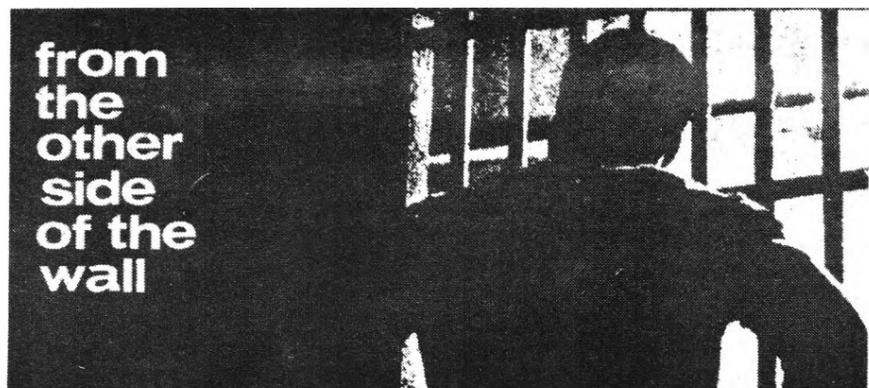
Overcoming these political weaknesses is central to building a multi-national coalition. The Black Liberation Movement, beginning with the massive African Liberation Day demonstrations several years ago, has been the driving force of the support movement. While there is some separatist, narrow nationalist sentiment among Black activists in the support movement, it would be a tragic error to see this as the main obstacle to building a multi-national coalition on a national basis.

The fundamental problem is the strength of white chauvinism among white progressives and the failure of white anti-imperialists to translate good intentions into aggressive organizing among the white masses. Overcoming these obstacles on the local level and building principled multi-national unity are steps that must be taken right now.

Two nationally-based organizations presently exist that have potential to at least partially fill the vacuum of national leadership, the National Black Coalition on Southern Africa (NBCSA) and the Coalition for the Liberation of Southern Africa (CLSA). Both these organizations call for an end to U. S. aid and corporate involvement, solidarity with the liberation movements and an end to the racist attacks here as well as in South Africa.

The NBCSA represents a coming together of Black activists around the question of South Africa. The CLSA is a predominantly white, middle class grouping consisting of church groups, local support committees, liberal professional organizations, and the like. The absence of strong Black (in the case of CLSA) and working class participation reflects the problems of the support movements addressed above. A viable multi-national coalition on a national basis is going to require both working in these existing formations and developing strong local work.

from
the
other
side
of the
wall



As part of a continuing crackdown on the rights of prisoners at the Marion Federal Penitentiary, the authorities have banned all Communist and left-wing publications. Inmates can no longer receive any left political material from bookstores or distributors (which often gave generous discounts) but must order directly from publishers.

Another Catch 22 is that prisoners are not allowed to receive catalogues from publishers on the grounds that peniten-

tiaries do not handle commercial or so-called "junk" mail.

According to the National Prisoners Association, a prisoners group active at Marion, this campaign of harassment and thought control began last year with the banning of gay rights publications. The NPA has called upon all the left organizations to unite to fight the ban and urges people to send telegrams to Jimmy "Human Rights" Carter to protest the actions of the bureau of prisons.

"We Need This Freedom Fighter on the Street..."

The Organizer *urges its readers among prisoners to contribute articles and communicate information to make "From the Other Side of the Wall" an effective link between the prisoners' movement and the people's movement outside.*

The following letter was received from prisoners at the Federal Correctional Institution at Lompoc, California. The Organizer *urges all its readers to support the campaign to win parole for Alvin Glatkowski.*

Dear Folks,

As I'm sure you know, one of the demands which emerged from the recent NCUUA/AMEX convention in Toronto was that of freeing all people who are in prison for Anti-Southeast Asian War activities, along with pardoning all deserters and upgrading all bad discharges. One of the people specifically mentioned in relation to that demand to free all anti-war activists in prison was Alvin Glatkowski.

In case you don't remember, Al Glatkowski and Clyde McKay were US merchant seamen aboard the "Columbia Eagle" in March, 1970. The "Eagle" was carrying a cargo of napalm, which was ultimately to be delivered to the Air Force in Thailand -- its final destination was to be Laos and Northern Vietnam. Al and Clyde mutinied, seized control of the ship, and surrendered themselves and the ship to Kampuchean (Cambodian) officials, as representatives of the UN. The ship was seized March 14, and they reached Kampuchea on March 16.

On March 18, 1970, Lon Nol and the CIA launched a coup which gained control over Kampuchea. Al and Clyde became prisoners, although Clyde later managed to escape -- Al has been in captivity since then. (The FBI is still looking for Clyde.)

Anyway, Al was returned to the States and ultimately convicted. He has been locked up at the Federal "Correctional" Institution in Lompoc, Cal. since Dec., 1970.

According to a recent change in the

parole rules and regulations, a prisoner cannot do more than 2/3rds of his sentence (if five years or longer) unless he has a history of incident reports while in the joint or the staff has strong reason to believe he will commit another crime in the future. Al will have completed 2/3rds of his 10 year sentence in August. He hasn't had an incident report (disciplinary action) in 4 1/2 years. This is his first offense. He has been recommended for parole the last two times he has appeared before the Parole Board. In short, we think Al has an excellent chance of being paroled this August -- after, including the time he did in Kampuchea, 7 1/2 years.

However, Al is well known as a Marxist-Leninist, and as a staunch anti-imperialist. The Parole Board will try every trick in the book to keep from releasing Al. The only way Al will be released is if a mass campaign is instituted immediately to bring pressure on the US Parole Commission, Smiling Jimmy, and the Officials at FCI, Lompoc. We must urge them to release Al as soon as possible, and urge he be allowed to go to a community halfway house in Santa Barbara immediately, where he has several jobs awaiting him. Letters can be sent to the US Parole Commission and the Warden, Lawrence Grossman, FCI, Lompoc, Ca 93436, and also to US Parole Commission, Washington D.C. 20537. Please mark them in reference to Alvin Glatkowski, 10096-116. I think everybody knows where Smiling Jimmy is located -- unfortunately.

We thank you for any and all support and publicity you can give to get Al out of this ruling class dungeon -- we need this freedom fighter on the streets. With your help, we *can* get him out -- we can win this one, which will strengthen the campaign to free all political prisoners, upgrade bad discharges and pardon all deserters.

A Luta Continua!

Letters of Support can also be sent directly to:

Alvin Glatkowski 10096-116
PO Box W
Lompoc, Ca. 93436

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
BUREAU OF PRISONS
UNITED STATES PENITENTIARY
MARION, ILLINOIS 62959

Re: Alvin Glatkowski
3/18/77
Date

Dear Sir:

The attached publication is being returned to you for the following reasons:

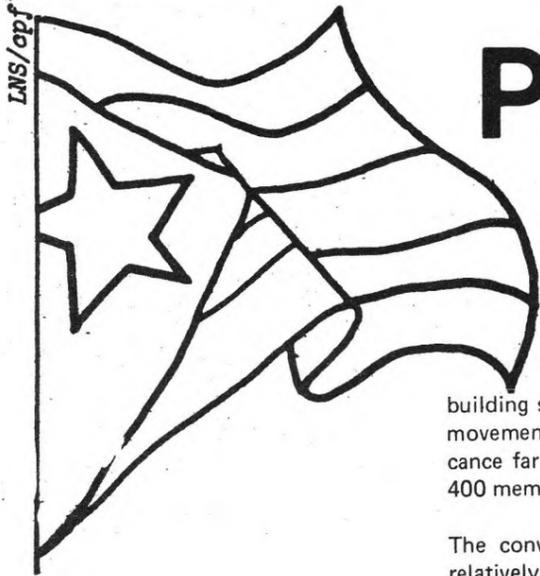
- Was not mailed directly from the publisher.
- Would be detrimental to the security, good order, or discipline of the institution. (Comments) _____
- This Publication is being rejected by this Institution because it has a tendency to glorify problem inmates, homosexuals, and prison unions which have caused problems to inmates and staff in the security and good orderly running of this Institution. _____

We are requesting that this subscription be cancelled. If you wish an independent review of this decision you may write, within fifteen (15) days of the above date to:

Regional Director
North Central Region
K.C.I. Bank Building
8800 Northwest 112th Street
Kansas City, Missouri 64153

We appreciate your help in this matter.

Sincerely,
Incoming Publications Committee



by J. REED

Independence for Puerto Rico is a question of special importance for the U. S. working class. This is not just because of the growing strength of the independence movement on the island, nor because of the recent moves in the direction of the forceable annexation of Puerto Rico as a state following the discovery of rich oil deposits on its shores. While these two facts do make the question more immediate, they do not fundamentally alter its character. Independence for Puerto Rico is of special significance because it is U. S. imperialism's foremost colonial possession.

It is in this context that the recent developments at the second national convention of the Puerto Rico Solidarity Committee (PRSC) must be viewed. As the most prominent, broad-based organization which is addressing the question of

building solidarity with the independence movement, the PRSC takes on a significance far beyond its twenty chapters and 400 members.

The convention was well attended by a relatively broad and diverse number of organizations and individuals. Particularly important were the representatives from Puerto Rico. The Frente Revolucionario Anti-Imperialista, the Movimiento Popular Socialista, the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico and the Puerto Rican Socialist Party were all represented; together these forces make up a significant section of the independence movement.

ROLE OF U. S. WORKING CLASS

Three central questions were the focus of debate at the convention. First was the question of the strategic role of the U. S. working class. The San Francisco chapter and other forces associated with Prairie Fire politics opposed the formulation that the proletariat was the "most reliable ally" of the Puerto Rican people in their struggle for independence. Chauvinistically implying that the working class is exclusively white and male, these delegates opposed singling out those who pro-

vide the basis for the great bulk of imperialism's profits as central to the future of a durable solidarity movement.

A second question was the nature of imperialism itself. Here again the San Francisco chapter advanced an analysis of the nature of imperialism which totally ignored its economic essence--monopoly capitalism. In their formulation, the twin pillars of imperialism were racism and sexism -- both divorced from their roots in the super-exploitation of oppressed nationalities and women. This conception of imperialism which sees only the super-structure but ignores the economic base, could only have fed illusions that imperialism was a 'policy' and not a socio-economic system.

QUESTION OF ARMED STRUGGLE

The third contested question -- and the one the significance of which was probably the least understood -- was the question of what stand the PRSC should take on the question of armed struggle. An opportunist alliance of the San Francisco delegates, the Sojourner Truth Organization and a group surrounding Jose Lopez, a leader of the Committee to Free the Five Puerto Rican Nationalist Prisoners (the last two were mainly observers and formed the so-called March 1st Bloc) attempted to win the conference to an endorsement of armed struggle "in the forms which it is actually occurring, small

and episodic actions rather than mass assaults." Such a formulation would have endorsed the "armed struggle" of such organizations as the FALN, which, owing to the timing and targeting of its bombings, is strongly suspected of having ties to the CIA.

The San Francisco chapter, however, was decisively defeated on all three of these vital questions by a solid 2-1 vote. Nevertheless, it is doubtful that the majority would have been so large on the question of armed struggle, if it had not been for the timely intervention by Federico Lora of El Comite-MINP. In a passionate and sobering speech, Comrade Lora pointed out the dangers of playing with the question of armed struggle. He implicitly criticized the manifest chauvinism of the predominantly white and untested delegates 'endorsing' armed actions, when the mere organization of trade unions by the workers of Puerto Rico have called forth such vicious and brutal repression.

Following the leadership of the representative of the Revolutionary Anti-Imperialist Front of Puerto Rico, Luis Angel Torres, the convention adopted an amendment which stated "any movement of solidarity with Puerto Rico must take into consideration the inevitable use of armed struggle as a fundamental aspect of struggle against U. S. imperialist domination."

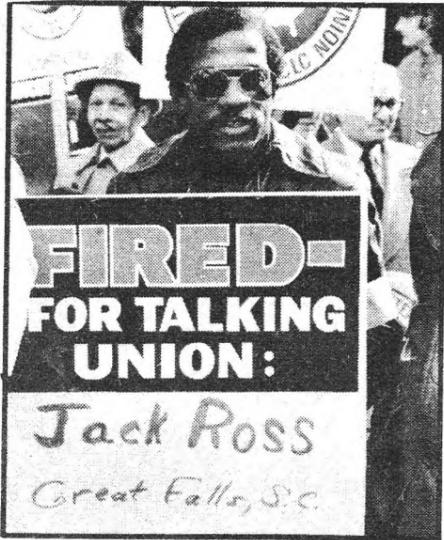
(continued on page 22)

PRSC Holds Convention

J. P. Stevens... Gateway to the Unorganized South

by ANNA GOLD

"J. P. Stevens has more respect for the machines than for its workers. We're treated like animals, forced to beg for what should be ours automatically!" The anger behind these words goes a long way towards explaining why workers traveled a grueling 11 hours from North Carolina to New York City to protest the anti-union policies of their employer. At least 3,000 people, from local unions, from the New York City Labor Council, from community and religious groups, civil rights activists, and students joined in the demonstration sponsored by the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU).



The marchers ringed the Stevens building March 1st while inside several hundred shareholders carried the protest to the Annual Stockholders Meeting. Five religious organizations sponsored two resolutions. The first demanded to know how much money had been spent by the company to stop unionization and the other demanded a report on the placement of minority groups in the workforce — a report which would necessarily reveal a systematic policy of racial discrimination throughout the Stevens firm.

14-YEAR UNIONIZATION FIGHT

These events were only one more step in a fourteen year battle to unionize J. P. Stevens. Nearly 45,000 people work in 85 Stevens plants, concentrated primarily in North and South Carolina. Since June, 1976 the ACTWU, with the support of the AFL-CIO has been pushing a nationwide boycott of all Stevens goods. "We just couldn't do it alone," explained Rylan Briggs, Stevens worker, to the union newspaper. "We're just one factory, and Stevens has 80 different factories... and even if we went out on strike to get a contract here, they would just send the work someplace else. So the only way we're ever going to get anything done, is to keep our union strong in Roanoke Rapids and for pressure to continue to come from outside."

Indeed, the struggle to unionize Stevens has been a long and hard one, and it has become the symbol for the attempt to organize the South. During the Eisenhower years, the chairman of the National Labor Relations Board said that events at Stevens are "so out of tune with a humane, civilized approach to industrial relations that it should shock even those least sensitive to honor, justice, and decent treatment." If anything, the situation has become worse.

Had the first resolution passed at the stockholders' meeting, one of the things that would have been revealed was that Stevens had to shell out \$21,000 back pay to Doris Barber who was illegally fired for asking a pro-union question at a shop meeting. In fact, since 1965 the NLRB has found Stevens guilty of serious violations in 15 cases. Three times the cases went all the way to the Supreme

Court and still Stevens was found guilty. More than \$1.5 million in back pay has been awarded to 280 workers whose rights were violated.

COMPANY RELIES ON LENGTHY COURT CASES

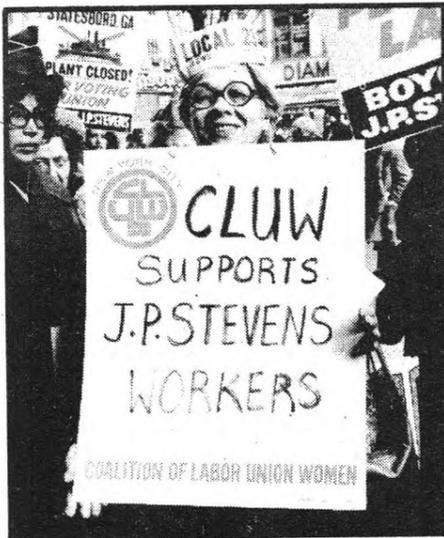
While each of these cases represents a real victory for the workers, the lengthy judicial process put a real damper on the unionization drive. Clearly Stevens feels that fines and back pay are a small price to keep the unions out and the workforce intimidated.

But this is only one of the ways that Stevens has fought the organizing drive. Had the second resolution been passed at the stockholders' meeting it would have been revealed that Stevens has consciously kept the workforce divided by pursuing racist employment policies and spreading racist myths. Recently a federal judge in Raleigh, N. C., found a pattern of racial discrimination in hiring and employment practices at the firm's seven Roanoke Rapids plants. (Roanoke Rapids has been the scene of some of the most intense organizing work.)

Stevens supervisors constantly put out propaganda equating unionization with a Black takeover, in an attempt to frighten white workers. At one plant where 80% of the workers are white, the supervisors put out a letter which said, "A special word to our Black employees. It has come repeatedly to our attention that it is among you that the union supporters are making their most intensive drive — that you are being insistently told... that by going into the union in mass, you can dominate it and control it in this plant, and in these Roanoke Rapids plants."

Despite such tactics, the 3,500 workers in the Roanoke Rapids plants voted in favor of being represented by the ACTWU in August of 1974. However, as Sol Stettin, head of the Textile Workers division said, "In its traditionally contemptuous fashion, the company has stymied negotiations... by stubbornly and illegally withholding agreement on even the most basic elements of a standard union contract."

Meanwhile, base pay at the plants remains at \$2.81 an hour, and work is being shipped out to other non-union locations. Dust levels at some locations have been found to be almost three times the level permitted by OSHA standards — and it is these kinds of conditions that explain why more than 100,000 textile workers are now suffering from byssinosis, a serious lung disease.



FOOTHOLD TO UNIONIZING THE SOUTH

Why has Stevens fought the union so persistently? The deputy director of the National Organizing Department of the ACTWU began to answer that question when he said that "a breakthrough against Stevens will provide a major foothold in the South."

During the 1950's the industry fled south to take advantage of low taxes cheap labor, and to get away from the northern unions. The gains were immediate. In 1950 textile workers earned four cents above the average industrial wage, and by 1955 they were earning one cent less. The textile mills are the single largest source of jobs in five southern states, hiring about 25% of the workforce.

Racism has been the most significant barrier to the unionization of these workers. Until recently low income white workers monopolized the textile jobs and almost half of these workers were (and still are) women. Whenever the workforce showed any signs of militancy, they were told that their jobs would be opened up to Black workers — and that was sufficient to kill any movement. By 1975 the wages for textile workers were an average of \$1.30 less than the national average for industrial workers. In 1976 less than 10% of southern textile workers were organized.

BOYCOTT STEVENS PRODUCTS!

SHEETS AND PILLOWCASES:

Beauti-Blend, Beauticale, Fine Arts; Peanuts (comic strip), Tastemaker, Utica, Utica & Mohawk

BLANKETS: Baby Stevens, Forstmann, Utica

CARPETS:

Contender, Gulistan, Merryweather, Tastemaker

SLIPPERS: Always in Step

DRAPERIES: J. P. Stevens

HOSIERY:

Big Mama, Finess, Hiplets, Spirit

TOWELS: Fine Arts, Tastemaker, Utica

WOOLENS & WORSTED FABRICS:

Boldeena, Forstmann, Hockanum, Worumbo

The ACTWU has said that organizing Stevens is a top priority. They have spearheaded the boycott campaign and sought to bring the issue before all progressive Americans. It is our responsibility to support these efforts.

However, if the fight to unionize the South is to succeed, it is going to take a much more conscious and aggressive movement than the ACTWU seems prepared to lead. Stevens has already amply shown its contempt for labor laws. The defeat of J. P. Stevens can only happen if the ACTWU combines aggressive organizing work in the Stevens plants with a massive support campaign that involves workers throughout the country. The timidity of the ACTWU leadership is a real handicap. In the struggle to organize Farah, for example, the rank and file workers struck the plant initially over the opposition of the union leadership which saw a strike as being two years away. And

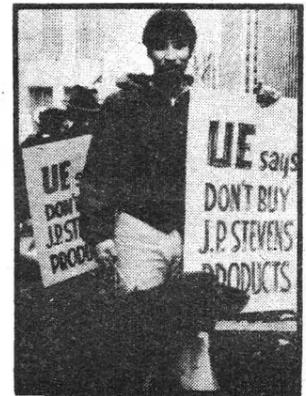


TABLE LINEN: Simtex

COTTON FABRICS:

Academy, Lady Twist Twill, Twist Twill
SYNTHETIC & BLEND FABRICS:
Blen Tempo, Coachman, Consort, Carousel, Gesture, Stevetex, 20 Below, Lady Consort, Windsheer, Linebacker, Weftmatic (cotton-nylon knit)

Times are definitely changing however. In the 1960's the new wave of industrialization in the South saw many white workers leave the industry and the mills were opened up for the first time to large numbers of Black workers. Now Black workers represent 20% of the workforce. These Black workers brought with them their experience of struggle for civil rights and their pro-union attitudes. Young Black workers, many of them women, have been in the forefront of the fight for organization in the southern mills, and they were instrumental in the victory at Oneita Mills three years ago.

STEVENS PROTECTS SUPERPROFITS FOR CAPITALISTS

The textile workers are up against a formidable enemy, however. Stevens is second only to Burlington Mills in size, and its management realizes that the future of their super profits depends on keeping unions out of the South. In fact, Stevens is holding the line not only for itself, but for southern industry in general, which counts on maintaining its system of exploitation by keeping the workforce divided.

At the same time the workers in the mills are fighting not only for themselves but for the future of all workers in the U. S. The fact that the South has been unorganized for so long has hurt all workers, because it has always been possible for a company to run away from union demands by moving South. This bitter truth has had a direct effect on the job market in Philadelphia as clothing shops and shops like Eaton have fled to non-union areas.

while the boycott is a good tactic, it must be accompanied by demonstrations and actions that aim at mobilizing and educating not only the ACTWU rank and file but the whole labor movement.

While the ACTWU makes a lot of convincing speeches to civic leaders, few of its members are even aware of the drive. "I didn't know about the March 1st demonstration until a week later," a long time operator told the *Organizer*. "And I would've gone, too!"

Similarly, racism has been the major factor in keeping the unions out of the South. It is only by attacking white chauvinism head on, and on this basis consciously building unity between the white and Black workers that the workforce will be strong enough to win. However, in its internal education the ACTWU only mentions the problem in passing.

There is no doubt that the tide is beginning to change in favor of the southern workers. Thanks to the militant leadership of the newer Black workers and thanks to the growing unity between white and Black workers and men and women, the South is finally on its way to being organized.

The future is in our hands, however. It is up to rank and file workers everywhere to take up the struggle as their own, to actively promote the boycott and to move their union leadership to turn token support into active and militant participation. When we have done that, and only then, the Stevens workers will be assured of victory, and it will be a victory for every worker in the U. S.

KRAFT Strike: Diary of a Union Bust

The following article was written from a worker in the Allentown area, a member of the UAW Local 1887. It's a story about defeat... how a powerful corporation smashed and busted a union. But we can learn from defeat.

The lessons of this story -- the lengths to which the companies will go to defeat us, the role of the state as an arm of the employers, the way the media portrays the struggles of working people... all these things underline the need for a class-conscious and well-organized labor movement.

Where do we go from here? I don't think we can go any farther down; we've got to go up. But then again, I've been telling people that for about two years and we are still going down!

But that isn't the worst problem we have. The worst problem we have is that we can't get off the boat. On one side we have KRAFT Foods, on the other, we have Local 1881 of the United Automobile, Aerospace and Implement Workers Union and on still another side we have the US Government. And here we are, about 700 of us, so weak from fighting them, and even our own selves!

This particular plant of Kraft's is located near Allentown, Pa., in the "Great Lehigh Valley." It is the largest and newest Kraft has. Almost 25 acres of beautiful, shiny Stainless Steel machinery that, at this time, is only producing a minimal amount of product. In fact, today, we will only produce approximately 30% of the amount of product that we produced 2 1/2 years ago. And that was about the time when our problems began.

THE COMPANY INSTILLS FEAR, INSECURITY

Two and a half years ago, our plant was only two years old and production was

getting close to One hundred per cent of the plant's rated productivity. We were being paid relatively well, and our benefits were good by comparison with the rest of the community. A very major problem did exist nevertheless. Even though very few people were terminated, many people were given "final warnings" and this insecurity was a major fear. Let me give an example that I witnessed.

There were four of us; we all did the same job. Our responsibility was to take over production from the previous shift. After about an hour of production, we would shut down and clean the machines. With a lunch break of half an hour and two fifteen minute breaks, we had only had six hours to clean, sanitize and set up for the next days production.

The problem was that we only had six hours, and to do our job by the "proper" procedure, we could not get done. Not getting done in time for the 7:00 start up meant lost production, an offense so bad that we would be fired!

So we were forced to take short-cuts, which were also considered severe offenses, but as long as nobody else knew, it was all right. Now they had us coming and going, and they knew it. In fact, I believe that was the way they want it to be.

UAW VOTED IN

Almost everyone in the plant was working under similar circumstances. We knew we had to get protection. Hence the UAW was voted in as our "sole representative." We chose the UAW because we saw how much better the workers at Mack Trucks were being paid, and how much protection they had, etc.

Well, the middle of January, 1974, we had voted in the UAW, and Local 1881 was born. The beginning was slow. The negotiations didn't begin until August of that year. And even once they started, very little was accomplished. Negotiating sessions were few and weeks apart. Very little progress was made. Kraft Foods is a huge corporation with plants all over the country and numerous subsidiaries. Most of the plants are unorganized and those that are organized are in several different unions. Kraft wants to keep it that way. On January 25, 1975, Local 1881 voted to go out on strike.

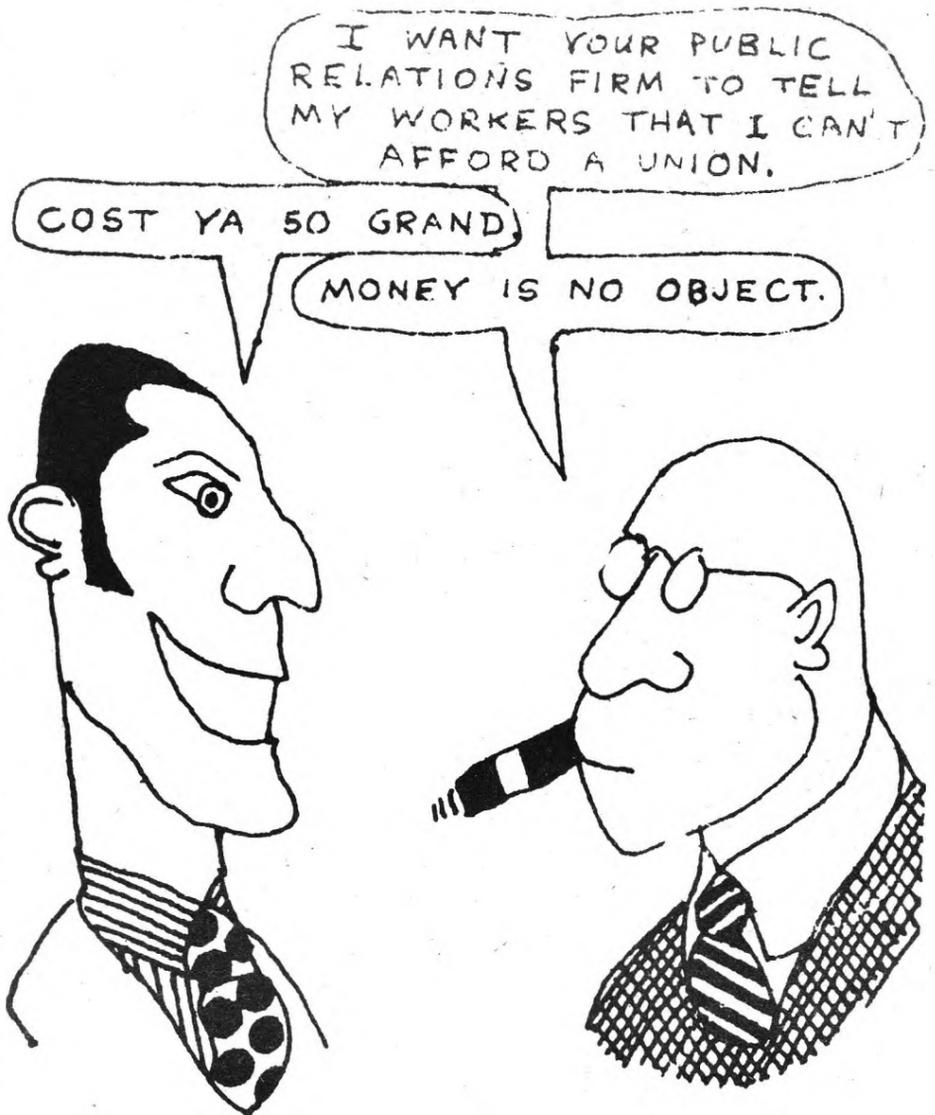
Even after the strike began, very little progress was made. The strike went into its fourth month and the people were getting restless, broke and worried. Each side publicly accused the other side for all of the delays. Suddenly, a small group of employees got together and called themselves "Concerned."

They launched a campaign against the Union and tried to persuade union people to join their ranks. Their campaign had success; after about five or six weeks, they petitioned the company to open their doors and let them come back to work. The company naturally obliged.

MILITANT PICKET LINE

On their first day back to work, about 200 strikers showed up at the picket line to stop any scabs who tried to cross. Only one person crossed. A couple of people were arrested for breaking the injunction which limited the picketers to only five per gate. That day a new injunction was passed by the Lehigh County Court. The new injunction banned all Union activity from the vicinity of the plant: no more picketing!

The second day and following days saw increasing numbers of scabs and also increasing numbers of militant picketers. On the third day, Wednesday, about 2000 picketers including UAW members from Mack Trucks, USW from Bethlehem Steel, UMW from the coal regions and Teamsters from who-knows-where showed up at 7:00 AM to greet any scabs



who dared to cross.

Well, we were met by a hundred or so State, Local and County Police and sheriffs in full riot gear with shaded face masks and uniforms with no name tags and tear gas, clubs and rifles. They, the cops, lined the north bound lane of Rt. 100 for about a half mile -- we lined the other side -- and the scabs, about a hundred or more, all stuffed in cars sped down the other side on their way to work.

MEDIA HIDES THE TRUTH

A few people got hurt, a few people were arrested, and some cars were damaged by picketers. But to make things worse, the Allentown newspaper (in which Kraft advertises) reported that only 100 picketers showed and that they were subdued by only 20 policemen while almost 300 people scabbed -- all totally false!

Well, the strike soon ended. Forty-three people were arrested and fired for picket line misconduct, we accepted a lousy contract, and the harassment goes on.

Last July 25, our contract ended. No negotiations have yet been scheduled. I don't think there will be any. Last August, the "Concerned" organization petitioned the National Labor Relations Board for a decertification election. The Teamsters-Meatcutters Union also entered the election as per NLRB regulations. With 761 voters, 357 people voted for the UAW, and 358 people voted for Kraft, 5 voted for the Teamsters and 41 votes were contested. Nobody won. All that the election proved was that the UAW Local 1881 was divided right down the middle.

"MOHAWK VALLEY FORMULA"

The lesson to be learned came very unexpectedly. One day while I was in the library and reading some books about unions I happened to read a very odd article. It was titled "The Mohawk Valley Formula."

The Mohawk Valley is in Upstate New York near Allegheny and was the site of an early General Electric plant. The management of this GE plant devised a plan to break strikes. The NLRB named the

plan "The Mohawk Valley Formula." It goes something like this:

1. When a strike is threatened, label the union leaders as a small minority imposing their will on a large majority of unwary followers.
2. Form a group of prominent citizens, comprised of real estate owners in the area, local businessmen and bankers. Get their support by threatening to close down the plant and by showing how economically undesirable this would be.
3. Once the strike is called, form a puppet organization of so-called "Loyal Employees." Use them to distribute anti-union propaganda to demoralize the strikers.
4. Have the organization try to persuade other rank and filers to sign a petition of support. This way, the company can accurately monitor union strength and sentiment.
5. Announce the opening of the plant by using the puppet organization as a vehicle, saying (without using actual numbers) that many people have requested to return to work.
6. Open the plant on the announced date as theatrically as possible by marching en masse, the employees protected by a full compliment of state and local police. Very ceremoniously raise the flag, etc.
7. Even if only a few people cross, publicly announce through the media that the opening was very successful and that more than was expected showed up.
8. Increase the publicity, to further demoralize any other strikers.
9. The strike is broken!

How many people, especially during a depression, could ignore the demoralization that those nine steps inflict, and particularly from a company like Kraft that knows how to reach the public through such publicity? GE wrote this plan back in the mid-1930's, but it is being used more and more each day. Since the economic power a company holds over an employee increases during recessions, this plan may be commonplace over the next few years. Might this mean the fall of Unionism? No, not if we are prepared!

LABOR UNIONS

HOW TO

- Avert Them
- Beat Them
- Out-Negotiate Them
- Live With Them
- Unload Them

I. Herbert Rothenberg
&
Steven B. Silverman

The "Mohawk Valley Formula" has more than one version: this one was advertised in Philadelphia magazine.

NUTS & BOLTS

BEAT the HEAT

Summer is around the corner, and when the thermometer hits 90 outdoors, it's often 100 or more inside the factories and offices. Pressing rooms in clothing shops, glass plants, foundries, steel furnaces, shipyards, and hundreds of other workplaces qualify as modern-day sweat shops, especially in the summer. Sweating heat in your workplace not only makes work miserable, it also makes work dangerous.

Studies made of industrial accidents have proven that accident rates skyrocket during summer heat: too much heat tires you out faster, and can cause slower reflexes, dizziness, and fainting, all very dangerous in most shops. Too much heat, especially for older workers on heavy jobs, can put such a strain on the heart that it triggers a heart attack. Too much heat, combined with certain other health hazards (like carbon monoxide from gas jitneys), can multiply the harmful effects that either hazard would have alone.

DANGER: HEAT STRESS

Too much heat also has directly harmful effects on the body. Our bodies have a complex system of checks and balances that keep our internal temperatures constant. Too much heat can cause this balance to tip, and bodily functions overheat and break down, like a car with a cracked radiator. There are three basic kinds of sickness caused by heat -- heat cramps, heat exhaustion, and heat stroke.

Heat cramps are painful cramps in the arms and legs, often accompanied by weakness, nausea, and dizziness. Heat exhaustion is a feeling of extreme weakness, sometimes with chills, headaches, and nausea also. Stroke is the most serious -- nearly half of those who get heat stroke die from it. Heat stroke begins when your body's heat regulator blows a fuse, you stop sweating, and your temperature shoots up and over 106 degrees. Mental confusion, hot, dry skin, uncon-

sciousness, and convulsions are the signs of heat stroke. Excessive heat is a serious, although ignored, health hazard for workers.

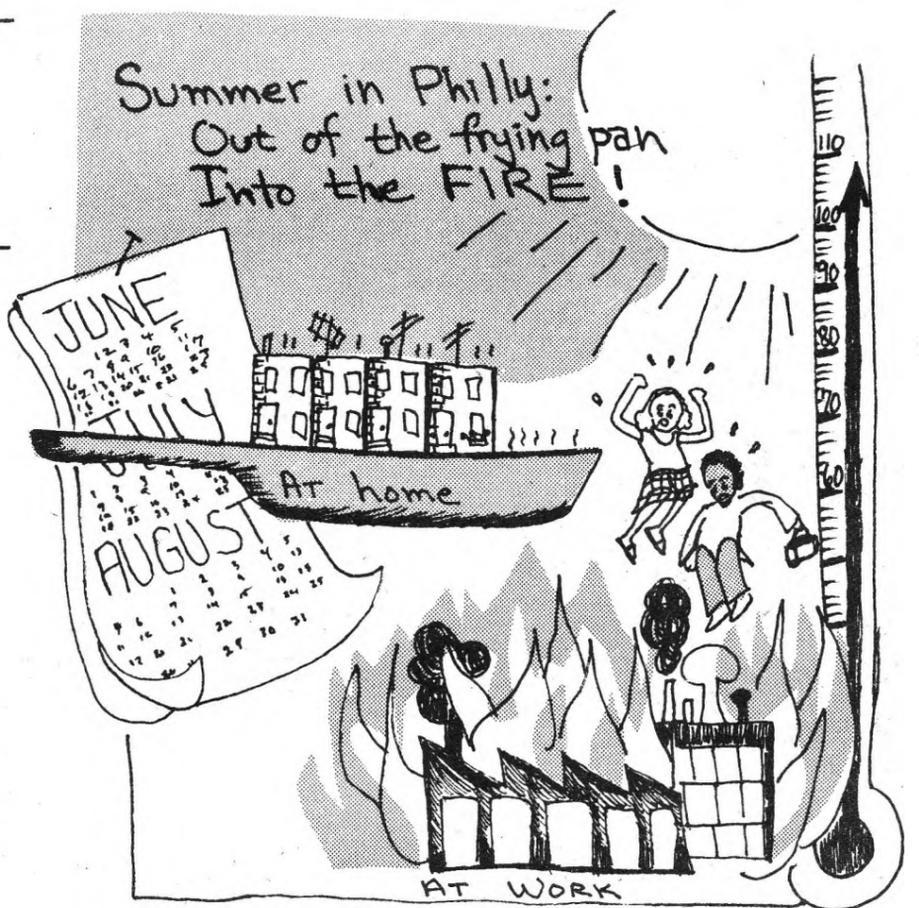
The amount of stress put on the body by heat depends on five related factors -- 1) how hard you're working, 2) the temperature of the air, 3) the presence of radiant heat (from steam pipes, furnaces, etc.) nearby, 4) how fast the air is moving, and 5) humidity. All these can be measured and figured in together to indicate whether you face dangerous heat stress or not. For example, an air temperature of 85 degrees may not be dangerous if you're doing light work, the humidity is low, and a fan nearby keeps the air moving. But the same temperature may be very dangerous if you're doing heavy work in still, moist air, close by a furnace wall.

STAY COOL, STAY ALIVE

Once the major source of heat stress in your shop has been identified, you can start pushing the company to correct the problem. Below are just a few ideas on what can be done to deal with different sources of heat stress.

Isolate the heat source. Radiant heat from steam pipes, furnaces, etc. can be cut by glass wool insulation, or with hollow metal plates that water is pumped through. Polished metal reflectors, screens (like fireplace screens), and air-conditioned control booths can also be used.

Cool the air. Large roof or wall fans that move air through the whole shop are best; these can be fitted with "spray washers" that cool the incoming air with water jets. Air-conditioning can also be used; if it's good enough for the bosses' office (where the heaviest thing being lifted is a paperweight) then it's good enough for the whole workplace. Dehumidifiers and well-maintained steam fittings cut down high humidity where that's a problem.



Protect the worker. Really back-breaking labor should be eased with labor saving machinery (watch out for attempts to eliminate the job along with the hard work!). Nearby cold water, salt tablets, frequent rest breaks, and a four-day adjustment period (called acclimatization) for new workers on hot jobs can also help. The area where you eat lunch and take breaks should be cool and not too humid. On jobs where the heat can't be easily brought down enough (such as relining furnaces), special insulated or air-conditioned suits are available.

PUT SOME HEAT ON THE COMPANY!

Workplaces don't have to be like walk-in ovens, but it costs money to cool them off, and there's the catch. Heat stress, like other problems workers face, will only be controlled when working people muster the power of their unions to act in contract bargaining and through political action.

Many unions have already won extra break time in heat, the right to leave early or stay at overtime rate when the temperature hits a certain limit, full shop ventilation, and other protections against heat

stress in their contracts. But there is still no legal protection against heat.

The Federal Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA, part of the US Labor Dept.) has the responsibility to set standards for health and safety in the workplace. In 1972, the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare proposed a standard covering heat to OSHA; OSHA refused to act, sending the proposal standard back for "more study."

This is one of the thousands of occupational hazards that OSHA has left unregulated. The labor movement must demand that OSHA live up to its responsibility to set and enforce such a standard. Protection against heat stress in our contracts and by law is long overdue; we've been sweating and dying long enough!

For more details on how to measure heat stress or how to best control it, contact *Nuts & Bolts* c/o *The Organizer*, or the Philadelphia Project on Occupational Safety and Health (PHILAPOSH, phone 568-5188), or the Industrial Engineering Department of your International Union.

UAW Convention

(continued from page 4)

floor without a stiff fight. In order for a resolution opposed by the International to even reach the floor for debate, 600 delegates would have to vote to approve it!

At the 1974 convention, delegates brought a dozen separate resolutions calling for a constitutional amendment giving the membership the right to accept or reject contracts by referendum. Not one of these resolutions was ever brought to a vote! Good old arm-twisting is also used to convince any independent-minded delegates that bucking the International can be hazardous to one's future in the union.

IT TAKES A FIGHT TO WIN

But the rank and file can and must fight for their agenda in the locals and at the Convention. In 1974, the International's proposal to lengthen officer's terms to three years passed only by a hair. With a little more organization the rank and file movement could have defeated this 3-yr. free ride for the "leadership." Right now, rank and file caucuses throughout the

UAW are running slates for convention delegates, and winning.

Others are mobilizing and getting resolutions passed at union meetings that bind their delegates to fight for the demands of the rank and file. Quite a few honest, independent delegates with the backbone to stand up to the International will be at the Convention, willing to listen to an alternative. And organizations such as the Independent Skilled Trades Council, a skilled workers' national caucus with dozens of local chapters, will be running slates and have already won some delegate slots. All these forces must pull together around a program, a set of demands that deal with the most pressing problems facing UAW members, and that the broad ranks can unite behind. What would such a program look like?

A RANK AND FILE PROGRAM

The Organizer believes that there are three major thrusts that a rank and file program must deal with -- the defense of jobs and living standards of UAW members and of all workers, the fight for democracy in the UAW, and the fight for

equality and unity in the working class.

The single most important measure that can be won to protect the jobs of all workers is the 32 hour work week at 40 hours pay. A coalition of labor unions, community groups, and other people's organizations must be built now to begin national campaign for the short work week. Both the economic muscle of the unions and the mobilizations of mass political pressure are needed to win this demand.

We also need an aggressive campaign to organize the unorganized workers, national price controls, and an end to cutbacks in social services. Parts and supplier workers in the UAW need a common national contract expiration date, in order to bring their wages and benefits up to the level in the Big Three contracts.

The fight for real democracy in our union must include direct referendum election of all International and Regional officers, the right of the membership to accept or reject contracts without being overruled by the International Executive Board, and local union officers and convention delegates to be elected by working members only. Retirees should have their own representatives on the International and Local Executive Boards, but should not vote for the other officers. UAW locals must have the right to strike whenever the local membership sees fit.

In many ways, the key to winning all our demands is to force the Auto companies to end their racist practices, particularly in hiring and upgrading into the skilled trades. The UAW must also take up the fight against racism in the larger society, particularly against segregated schools and the racist anti-busing movement. Only a fight against racism by both Black and white UAW members will be able to lay the foundation for the unity and mutual support we need to win the short work week and other benefits for all workers.

The UAW must also fight for the ERA, federally-funded childcare centers, and paid maternity leave for women auto workers. Internationally, our union must use its power to block US aid to South Africa and other dictatorships, where US arms are used against every attempt of workers to organize.

IT'S UP TO US!

The International bureaucrats will be taking their agenda to the convention, and they've already started organizing and mobilizing support for it. If the rank and file doesn't want to see three more years of lies to the membership and surrender to the Corporations, then it's up to us to take our agenda to every member, every local, and to the convention. The outcome is still up for grabs.

DOGMATISM and DEMOCRACY

marxist-leninists must lead the fight for democratic rights

by J. REED

To develop democracy to the utmost, to find the forms for this development, to test them by practice, and so forth -- all this is one of the component tasks of the struggle for the social revolution. Taken separately, no kind of democracy will bring socialism. But in actual life, democracy will never be "taken separately"; it will be "taken together" with other things, it will exert its influence on economic life as well, will stimulate its transformation; and in its turn it will be influenced by economic development, and so on. This is the dialectics of living history.

--Lenin: Wks. Vol. 25, p. 452-3

The history of the United States is a history of mass struggles for democracy. The working class, the oppressed nationalities, women and farmers, have all spawned great democratic movements which have sought to expand -- and in part, have succeeded in expanding -- the rights of our people.

It would be difficult to find any political movements which have done more to shake the foundations of imperialist rule in the US than the workers' battle for the right to organize and the 400-year struggle of the Black people for equality and freedom.

But democracy is to socialism what reform is to revolution. No amount of democracy by itself, can possibly end the class exploitation which is the foundation of the world's foremost system of oppression. Only socialism can do that.

Does this mean that the struggle for democracy is without political significance?

On the contrary, the struggle for democracy is a vital part of the proletariat's program. And thus, for Marxist-Leninists

defining how to link the struggle for democracy to the struggle for socialism is a central question facing our movement.

It is also a question on which Modern Dogmatism has been able to shed little light. But before we turn to a critique of the Dogmatist position on the struggle for democracy -- or the lack of it -- it is necessary to briefly review the essential principles of Marxism on the question.

MARXISM AND THE STRUGGLE FOR DEMOCRACY

Democracy, as a form of state, is the best political shell for capitalism. It hides the real dictatorship of capital behind a screen of 'rights' and 'democratic institutions.' From a purely formal standpoint, these rights and institutions guarantee the freedom of the individual and allow him or her to collectively determine the course of government.

However, capitalism makes democracy unachievable for the masses. Behind the facade of formal democratic institutions, the real power is exercised by and for the capitalist class. The capitalists, through their powerful lobbies and campaign funding, dominate the political process, insuring that candidates favorable to their interests are elected.

A huge, powerful and permanent civil and military bureaucracy, which is both materially and ideologically tied to the capitalist class, forms the core of the state. This bureaucracy remains wedded to the capitalist class, regardless of what political party is in power -- which is why the capitalist class cannot be ousted from state power by ordinary parliamentary means.

Finally, the fundamental legal framework, embodied in the constitution and



interpreted by the courts, is hopelessly weighted in the interests of the capitalist class, hobbling and crippling the movement for genuine democracy at every turn.

DEMOCRACY CURBED BY IMPERIALISM

All this is doubly true in the present period, the epoch of imperialism. In its infancy, the capitalist class championed democracy in its fight to displace feudalism. But now, bloated and senile, it is democracy's implacable enemy. While democracy corresponds to the free competition of pre-monopoly capitalism, political reaction corresponds to the monopoly character of imperialism. The power of capital, welded into huge banks and trusts, all controlled by a few institutions of capitalist finance, is greatly expanded. And along with it, the state is rendered even more subservient to this power.

Thus, while capitalism engenders democratic illusions, it makes their realization impossible; it creates a contradiction between the democratic tendencies of the masses and the bourgeoisie's need to curtail their rights. It is this contradiction which has been the motivation of the democratic struggles in our history.

While the working class recognizes that no amount of democracy can abolish class oppression, it also recognizes that the greater the democracy, the more direct, the more open and the broader the class struggle. The more the Black people make progress in their struggle for equality, the more they will see that the source of their oppression is imperialism, not the lack of rights. And the more the working class has the freedom to organize and struggle, the more it will see that its oppression stems from capitalism, not insufficient democracy.

STRUGGLES FOR DEMOCRACY AND SOCIALISM

And while the proletariat's struggle for democracy must be subordinated to the higher interests of the struggle for socialism, the struggle for democracy is bound up with the struggle for socialism. As Lenin wrote:

"It would be a radical mistake to think that the struggle for democracy was capable of diverting the proletariat from socialist revolution or hiding it, etc. On the contrary, in the same way as there can be no victorious socialism that does not practice full democracy, so the proletariat cannot prepare for its victory over the bourgeoisie without an all-round, consistent and revolutionary struggle for democracy."

(Wks., Vol. 22, p. 144)

It is important to recognize that the line between democracy and socialism, like the line between reform and revolution, is not fixed. It changes along with concrete conditions. Just as the accentuating crisis of imperialism has brought about a merger of the struggle for reforms with the struggle for revolution, so it has induced a developing merger of the struggle for democracy and the struggle for socialism.

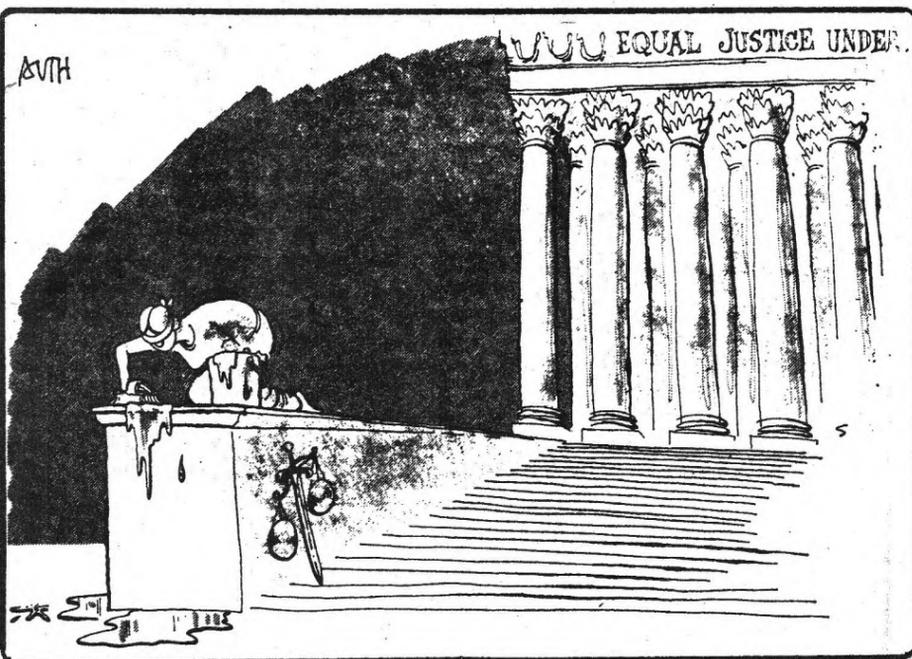
While it would be a complete departure from Marxism to forget that as long as capitalism exists, the struggle for socialism is primary, it would be equally erroneous to fail to recognize that the basic democratic aspirations of the masses tend to drive them more into contradiction with imperialism with each passing decade.

To sum up briefly: for the proletariat in the US, schooling in the struggle for democracy is essential and, in fact, grows more essential with the advancing crisis of imperialism.

FOUR THRUSTS IN FIGHT FOR DEMOCRACY

The struggle for democracy in the United States today can be divided into four interrelated thrusts. First is the struggle of the oppressed nationalities for democratic rights; this is undoubtedly the central democratic question facing the working class today. Second, the struggle of women for full equality. While secondary in importance to the struggle against racism, this question ranks high on the working class' democratic agenda.

The third thrust of the struggle for democracy is the effort to democratize the



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institutional structure of bourgeois democracy; here, we mean such questions as the election of all public officials and the right to recall them, free access for all candidates to the ballot, impediments to bribery of officials, etc. And the fourth thrust is the struggle against militarism and fascism; this encompasses both the effort to curtail the CIA, the FBI, to outlaw the KKK and the Nazi Party, and the effort to curtail the power of the Pentagon.

Any Marxist-Leninist organization, any vanguard party in the US, must speak to each of these four areas if it hopes to use the struggle for democracy as a preparatory class for socialism. It is not enough to speak to one aspect alone; for each is tied to all the others by the very nature of imperialism.

For example, there is a direct relationship between the struggle of oppressed nationalities and the struggle against militarism. It is no accident that the military brass -- owing largely to its direct role in the suppression of national liberation struggles -- is the most fascist and racist-minded section of the ruling class. Nor is it a matter of chance that the most racist civilian sections of the bourgeoisie -- the Reagans, Buckleys, and Stennises -- strive for the greatest possible expansion of the Pentagon. Thus it would be an absolute contradiction to advocate, on the one hand, an end to the racist attacks on the Black people, but on the other, to fail to call for substantial cuts in the defense budget.

OUR THEORY MUST SPEAK TO QUESTION OF DEMOCRACY

Given the particular importance of the democratic struggle in the US historically, one would expect that Marxist-Leninists would recognize that a central theoretical question facing our movement is the question of the concrete relationship of the struggle for democracy to the struggle for socialism.

However, in the party-building movement this has not been the case. Dogmatism has reared its head on this question as well as others. In reaction to revisionism, which liquidates the struggle for socialism in the name of the struggle for democracy, the dogmatists liquidate the struggle for democracy in the name of the struggle for socialism.

Our dogmatists have even refused to address the question in any depth. Nowhere in the program of the charlatan RCP, nor in the pages of the *Call*, will you see even any significant, let alone correct, discussion of the relationship of the struggle for democracy to the struggle for socialism.

The RCP did make one attempt to address the question of "Bourgeois Democracy and the US Working Class." In an article published in the first issue of the *Communist*, their 'theoretical' journal, the author confines the discussion to the necessity of the "battle in the sphere of ideology against the bourgeois democratic deception," i.e., the need to expose the democratic illusions fostered by capitalism among the masses.

While it is certainly necessary for communists to carry out a consistent policy of political exposures of the inherent

limitations of democracy under capitalism, the masses will not lose their illusions from such exposures alone, as this article implies. It is only through the consistent involvement of the workers in the struggle for democracy that can, when coupled with political exposures, provide the proper foundation for a revolutionary struggle for socialism.

To fail to provide consistent leadership to the workers' struggle for democracy, to fail to be the foremost champions of an "all round, consistent and revolutionary struggle for democracy" is precisely to confine the proletariat to such illusions.

And it is this failure to champion the workers' struggle for democracy which is characteristic of the dogmatist organizations. A brief examination of the practice of either OL or RCP, the leading exponents of dogmatism, will demonstrate this fact.

DOGMATISM AND DEMOCRATIC STRUGGLES OF OPPRESSED NATIONALITIES

While both organizations give lip service to the struggle of the oppressed nationalities for equality, both underestimate the democratic significance of this struggle. For example, a central focus of the Black people's struggle, today, is the battle for desegregation in education. Their struggle for desegregation through forced busing is, in essence, a demand for the right to equal education.

The RCP has objectively opposed this demand with the chauvinist argument that forced busing is a "bourgeois trick to divide the working class." The OL, on the other hand, has tried to reduce the question to one of "the right of the Black people to go to the school of their choice" which they argue has nothing to do with "quality education."

While the RCP position is obviously the more treacherous, both organizations underestimate the real democratic question involved. The RCP opposes desegregation; the OL defends the 'right' of the oppressed nationalities to go to any school, but tells them that an improvement in the quality of education is not involved. This latter position is similar to defending the 'right' of workers to organize by arguing that they have no real advantage to gain by doing so.

Both organizations have also underplayed the importance of women's struggle for democracy. The RCP, by opposing the ERA, again assumes the chauvinist position, while the OL has failed to develop a consistent and integrated program for the struggle against sexism.

But for both organizations, their real failure to understand the struggle for democracy appears in greatest relief in the struggle to democratize the institutional structure of bourgeois democracy. In the name of opposing opportunism they have both tended to boycott democratic institutions created by the bourgeoisie.

DOGMATISM AND BOURGEOIS DEMOCRACY

The 1976 elections afford a particularly important example of this. Both the RCP and the OL were united in calling for a boycott of the elections and neither tried

to use the electoral machinery to advocate a program of struggle against the bourgeoisie. The best way to oppose the monopoly capitalists, they argued, was by boycotting the elections and leaving them to the reformists; the workers should just continue their program of militant struggle.

The real tragedy, however, was not that that OL and the RCP boycotted the elections; it is highly doubtful that, given their dogmatism, any participation on their part would have had a favorable impact on the working class. No, the real tragedy lies in that they pursued this incorrect policy in the name of fighting opportunism in general and revisionism in particular. However, in reality, they surrendered to revisionism. As Lenin wrote:

"Marxism teaches us that to 'fight opportunism' by renouncing utilization of the democratic institutions created and distorted by the bourgeoisie of the given, capitalist society is to completely surrender to opportunism."

(Italics in original; Wks., Vol. 23, p. 26)

And finally, the failings of dogmatism in the struggle against militarism and fascism are also marked. Neither the OL or RCP have taken a strong stand for cuts in the defense budget nor against the alliance of the fascist minded civilian wing of the bourgeoisie and the military. In fact, the OL's flunkeyism on the International question has placed it in the embarrassing position of accusing the Pentagon of underestimating the war danger from the USSR.

Thus once again, dogmatism, whose characteristic feature is an inability to develop an independent elaboration of Marxism-Leninism for the specific conditions in the US, fails miserably.

Given the clear relationship between the struggle for democracy and the socialist revolution in the US, Marxist-Leninists who fail to address this question have a sure ticket for the ride to isolation and irrelevance.

"A huge, powerful and permanent civil and military bureaucracy, which is both materially and ideologically tied to the capitalist class forms the core of the state. This bureaucracy remains wedded to the capitalist class, regardless of what political party is in power -- which is why the capitalist class cannot be ousted from state power by ordinary parliamentary means.

"Finally, the fundamental legal framework, embodied in the Constitution and interpreted by the courts, is hopelessly weighted in the interests of the capitalist class, hobbling and crippling the movement for genuine democracy at every turn."



ROCKY — Working Class Hero or Great White Hope?

The following review of the movie "Rocky" was contributed to the Organizer by two people who live in the Kensington neighborhood where the film was made.

"Rocky" is a current and very popular fight film. Last month it won the Academy Award for "Best Picture." It plays a lot like the films from the "good old days," when the good guy always wore the white hat and got the girl in the end. But "Rocky" has a bit more to it than the old Cagney or Garfield fight films.

"Rocky," written by and starring Sylvester Stallone, is the story of a down and out Philadelphia boxer. Rocky, the Italian Stallion, is nearing the end of a lack-luster career. He's a second-rate boxer who can take a punch a hell of a lot better than he can give one. Since club fighting in Kensington is about as lucrative as panning for gold in the Schuylkill, Rocky side-lines as muscle for a local loan shark.

Rocky's big chance comes when he gets a totally unexpected shot at the title. Just weeks before the Bicentennial Title Bout to be held in Philadelphia, the top-ranking contender gets injured. Apollo Creed, the champ, is no dummy. He's already cashing in big on the Bicentennial and decides there's bucks to be made on re-activating the "American Dream." Creed decides to fight a local, non-ranked unknown to show that "everybody has a chance to make it in America." Rocky becomes Creed's number one choice.

ROCKY -- TOUGH AND SENSITIVE

Despite his tough street life existence, Rocky is a sensitive and warm guy. Adrian, a clerk at a pet shop, is the focus of Rocky's affections, but she is too shy and introverted to respond.

When Rocky's big chance arrives, the people closest to him decide to hitch their wagon to his rising star. Adrian's brother, Pauley, is one of these people. He works at a meat packing company and is getting along in years. Working in the freezer is literally taking the life out of him. Rocky quickly becomes his way out.

Another hitch-hiker on his way to the stars is Mickey, Rocky's manager, played by Burgess Meredith. Mickey was once a boxer with a future but like Rocky he was used and misused for someone else's profit.

HARSHNESS OF WORKERS' LIFE

All in all, "Rocky" has a lot of appeal. Its characters are real and alive. Stallone has some sensitivity to some of the harsher realities of life for working class people, people who work hard all their lives, just to make ends meet. You feel the pain of unrealized potential, because of lack of opportunities, education, money. . . of people caught between the four walls of tiny rowhouses, hanging on corners and stuck in dead-end jobs.

But the movie turns away from really exploring these themes in favor of Hollywood's standard version of the good old American dream. And beneath the surface sensitivity lurks the same old sexism, racism, and individualism that are the

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stock in trade of capitalist culture.

Take the case of Adrian.

It was refreshing to see a woman, particularly a working class woman, in an important role in a Hollywood film. When we first meet Adrian, she is a drab, introverted homely pet store clerk. Adrian is so shy that she has difficulty speaking to either her co-worker or Rocky.

But Rocky is persistent in his attempts to win Adrian's affections. Finally, with the help of Pauley, Rocky gets a date with her. From here on in we see Adrian growing and changing in leaps and bounds.

One of the problems is that it literally happens overnight. Adrian blossoms into a confident, self-assured woman. But we never get the sense of the struggles she had to go through. We never see Adrian developing her own strength, her own self confidence.

ADRIAN: DEPENDENT ON ROCKY

Sure, Rocky's a nice guy, and unlike a lot of men who put women down, Rocky tries to build Adrian up and that's good. But because of the way Stallone treats Adrian's development, she ends up being very dependent, living her life mainly through him. One moment she is this shy, uptight wallflower. And then the next moment, after Rocky has made love to her, she blossoms into a beautiful and poised woman. It's just a slicker version of the old sexist myth that what every woman needs is a man.

Another theme in the film focuses on some of the tougher realities of working class life in this country. Stallone's sensitivity to these problems is best seen through his characterization of Rocky and Pauley. Both characters are continually being used by the system. Rocky is used by money-hungry, uncaring managers and Mafia-type loan sharks.

Pauley's victimization is a little more subtle. He has worked long and hard at his job and has gotten little in return. As his age and the work begin to take their toll on him, he feels scared, frustrated and angry. He finds himself locked into a job that has become increasingly hard for him

to do. The company doesn't care, and there's no way out.

AMERICAN DREAM

Stallone's solution to these situations, is to offer us the 1970's overnight, fast-food version of the American Dream. Rocky gets his shot at the title, and Pauley cashes in as his publicity man. This offering is of the rags to riches variety with lucky breaks and overnight success.

But our history and experience tells us that this is just a fairy tale. People don't improve their lives by tripping over an Aladdin's lamp. If we look at our past, at the different battles that were fought to build the trade unions, at the long hard struggles of the civil rights movement, for example, we see that it's been working together -- collective struggle, not lucky breaks and overnight success stories -- that have improved the lives of the American working people.

STALLONE COPS OUT ON RACISM

But the worst cop out is the film's eva-

sion of the question of racism. Apollo Creed, the champ, is Black and he is clearly drawn on the lines of Mohammed Ali. We see the money, the fancy suits, the self-confidence that borders on arrogance, and the poems that are part of Ali's reign as champ.

But we don't see a man who has outspokenly championed the cause not only of Afro-American people, but of oppressed Third World people in Africa, Asia and the Middle East. . . a man who lost his title and risked imprisonment in order to oppose the racist war in Vietnam.

Muhammed Ali is a political symbol as well as a flamboyant and brilliant prize fighter. Apollo Creed is a cynical hustler who cares only about ripping off the "suckers" for another million or so. By making Creed out as Ali, and then omitting the elements in Ali's character that are his real claim to greatness, Stallone plays to racism.

Sure, Stallone makes it clear that Rocky is not personally a racist. When the bartender in the neighborhood tap room makes a racist comment about Creed, Rocky tells him off and walks out.

But we can't forget that the heavyweight title has always been a racially charged symbol. Ever since Jack Johnson, the first Black title-holder in the early years of the century, heavyweight boxing has had as one of its themes, the "Great White Hope," a white fighter who represented the good guy values of white America who would rescue the title, that great symbol of manly supremacy, from arrogant good-for-nothing Blacks who had no respect for America. Stallone just turns his back on this symbolism but it's there anyway and his movie ends up reproducing it.

GREAT WHITE HOPE

The way it's set up makes this a Great White Hope movie. Rocky, humble, poor, hard-working and white in one corner. Apollo Creed, arrogant, rich, lazy and Black in the other. Underdog vs. Champion, Good Guy vs. Bad Guy. White vs. Black. Not much different from the way the sports writers built up the Jack Johnson -- Jess Willard fight over sixty years ago, except they added the extra bit of sensationalism that Johnson had a white woman for a lover.

Racism sold a lot of tickets at ringside back then. And whether Stallone intended it or not, racism will pack them in at neighborhood theatres to see the Italian Stallion go up against Apollo Creed.

PRSC. . PRSC

(continued from page 9)



PUT RESOLUTIONS INTO PRACTICE

While the resolution of the convention on the central political questions was indeed positive and the PRSC took a number of political steps forward, particularly in recognizing the importance of the Puerto Rican people in the U. S. The real work remains to be accomplished. And the task of making concrete the recognition of the central role of the U.S. working class, is perhaps, the greatest test of all.

For the PRSC, despite many positive aspects, remains an organization largely white and petty-bourgeois in composition and politically isolated from the working class. If it is ever to become a truly "mass" solidarity organization and consequently an effective one, it will have to seek out the means to make the issue of independence for Puerto Rico a central component of the proletariat's struggle against imperialism in the U. S.