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Philadelphia Workers'
Organizing Committee



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The ORGANIZER

What's Rizzo Got Up His Sleeve?

by JIM GRIFFIN

On March 15th, in front of an audience of Whitman Park loyalists, Frank Rizzo announced that he would not seek a third term as mayor. But he did not bow out quietly. In calling it quits as mayor, Rizzo made it clear that he has not abandoned his quest for political power. In his speech, and at a press conference the following day, Rizzo announced his intention to become a national crusader for "equality for white people", attacking housing desegregation and affirmative action policies.

Racist demagoguery has been Rizzo's stock in trade throughout his political career, but in the last few years he has kept his more extreme views under wraps. Now, having decided he can't be reelected, he has chosen to let it all hang out.

The Mayor more or less openly called for whites to band together against Blacks. "Whites have to join hands to get equal treatment", Rizzo proclaimed. "...The Poles, the Germans, the Jews, the various ethnic groups that made this country great. ...suppose they say. ...we're not going to support any black man who runs for office."

CALL FOR IMPEACHMENT

Reaction to Rizzo's new tack came quickly. The Family of Leaders, a Black civic organization, denounced Rizzo's remarks and called for his impeachment. Samuel Evans, spokesman for the group, compared Rizzo's statements to those of Adolf Hitler. Evans asked Attorney General Bell and Governor Milton Shapp to provide federal and National Guard troops to protect Blacks in the city, and called on Black executive officials in the Rizzo administration to resign, and on white civic organizations to take strong stands against Rizzo's statements.

The Baptist Minister's Conference, representing 300 Black churches in the city, also came out for Rizzo's impeachment. Conference President, the Rev. Lorenzo Shepard Jr., spoke for many when he "If the mayor thinks Blacks receive special treatment, he should be informed that the Black unemployment rate is twice that of whites."

City Councilman Lucien D. Blackwell joined the chorus calling for Rizzo's impeachment and said he would introduce a resolution for discussion in the Democratic caucus of council.

Rev John Kakalec, the Catholic priest who heads up the multi-racial Phila. Council of Neighborhood Organizations, also endorsed the position of the Family of Leaders and the Baptist Conference.

Another side of the reaction to Rizzo's white power call came from the federal government. Guidelines for federal funding call for promoting equal employment and integration in federally funded housing. The Rizzo administration has already been accused of foot-dragging and obstruction of these guidelines. Rizzo's March 16th speech promised outright opposition from the mayor's office.

Federal funds account for one-third of the city's \$1.2 billion annual operating budget, and millions more for long term programs. The city now stands a good chance of losing much of this funding. As



one government insider put it: "What the mayor did was flush his federal grants." The federal government would not balk if Rizzo discreetly avoided these guidelines as mayors do in so many cities. But Rizzo's blatant opposition and racist rhetoric are a serious embarrassment to the Carter administration and jeopardize its "human rights" image.

In reaction to the outcry against his speech, Rizzo backed away from his most extreme statements and accused the media of "distorting" his position. Rizzo called for a boycott of the *Daily News* because of editorials accusing the mayor of bigotry.

Denying that he had called for a national movement of whites against alleged preferential treatment for minorities, the mayor said he wanted "people of all races and creeds" to join him in opposing "special privileges". Rizzo also acknowledged that Blacks had made some contribution to "making this country great". "I'm sure that everybody worked hard", the mayor added.

WALLACE OF THE 1980'S?

What is Rizzo up to? With little chance of re-election, Rizzo appears to be planning to use his remaining time in office to bolster his national image as a spokesman for racist reaction, hoping to parlay this into national political prominence. Just as George Wallace used the governor's office in Alabama to advance his career as a diehard segregationist, so Rizzo wants to use the mayor's office to win recognition as Mr. White Power. Wallace became famous by standing in the doorway of the University of Alabama to block Black students from attending that institution. Rizzo may hope to stand in the doorway of Whitman Park to block Black people from living there.

It is also quite possible that Rizzo has not given up his hope for re-election. He may expect that his announcement not to run, coupled with his pledge to oppose desegregation of Whitman and other neighborhoods will prompt a "Draft Rizzo" movement capable of altering the city charter. While this is clearly a long shot, Rizzo has everything to gain and nothing to lose by such an effort.

Either way it spells trouble for the people of Philadelphia. As long as Rizzo believed he had to maintain and broaden his popular base of support and seek to neutralize the opposition, he was subject to certain restraints. These restraints no longer exist.

Rizzo will now openly and directly oppose the Black and Puerto Rican communities. We can expect further cutbacks in city services in minority neighborhoods, stronger opposition to the desegregation of housing and schools, and to affirmative action in city-funded jobs. Police abuse will be further encouraged, if only indirectly, by Rizzo's more openly racist stance.

Plus, Rizzo will seek to rally whites to actively oppose minority demands. His speech to the Whitman Park meeting was an invitation for whites to organize themselves politically on the basis of a racist platform. While Rizzo stopped short of calling for vigilante action, his stand can only bolster the position of the Klan, the Nazis, and other rightwing, fascist-minded forces.

RIGHT WING OFFENSIVE

Rizzo's new attack has to be seen in its proper context. The democratic rights of national minorities and women are under

sharp attack from the courts, the government and the corporations. The living standards of all working people, white as well as Black, are under attack by the monopolists and their political servants. The monopolists are unable to solve the economic and social crisis and are in no mood to make major concessions. Their watchword is austerity, their program is cutbacks, and their slogan is bite the bullet.

But the ruling class is divided on exactly how to carry out this policy. "Moderates", such as Jimmy Carter, favor mixing petty concessions with calls for patience and perseverance. In this way they hope to mislead the masses of people enough to avoid a political crisis. Others oppose even token reforms and are prepared to use force and repression against popular demands.

This faction of the ruling class seeks to prevent the emergence of a broad movement of opposition by splitting the potential base of that movement, and capturing a part of it for themselves. Their weapons are racism, sexism, and anti-communism. They seek to direct the anger of white working people toward a series of scapegoats — Black militants, feminists, gays, radicals and communists. If, in this way, they can pit the people against each other, then they can make a powerful united movement impossible. Then they would be able to isolate and repress the most militant and advanced sections of the people's movement. This is Frank Rizzo's goal in Philadelphia.

To defeat Rizzo, and to lay the groundwork for a united people's movement capable of insuring real equality and improvement in the living and working conditions of all working people in the city, we must organize a vocal and militant protest to this latest racist attack. We must specifically combat Rizzo's demagoguery aimed at white working people, and draw out the real meaning of Rizzo's racism.

We must show the actual stake of all working people in affirmative action and desegregation. We must insure that Rizzo's pledge to retire from the mayor's office is carried out, ahead of schedule if possible. And we must see that he does not use this office as a stepping stone to bigger and better things. Let's make sure that this is Rizzo's 'Last Hurrah'.

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Letters To The Editor



Dear *Organizer*:

Keep up the good work.

I brought your article on immigration in Spanish to work for a Mexican friend. He found it very good — both informative and in a good spirit of struggle.

I might suggest an article on Nicaragua. That seems to be the hot topic of discussion among the Latinos out here.

—H. L.

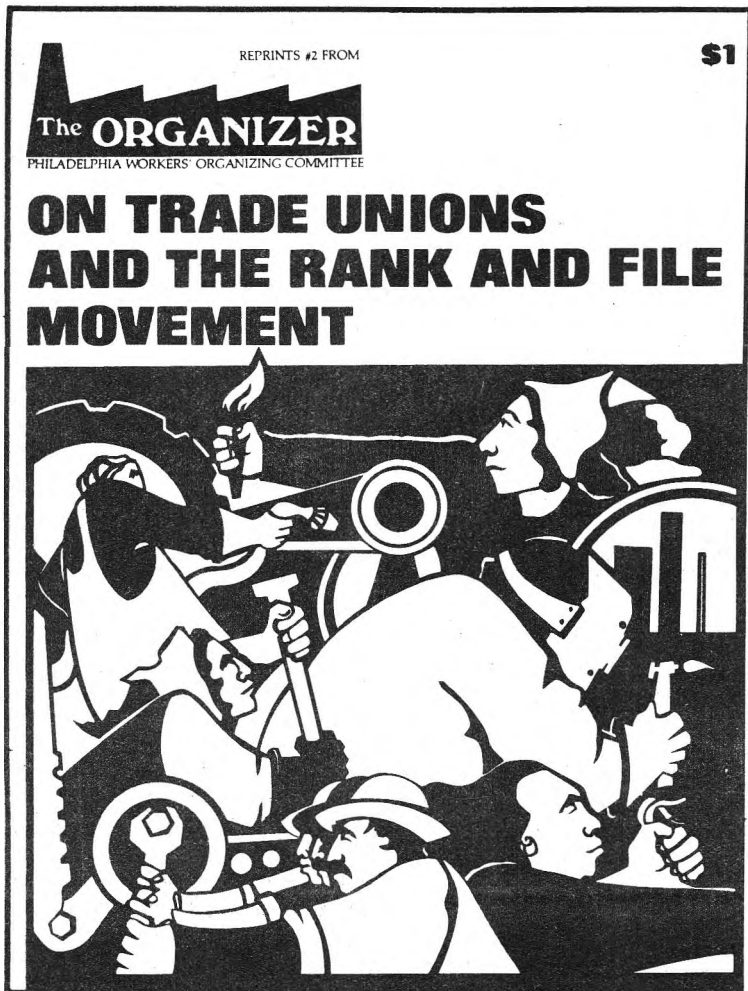
Dear Friends,

Both of us, and many of our friends here in Boston like the *Organizer* very much. It seems that right now the *Organizer* and the PWOC are facing a challenge, on the theoretical/ideological front, to deepen your analysis of dogmatism as a danger to the left. This is especially true in light of the Guardian Clubs and PUL's recent book. PUL, as Irwin Silber says, has a pretty good critique of the behavior of 'ultra-leftism'/dogmatism, but it's not clear to me that their explanation of its source (petty-bourgeois anarchism) is accurate, or that their description of ultra-leftism is derived from their theory.

However, their critique is much more developed and detailed than is yours of dogmatism. I think that dogmatism is a better concept but it needs to be fleshed out and deepened. For instance, where does dogmatism come from? Doesn't it involve more than the misuse of "the inherited legacy of scientific socialism" and extend into theory building itself? Can, as PUL claims, there be both right and left dogmatism? (Is the CPUSA right-dogmatic?)

Needless to say, we hope that the *Organizer* and the PWOC are doing well.

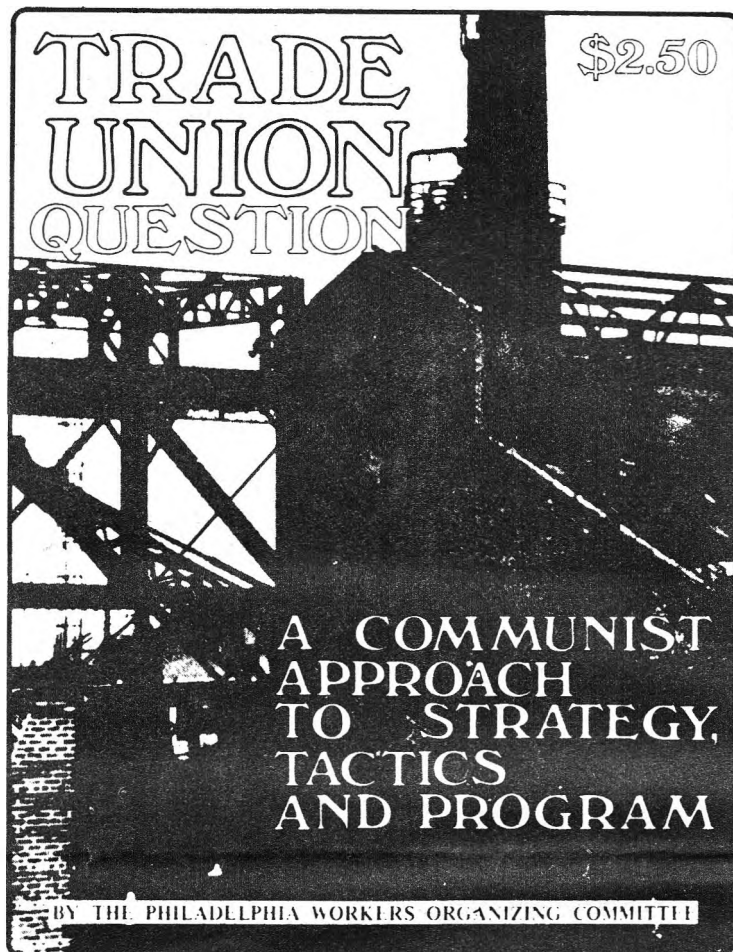
—Sincerely,
J. H.



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Philadelphia Workers' Organizing Committee

Who We Are



The PWOC is a Communist organization, basing itself on Marxism-Leninism, the principles of scientific socialism. We are an activist organization of Black and white, men and women workers who see the 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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Labor Round-up

Sell-out Steward Sunk at Sun Ship

After a nine month struggle, the rank and file of Boilermakers Local 802 at Sun Shipbuilding and Dry Dock Co. succeeded in removing from office Oprouseik, a sellout steward for the welding and burning departments on second shift.

The local's leadership finally removed Oprouseik from office after most members walked out of February's union meeting. Welders and burners had come to the meeting to protest the disqualification of the only candidate nominated to run against Oprouseik in the steward elections that were to be held in February. When the local's president ruled a motion to put the man back on the ballot out of order and would not allow it to be appealed to the membership, the majority of the meeting responded to a call to leave the meeting as a show of support for the rank and file candidate and to further organize for the removal of the sellout steward.

Workers began organizing to get rid of Oprouseik last July when he told one too many guys to "take a pink slip like a man". A petition calling for his removal was passed around and the majority of welders and burners, sick of having a company man for a steward, signed it within two days. The union leadership chose to ignore Oprouseik's complete disregard for the people he was supposed to represent, his refusal to go up on the boats to check safety or take complaints and file grievances, and his consistent record of siding with the company at grievance hearings. They held that he had a good record and that if people wanted him out, they could vote him out in February.

The union hall was packed at the next union meeting following a leaflet passed out by a rank and file group calling for a reversal of the union leadership's decision and the removal of Oprouseik. People came angry but they left even angrier. The union officials, apparently prepared for a meeting packed against them, were



determined not to allow any vote. They gave reports lasting for 55 minutes of the hour long meeting. And when a worker rose to make a motion to remove Oprouseik from office, they ruled him out of order and told him to sit down. When he persisted, they tried to have him thrown out of the meeting but were prevented by rank and file support. Then President Fine made a speech saying that the only way to remove union officials was through formal charges, but that we should wait until the February steward elections. They tried to divert the issue further by interrupting the next person to make a motion, calling him a Communist, and in general disrupting the meeting. Because it was time to go to work, a mo-

tion was made that the meeting be continued later. The motion was ignored, and despite a thunderous vote against it, the meeting was adjourned.

Some members of the rank and file group decided to take the union president's advice and tried to file formal charges. The union leadership made it clear that the charges wouldn't come up before the steward elections.

At the January nominations meeting, the man who made the motion to remove Oprouseik from office was nominated to run against him. A week later the union leadership declared him ineligible. Again the rank and file group put out a leaflet calling for the rank and file to come to

the next union meeting and demand the candidate be put back on the ballot.

At February's union meeting when President Fine began a speech about how nobody really wanted Oprouseik out or knew what they were signing when they signed the petition for his removal, and how his hands were tied, he was drowned out by a swelling anger in the hall. So finally when the rank and file walked out of the meeting, the union leadership was pressured into removing Oprouseik from office. But there was still no election. The leadership appointed his replacement. They're still clinging to the illusion that they are the union and can do anything they want. So the fight for union democracy goes on at Sun Ship.

Where did that Raise Go?



The newspapers always play up contract settlements where workers get a 10% wage increase or a 30% increase over three years as if it represented a big boost in pay. The employers point to these same figures as evidence of their great generosity and sacrifice.

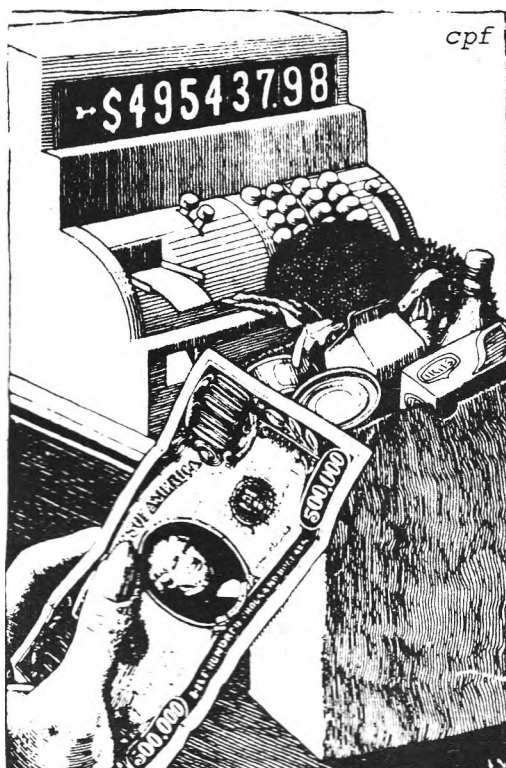
But a study by the US League of Savings Associations shows what most of us already know after we've paid the monthly bills: a 10% wage increase is practically nothing.

The plain fact is that the combined effects of inflation and taxation just about wipe out any increase for the average worker. If you made \$10,000 last year and got a 10% wage increase, the increase in your real income, after inflation and taxation, comes to only 1.02%. Instead of adding \$1,000 to your income you really end up getting \$1.02.

First you get hit by inflation, presently running around 7% a year. That takes the bulk of your raise. Meanwhile your taxes go up because you go into a higher income bracket. Finally the government passes on its inflationary costs by raising

tax rates, an example being the recent social security tax increase. After your paycheck has gone through this double wringer your increase is not worth much more than the paper it's printed on.

The capitalist class wants us to believe that nothing is certain except death and higher taxes and let's throw in inflation for good measure. But the truth is that these evils are only inevitable given the existence of capitalism. In socialist countries the rate of inflation is negligible and the worker's real wages increase regularly.



Labor Solidarity

at Red Lion?

In February the *Organizer* noted the growth of union-busting drives throughout the country, and especially in the Midwest. Last month that anti-union effort affected Budd Company's Red Lion plant directly.

Red Lion is one of only two plants in the country which produce passenger railway cars, the other being the Pullman Co. in Chicago. Red Lion's railway division, however, has been slow since the completion of a large contract for Amtrak last year, and there are many workers laid off. Pullman, which has backlogged orders, has faced a strike by United Steel Workers Local 1834 which is now in its seventh month.

Pullman approached the Budd Co. to subcontract its work, which would enable it to break the strike. Breaking the strike in this case would mean breaking the union, because Pullman is holding out for significant takeaways on the right to strike, job posting, and seniority.

Despite the problems of unemployment among members of Local 92, UAW, the union sent a firm message to the company that it opposed doing this work. The majority of the union's Grievance Committee recognized that solidarity with the Pullman workers is not only a moral obligation to other working people, but an important move to protect working conditions and union strength at Red Lion. After all, busting a union in a northern plant saves the trouble of moving south.

Should the Budd management change its mind in the future and agree to do Pullman's dirty work, Local 92 would be in a much tougher position, because there is no contractual protection for refusing to work any job brought into the plant, regardless of its origin. While Local 92 leaders have been reluctant to discuss the possibility publicly, the *Organizer* hopes that contingency plans are being made for what could become a real test of the UAW's commitment to labor solidarity.

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RIZZO'S BIG LIE

by RON WHITEHORNE

Speaking without benefit of lie detector, Frank Rizzo in his March 15th speech made a number of claims, claims that unfortunately ring true to many whites who think they are the victims of alleged "preferential treatment" towards Blacks. But even a quick look at the facts show that Rizzo's tongue has as many forks as the Schuylkill expressway.

Rizzo: "I've been fair to all the people. I've done more for the minorities than any mayor before me — unquestionably."

This will certainly come as news to the city's minority population. Here is what the Mayor has done for minorities:

Education: During the Mayor's two terms the predominantly Black school system has gone steadily downhill. Rizzo has consistently favored cutbacks in school programs and opposed tax revenues going for education. Rizzo's firing of superintendent Mark Shedd was motivated in large part by Shedd's responsiveness to the demands of the Black community. The Mayor has also been a vocal opponent of school desegregation, opposing busing and fighting building a new Edison High School in white Kensington.

Housing: While supporting expensive urban renewal boondoggles like the Center City Commuter tunnel and Franklinton which benefit white middle class suburbanites and downtown business interests, Rizzo has allowed inner city housing to continue to deteriorate. Not only has the Mayor opposed desegregated public housing, he has cut back services for the existing largely Black projects. Both local housing groups and the federal government have accused the Rizzo administration of misusing federal funds for housing, spending them on political patronage jobs and the police.

Health Care: The Rizzo administration allowed PGH, a city hospital serving



Philadelphia Inquirer / RICHARD M. TITLEY

mainly poor Blacks, to become a public scandal and then closed the hospital in spite of massive opposition from the Black community. The Mayor has maintained a job freeze for public health services since taking office. These services are used primarily by the minority community.

Affirmative Action: The Rizzo administration went to court to prevent the hiring of additional minority policemen and firemen in accordance with the law. While insisting that "merit" be the only test for these jobs, the administration had handed out thousands of jobs to political hacks who are not only unqualified but often do not even bother to come to work.

Police: The widespread existence of police abuse directed primarily against the Black and Puerto Rican community had been documented by the Philadelphia

Inquirer, the Federal Civil Rights Commission, and most recently by a Federal Grand Jury. Rizzo has consistently

denied the existence of police abuse and opposed any measures to make the police more accountable to the people they supposedly serve.

SPECIAL PRIVILEGES

Rizzo: "Certain groups want special privileges...If you're not a member of a minority group today you're in trouble."

Is it true you have a better chance of getting ahead if you're a member of a minority? What are the advantages of being Black? Well you have a better chance of dying in childbirth, a better chance of not getting a high school diploma. You have a two to one advantage in getting into the ranks of the unemployed. You have the opportunity to make an income that on average is 54% that of the average white income. You have the advantage of living in segregated housing for which you will pay more. In almost every social category you will have the special privilege of being on the bottom.

Rizzo: "It would seem to me that we have no rights anymore...that most of us in this great country made up of different ethnic groups — the Polish, the Irish, the Italians, the Jews, the Armenians, the Greeks — who worked so hard, raised their families, fought and died for this country, got nothing for free and asked for nothing."

Certainly the overwhelming majority of white Americans of European descent have worked very hard and gotten little for it. White working people, regardless of national background, deserve a better life than they have gotten at the hands of this system.

But what about minorities? Does Mayor Rizzo think putting in a 12 hour day as a slave on the plantation wasn't hard work? Does he think that the millions of Black, Puerto Rican, Chicano, Asian and Indian workers who work in the coke ovens, on the assembly lines and in the fields doing the most dangerous, back breaking work for low wages have made no contribution to the wealth of this nation?

Does the Mayor think that only whites have "fought and died" in wars? What about Crispus Attucks in the American Revolution or Ira Hayes at Iwo Jima. They weren't Armenians, Mr. Mayor. And what about Vietnam — where the casualty rate among Blacks, Puerto Ricans and Chicanos was twice that of whites?

The fact is that white working people do lack plenty. But its not because minorities have taken anything from them. The handful of rulers, the monopoly capitalists, exploit all working people. They're the takers. They come down hardest on the oppressed nationalities, but they exploit whites as well. They want to pit whites against minorities to keep us weak and disunited. Rizzo's their boy. He's playing their game. Lets not fall for it.

MOVE Blockade

by RON WHITEHORNE

The author of this article has lived in Powelton Village for 10 years and as a member of Powelton United Neighbors has been active in building community opposition to the blockade of the neighborhood.

On March 16th, 1000 cops in flak jackets and riot gear moved into a four square block area of West Philadelphia's Powelton Village. They moved in with fire trucks, busses, and an armored vehicle.

Eight foot high snow fences with police wagons behind them were erected to seal off the streets. Several apartments were occupied and sandbagged. Armed units took control of the roof tops. Cops on horses and the canine corps occupied the ground. Residents could not leave or enter without producing identification papers and visitors were turned away. People were told to be prepared to lie down on their floors at the first sign of trouble.

It was the most massive police operation in the city's modern history. Why did Mayor Frank Rizzo order this action? Had there been a kidnapping or hijacking? Was there a group of terrorists holding innocent people hostage? No — there were none of these things.

What there was, instead, was a group of some 20-odd people, largely Black, including a number of children, holed up in an aging, barricaded Victorian house — the MOVE organization. Many of those inside the MOVE house are wanted on

weapons charges growing out of an armed standoff with the police last May 20th. There are also a number of lesser charges against MOVE members, and housing and health code violations besides.

Is MOVE a dangerous threat to the community? Do their "crimes" justify depriving them of food and water or shooting them? The charges against MOVE are all relatively minor and in most cases people convicted of such charges are placed on probation or fined. The most serious charges involve the possession of illegal weapons.

MOVE has persistently maintained that it is in principle opposed to violence and has only resorted to taking up arms because of repeated attacks and harassment by the police. The final straw for MOVE came when several members were set upon by police in front of their headquarters.

According to witnesses the MOVE members did nothing to provoke this attack in which several of them were brutally beaten. An infant, according to MOVE, was killed when a cop fell on the child. While the police denied this, *Daily News* columnist Chuck Stone and Councilman Lucien Blackwell were shown the body of a dead child in the MOVE compound shortly after the incident. The pattern of police brutality and harassment, particularly against Black and other oppressed peoples, has led many to the conclusion that they must arm themselves for self-defence. Those who condemn MOVE

for taking this step while ignoring the existence of police terror against the minority communities, are guilty of using a racist double standard.

MOVE has repeatedly said that they will use their weapons only if attacked, and to date their behavior is consistent with this. For over ten months MOVE mem-

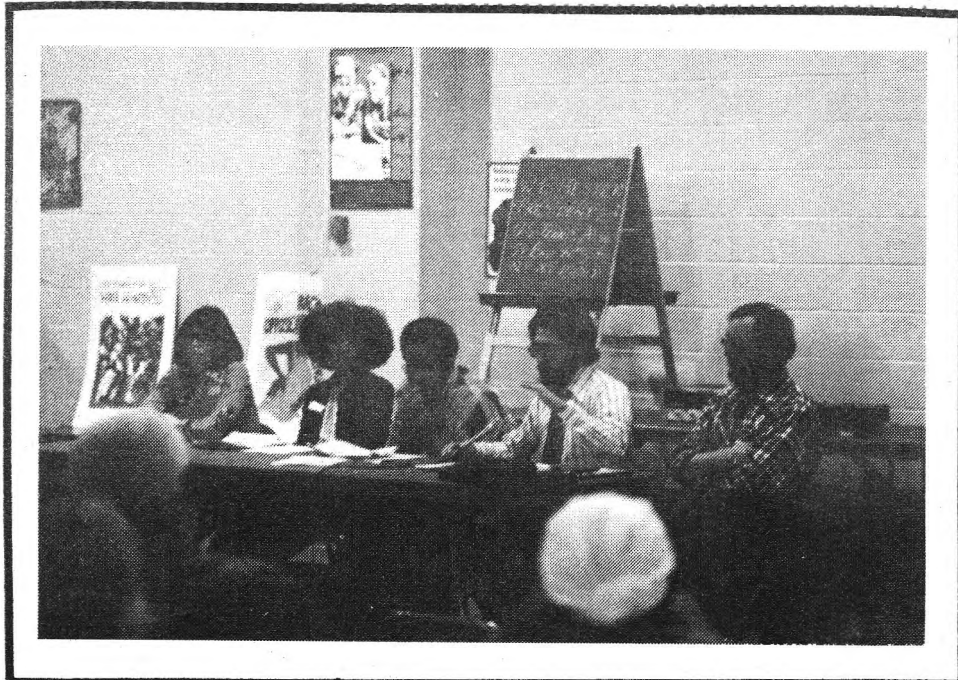
bers have been subjected to constant police surveillance and have been unable to venture outside their headquarters. During all this time no one has been shot at. Since the institution of the blockade many people inside the area have observed attempts at provocation by the police who have thrown bricks and cherry bombs at the MOVE members. At one



Photo credit: Ann Doley

Sharpeville to Soweto

Repression Spurs Resistance



South Africa Conference

Philadelphians Build Solidarity with Liberation Struggle

by S. BUNTING

Soweto is the name most Americans now associate with the liberation struggle in South Africa. Soweto is the segregated African suburb of Johannesburg where the one million workers who move that city's industry are forced to live. Soweto is where, on June 16, 1976, South African police murdered 600 unarmed protesting students, touching off a new level of resistance and repression throughout South Africa.

March 21, and the name of Sharpeville, were just as important in the early 60's as Soweto is now, and the anniversary of Sharpeville is still the occasion for special efforts to oppose apartheid around the world.

On March 21, 1960, in the town of Sharpeville, and in several other locations throughout South Africa, the Pan Africanist Congress and the African National Congress organized mass, peaceful protests against the pass laws. The pass laws have been the most hated symbols of apartheid for three generations of Black South Africans. These internal passports record minute details about Africans' employment, residence permits and identity, and must be carried at all times. Because it is impossible to keep up with all changes in passbook requirements, 2000 Africans are arrested each day, and jailed, simply for having improper passes.

2000 marched and chanted at Sharpeville and publicly discarded their passes. South African police, intolerant of any dissent, opened fire, killing 67 and wounding 200 more. Medical care was denied the wounded, in what was, to that date, one of the most bloody massacres even in South Africa's blood-stained history of racist oppression.

After Sharpeville, the PAC and the ANC, leading African organizations, were banned and forced underground, where they remain active today. Rebellions broke out throughout the country, but without the experience of underground organization and of South African police tactics, which today's fighters have gained

through hard experience, they were quickly put down.

Many countries began to sever ties with the apartheid regime after Sharpeville. Fearing a revolution, the giant corporations of France, Britain and Germany withdrew their capital, endangering the solvency of South Africa's economy.

Then as now, US corporations, US banks, and US diplomatic support were South Africa's lifeline. In 1961 US corporations invested millions in the apartheid economy, reaffirming their belief that the racist government could still supply cheap labor and huge profits. In 1978, \$2.2 billion in investment and loans, guaranteed by the US government, are the margin South Africa needs to buy armaments, pay her police, and conduct a world-wide pro-apartheid campaign.

So when the Philadelphia chapter of the National Conference of Black Lawyers initiated a conference in Philadelphia on March 18, it hoped to build not just more active support for the liberation struggles now, but an understanding of the US' historical role in supporting apartheid.

CONFERENCE SPURS FIGHT

The all day conference at Zion Baptist Church drew over 100 people to workshops, panel discussions, films, and a speech by New York Supreme Court Judge William Booth, president of the American Committee on Africa. Over 20 groups sponsored the conference, in which the Third World Coalition (TWC) and the United Peoples Campaign Against Apartheid and Racism (UPCAAR) also played leading roles.

It was a conference for action. What can we do to end US government and corporate support for apartheid? How are apartheid in South Africa and racism in the US tied together? How can we unite our struggle against both forms of racism?

In the workshops, strong evidence was presented on the role of US corporations in supporting apartheid, and of government backing for this through Export-Im-

port Bank loan guarantees. The Ex-Im bank is a federal agency that insures the investments of US corporations abroad, guaranteeing that our tax dollars will pay off Mobil Oil or GM if the struggle against apartheid in South Africa turns their profits into losses.

Ways in which we can fight back against the banks and corporations were also laid out. The Committee to Oppose Bank Loans to South Africa (COBLSA) reported on pressure tactics which have persuaded many smaller banks to end their dealings with South Africa, and on new campaigns to harass even the biggest banks to change their policy. Many churches and colleges have been pressured into selling their stock in corporations investing in South Africa, and some labor unions, including the UAW, the Furriers

Joint Council, and 1199 the hospital workers union, have withdrawn their funds from banks which lend to apartheid.

A panel of representatives from TWC, UPCAAR, IBEW Local 1944 (telephone workers), the Committee for Quality Education and Desegregation, the Delaware Valley Housing Authority, and the Puerto Rican Action Committee led a discussion on racism in America and how our struggle against the corporations is different in degree but not in kind from that of Black South Africans.

The enthusiasm and participation by Black and white Philadelphians of many political views in the conference indicates that the struggle here will continue to grow. For more information call 241-7178.



Coal Strike Ends In Standoff

by DUANE CALHOUN

On one side were the giant corporations who dominate the coal industry — US Steel, Continental Oil, Bethlehem Steel, Occidental Petroleum, Boeing, and others. These companies saw their profits jump up from 39 cents per ton of coal in 1970, to \$3.25 per ton after the energy crisis boosted coal production and prices. By 1976, the average coal miner was bringing over \$61,000 worth of coal out of the ground each year. Backed up by Jimmy Carter's plan to use more coal in order to cut oil imports, these corporations intended to boost production and profits even higher. But union safety rules, limits on overtime, and wage and benefit costs were conflicting with this profit drive. The Coal operators' plan was simple — outlast the miners in a long strike, force them to give up benefits and job rights they have had for over 30 years, and the union's back would be broken.

MINERS STAND TALL

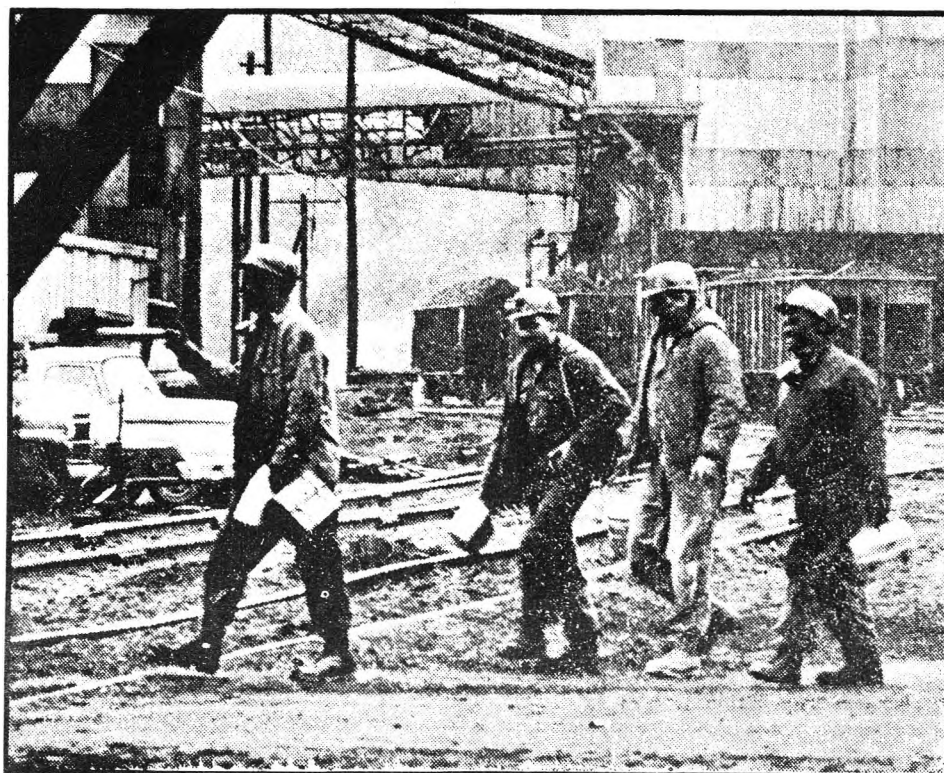
On the other side were the 160,000 union coal miners who mine half of America's soft coal, most of them from Ohio, Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Kentucky, Indiana, Virginia, Tennessee, and West Virginia. A coal miner is more than five times as likely to be killed on the job as another American worker, and those who survive are often crippled with Black Lung disease by the age of 50. For that kind of dangerous, back-breaking work, no union safety rules can be too strict, and no wages and benefits could be too high. At the 1976 union convention, UMW delegates voted to make the local right to strike over grievances the number one demand in this contract. They also came out for equal pensions for all retirees, whose pensions at the time were \$225 a month for miners who retired before 1974, and \$450 a month for those who went out after 1974. Fully-paid health benefits were added to the list after the joint Company/Union health plan cut back on health payments last summer, provoking a ten week wildcat strike of 90,000 miners.

The strike began on December 6th. By the end of the month, half of the country's non-union coal miners had been closed by pickets, far more than the coal companies had reckoned for. Coal production was cut down to a trickle. Nearly four months later, on March 24th, the UMW rank and file ratified a new three year contract by a vote of 58,000 for and 44,000 against. The contract included a wage and pension increase, but was a step backwards from the 1974 contract in other benefits and job rights. The vote was close for such a long strike, with 57% voting to go back to work, and 43% voting to hold out for more. Three weeks before, UMW President Arnold Miller had accepted a contract with most of the Coal Companies' demands in it, but the rank and file rejected it two to one, sending him back to get something better.

The contract that was finally ratified wasn't as bad as the rejected one, and the miners voted to accept rather than stay out another month or more when it was clear the Miller was not able or willing to fight the companies. John Shumar, of UMW Local 762 in California, Pennsylvania, said of the new contract, "I didn't vote for a contract, I voted for a paycheck." And another rank and file miner from Glen Morgan, West Virginia summed up the results this way, "I'd say it was more like a truce than a defeat. The contract was a setback, but the membership learned a whole lot. It's the end of one fight, but just the beginning of another."

A STEP BACKWARD

The contract itself is a mixture of wins and losses, on balance a step backwards from the 1974 contract. Although they



got a decent wage increase (\$2.40 an hour over three years, with no cost of living clause) and a small pension increase of about \$40 per month for the average retiree, the rest of the contract was the same or worse than the old contract. Safety rules are basically unchanged, leaving local union safety committees with a limited right to stop unsafe operations. Health benefits took a big step backwards, with miners now required to pay the first \$200 of their year's drug and doctor bills. And the benefits will now be administered by the companies alone, instead of by the union as they had been ever since the long strike of 1946. The miners didn't win the local right to strike over grievances, as they had resolved at their last convention. But the operators didn't get the spelled-out no-strike clause, with the right to fine and fire wildcat strikers that they had wanted, either.

What they did get was a clause making all old arbitration decisions part of the new contract, and that includes a ruling made last October that wildcat strikers could be fired. While this isn't nearly as bad for the miners as a spelled-out no-strike clause would have been, the companies will be able to use it to fire some strike leaders when the next wildcat breaks out.

The miners won some victories as well. First of all, they defeated the Companies' plan to bust the union. The Coal Operators went into this strike with a long list of take-away demands, and the biggest coal stockpiles in 30 years. If their only object had been to get a no-strike clause, they probably could have sold it if they had offered some other sweeteners in the package, such as a big wage and pension increase and full medical coverage. But when they stubbornly held out to the end for take-aways on every big issue, they showed that their real intention was to destroy the power of the union itself.

If the UMW had given in to all these demands, the contract would have been so poor that few non-union miners would have seen any point in joining the union. Non-union mines have sprouted like weeds over the last few years, and the companies hope to keep them non-union so they can outlast any future UMW strikes. When the miners voted down the first contract two to one after three months on strike, they forced the companies to back off from the no-strike clause and add more health benefits to the next offer. When the miners defeated the worst of the take-aways, they stopped the Operators' union-busting plan cold.

BEATING BACK TAFT—HARTLEY

The miners scored another win when they defeated Carter's Taft-Hartley injunction. Three days after the miners rejected the first proposed contract, Carter went to court and got an injunction under the Taft-Hartley law, ordering the miners back to work.

The order, backed by the threat of fines, jail, and the National Guard, took effect on a Monday. That morning less than 100 miners out of 160,000 strikers showed up for work. The next day even fewer obeyed the order, with only six workers showing up in the whole state of West Virginia. Their solidarity was so strong that pickets weren't even needed to keep the mines closed, and only a few dozen were seen. The main effect of the injunction was to spark a burst of support for the miners from other workers; rallies, protest marches, and donations of food and money came thick and fast as soon as the injunction was issued. Even the leaders of the Steelworkers and Autoworkers Unions responded, donating millions of dollars to the UMW treasury.

Two weeks went by, and Carter was so scared of the solidarity in the coal fields that he never carried out his threats to fine or jail UMW officers to enforce the injunction. The government was powerless. Taft-Hartley became a dead letter, and the miners killed it by standing together and refusing to be intimidated.

The miners had plenty of counts against them in this strike — the giant corporations coming together with the intent to break the UMW, the chicken-hearted leadership of Arnold Miller who tried

time and again to give the companies what they wanted, four winter months without a paycheck, threats from the President of the United States, the non-union status of nearly half of the nation's coal mines, and almost no support from the top leadership of other unions. Yet they kept on fighting, and pushed the coal companies back to a stand-off. They did it with just three tools — stubborn courage against stiff odds, solidarity so complete that only a handful even tried to scab when the injunction was issued, and support from the grass roots of the labor movement that boosted their spirits, helped keep food on the table, and made Carter hesitate to send in troops.

REFORMS AID FIGHT

The rank and file miners couldn't have put up that kind of fight without the democratic reforms they made in their union in the early 1970's. Without the right to elect District union officers and members of the Bargaining Council, and most importantly, the right to accept or reject contracts by rank and file vote, the UMW membership probably wouldn't have stopped President Miller from giving the companies everything they asked for. The rank and file was far more interested and active in the strike than they had been in the old days, when the UMW President hand-picked District officials and signed contracts on his own, while the rank and file pretty much stood on the sidelines and watched. Seventeen of the 39 members of the bargaining council voted against the final contract and a number of District officials actively organized for a no vote; things that never would have happened when the officers were appointed. Having the right to vote automatically got the rank and file educated and involved, and made it harder for the companies (or the union leadership) to get over on the miners.

On the final vote, John Shumar of Local 762 probably spoke for most of the UMW rank and file when he said, "The only way is to go back to work and get Miller and the others out of office." Replacing the UMW leadership, getting more rank and file control over the union, and organizing the rapidly growing number of non-union mines are without a doubt the next items on the agenda for the rank and file. How the miners can go about doing that, without repeating the mistakes of the reform movement that put Miller into office in 1972, and how they can go about getting ready to take on the operators again in 1980, will be the topic in next month's *Organizer*. All of us can learn a great deal from the hard-won experience of the coal miners. Maybe the most important lesson of this strike was that the miners showed just what kind of power the working class has when we decide to stand up and refuse to sit down until we get some justice.



Demonstrating UMW members following Feb. 21 protest at Ohio State House in Columbus

LABOR RALLIES TO SUPPORT MINERS

One of the most encouraging features of the recently concluded UMW strike was the broad support it gained from trade unionists across the nation. George Meany and the top brass in the AFL-CIO maintained a discreet silence for the length of the strike, breaking it only to comment that miners should "obey the law." But this did not prevent local trade union officials and thousands of rank and filers from speaking out against government strike breaking in the form of a Taft-Hartley injunction. Workers rallied in support of the rank and file miners' demands and raised thousands of dollars to aid the strikers.

Besides local actions and the dramatic six mile long caravan from Baltimore to West Virginia to carry food to the miners reported on elsewhere in the *Organizer*, there were the following examples of solidarity:

*Over a thousand rallied in Boston in support of the miners. The rally was endorsed by a wide spectrum of trade unions including the head of the local central labor council. An attempt by the South Boston Marshalls, the notorious anti-bussing group, to discourage attendance at the rally was quickly squelched by angry rank and filers.

*A solidarity rally in New York city drew 1,500 with broad support from trade unionists and raised over \$7,000 for District relief funds.

*In Pittsburgh over 400 workers came together for the Union Bowl, a marathon football contest which saw two dozen union teams compete. The event, which also featured films, entertainment and speeches in support of the miners, raised over \$1,000 for the strikers.

*In Toledo, 200 trade unionists rallied

to oppose Taft-Hartley. UAW local 1435 filled a trailer with food and clothing for the strikers.

*A Black steelworkers social club in Baltimore held a disco to raise money. Francis Brown, Minority Affairs Director of USW Local 2610, announced he was going to West Virginia because, "I don't think we should allow the coal miners' wives and kids to be starved out by the top people in this country...I've always been scared of hillbillies, but I'm going to West Virginia to help those hillbillies out, so that union busting won't wind up in the ghetto."

*Farmers also rallied to the miners' defense. A caravan from Campell, Missouri brought food to the miners from striking family farmers in 14 states. At the Muhlenberg County Fairgrounds in Kentucky, striking miners vowed to back the striking farmers and the farmers returned the pledge.

*A number of international unions also lent support. The UAW gave two million dollars to the UMWA emergency relief funds. Other unions that responded positively with financial support were the United Electrical Workers, the International Union of Electrical Workers, the United Steel Workers and the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers.

The importance of this support to the miners was enormous. Aside from the money, food and clothing, the demonstration of support boosted the morale of the miners and let them know they were not alone. By the same token, the militant fight of the miners inspired and educated thousands of rank and filers in other unions. It is this kind of solidarity we must build in the inevitable fights with the employer class that are around the corner.

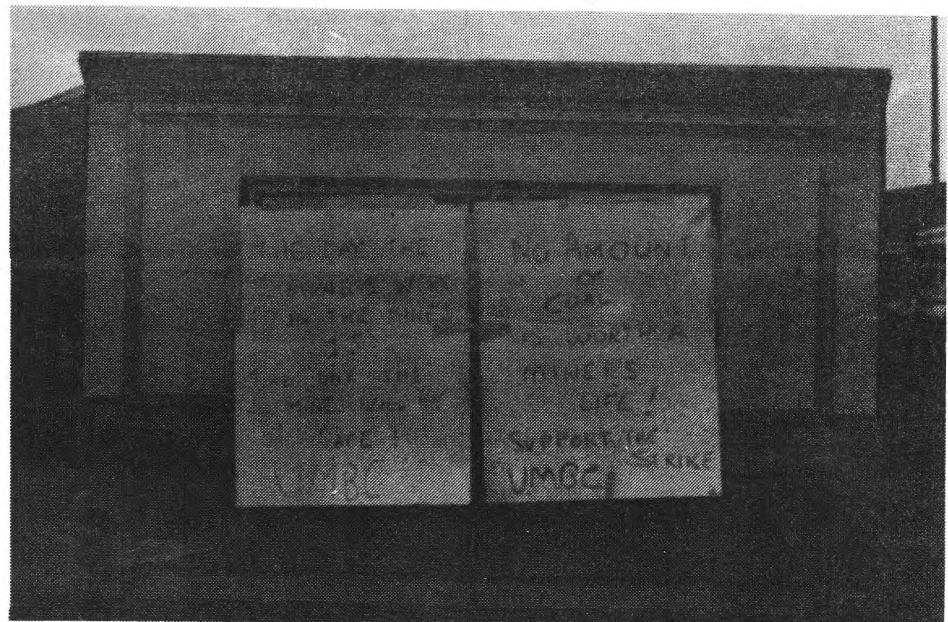
200 MARCH FOR MINERS HERE



Organizer photo

Over 200 people marched in Philadelphia on March 18th to protest government strikebreaking and support the demands of the rank and file miners. The action, which was endorsed by a number of trade union officials and rank and file caucuses, was the more recent in a series of support activities around the miners. The previous month 400 people attended a benefit which raised \$1,000 for miners clinics in the coalfields. Demonstrators marched

from the Westmoreland Coal Company offices at Broad and Sansom to the Federal Building at 8th and Market. Speakers from the Transit Workers, Telephone Operators and the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers rank and file denounced the Taft-Hartley back to work order and focused on the importance of the right to strike — not only to the miners but to all workers.



ABOVE: Student supporters from local university. BELOW: Car caravan leaving Baltimore.

Baltimore Workers Convoy

The following article was submitted by a reader in Baltimore.

In a show of solidarity with the striking United Mine Workers Union, Baltimore's labor movement organized a 300-car caravan to deliver food to miners in West Virginia.

Over 600 workers participated in the six mile long caravan to Martinsberg on Sunday, March 12. \$10,000 worth of food was collected at union halls and from door-to-door solicitations in one week.

The Baltimore support for the miners got its start at a rally a week earlier at the Steelworkers Hall, attended by over 1,000 rank and file union members from over 20 different unions. The rally, collections and caravan were sponsored by the Baltimore AFL-CIO Council at the behest of steelworkers who were active in the Sadlowski campaign.

Speakers at the rally included several rank and file miners. Dave Lamb, from West Virginia Local 750, said that labor's chief tool and "only real right, the right to withdraw our labor" is at stake. Under the contract, the option for "wildcat" strikes — "our last means of defense" — was practically abolished. The Rev. Hugh Cowens, a Black former miner, said, "We came out of slavery, and we're goin' right back in it!"

Others criticized the government's "scare tactics," threatening power shortages. One speaker said, "Those retired miners on \$250 a month get cold even when we're digging the coal." Miner Lamb

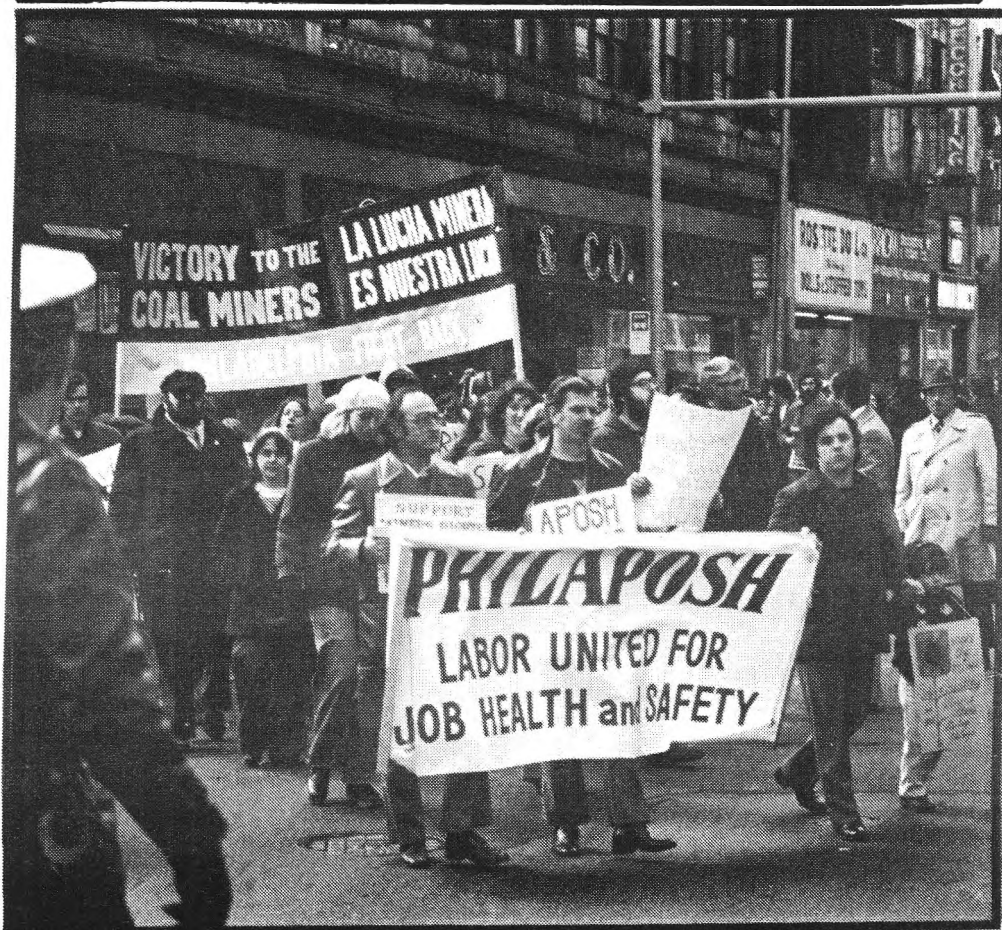


called the layoff threat part of "a system to divide the workers — and we can't let that happen."

A retired steelworkers observed that "the outcome of this coal situation might set a pattern for upcoming bargaining for all unions." All the speakers agreed that the strike was critical to the survival of the UMW union and was an attack on the whole labor movement.

Since the rally and caravan, an additional \$10,000 was sent for miners' relief from the Baltimore unions, including over \$5,000 from one UAW local. The Baltimore AFL-CIO Council also "adopted" District 19 in Eastern Kentucky and will send continuing support to the 7,600 active and retired miners there.

Rank and file groups, such as Steelworkers Fight Back and the Baltimore Coalition to Stop Unemployment and Inflation and several community organizations were active in the effort.



Warning : Racism is Dangerous to Your Health

by ANN BILY

When it comes to health care, working people pay more and get less. Only the very rich escape the effects of a health care system based on profits instead of people. But the crunch falls hardest on Blacks, Puerto Ricans and other nationally oppressed peoples. The health care gap between whites and non-whites is one of the most dramatic examples of the general racial inequality in US society.

This inequality begins even before birth. For a healthy pregnancy and baby, early, quality prenatal care is vital. Yet nationally only 52% of pregnant Black women receive prenatal care in their first trimester, as compared to 75% of pregnant white women. In Philadelphia's Health District 10 (the far Northeast where the population is 99% white) only 1½% of pregnant women received inadequate prenatal care. This is in comparison to 8% for District 5 — an area of North Philadelphia which is 85% non-white.

Inadequate prenatal care together with limited access to doctors and medical facilities contribute to minority mothers dying during childbirth and babies dying in their first year of life (infant mortality). In the US, Black mothers die at a rate 3-4 times that of white mothers in the process of giving birth; and twice as many Black babies die during their first year. Philadelphia's District 5 had the highest infant death rate in the city — 31.1 for every 1,000 live births. The death rate of 26.6 per 100,000 for non-white infants throughout the city is almost double the figure of 13.6 for white infants. These mortality rates only hint at the numbers of children who survived complicated pregnancies and deliveries only to face physical and mental impairment for the rest of their lives.

Once born, the typical Black or Puerto Rican infant in Philadelphia faces a greater chance of disease or death than his or her white counterpart. For example predominantly non-white children of District 5 suffered the highest number of poisonings from lead paint in 1976 — 193 cases. District 2, a mostly white South Philadelphia neighborhood also living in older houses, reported 54 cases. Lead paint poisoning could be completely prevented if the city directed enough commitment and money toward detecting the houses in violation and forcing the landlords to remove the lead paint. Instead, many of our children will continue to needlessly die or sustain brain damage from lead paint poisoning.

Having passed the dangers of childhood, the most serious health hazard Philadelphia's young people (ages 15-24) face is that they will be killed by another human being. Homicide and legal inter-

vention (the term for death as a result of a policeman "performing his duty") is the leading killer of Philadelphia's young, accounting for 122 fatalities in 1976. The homicide and legal intervention rate for non-whites was 450% higher than for whites. Behind this cold statistic lie the facts of racism — an unemployment rate of 50%, shrinking educational opportunities, poverty, disruption of family life and police brutality.

ON THE JOB

The threat to life and limb continues for those who manage to land jobs. US workers suffer millions of job related injuries and diseases annually. The burden falls heaviest on oppressed nationality workers. For example, according to government statistics, 66% of Black workers work at jobs considered the most hazardous compared to 48% of white workers.

Non-whites in the Philadelphia area die from cancer at a rate 23% higher than whites. Not only do national minority workers work in industries where dangerous fumes and chemicals are common, but they live in the most polluted neighborhoods in the city. In the steel industry for example, 22% of the workers are Black but 90% of these workers are concentrated in the coke oven area and as a result suffer a very high rate of lung and respiratory cancer.

It's no better out of doors. Farm laborers in South Jersey, who are largely Puerto Rican and Black, experience a high rate of back trouble and are exposed to toxic insecticides. Low wages and poor sanitation in migrant camps lead to malnutrition and disease. The Chicano mushroom workers in Kennett Square have a high rate of respiratory disease, especially TB, as a result of their working conditions.

National minority women who work in so called "light" jobs in the service sector face a whole range of job related threats to their health. Hospital workers experience chronic back strain from lifting patients and equipment and are constantly exposed to infection. Laundry workers suffer from burns and heat stress as well as liver problems from dry cleaning solvents. Phlebitis is common among waitresses and clerks who are always on their feet for long hours.

On top of this, oppressed nationality women are so often forced by poverty to work during their pregnancies. Their unborn children are exposed to toxic substances crossing the placenta, causing miscarriages, birth defects, and still births.

As the bearers of children, national minority women are most often and most dramatically victimized by the health care system. Shuffled from specialist



Blacks in this society have two or three times the incidence of high blood pressure (hypertension). Blacks in other societies have average blood pressure.

to specialist, from clinic to clinic, these women experience disrespect, insensitivity and downright cruelty from health personnel. The most blatant expression of this treatment is the practice of using nationally oppressed women as guinea pigs for training doctors or conducting research.

The acting director of obstetrics and gynecology at a New York City municipal hospital states, "In most major teaching hospitals in New York City, it is the unwritten policy to do elective hysterectomies on poor Black and Puerto Rican women, with minimal indications, to train residents...At least 10% of gynecological surgery in New York City is done on this basis. And 99% of this is done on Black and Puerto Rican women."

This is no isolated case. In 1970 8.4% of older white women in the US had been sterilized compared to 32.5% of Black women. The same system that denies poor women the right to abortion is all too willing to sterilize them without their knowledge or against their will.

COST OF RACISM

After years of hard living and unsafe working conditions, almost nonexistent preventive health care, and poor or little medical treatment, minorities are beset with chronic illnesses. In particular, Blacks have twice the incidence of iron deficiency anemia, a higher incidence of arthritis, diabetes, tuberculosis, heart conditions, and two to three times the incidence of high blood pressure.

High blood pressure is the major contributor to heart disease and the leading cause of stroke. Blacks are particularly prone to high blood pressure (hypertension):

One out of every four adult Blacks has hypertension. The figure is two out of five Blacks over the age of 40.

Recent studies show that the stress caused from living in a racist society contributes to the higher rate of hypertension among Blacks. Poor housing, unemployment or underemployment, inflated prices for food and clothing, family disruption and cultural suppression are some of the factors cited. The extent of the problem is reflected in the

common saying, "If you're Black and you aren't paranoid or suffering from hypertension you don't know what's going on." That racism is a significant cause of the high rate of hypertension in Blacks is evidenced by the fact that Blacks in other societies have average blood pressures.

Because preventive health care and medical treatment is less accessible and of poorer quality for minorities, their rate of death from stroke is much higher. Nationally, 17 times as many Black women die from hypertension than white women between the ages of 25 and 44. In Philadelphia 41% more minorities die from stroke than does the white population. Better detection and more careful, consistent medical management could prevent many of these deaths.

While the oppressed nationalities get the worst health care, the masses of white working people also are deprived of decent medical services and suffer as a result. A comparison of mortality statistics for Health Districts 5, 6, and 7 (see accompanying table and box) illustrates this. And even those middle class people who receive relatively good health care find their pocket books are strained by the high costs of insurance, doctors' fees and hospitalization.

The health care system is a capitalist institution. It keeps the working people healthy enough to go on working and turning out profits for their employers. Healthy enough to survive and turn out another generation of workers to do the same thing. Beyond this it exists to make big profits for the drug companies, doctors and hospital administrators. Its not geared to our needs and it won't be as long as capitalism exists. The only way to get better health care is to organize and fight for it.

Racism is the main obstacle the capitalists erect to prevent us from uniting. They want white working people to think that the health problems of Blacks and Puerto Ricans are of their own making and not the result of discrimination and exploitation. As long as whites fall for this line of thinking the capitalists can get away with giving everybody lousy health care. The real solution is to fight for equal, quality care for all and put an end to their system of divide and rule.

The Facts:

	TB	Cirrhosis of Liver	Homicide/LI	Perinatal Morbidity/Mortality
District 5	7.3	39.9	58.6	30.9
District 6	7.1	40.5	47.6	33.3
District 10	0.6	6.8	3.1	6.0

(These figures are per 100,000. Perinatal refers to the period just before and after birth of the infant)

District 5 — poor and working class, primarily minority — 85%.

District 6 — poor and working class, multiracial — 56.3% white, 43.7% non-white

District 10 — middle class and working class — 99% white.

The Facts About Affirmative Action

The following article was originally a leaflet put out by the Detroit Socialist Collective. We are reprinting it because we think it does a good job of presenting the real facts about affirmative action and that it makes clear why all workers have a stake in overturning the Bakke decision.

DON'T BUY LIES!

"Affirmative action is O.K., but quotas are wrong. No one should be hired because of skin color."

That's true, but for many years certain groups of people in our society have been excluded from equal opportunities in education, housing and jobs because of their skin color (or sex).

Because race was used in the past as a means to deny equality, today race must become a criterion to achieve equality. To develop a sudden "color-blindness" after 300 years of racism simply perpetuates past discrimination.

Enforceable goals, or what the media calls "quotas", are the heart of any affirmative action program. They are not the same, however. Quotas were used by employers and universities to exclude certain people. Affirmative action makes sure everyone is included fairly. Definite goals and timetables are necessary to check up on the performance of corporations and government in ending their racist practices. Based on their track records, most companies and universities cannot be trusted to carry out affirmative action on their own.

"Affirmative action means rewarding or promoting people who are not qualified."

When war veterans or the handicapped are beneficiaries of affirmative action, their qualifications are hardly ever chal-

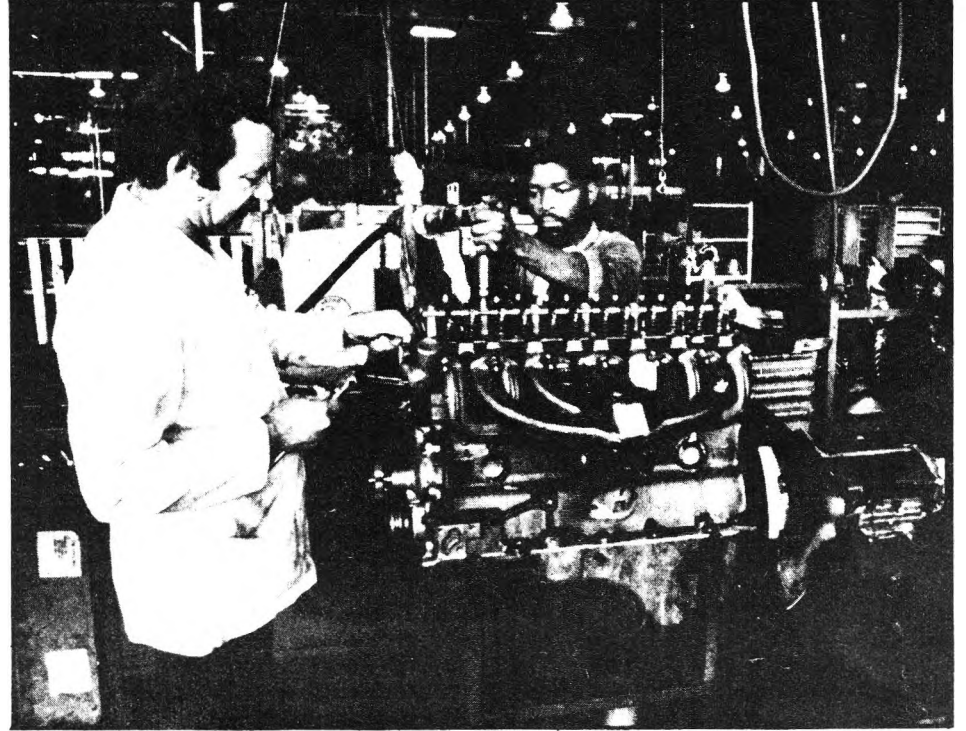
lenged. However, when Blacks or other minorities or women get a job or a college admission due to an affirmative action program, the immediate allegation is made that he or she is unqualified. The racism behind that assumption is quickly apparent.

In the Bakke case, the press, the courts, and TV have created the impression that the 16 minority students who entered the University of California Davis Medical School through the special admission program were less qualified than the other students. In fact, several of them had better undergraduate grade point averages than many of the so called "regular" admittees. Of the six Blacks, eight Mexican-Americans and two Asians admitted over Bakke, all but three have passed their exams and are serving as interns in hospitals. Two are repeating a year, and only one dropped out.

One of the 16, Orel Knight, was voted the Senior Class Award for demonstrating overall ability. Knight would not have been admitted, had it not been for affirmative action.

"Affirmative action is reverse discrimination"

Affirmative action programs are intended to end the historic racist discrimination against Blacks and other minorities (as well as the sexist discrimination against women.) Their purpose is to attain a percentage of Blacks and other minorities in employment, upgraded jobs, housing and education equal to their percentage



White and black work side by side in a Chrysler plant, but at different pay scales.

in the population. It is the underhanded ability of the US mass media to distort and deceive which twists the goal of equality into "reverse discrimination."

With this lie, the media hopes to provoke a racist reaction from white workers by making it appear that affirmative action is "turning the tables and directing the discrimination against whites".

In reality, the targets of affirmative action have been the governmental bodies, universities, and corporations which have historically practiced racist policies in hiring and admission. Not one of these institutions is under the control of white workers.

If "reverse discrimination" is taking place, how can the opponents of affirmative action explain that Black unemployment is rising faster than white unemployment, and that there are fewer Black doctors today, percentage-wise, than there were 30 years ago?

THE TRUTH IS...

Racism is highly profitable for employers. By paying the average Black worker less than the average white worker, big business was able to ring up an extra \$16 billion in profits. Another \$7 billion in superprofits came from reduced wage levels caused by the oppression of Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, Asians, and Native Americans.

Based on this simple arithmetic, it adds up that the major corporations and their friends in Congress and the White House will be less than sincere in their efforts to eradicate from this country the scourges of racism and discrimination.

Racism hurts white workers as well as Black workers. Wherever racism is strong, unions are weak and all workers receive the lowest wage. In North Carolina, where some of the most blatant racist and political repression occurs (Wilmington 10, Joanne Little), union membership is a mere 7.8% of the workforce, as opposed to 40.2% in Michigan. The average production worker in North Carolina earns \$128 a week, while his counterpart in Michigan is paid \$232 a week. (US Bureau of Labor Statistics 1974)

Nationwide, while white workers earn more than Black workers (an average of \$14,379 vs \$9049 in 1974) neither worker receives an adequate income. A moderate standard of living required an annual income of more than \$16,300 in 1974.

FIGHTING RACISM — KEY TO WORKING CLASS UNITY

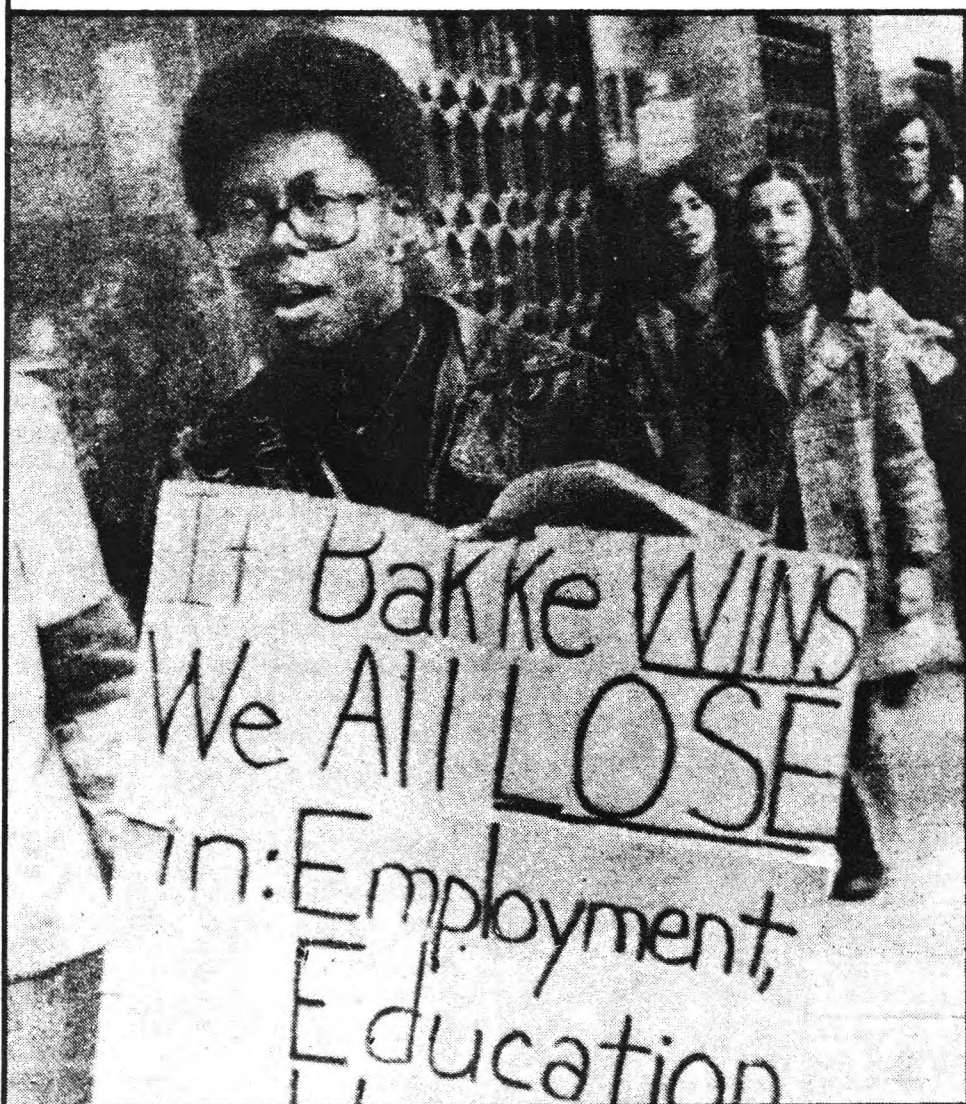
The fight for equality and an end to racism cannot be separated from the struggle for jobs, education, housing and health care for all working people.

To win these demands, however, takes unity. What unity amounts to is that all the workers have confidence that their interests are being represented and fought for. Specifically, it means that Black workers can trust that the demand for an end to racism and discriminatory practices will be taken up and fought for by whites.

However, speeches about equality are not enough. A concrete action program such as calling for affirmative action in hiring, upgrading, and higher education must be developed and implemented. White workers must take up this fight as their very own, and refuse to be turned around by racist lies.

OVERTURN THE BAKKE DECISION

March on Washington--April 15



On April 15th in Washington, thousands will be marching demanding the overturn of the Bakke decision, an end to racist attacks against affirmative action programs and equality in jobs and education now!

The action is being called by the National Committee to Overturn the Bakke Decision, a broad coalition which has pulled together many groups to defend affirmative action. The demonstration is being backed by the Philadelphia Coalition to Overturn the Bakke Decision and has the endorsement of trade unionists, civil rights leaders, student groups and a variety of left and socialist organizations.

Demonstrators will assemble at 10:30 at the Ellipse and march at noon to the Supreme Court. The action will conclude with a rally at the West steps of the Capitol. For information about bus tickets, call 549-6676.

The *Organizer* urges all its readers to go to Washington. If the court upholds the Bakke decision it will open up the door for frontal attacks on the gains of national minorities and women in education and employment. The Frank Rizzos and all the other opponents of racial and sexual equality are waiting in the wings getting ready to dismantle affirmative action programs once they get the go ahead from the courts and congress. Its going to take mass actions like the April 15th demonstrations to defeat these attacks.

Women Speak Out

On Health and Safety

by JEAN CASEY

On Saturday March 11 over 300 women and men gathered at a conference to discuss health and safety hazards on the job and how to organize to end them. The conference, called "A Woman's Work is Never Done" was organized by the Woman's Occupational Safety and Health Task Force, a coalition of groups including the Philadelphia Area Project on Occupational Safety and Health, the Coalition of Labor Union Women, the Public Interest Law Center of Philadelphia, Women's Health Concerns Committee, Women's Law Project, and the YWCA.

The conference opened up with the Anna Crusis choir leading two songs about some of the past struggles of working women and one about the oppression of women who work in the home. Next was a short slide show depicting the kind of work women have done throughout history and the horrible conditions they have been working under.

"UNION MAIDS"

One of the highlights of the day long event was one of the keynote speakers, Stella Nowicki. She is one of three women in the movie "Union Maids". In the



movie and at the conference Ms. Nowicki talked about how the women in her department of a meat packing plant in Chicago sat down and refused to work until

safety guards were put on a machine that had cut off one woman's finger tips. And this was at a time before most industries were organized into unions. A Speakout followed. Four women from different industries talked about the hazards of their jobs, and people from the audience asked questions and spoke out about their jobs and the hazards they faced. Anita Reber, a clerical worker, told her story about how the toxic chemicals from the photocopying machine she worked with at Sperry-Univac Co. had caused her to develop severe respiratory problems and even loss of coordination. She was fired when she called NIOSH (National Institute of Occupational Safety and Health) to investigate. When she took her case to OSHA she got no action but now PHILAPOSH is organizing to pressure OSHA to take up her case. On March 14 a demonstration took place in front of the OSHA building to pressure OSHA to take Sperry to court.

Marlene Bodner, a telephone operator, talked about the stress and speedup operators work under: harassment from customers, split shifts, working weekends and holidays. Some of the results of these conditions are frequent nervous breakdowns, ulcers, sight and hearing loss, hypertension, exhaustion, and alcohol and drug addiction. "In the slide show we saw operators couldn't go to the bathroom; well, we still can't." She also talked about how Bell Telephone capitalizes on the racism in society, keeping national minority women in the worst and lowest paying job of operator with little chance of upgrading. She closed by saying that it was really going to have to be up to the operators to unite and fight against these conditions, to change them.

Bea Lloyd, a clothing worker, talked about the toxic fumes and chemicals workers are exposed to every day. She told a story of how one time a machine broke down and fumes were released into the air. When workers began vomiting the nurse brought them milk. When she called OSHA, they told her they couldn't come out until a certain amount of hours of fumes had been consumed and to call

back when the machine broke down again. She told how because of the unity in the pressers' department, they were able to get the machine removed. But because only fifteen of her department demanded its removal, the supervisor said it stayed and if the workers didn't like things, the company would move away. She felt that a strong health and safety committee would have helped the fight against the machine and other hazardous working conditions.

"ONE DIES FOR EVERY SHIP"

Finally Debbi Kauffmann, a former welder at Sun Shipbuilding and Dry Dock Co. talked about the unsafe scaffolding often causing fatal accidents. "One person dies per ship." She pointed out that although men and women face the same unsafe conditions, national minority and women workers are concentrated in the most unsafe jobs and places in the shipyard. She also talked about how some workers got together to fight for health and safety after a woman fell and died last June. She said they were trying to organize workers in the yard for immediate improvements as well as contract clauses like the right of a steward to shut down an unsafe job and the right to strike over health and safety grievances. And she talked about some of their successes like getting a worker's job back when he was fired for refusing to go back to work after he was injured. She also talked about how OSHA had failed to bring about any change after the woman fell and how a political workers' movement was needed to get some real teeth into OSHA.

Several people from the audience talked about their own experiences. One nurse said that she and co-workers had to pay for medical treatment at the hospital when they were injured. Another nurse said that after she passed out from exhaustion from working double shifts her supervisor told her she should see a doctor and find out what was wrong with her. Another woman talked about how the company she worked for was contesting her workers' compensation, and her frustration in dealing with the compen-

sation board and its discriminatory policy.

In the afternoon several different workshops met to learn more about the specific health and safety problems women face daily at their workplaces and how to organize against them. The conference ended on a high note with spirited singing of songs of the struggles of working women and men like "Union Maid" and "Which Side Are You On", and everybody left with more understanding of other women's unsafe working conditions as well as their own, and how to begin the fight in their workplaces to change them.



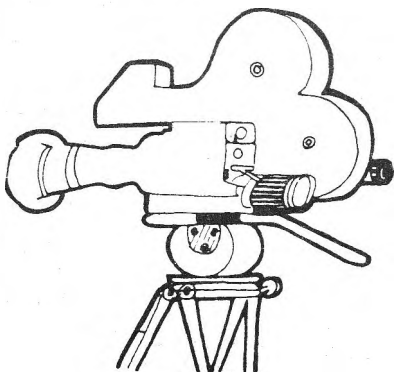
coming events

Support Philaposh and the People's Fund

PHILAPOSH TO SHOW SACCO AND VANZETTI FILM

This May 5th will be the 58th anniversary of the arrest of Sacco and Vanzetti, the revolutionary anarchists who were framed on a murder charge and executed by the state of Massachusetts in spite of the protests of workers around the world.

The Philadelphia Occupational Health and Safety Project (PHILAPOSH) will be showing the film *Sacco and Vanzetti* on May 5, 1978, 7:30 PM at the 1199 Union Hall, 1315 Race St. Admission is \$1.50. Refreshments will be available and Child-care will be provided. The film, which is a dramatization of the case, is part of a series which PHILAPOSH has been showing to raise money.



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PEOPLE'S FUND TO HOLD SECOND ANNUAL SPRING FESTIVAL

The People's Fund believes in change and not charity. Last year this alternative to the United Fund gave over \$20,000 to groups working for a more just and democratic society, ranging from revolutionary political organizations to rank and file caucuses. If you want to get a better idea of what the People's Fund is all about and have a good time besides, come to their People's Spring Festival this April 30th at International House, 3701 Chestnut St.

The schedule is:

Music and Dance

Schullkill Express Bluegrass Band
1:30 - 2:30; 3:30 - 4:30

Josh Bogin, singer of children's songs
2:30 - 3:30

Trinidad Stars Steel Band
5:00 - 6:00

Omo Ife Afro-American Children's Dance Troupe : 3:00 - 4:00

Evening Concert - 7:30

Nick Maloney and Eugene O'Donnell - traditional Irish Music
Suni Paz - Argentinian folk singer
Bev Grant - people's singer

Beginning at 1 PM the over 60 organizations which make up the People's Fund and benefit from its fund raising will be on hand with booths and displays. An excellent program of entertainment that will highlight the people's struggle in all its diversity is planned. Food and drink will be available and for \$3 you can get dinner. Daycare and a children's program is also planned.

Admission is \$2 for the day, \$2 for the concert or \$3 for both. Children are \$1, but there is no charge for children under six. All funds raised will go to the People's Fund and help them to finance the people's movement.

Movies

Namibia, Case Study in Colonialization
1:30

Its Not a One Person Thing
2:00

Do No Harm
2:40

Chicago Maternity Center Story
3:30

Puerto Rico - Paradise Invaded
4:45

A Minor Altercation
5:50



The Organizer is going to be there. We hope you will be too.

Bell System Still Ducking Affirmative Action

by SUSAN COHEN

American Telephone and Telegraph (AT&T) — Equal Opportunity Employer, right? Wrong. According to figures released by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) there was actually a 5% drop in female employment at AT&T in the first three years of affirmative action (1972-1975). What's happened to affirmative action for women and minorities at Bell?

In 1970 the EEOC began an investigation of the Bell system when over 2,000 Bell workers — mostly white and minority women, filed charges of discrimination against their employer. What the EEOC discovered was gross discrimination. Women were being hired into the low-paid, dead-end jobs of operator, service rep, clerk, and operator supervisor. The skilled craft and management jobs were reserved for men and minorities were hardly hired at all. The commission found that 80% of Black employees made under \$7,000 while only 40% of white employees made under \$7,000.

As a result of these findings and heavy campaigning by civil rights groups for government action, AT&T was finally forced to sign a settlement with the government. AT&T paid more than \$50 million in back pay and agreed to adopt a program of affirmative action. Goals and timetables for the program were set by the government.

Nevertheless, AT&T came through this settlement on top despite the goals and timetables. The government and supporting civil rights groups failed to foresee the great strides in technology that AT&T would make. Under the terms of the settlement, the company is not obligated to increase hiring but only to fill those positions available according to the goals.

In the first three years of this affirmative action program the total number of

AT&T employees decreased by over 100,000. By 1975 the company had 24,000 fewer operators than in 1972. That number has continued to steadily decrease since then due to automation, rate hikes, and speed-ups. This decrease in available jobs resulted in very low percentages of women and minorities being either hired or promoted.

AT&T also makes use of more subtle methods of discrimination to combat the affirmative action program. Job titles were reclassified. Line assigners (employees who assign phone numbers) were divided into two categories — simple line assigners and complex line assigners. The white men were given the higher paying job of complex line assigner.

One female plant employee in Philadelphia describes another form of Bell's discrimination. She was promoted to a formerly all male job as a result of the settlement. She has never been completely trained for the job — training that all of her white male co-workers receive. She has to beg for help and guidance. Black workers in the job are also ignored in the training program. Consequently, this woman has been passed over for promotion because "she doesn't know the job." She says that some women end up doing nothing at work and are frustrated, however, she has decided to fight the company. More women and minorities need to be encouraged to fight back.

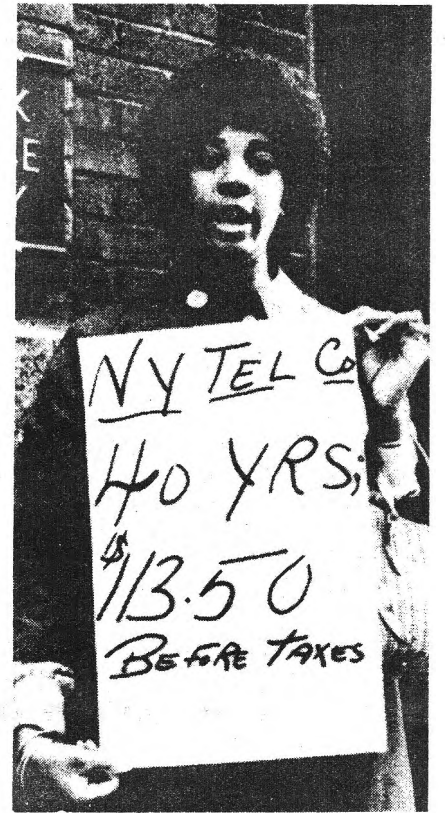
A major advantage the company has is the unions' unwillingness to fight for women and minorities. All of the telephone unions opposed the settlement made in 1972 with the company. The unions feel the violation of seniority is not justified despite past discrimination. While it is true that an upgrading program which does not penalize any workers but puts responsibility on AT&T

for their discrimination needs to be developed, the unions have not attempted to make any proposals. They fail to recognize the effects of discrimination on their union members. Also, statistics show that actually seniority was "overridden" in only 15% of all promotions since the program began. The courts have ruled against the unions' opposition to this program.

There are several ways for the rank and file to fight the continued racist and sexist practices of AT&T. The Bell Workers Rank and File Committee has raised a demand for upgrading which would place the cost of past discrimination on the company. They suggest that in any cases where a worker's seniority is violated, that worker be paid the increase in salary anyway and be given the very next opening available.

At the present time the unions do not have any representatives among those who oversee the upgrading process. This is vital to ensure the integrity of the process. A no layoff clause would control the current effect of technology on workers' jobs and also provide more openings for women and minorities. A no mandatory overtime demand would similarly provide for more jobs. Finally, given the absence of strict government standards to control discrimination, the rank and file must demand stricter upgrading standards for women and minority employees. AT&T has found it profitable to keep women and minorities in the low-paying, dead-end jobs.

All workers have a common interest in fighting these practices. Only a movement that raises the demand for real equality will be able to unite phone workers and summon up the fighting strength to beat a big monopoly like AT&T.



WORKERS' VOICES STELLA NOWICKI: Women in the Packing Houses

Stella Nowicki, who spoke here at the Conference on Occupational Health and Safety for Women Workers, knows plenty about job hazards first hand. For ten years during the turbulent 1930's Stella Nowicki was an organizer in the meat-packing industry. As a member of the Packinghouse Workers Organizing Committee and the Communist Party, Nowicki was one of hundreds of militants who lead the fight to unionize this open shop industry. The following excerpts from the book Rank and File by Staughton and Alice Lynd are first hand accounts of the health and safety conditions she encountered in the packing plants.

I was in the cook room. At that time the government bought up drought cattle and they were killed, canned, and given to people on relief to eat. The meat would be cut into big hunks and steamed. Then it would come on a rail and be dumped out on the table. The women would be all around the table and we would cut the meat up, remove the gristle and bad parts, and make hash out of it. The government inspector would come around to see that bad meat wasn't being thrown into the hash. But as soon as his back would be turned, the foreman would push this stuff right down the chute to go into the cans — all this stuff we had put aside to be thrown away he would push right down in, including gloves, cockroaches, anything. The company didn't give a damn.

The meat was so hot and steamy your fingers almost blistered but you just stayed on. In 1933-34 we worked six hour shifts at 37½ cents an hour. We

would have to work at a high rate of speed. It was summer. It would be so hot that women used to pass out. The ladies' room was on the floor below and I would help carry these women down almost vertical stairs into the washroom.

We started talking union. The thing that precipitated it is that on the floor below they used to make hotdogs and one of the women, in putting the meat into the chopper, got her fingers caught. There were no safety guards. Her fingers got into the hotdogs and they were chopped off. It was just horrible.

One day the woman who worked in the coldest spot got sick. She didn't come to work. We found out that she had become paralyzed. The door from the cutting cooler opened as the men came back and forth. It was below freezing there and every time the door opened she would get this tremendous cold blast on her side. The whole right side of her body was paralyzed and she died. Within a week we organized that whole department. She was a young woman, probably around forty, and she died because of the freezing conditions in which we all had to work. It was easier on the company to have it this cold. There was less spoilage. But they didn't give a damn about the workers. We showed that we could handle bacon and that it didn't have to be that cold.

Women often did much harder work than men. For instance, in wrap and tie department — where hams were handled, wrapped in paper and tied — it is heavy lifting a twenty-pound ham. Then you'd

have to put those great big hams on a slip hook and hang them up so that they could be smoked in the smoke shed. In the sausage department women used to link sausages by hand; but the men would measure the meat and work with a pedal to shoot the sausage into the casings.

The women worked much harder and much faster but they got less pay. We were paid ten cents an hour less than men. There were jobs that men had done that women took over and they'd still get the lesser pay. I worked in a cooler cutting the fat from the lean with the guard on my thumb and the sharp knife. Work with a knife is a butcher's job, but they had a pay differential. (The union

corrected this inequity later.) There was also a differential between the southern rates and the northern rates.

Women had an awfully tough time in the union because the men brought their prejudices there. The fellows couldn't believe that women in the union were there for the union's sake. They thought that they were there to get a guy or something else. Some thought that we were frivolous. I would be approached by men for dates and they would ask me why I was in the union, so I would tell them that I was for socialism and I thought that this was the only way of bringing it about.



conditions were hardly as neat and tidy as the above

Fourth in a Series

PUL's Distortion of the 'Left' Line

by CLAY NEWLIN

In the third installment of our critique of the book, *Two, Three, Many Parties of a New Type?*, we closed with the remark that PUL's flawed approach to the ideological struggle stemmed partly from their appraisal of the nature of the ultra-left line. Their argument that the struggle against "left" opportunism on political questions should be subordinated to the fight against "left" sectarianism at the organizational level is only consistent with a perspective which downplays both the seriousness and the depth of the political errors in our movement.

In PUL's view, ultra-leftism in the present communist movement originally became evident on organizational questions. They write:

"In summary, the sectarianism which plagues the communist movement is not a simple sectarianism. It is a 'left' deviation which has first developed at the level of party-building line (organizational line - CN) and exists there in its most pronounced form, but which expresses itself elsewhere." (Two, Three, Many Parties, p. 119)

As evidence for this conclusion, they point to the RU/RCP's original conception of party-building strategy which PUL characterizes as "syndicalist evolutionism." (See *ibid.*, pp. 82-5)

Unfortunately, a study of the history of the Marxist-Leninist movement does not support the view that ultra-leftism first manifested itself on questions of party-building strategy. Taking, as PUL does, the RU/RCP as an example, it is apparent that "leftism" developed earliest on political questions.

From its very inception, the RU/RCP maintained a "left" opportunist approach to the political struggle in the US. For example, in *Red Papers 2* (1969), the RU advanced a conception of the united front which is "left" to its very core. In a statement entitled "The United Front Against US Imperialism: Strategy for Proletarian Revolution," one finds such familiar signboards of "left-wing" communism as the assertion that the Party must be "based on the most oppressed sectors of the working class," that the proletariat is confined only to those workers "directly involved in the creation of surplus value" (waitresses, sales personnel, hospital workers are "allies"), and that the Black and Chicano people are both "nations". In addition, we are told that in the US the bourgeoisie is "rapidly turning more and more" towards fascism, that "white revolutionaries must join now with Black and brown (sic) revolutionaries in armed self-defense and other forms of armed struggle," and that communists must build "a workers movement intermediate between the trade unions and the communist collectives." And finally, RU anticipates the OL/CPML's "no united action with revisionists" by over five years!

At the same time, the RU's discussion of party-building strategy, although sketchy, bears more in common with a right opportunist perspective than it does with ultra-leftism. Their basic argument is not, as PUL asserts, that the communists are not proletarian enough, but that the proletariat in general and the white workers in particular are too backward to make a real Party possible. Consequently, party-building becomes possible only after developing the united front:

"As the strength of the united front grows, so will the strength of the proletariat, as the more backward workers are drawn into motion by the gathering momentum of the movement. And, as the workers movement gains impetus and more and more workers are brought into active struggle, the building of a vanguard party of the proletariat as a whole will be the order of the day." (A Selection from Red Papers 1,2 & 3, p. 56)

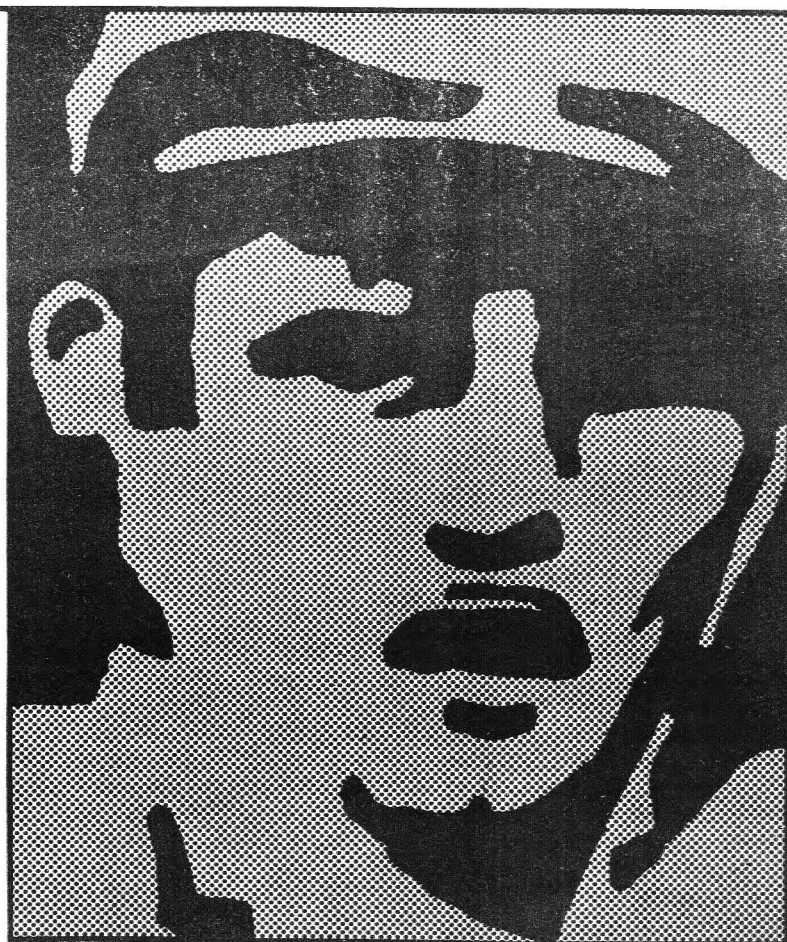
In fact, up until the fall of 1973, the RU/RCP's party-building line, while it remained a hodge podge of both empiricist and syndicalist conceptions, continued to be predominantly rightist in both form and content. This is shown by the RU's formulation that prior to November 1973 (when they called for a Party Congress) the "central task (was) to build the workers movement into a class conscious political movement leading the anti-imperialist struggle." (See *Red Papers 6*, p. 19) In the introduction to this same issue of *Red Papers*, they argue that the main reason that party-building was not the central task before November was that there was "no revolutionary line that had withstood the test of practice," and thus revolutionaries were incapable of formulating "a Marxist-Leninist line and Program." The key element that had been missing, they maintained, was sufficient practical experience in the working class movement. (PUL's interpretation of RU's early party-building line seems to be largely a case of trying to make the toe fit the boot.)

The OL/CPML history is similar. One has only to recall OL's earliest period when it termed the RU "social fascist" and demanded that we model ourselves after the Comintern's "Third Period" line. Even when it tried to correct its "left" errors, OL continued to uphold an ultra-left line on the CPUSA (characterizing it as a "fifth column") and on the international situation (refusing to participate in demonstrations against the Shah). Moreover a whole string of "left" errors ("no united action with revisionists," Portugal, the Havana Conference, etc.) and the characterization of the RU's "Draft Programme" as "basically rightist and reformist" proceeded the development of OL's push for a Party Congress. Thus, for both RU/RCP and OL/CPML ultra-leftism appeared "first...and...in its most pronounced form" on questions of political line.

ROOTS OF THE LEFT LINE

That "left-wing" communism would find its primary expression on political questions should surprise no student of our movement. The bulk of our forces were drawn from the extreme left wing of the two main revolutionary social currents of the 60's — the oppressed nationalities movements and the student/anti-war movement. The politics brought by these forces were characterized by contempt for the reform struggle and for democracy in general, a fetish for direct action and adventurism and an ultra-democratic and anarchistic theory of ideological struggle and organization.

Moreover, the early Marxist-Leninists took the perspective of the Communist Party of China as the touchstone of revolutionary orthodoxy. Owing to the tremendous — and for the most part deserved — prestige the CPC has gained



from its seminal critique of Soviet revisionism on the one hand, and the ideological immaturity of the US revolutionaries on the other, communists here were unable to avoid copying the worst features of the "left" line that is just now beginning to be rectified in the CPC.

PUL is also incorrect to hold that "leftism" on "party-building line" is the "most pressing manifestation of present day 'Left-Wing' Communism, and 'left' opportunism in political line a secondary but growing problem." (op. cit., p. 119) While voluntarism in party-building strategy is a major component of the prevailing "left" line, its continued sway is largely dependent on the strength of "left" opportunism in political line. The "left" conceptions of the relationship of reform to revolution, the struggle for democracy and on international line serve as the main ideological justification for both the continued stampede of our "lefts" into yet another "party" and the fortress mentality of the existing "vanguards."

The present "parties" vindicate their formation based on the "left-wing" politics expressed in their "Programs." These programs, they maintain, both provided the historical basis for uniting the leading core of revolutionaries into a vanguard political organization, and continue to provide a rallying point for "genuine communist unification." The CPML, for example, while recently recognizing that some "genuine revolutionaries" remain outside their organization and that the struggle for "communist unity must be in the forefront" of their efforts, asserts that its "Program and Political Report to the Founding Congress have become major guiding documents for Marxist-Leninists throughout the country." Their "Road to Communist Unity" statement then proceeds to brand those who have major differences with that program and report as "opportunists who (have) conciliated with modern revisionism." (See the *Call*, December 26, 1977) Thus, just as "leftism" in political line generated the voluntarist perspective on party-building in the past, so today it is the primary bulwark of the circle spirit.

PUL'S OMISSIONS

In addition to reversing the relationship of the "left" approach to party-building and "left" opportunism, PUL makes an extremely significant error in their treatment of ultra-leftism on political line. In the section of their book discussing the "left" line on political questions, PUL takes up: the reform struggle, the battle for democracy, the woman question, the united front, and analysis of social classes. And while they do maintain that they are only reviewing "some of the principal 'left' political positions within the anti-revisionist camp" (op. cit., p. 119; emphasis added), most anti-"lefts" would be astonished that PUL seems to think that ultra-leftism on international line is of such little consequence.

The "left" line on the international situation stems mainly from an exaggeration of the danger posed by revisionism. The "lefts" take the development of a revisionist line in a communist party in power to be the equivalent of the full restoration of capitalism, thus collapsing important distinctions between a socialist country taking the capitalist road and one in which capitalist relations of production have become predominant. In the name of the overriding importance of the class struggle, these comrades are willing to liquidate the struggle of the socialist proletariat to preserve and protect its power as soon as that class loses its vanguard. Thus for the "lefts" capitalism can be restored to supremacy in a country after years of proletarian dictatorship not only in a single stroke but peacefully, without struggle or violence. In the final analysis, their view can be summed up as follows: "Let an element of revisionism penetrate the socialist vanguard and BINGO — capitalist restoration!"

In the case of the Soviet Union, the "lefts" have really allowed their fear of revisionism to get the better of them. They have contrived arguments to support the view that Brezhnev and Co. have not only restored capitalism to power, but have also been able to move their "social-imperialist" country into being the co-equal — or even the superior — of US imperialism. They maintain that the Soviets have surpassed the US in military strength, are the most likely to provoke the inevitable world war, and — with obvious reference to the World War II situation and the strategy that flowed from it — that the Soviet Union is now a "fascist state of the Hitler type." Of course, all those who dare to dispute these claims with hard facts are dismissed as either "conciliators of revisionism" or worse.

In the US this "left" line has produced particularly disastrous results. Our movement has a several year history of "left-wing" collaboration with US imperialism — on Portugal, Angola, Zaire, and most recently on Sadat's "peace initiative." We have observed the CPML upbraid the Pentagon and the most rabid, racist and reactionary sections of finance capital for being "soft" on the Soviet Union and, at the same time, advocate a strategy of aiming the main blow at the Soviets — even within the US.

In their zeal to oppose revisionism, hundreds of activists have elevated the struggle against international revisionism over the international struggle against US imperialism. Pursuing the logic of this wrong-headed policy, these activists have been willing to applaud fascist attacks on the Portuguese Communist Party, read national liberation movements of proven character out of existence, and deny the socialist character of Cuba. Worse yet, some of these comrades have been willing to contemplate the development in the near future of not just a tactical but a strategic alliance with their own ruling

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class. Such "left" opportunism is hardly inconsequential.

Nor has it played a minor part in the crisis in our movement. It has caused the major split on political line in the 20 year history of our forces. For the CPML, "leftism" on the international situation has drawn them into a more or less open alliance with US imperialism. For RCP, the difficulty of attempting to juggle the demands of "left" collaboration with a reflection of the real interests of the workers and oppressed nationalities in the US, has caused it to pass through an 18 month crisis and eventually split in two. And significantly, the majority from that split has reached the conclusion that the Chinese Communist Party is revisionist and that China is in danger of succumbing to capitalist restoration!

Moreover, the reaction to this aspect of the "left" line has been responsible for freeing the great bulk of the forces that presently make up the embryonic anti-dogmatist, anti-revisionist trend from the sway of ultra-leftism. And it is also apparent that those that have refused to break with "left" collaborationism have only a tenuous commitment to combatting the ultra-left line; BACU, one of the earliest anti-"left" voices, has recently returned to the dogmatist fold, precisely because of their unity with the "lefts" on the international situation.

And yet PUL can discern no "left" opportunism on international line. The reason for this is that, unfortunately, PUL — like BACU before it — is, itself, an advocate of "left" collabora-

tionism. (See *ibid.*, p. 218)

A FORM OF OPPORTUNISM?

Related to PUL's failure to grasp the nature of the "left" international line, is its belittling of the role of dogmatism in generating the ultra-left line. PUL raises three main objections to the characterization of the ultra-left line by the term "dogmatism." First, they argue that dogmatism is not in itself a form of opportunism and can lead to both left and right errors. Second, that dogmatism does not constitute the theoretical basis for the ultra-left line. And third, that calling the ultra-left line dogmatism will split the anti-"lefts."

PUL's first objection is of little consequence. While from a strict point of view dogmatism is not a form of opportunism but a methodological error in applying Marxism-Leninism, in the modern usage of the international communist movement the term has taken on a broader meaning. Just as Lenin applied the term revisionism — which, strictly speaking, is also a methodological error — broadly, so "dogmatism" is used in the Moscow Statement, the Moscow Declaration, and China's early polemics against revisionism to describe a form of opportunism.

It is also true that there is both a "left" and the right form of dogmatism — the Mensheviks being the classic example of the latter. But then revisionism can also lead to left errors; Lenin for example, called syndicalism "left" revisionism." However, just as revisionism tends to yield right errors, so dogmatism tends to produce "leftism" — particularly, as in our situation, when it develops in reaction to the former. In any case, the PWOC — and others that have used the term — have made it quite clear that modern dogmatism is "left" in form.

PUL's second objection that dogmatism is not the theoretical base for the ultra-left line stems from a confusion in terminology. Since they see the theoretical base as identical with its ideological foundation, they argue that, ideologically speaking, the "left" line draws on the anarcho-syndicalist and anarchist traditions and not dogmatism.

But the theoretical base of an incorrect line and its ideological foundation are two different things. The theoretical base of an opportunist line is that deviation from correct methodology which allows those developing the line to depart from Marxist-Leninist principles and borrow their ideas from an alien ideology. From the Marxist standpoint, the twin departures from scientific method are dogmatism and revisionism; in the name of upholding Marxism-Leninism, dogmatism refuses to make a thorough study of concrete reality whereas revisionism renounces scientific principles in the name of modern conditions. Either deviation inevitably leads to subordination to anarchist ideology on the "left" or reformism on the right.

Just as revisionism provides the theoretical base for the reformism of the CPUSA, so it is dogmatism which induces our "lefts" to depart from Marxism-Leninism. It is dogmatism which causes these comrades to ignore the paramount importance of independently elaborating scientific socialism for US conditions. It is dogmatism which allows them to rationalize their proven isolation and impotence by seeking cover in carefully chosen passages from Lenin, Stalin or Mao. And it is dogmatism which permits the "lefts" to plagiarize whole sections of the program of the CPC even though history has demonstrated that program to be wanting in significant respects.

The heart of PUL's opposition to the term "dogmatism" lies in their third objection — that the use of the term will split the anti-"lefts". Here PUL recognizes that opposition to dogmatism implies opposition to flunkeyism as well. As the Chinese comrades wrote in their famous June 14, 1963 letter to the CPSU:

"Errors of dogmatism will be committed...if one mechanically copies the policies and tactics of another Communist Party, submits blindly to the will of others or accepts without analysis the programme and resolutions of another Communist Party as one's own line."

To be even more precise, PUL understands that opposition to dogmatism implies opposition to the ultra-left line on the international situation.

Who, then, will be "split" by upholding opposition to dogmatism? Only those who are unwilling to carry through on their critique of ultra-leftism, and who, while they desire to oppose the "circle mentality" demand the right, at the same time, to keep one foot in the camp of the "lefts."

The upshot of PUL's critique of the ultra-left line is to severely underestimate the danger posed by our "lefts." By denying the key role of "left" opportunism on political questions, by negating the existence of a "left" collaborationsim on international line, and by recoiling from the use of the term dogmatism to describe the "left" line, PUL reduces the prevailing opportunism to a mere question of the "apologetics of the 'group spirit.'" (*Ibid.*, p. 42)

In our final article we will review what tactics PUL's narrow critique leads them to advocate.

move blockade (cont.)

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point a cop pulled a gun and pressed the trigger but it was not loaded. MOVE has refused to respond to these provocations.

WHY THE BLOCKADE?

The justification for the city's blockade rests heavily on two points: first, that MOVE has been unwilling to engage in negotiations to settle their dispute with the city, and second, that the community residents' health and welfare requires the forcible eviction of the MOVE organization.

In fact, according to Joel Todd, a lawyer who served as mediator between MOVE and the city, MOVE was seriously considering a proposal for settling the dispute from District Attorney Rendell in February. Two things occurred which sabotaged these negotiations and led to a hardening of MOVE's position. The *Daily News* printed an article detailing the creation of a special police SWAT team for use against MOVE, and three MOVE members were severely beaten at the House of Detention. These events undoubtedly convinced MOVE that the city was not bargaining in good faith. They explain why MOVE was unwilling to allow members to travel to City Hall to testify in Judge Dibona's court as to why there should not be a blockade.

MOVE's neighbors in Powelton Village do have grievances against the MOVE organization. Most seriously, some individuals have been both publicly and privately threatened with violence. Also MOVE's lifestyle has contributed to sanitation problems in the neighborhood.

But in the minds of many if not most community residents these problems can be settled without the intervention of the police. The Powelton United Neighbors, a community group opposing the blockade, points to positive actions MOVE has taken in response to community pressure, such as burying and composting their gar-

bage. In any event, none of MOVE's failures as neighbors justify the massive repression that has been directed against them.

Also, as a number of MOVE members have pointed out, a good neighbor policy must work both ways. MOVE members are bitter about the community's failure to rally to their support earlier when they were subjected to severe police harassment. The failure of community organizations to deal adequately with the housing needs of the poor people in the neighborhood, who are largely Black, must also be counted as a source of division.

MORE THAN COMMUNITY DISPUTE

The introduction of the police and most recently the blockade has made the issue much more than a simple conflict between community residents. This repressive action, coming at the same time as Frank Rizzo's pledge to end so-called preferential treatment for minorities, is a racist attack on the city's Black community. Rizzo is using the MOVE issue along with Whitman Park to fan the flames of racism. If the city succeeds in repressing MOVE it will make it that much easier for Rizzo and the police to attack other Black organizations and individuals. Black activists have not forgotten the raids on SNCC and Black Panther headquarters or the attacks on Black high school students at the Board of Education in the 1960's. They rightfully see the present action as part and parcel of a long-standing policy of repression.

For these reasons there has been a strong outpouring of opposition to the blockade from the Black community. The City-Wide Black Coalition for Human Rights has drawn hundreds to its meetings and sponsored several demonstrations against the blockade. Long time activists like Walt Palmer, Sister Falakah Fattah, Rev. Paul Washington, and state legislator Dave Richardson have been active in pulling together the coalition. Many whites



also have actively opposed the blockade, particularly in the Powelton community.

The issue at this point in time is not MOVE's philosophy or lifestyle, but the question of democratic rights. Police repression does not now and has never served the interests of the working class. Rizzo's attack on MOVE, like his white rights speech, is an attempt to divert the attention of the city's white working people away from the miserable failure of his administration to even begin to solve the city's problems. It is an attempt to scapegoat Black people who Rizzo portrays as lawless, and as beneficiaries of preferential treatments.

The real interests of white working people are in opposing these racist attacks and uniting with Blacks and Puerto Ricans to fight Rizzo and the big business interests that are running our city into the ground. The attack on MOVE is part of a broader strategy to further divide white from Black and intensify the repression of the Black community. It must be opposed as such.

If the blockade is withdrawn there is every reason to think that a peaceful resolution of the differences between MOVE and its neighbors can be negotiated. This is the only sane course, the only alternative to a bloodbath. It is up to us to force the city's rulers to take this path.

Myths about Communism

The Russian Revolution... Fact vs. Fantasy

by JIM GRIFFIN

"In the fall of 1917 the Bolsheviks seized power in the October Revolution. Lenin became dictator of all Russia...The Bolsheviks immediately instituted a terroristic 'dictatorship of the proletariat'...dipped in blood."

J. Edgar Hoover

The October Revolution, the first breach in the wall of capitalism, scared the pants off the capitalist rulers of Europe and America. They used every means at their disposal to discredit, isolate and destroy the revolution.

In the US the capitalist press carried horror stories of every kind. It was claimed that the Bolsheviks had an electrically operated guillotine that lopped off 500 heads an hour. One newspaper described the rule of the Bolsheviks as a "compound of slaughter, confiscation, anarchy and universal disorder." In the midst of this "anarchy" the Bolsheviks were pictured as riding around in big cars, dining at fancy restaurants and generally lording it over the people.

This hysterical anti-Bolshevik campaign was not only aimed at the Russian revolutionaries but at home grown radicals and socialists as well. In one night some 4,000 persons in 33 cities were arrested and thrown into jail. Hundreds of them were deported. Thousands of labor militants were indicted and many sentenced to long prison terms. Victor Berger, a socialist congressman from Wisconsin, was prevented from taking his seat and sentenced to 20 years in prison. The Justice department created a new "radical division" to carry out this massive repression. The man chosen to head this division succeeded in making a national reputation for himself. His name was J. Edgar Hoover.

MASS UPEHAVAL OR TINY CONSPIRACY?

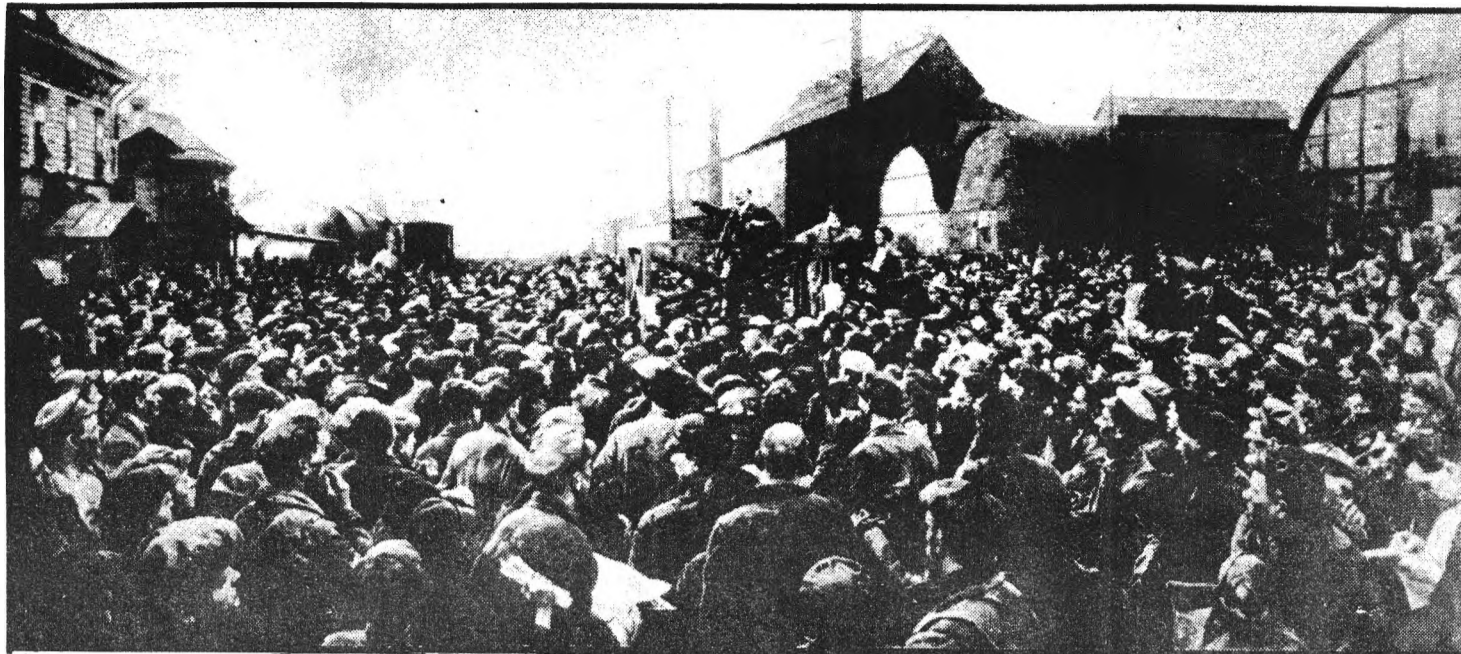
The propaganda barrage against the Bolshevik Revolution has continued down to this day. It has succeeded in creating a series of myths, all of which have served the capitalist class well in their efforts to discredit socialist revolution. The first of these myths goes something like this:

"The Bolshevik Revolution was a coup by a small, well disciplined political party. It did not have the support of the majority of the people. Bolshevik rule was imposed on the masses by Lenin and his handful of fanatical followers."

Was this really the case? To begin with, the Russian Revolution was actually two revolutions...the February revolution which overthrew the Tsar and the October revolution which overthrew the "democratic" capitalist government. In February of 1917 the industrial workers in the cities and the peasants in the countryside rose up against the Tsarist autocracy. They were joined by the war weary troops who had died by the millions to satisfy the imperialist ambitions of the regime in the world conflict that had been raging since 1914.

The revolutionary upheaval of February posed the demands of the masses — the workers wanted an end to capitalist exploitation, the peasants wanted the land and both classes wanted an end to the war and political liberty. But in February the masses lacked the political maturity to make good on these demands.

The leadership of the working class was divided between two socialist parties — the Mensheviks and the Bolsheviks. The "socialism" of the Mensheviks existed only in words. The Mensheviks held that Russia had to go through a long period of capitalist development before the working class could take power and effect the transition to socialism. This policy inevitably led to supporting the capitalist class. The Bolsheviks under the leadership of Lenin held that the working class, supported by the peasantry, should



Bolshevik leader, Lenin, addressing a meeting of workers in Petrograd, 1917.

and could take power and build socialism. The leading political party among the peasantry was the Social Revolutionary Party (SRs), a diverse grouping which had no consistent program. The leading lights among the SRs like Alexander Kerensky, mixed "socialist" demagoguery with practical subservience to the capitalist class.

THE DUAL POWER

The situation was further complicated by the existence of two distinct centers of political authority. The workers, peasants, soldiers and sailors had spontaneously organized themselves into soviets. The soviets were elected bodies reaching into every factory, neighborhood and regiment. The deputies elected to each city or regional soviet were directly accountable to their constituents and could be recalled by them at any time. The soviets, like the Paris Commune before them, were both executive and legislative bodies, that is, they both made and administered basic law and policy. These mass democratic forms had the confidence of the working people who would only follow their edicts.

But side by side with the Soviets, a Provisional government, dominated by the liberal capitalist opposition to the Tsarist autocracy, also came into being. These forces had taken advantage of the political vacuum created by the revolutionary action of the masses and proclaimed themselves the only legitimate government. But the provisional government could not govern by itself because the working masses distrusted it. The soldiers, sailors, peasants and workers would only obey it's directives when they were co-signed by the Soviets.

In the months immediately following February the Mensheviks and their allies held a majority in the Soviets. Consistent with their view that there could be no socialist revolution, they supported the provisional government and tried to apply the brakes to the revolutionary movement.

The opposition to the Menshevik course came from Lenin who, arriving on the scene in April, proclaimed the slogan, "All Power to the Soviets." Lenin called forthrightly for the overthrow of the provisional government and the transfer of all authority to the Soviets...in other words for a government of workers and peasants.

Between February and October the masses received a revolutionary education under the pressure of events. The character of the provisional government as an organ of capitalist rule became ever more clear. The government sought to carry on the imperialist war, delay land reform and maintain the exploitation of the workers. It's behavior showed that it intended to destroy the soviets as soon as the opportunity presented itself. The

leaders of the provisional government went as far as to collaborate with the Tsarist reactionaries in order to hold back the advancing revolutionary tide.

In this light the Mensheviks and all those who advocated support for the provisional government were increasingly exposed. Their socialist words could not hide their capitalist deeds and their influence rapidly declined. Meanwhile the Bolsheviks hammered away at the provisional government, taking every opportunity to build the revolutionary opposition.

The Soviets served as a barometer of the changing political sentiments of the masses. The Bolsheviks and those who supported their program amassed majorities among the deputies and were able to overturn the Menshevik leadership of the Soviets in the major industrial centers.

THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION

The stage was now set for the Soviets assuming power. The Bolsheviks assumed the leadership in organizing an insurrection aimed at the overthrow of the provisional government. The Petrograd Soviet created a military-revolutionary committee which, under the energetic leadership of Trotsky, planned and directed the insurrection. The military forces under it's control included the Red guards, the revolutionary sections of the Petrograd garrison and the Kronstadt sailors. The uprising succeeded in neutralizing most of the troops still loyal to the provisional government. Only a handful of officers and cadets from the military academy were willing to defend the government and they were easily scattered and defeated. The military-revolutionary committee turned over the power to the All Russian Congress of Soviets on the 25th of October, 1917.

The Congress brought together deputies representing soldiers, sailors, workers and peasants from all over the former Tsarist empire. Owing to the splitting activities of the Mensheviks and the Social Revolutionaries, the peasants and the troops from the front were not adequately represented at the Congress. Nevertheless the Congress is a significant gauge of the political opinion of the masses of working people at the time of the Revolution. Delegates representing 402 Soviets were present. Seventy percent of the delegates present had been mandated by their local Soviets to work for the immediate transfer of all power to the Soviets. Roughly 60% of the delegates were Bolsheviks. The Congress took the power and set about organizing a revolutionary government of workers and peasants. That the Bolshevik Party was to assume the leadership of this government was a democratic determination of the representatives of the revolutionary masses, and not the result of

some Palace Coup.

REVOLUTION BY MINORITY OR MAJORITY?

It cannot be categorically stated that at the point of the October Revolution the Bolsheviks had the support of an absolute majority of the Russian people. After all, there was no Gallup poll to get an instant reading of opinion. What can be said is this. The Bolsheviks unquestionably had the overwhelming support of the working class, a fact that is easily documented by reference to the elections to the Soviets. The attitude of the peasantry is more difficult to determine.

In the period prior to October, the vast majority of peasants voted for the Social Revolutionary Party. Given that the SRs emphasized the division of the landed estates among the peasants and given that this was a key part of the Bolshevik program, the vote for the SRs can be interpreted to some degree as support for the October Revolution.

On the other hand, the SRs in the main supported the provisional government up to October. This fact suggests that a vote for the SRs could not be taken as a mandate for the overthrow of the provisional government.

But whatever the case, this much is clear. That immediately following the October Revolution the new Soviet government was able to rapidly win over the peasantry. Within weeks of the revolution, the SR party split in two, with the right SRs opposing the Soviet government and the left SRs joining the Bolsheviks in supporting it. The left SRs rapidly gained the upper hand over the rights in the peasant Soviets. The reason for the rallying of the peasantry to the Soviet cause is also clear. As soon as the Bolsheviks took power they nationalized the land and decreed the division of the landlord's estates among the working peasants.

Within a year the popular support of the Soviet government was put to the most severe test. The deposed capitalists, landlords and their supporters, backed up by the armies of the imperialist powers, launched a civil war aimed at restoring the old order. Those who glibly claim the Bolsheviks had no broad base of support have a difficult time in explaining how the Red Army with meagre weapons and resources was able to completely crush the combined forces of counter-revolution. But to someone who approaches the question with an open mind the answer is not at all difficult. The masses of working people recognized the new government as their own. Here was a government unknown in history. A government that guaranteed that the product of their labor was to be used by and for themselves and not for the enrichment of a handful of parasites. For the workers and peasants of Russia, this was worth fighting and dying for.

PWOC Holds Second Annual International Women's Day Celebration

On March 8th over 300 people filled the Tabernacle Church in West Philadelphia to commemorate International Women's Day. Coming at a time when the democratic rights of women are under sharp attack, it was good to see men as well as women, white, Black and Puerto Rican workers and political activists come out to celebrate the struggle for equality for women. In various ways all three speakers on the program sought to explain this developing unity and highlight its importance.

Candace Newlin, speaking for the Women's Liberation Commission of the PWOC, drew out the connections between Women's Liberation and the class struggle. Newlin pointed out that the struggle against sexism is an essential part of the revolutionary program of the working class, vital to the development of class unity and the alliance between the worker's movement and the women's movement. At the same time the women's liberation movement needs the leadership of working class women to develop its revolutionary potential and build unity with the whole working class.

Roz Purnell, chair of the United People's Campaign Against Apartheid and Racism (UPCAAR), spoke on the triple oppression of national minority women and the critical importance of the struggle against racism for the women's liberation movement.

Finally, Bruce Bodner, representing the Blue Ribbon Group, a rank and file caucus in UAW Local 92, talked about the importance of the struggle against sexism for men workers. Bodner drew on the experience of the rank and file movement in his local to illustrate the way in which sexist attitudes and practices undermine the interests of all workers.

Entertainment was provided by Roy Brown, a Puerto Rican folksinger, Kulu Mele, an Afro-American dance troupe and Bev Grant, another people's singer.

The program was flawed by a late start and went much longer than anticipated. While many in attendance found the program exciting and educational in spite of these problems, others have expressed criticisms of the political content of both the speeches and the entertainment.

We want to apologize for the undue delay in getting the program going. We also want those who raised criticisms to know we are giving them attention in the context of an overall evaluation of the event. We will summarize this in the *Organizer* once we have completed it.

