

The ORGANIZER

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Philadelphia Workers'
Organizing Committee



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Rizzo's Last Hurrah

by RON WHITEHORNE

Frank Rizzo's drive to gain another term by changing the City Charter is in big trouble. As we go down to the wire on election day, all indications are for a massive NO vote.

The first cloud to gather on Rizzo's horizon last month was the results of a voter registration offensive organized by charter change opponents. Unofficial estimates place the number of new registrations at 170,000. The vast majority of these are future NO votes.

The Rizzo forces, banking on a low voter turnout and with the bulk of their support already registered, did almost no registration work. Rizzo's opponents needed to register at least 100,000 new anti-charter change voters to defeat the charter change. Of the new registrations over two-thirds come from anti-Rizzo wards. Many of the rest represent the registration work of charter change opponents in Rizzo-controlled wards.

The registration drive was a real grass roots effort. Vendors on street corners registered voters in between selling jewelry and incense. Community groups went to discos, churches, and supermarkets seeking registrations. One disco refused to let anyone enter unless they were registered.

Black political leadership was very active in organizing registration, particularly Milton Street, Dave Richardson, and Bill Gray. The NAACP concentrated on Philadelphia as part of a state-wide voter registration campaign. The Stop Rizzo Coalition organized registration tables and door-to-door canvassing in over 30 wards, registering upwards of 40,000 people. The Coalition combined its registration work with political agitation, staging street corner rallies and passing out anti-Rizzo leaflets.

Simultaneously, KYW News released the result of a Gallup poll which showed the city's voters continuing to oppose the charter change by a better than 2 to 1 margin. The poll also showed that there was a close correspondence between opposition to the charter change and how the voters viewed Frank Rizzo. Finally, the poll showed that a majority of whites as well as Blacks planned to vote NO.

VOTE WHITE CAMPAIGN FLOPS

Rizzo's call to 'vote white' appears to have backfired. The MOVE raid, the constant attacks on the city's Black leadership, and the naked attempts to polarize white working people against Blacks all served to arouse the Black community. Thousands who have never voted before rushed to register. In the view of large numbers of Blacks, previous elections offered little in the way of a real choice. This election is clearly different. Rizzo, by his own actions, has helped underline that fact.

Nor is there any evidence that his demagoguery has won him new support among white voters. Outside of South Philadelphia the big crowds at Rizzo's rallies have simply not materialized. When he staged a rally at Front and Allegheny in Kensington a crowd of over one thousand was

predicted. Instead three or four hundred loyalists showed up and many of these were committeemen and patronage employees from outside the neighborhood. Meanwhile, a counter-demonstration by Rowhousers Against Rizzo and the Kensington Stop Rizzo Committee got a sympathetic response from many passers-by.

The opposition to Rizzo continues to broaden. In early October the Black United Front against the charter change was organized bringing together Black public officials, community activists and revolutionary nationalists. Opposition from the trade unions has sharpened both on the part of leadership and rank and file. (See article elsewhere in this issue) Even moderate forces like Black civic figure Samuel Evans have been moved to strong statements. At a dinner of church leaders Evans compared Rizzo to Hitler.

Meanwhile the politicians are putting their finger to the wind and deciding it is a good time to put some distance between themselves and Rizzo. Pete Flaherty and Richard Thornburgh, the Tweedle Dum Tweedle Dee candidates for Governor, have come out against the charter change. Bill Green, scenting blood, rushed to throw his battered hat in the ring for 1979.

Well over a month ago political analysts in the city predicted that Rizzo's campaign would shift gears, dropping the vote white theme in favor of an emphasis on the administration's "positive" achievements. But the Mayor does not seem to have gotten the word.

While Rizzo did call a special press conference to ballyhoo all he has done to save jobs and help business, his main pitch continues to be what he calls "straight talk" — in other words, flat-out racism. There appears to be a split in the Rizzo campaign with some aides urging restraint on the vote white talk while Hizzoner continues to shoot from the hip.

The Rizzo team's version of the Bobbsey Twins — Hillel Levinson and Sheldon Albert — in making the talk show rounds, have asked commentators to lay off the "race thing". Meanwhile the Committee to Reform the Charter fills the airwaves with a racist ad which argues you should vote to change the charter so that Rizzo can go on "saving" "our" neighborhoods — code language for keeping them white.

ONE CARD LEFT TO PLAY

With a majority opposed to the charter change and a big voter turnout expected, Rizzo has only one option left, stealing the election. Election day fraud goes on routinely in Philadelphia. If it can be done on a large enough scale, it could turn the tide for Rizzo. If enough voting machines just happen to break down in the anti-Rizzo wards, if Rizzo's committeemen can bring out the dead to vote or go in behind the curtain to see that people vote the "right" way, if the right combination of intimidation and fraud is applied, perhaps Rizzo can still win.



The "right to choose" gang has already pulled its share of dirty tricks. Getting registration forms from City Hall Annex was like pulling teeth all during August and September. Since the registration deadline, the Election Commission has refused to hire additional staff to process the registrations, over the objection of Commissioner Eugene Maier. Led by Rizzoite Margaret Tartaglione, the Commission has refused to allow a thoroughgoing inspection of the voting machines presently housed in a warehouse. There have been battles over the way the charter change question should be presented on the ballot, with the Rizzoites naturally favoring the most confusing format.

Charter change opponents, in recognition of these dangers, are making building a strong election day organization a priority. There are over 1700 polling places in the city of Philadelphia and all of them must be staffed with poll watchers for the length of the time they are open. Poll watching certificates are only made available to political parties which have candidates on the ballot. Fortunately, the Consumer Party, an active anti-Rizzo force, is on the ballot. Poll watchers organized by both the Stop Rizzo Coalition and the Committee to Protect the Charter will be supplied certificates by the Consumer Party.

The Barristers, the National Conference of Black Lawyers, and the National Lawyers Guild are all organizing legal back up for election day to deal with tampering and fraud. Committees in each ward will be working to get out the vote by phone and door canvassing. AFSCME

District Council 33 is planning a big phone bank to reach voters. There are plans to set up day care facilities for both voters and election day volunteers.

ALL OUT ELECTION DAY!

Defeating Frank Rizzo will be a victory for the working class, the oppressed nationalities, and all democratic forces. It will be a blow against reaction and the New Right, not only here but across the country. To win we not only have to vote ourselves. We must mobilize everyone we know to vote against the charter change. Volunteers are needed. If you can help on election day call the Stop Rizzo Coalition at 928-1079. Money is needed — send a contribution to the Stop Rizzo Coalition, 101 So. 13th St., Phila., Pa. 19103.

Whether Rizzo wins or loses the struggle will not be over. We face a danger of Rizzoism with Rizzo in the form of Al Gaudiosi. Neither liberal Democrat Bill Green nor Black candidate Charles Bowser are committed to changes that will really make a difference for the people of this city.

Independent forces, independent, that is, of the two business-dominated parties, need to come together to discuss the basis for approaching the mayoralty election next year. The thousands of people who have moved into struggle and received a political education in the course of the charter change fight need an alternative to both Rizzoism and corporate liberalism. In the next issue of the *Organizer* we intend to address this problem in depth.

Letters To The Editor



Struggle Against Revisionism

The following letter was sent to both the Guardian and the Organizer.

In Silber's September 27th *Fan the Flames* he correctly points to the anniversary of the Chilean coup as an appropriate time for Marxist-Leninists to assess the errors of the Chilean left, and particularly the Chilean Communist Party's (ChCP) responsibility in that situation. It is an apt time for us to re-dedicate ourselves to the struggle against revisionism, deepening our general critique and reviewing the disaster of the Chilean working class movement.

Silber was also to the point in his criticism of dogmatist bankruptcy — blind and tacit support for the Pinochet dictatorship merely replaced one form of class collaboration for another. He also hit the mark by pointing out the errors of neo-revisionism, romanticism of the Unidad Popular and refusal to incorporate the bitter lessons of Chile into outlook and practice.

But I fail to see how all of this relates to the fusion strategy for party-building in the US. Silber makes no concrete argument for his equation between the ChCP and the groups involved in the OC, and particularly the PWOC, the main proponent of the fusion strategy. Instead, he makes use of innuendo and cries of opportunism, an unfortunately common but not particularly useful approach for clarifying matters of political line. If this type of struggle is an example of the *Guardian's* emphasis on general line — liquidate the concrete for vague formulations — the meaning of the phrase general line has been lost.

If Silber has real examples of the similarities he sees between consolidated hardline revisionists and members of a young party-building effort which espouses an anti-revisionist outlook, he should put them forward.

As a person involved for four years in building Non-Intervention in Chile (NICH), an organization which was born in the struggle against the opportunism of the CPUSA within the Chile solidarity movement, and today as a member of an OC organization, I am revolted at Silber's political irresponsibility in indicting the PWOC and others for the sins of the ChCP. If he were so serious about drawing out the lessons of Chilean revisionism for the North American reader, why doesn't he do so?

As the revisionist strategy played itself out in Chile, we had the chance to examine the twisting of a united front electoral strategy into the "peaceful road to socialism": we can look at Chile and see the disaster of liquidating the role of armed struggle, the full importance of correctly balancing working class unity on political and economic questions with the development of revolutionary organization — and these are only a few of the lessons to be learned.

Instead, Silber misses his opportunity to contribute to our 'general line' on the dangers of revisionism, and directs his energy toward distorting and misrepresenting the meaning of fusion as put forward by Marxists-Leninists today. To merely state that the important ideological tasks cannot be "dependent upon or defined by the measure of fusion which the communists have already achieved with the spontaneous working class movement" leads the reader to believe that this is the essence of the fusion strategy.

The PWOC has clearly stated in its publications, and the OC has stated in its Principles of Unity that the development of correct political line is integrally related to effecting the fusion of Marxism-Leninism with the struggle of the working class. In other words, that the science of

(continued on page 16)

Friend of Bryant and Schlafly

Dear sirs,

About your article entitled "Backlash Hits Gay Rights":

You find it "surprising that by and large, progressive forces have been slow to understand the threat (sic) that the anti-gay campaign poses to democratic rights generally." What "threat" is there to understand? All the leaders you refer to — Bryant, Angwin, et al, have always and emphatically denied that they would move for or even condone discrimination on any other basis.

As to "some Marxist-Leninists" whom you presumably think are dogmatists, do we "echo the right", as you put it, or do you echo bourgeois feminism?

What we need to do is not at all defend what is indefensible. What we need is to dissociate ourselves from bourgeois feminism and from depravity.

It seems that you too support ERA. Consider, gentlemen, that it is the feminists who are presently raising such a din about what are called "displaced homemakers," and yet are pushing a measure which would overthrow all state laws which require that a man support his wife. In a society as sick as ours, do you

imagine that the ERA can have any other consequence but the aggravation of this very same malady?!

It seems to me that the reason this particular squabble is now necessary is a preponderance of New Left know-nothing types among those who presently call themselves Marxists. In the sixties in the wake of the blacks, and in the Seventies in the wake of both blacks and feminists, trail the white radicals, gesturing ineffectually, apologizing and making excuses for the inexcusable excesses of blacks and women who demand that they be treated as adults while acting like infantile children.

C.M.
St. Paul

The *Organizer* replies:

It seems to us, sir, that you are a New Right know nothing parading about as a Marxist, apologizing and making excuses for the bourgeoisie's inexcusable excesses. The notion that Blacks and women who are struggling for equality act like "infantile children" is hardly the language of a democrat, let alone a Marxist. It is nothing less than the voice of reaction.

From the Staff

We want to apologize to our readers for missing the October issue of the *Organizer*. An already over extended staff has been overwhelmed by the demands of the campaign to defeat Frank Rizzo's charter change. Of course the *Organizer* is an important weapon in that struggle and our failure to make our deadline hurts this work. We are self-critical for not doing the necessary planning to insure regular publication. We are presently reorganizing and will have the *Organizer* back on schedule. Subscribers will not be affected by these lapses. A subscription is good for 12 issues regardless of the span of time. We also regret we will not have a Spanish section this month.

We still receive a large volume of complaints from subscribers who do not receive the paper or receive it very late. While we may make an occasional mistake, we carefully check all these complaints and in 99% of the cases the paper has been sent. Third class mail is notoriously slow. Whether our problem is the plain old capitalist inefficiency of

the postal service or a deliberate effort to interfere with our circulation, we cannot say for sure. We have complained to the authorities and are investigating legal action. Also we have applied for and received non-profit status and now have applied for a second class permit which we hope to receive soon. Hopefully this will eliminate the present problem. Any subscriber who has not received their *Organizer* should write us and we will send it again. We realize this problem is hurting our circulation and want to assure our subscribers that we take it seriously and are doing everything we can to set it aright.

Finally some readers have asked what ever happened to the promised response from the Proletarian Unity League (PUL) to our series dealing with their party building perspective. The answer is that we have yet to receive it. The PUL comrades have told us it will be along and when we do get it we still intend to publish it.

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

1199 Training Program



District 1199C of the Hospital and Nursing Home Employees Union provides training to insure job stability and upgrading.

While most unions have done little to protect their membership against loss of jobs due to automation, District 1199C of the Hospital and Nursing Home Employees Union is an example of what can and should be done.

Due to automation, hospital jobs are requiring more skills and District 1199C is making sure its membership gets those skills by providing a variety of opportunities to train and upgrade. First of all, 1199C's contracts with hospitals include a provision that requires hospitals to pay into a Training and Upgrading Fund. That Fund pays for 1199C's continuing education department which offers courses such as GED, operating room technician, a medications course for LPNs, ultra sound testing, and statistics. Also, if members choose to take courses (including non-health care related courses) at a school, money from the fund pays for up to \$750 per year tuition. After being a union member for one year, workers can apply for full time training. Decisions are made on the basis of seniority. During this one year educational leave of absence, not only is tuition paid for but members receive 80% of their wages, up to \$125 per week.

1199C has also applied for and received a federal CETA Title III grant from the Philadelphia Area Manpower Council, and offers several Skills Training and Improvement Programs (STIP): Medical Records, Practical Nursing, Respiratory Therapy, Surgical Technician, Electroencephalographic Technologist, Medical Assistant, Dental Assistant, Electrocardiographic Technician, and seven Hospital Engineering - Maintenance Programs including Electrician, Plumber, Carpenter, Painter, Mason/Plasterer, Stationary Engineer, and Air Conditioning/Refrigeration.

Training is provided by schools and health care facilities. You may wonder why these facilities would want to cooperate with the union in this. Well first of all, they get a great deal of federal money for providing this training. And second of all, trainees have to complete up to six months of on the job training. During that time the hospital gets free labor and a chance to look at the trainee's work without having to make a commitment to hire him/her.

When union members complete training, they either return to work in their new classification or return to their old job until there is an opening in that classification. The union expects upgraded members to bring a new perspective, a union perspective to the technical and professional strata of hospital workers which has generally been anti-union.

These programs are not only available to union members, but to unemployed people as well. The union realizes that unemployment is a huge problem in the city, especially for national minorities and women, and is trying to meet that problem through both these programs and the union's hiring hall. When unemployed workers complete the training, the union tries hard to place them in hospitals and other health care facilities. At the union's hiring hall unemployed people can fill out an application then call in daily and be sent out on interviews for skilled and unskilled jobs.

To find out more about the STIP programs and if you are eligible, contact the 1199C union hall at LO4-5325, extension 25.

Sun Ship painters fight layoffs

A handful of painters from Sun Ship in Chester, Pa., reacting to their being laid off last month while outside paint contractors were working in the shipyard, successfully gathered rank and file support and won back five of their jobs.

Initially ten painters were given lay-off notices, but several of the painters targeted for the layoff began circulating a petition condemning the layoffs as unjust and calling for a special union meeting to discuss the situation. Many rank and file members from other shops in the yard signed the petition, recognizing that their own job security is endangered by outside contractors.

The resulting pressure from the petition drive quickly put the company on the defensive. Fearing the possibility of a wildcat, they rescinded half of the layoffs.

All ten of the jobs might have been won back, however, if the union leadership had been more active in openly supporting the painters and building mass support for halting the layoffs. By limiting their support to behind-the-scenes negotiations, they objectively undercut the growing mass pressure and allowed the company to get away with calling back only five painters.

Even though a total victory was not won, the stubborn struggle by the painters for their jobs and the overwhelming support they received from the rank and file indicates a deep-rooted potential for militancy which could realize itself around contract time this winter, when the issue of outside contractors as well as many other important issues, will be on the agenda.

Worker Dies from BUDD's Negligence

by DUANE CALHOUN

Early in the morning of August 19th a worker at the Budd Company's Hunting Park Ave. auto plant was killed by heat stroke. His name was John Burley, and he was just 22 years old. The *Concerned Members of Local 813*, a rank and file caucus in the Budd union, put out two leaflets that told what happened:

"It's not surprising that the company and the workers present at the time tell two different stories about what happened. But both the company and the workers agree on these points: the worker had been back from a long layoff for one week. He had been asking to go home since the start of the shift. The temperature (recorded at the airport) was above 85 degrees for most of that day. At about 9, he went to the Medical Department complaining of illness. He said he felt weak and dizzy. The Doctor had him rest for about an hour and sent him back to work at about 10:15. At about 11PM he felt more ill, and went back to the Dispensary. His skin was hot, his pulse 140, he was incoherent and appeared to be having convulsions. The Doctor gave him a liquid to drink. At 11:55 (40 minutes later) the Rescue Squad arrived and took him to Medical College Hospital. His temperature at that time was 'off the thermometer' (over 106 degrees), he was semi-comatose, and was still convulsing. At 1:38 AM he died.

"The Death Certificate lists the cause of death as heat stroke, and this was confirmed by the Medical Examiner's autopsy. NO other contributing causes of death were found."

In the middle of all this, the company Doctor told the Foreman, "there's nothing wrong with him, he just doesn't want to work." Both the Doctor and the Foreman refused to let Burley go home,

saying he would be fired if he left the plant. Because he was a manual worker, and a Black man, the Doctor couldn't believe he was telling the truth. After he died, a foreman and a guard started the rumor that he died of a drug overdose. Without bothering to check the facts, they assumed that because he was Black, he must be on drugs.

The *Concerned Members'* leaflet went on to ask:

WHOSE FAULT WAS IT?

"Was it the Medical Department's fault for refusing this brother treatment for at least three hours, while the Doctor repeated, 'there's nothing wrong with him, he just doesn't want to work.' Was it the fault of top management for hiring a Doctor who didn't know enough to give the proper treatment for heat stroke even after brother Burley began convulsing and passed out? Was it the fault of Management for telling the Doctor and the Foremen not to let anyone go home, so production wouldn't be disrupted? Was it our union's fault for not strictly enforcing health and safety rules, and looking for possible dangers before someone is killed? Was it our fault, for being too cynical to fight for what's right, too busy making that money to raise hell when necessary?"

United Auto Workers (UAW) union President Henry Gryn filed a grievance protesting Burley's death, and demanding that the Budd Medical Department treat sick workers like patients, not like liars. At the October union meeting, Gryn announced that the grievance had been settled. The agreement says that all workers who go to the Medical Dept. feeling sick will get a full physical exam, and that any worker who feels sick and insists on going home will be allowed to, without being suspended.

In their leaflets, the *Concerned Members* had raised several demands. The two main ones were that workers be ready to "do whatever is necessary" to back up the President's grievance against the Medical Dept., and that the "Company install proper cross-ventilation in the shop." A caucus member made a motion at the October union meeting that the local bargaining committee take this demand for ventilation of the shop to Management. President Gryn opposed the motion, calling it impractical, and it failed to pass by a bare handful of votes.

The Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) is investigating Burley's death; so far, no results have been made public. OSHA has the power to fine persons responsible for a worker's death \$10,000 and have them jailed for

six months. But only a handful of these maximum penalties have been handed out in the eight years of OSHA's existence.

Burley's family has hired a lawyer in hopes of suing the Company for negligence. But it seems that Budd will get off here as well; the state Workmen's Compensation law gives companies and their management employees (including the Doctor) immunity from lawsuits for the death or injury of a worker.

As the *Concerned Members* leaflet said, "Nothing anyone can do will bring him back. But his death need not be for nothing, if we take steps to make sure that the conditions which killed him are changed, if we take steps to make sure that no other worker loses their life due to the Company's hunger for more profits."



Teachers Hold the Line

by ANNA GOLD

Rizzo told the teachers to buy good walking shoes, because they'd be walking a long time. The School Board told the teachers to rip up the contract provisions they had struggled and suffered to win. Bigger classes, cut-backs in preparatory time, massive lay-offs and no raises—that's what the Board offered the Philadelphia Federation of Teachers. Community groups such as the Parents Union and Clergy United to Save Our Schools worried about the effect of a long strike on their kids, and the effects of School Board cut-backs on the second-rate education already offered in Philadelphia schools. The teachers saved their pennies, because, no doubt about it, this looked like a long strike.

Everyone was geared up for a long and bitter battle and then, seven short days after the teachers voted to strike, a new contract was overwhelmingly ratified. Rizzo patted himself on the back, counting charter change votes all the way to the press conference. The big bankers and some commentators complained that the PFT had been served golden apples on a silver platter. Others, both from the

community and in the union argued that under the gold glitter was nothing but rotten fruit. What are the facts of the contract settlement and how do we assess it?

First, let's look at the contract itself. As the provisions were announced by PFT negotiator, John Ryan, all teachers and non-teaching aides laid off in June 1978 shall be recalled by February 1979 and for the duration of the contract. Class size, which was limited to 33 by the 1976 contract and unilaterally increased to 37 by the Board during the summer, is to be limited to 37 until February of 1979 and then returned to 33 for the duration of the two year contract. There is to be no loss of preparatory time, though the special programs normally scheduled during prep time in order to round out the education of our children have been reduced until all the teachers are called back in February 1979. A special SUB fund was established to ease the financial sting of the lay-offs. There are to be no wage increases in the first year. Teachers with a minimum of six years seniority will receive three 5%

raises in the second year—one each in July of 1979 and February and May of 1980. Teachers with less than six years of experience will receive 3% raises on those same dates.

The strengths and weaknesses of the contract are readily apparent. Three of the four demands most important to the teachers were met, though in a modified way. Retention of prep time, no increase in class size, and full recall of laid-off employees. The union will be entering into new negotiations in 1980 with class size at 33 and employee rolls reduced by attrition but not by lay-offs. Only the combined strength of a united union and a community determined not to let its schools disintegrate any further could have forced the School Board to concede on these points, and it is a tribute to both of those forces that these goals were achieved.

LIMITS OF VICTORIES

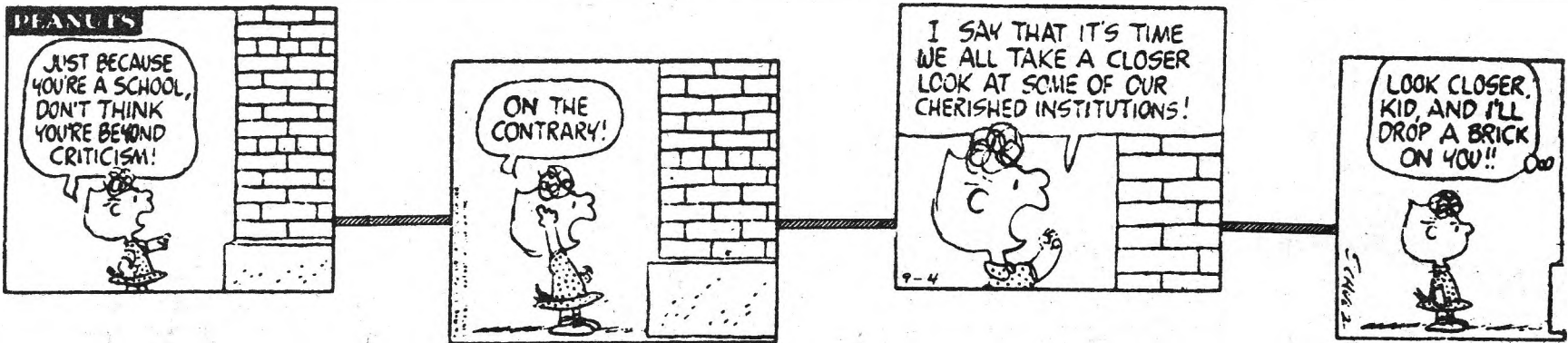
Clearly however, even these issues were not unqualified victories. We cannot underestimate the chaos that the mid-

year changes will bring to the schools, nor can we forget that the Board has established a precedent, even if only for six months, for larger classes. Furthermore, the fact that preparatory time will be filled by substitute teachers rather than by specialists who were laid off not only hurts the laid-off teachers, but seriously affects the quality of education received by our children. Art, science and music are not just luxuries. They are a necessary part of any education and must not be shrugged off as expendable recreation.

Finally the wage agreement is an insult to any working person. A leading banker told the *Philadelphia Inquirer* that the pay increases really only average out to 4.25% a year over the two years. And this at a time when economists predict another double digit inflation year! Even these increases were not evenly distributed, but rather favored those already on the upper end of the pay scale. The pay differential between these workers and those on the bottom, mostly women and minority workers, will be greatly aggravated by this settlement.

Could the teachers have held out for more? There is no doubt that teacher unity was at an all-time high. Compared with the previous strike there were far fewer scabs and picket participation was more enthusiastic. Outside of the School Board on the first day of the strike over 1000 teachers demonstrated. Community

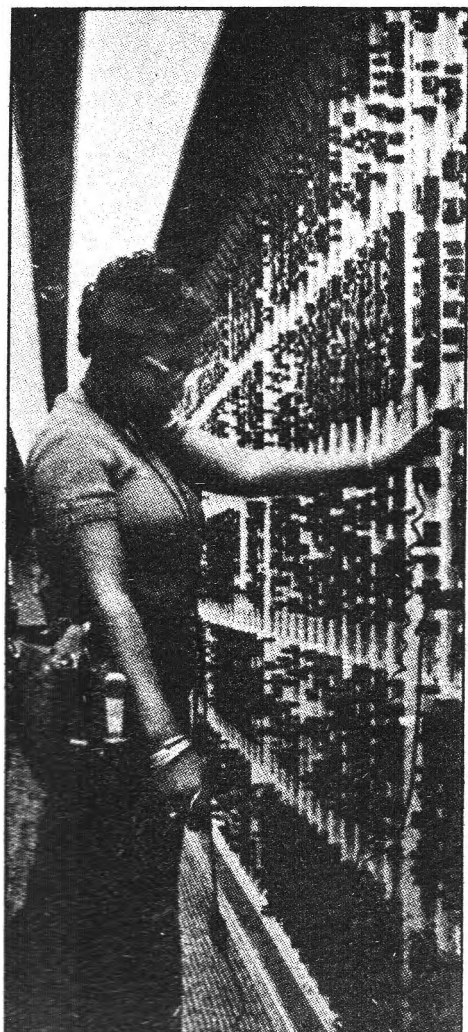
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Automation: Nightmare for Phone Workers

by MEGAN O'MALLEY

AT&T's "big dream" -- to replace as many of its workers as possible with machines is becoming a nightmare for phone workers. Job insecurity is felt widely throughout the company. Workers in Frame, Switching, the Installers and Operators have all lost jobs this year



Telephone workers in many departments have lost their jobs because of automation, telephone stores, and rate increases.

because of new "improved" equipment, Telephone Stores and rate increases. Numerous workers have been forced to transfer to other cities, take a lay-off or are simply let go. Phone workers who have stayed at their jobs are finding that automation has not made their jobs better, or more secure, as AT&T said it would, but much worse because of nerve shattering speed-up and increased job stress and pressure.

If you believe what AT&T tells its Board of Directors, then you can be sure they have only begun to automate the phone company. Directory Assistance Operators are wondering how long it will take Bell Labs to perfect a system where customers can "dial direct" to a computer, rather than an operator. A system that will practically wipe out the Directory Assistance Operator.

NO WORK FOR SOME, TOO MUCH WORK FOR OTHERS

While "no work" is the major concern of many phone workers, for others just the opposite is true -- too much work or FORCED OVERTIME. Overtime has been an issue at the company for some time. Unfortunately, each struggle waged over this issue has resulted in a strengthening of the company's ability to abuse their workers through overtime and a weakening of the workers' right to refuse.

This past summer, over 3,000 Communications Workers of America (CWA) members in a number of cities took to the streets protesting the company's inhuman demands around overtime. The struggle began in Nashville, Tenn. when a group of Western Electric workers walked off their jobs to protest the overtime. When workers from Long Lines, Local 3250 refused to cross Western's picket lines, the company came down on the workers. Pickets and supporters alike were disciplined with a one week suspension -- for violating a no-strike clause in their contracts.

After learning of the Nashville suspensions, phone workers in Atlanta, Boston, New York, Philadelphia and other cities walked off their jobs expressing solidarity with the Nashville workers around the overtime issue. These job actions also resulted in heavy discipline for the workers and five days loss of pay. Once again, the overtime issue was resolved in the interests of the company, not the phone workers.

Job insecurity and forced overtime are two sides of the same coin at the phone company. More coin for the company and a shafting for the workers. Even though the company may have to spend some up-front money on new machines, in the long run, they save a bundle with these more modern, faster machines by drastically cutting out jobs. In departments that are more difficult to automate, the company uses forced overtime rather than hire on more workers. It's much cheaper for AT&T to pay a worker time and a half in overtime, than to hire additional workers and pay full salary, plus benefits.

While all of this may be well and good for the phone company, what about the phone workers? AT&T is making "big money." Five billion dollars in profits last year and profits this year are expected to go even higher. It's not as if they have to work us to death just to keep financially afloat. On the contrary, we have the richest boss in the world. There is absolutely no reason in the world why we don't have an automation clause in our contracts which would protect us from losing our jobs or a provision allowing only voluntary overtime.

GROWING ABUSES OF AT&T

Losing out on the automation and overtime protection that we should have won in our last contracts, has clearly opened the door for an even wider assault on our working conditions. At the moment, AT&T is having a field day abusing the absence and lateness pro-

grams, crossing job classifications, hiring off the street for upgrades that we should have and could easily fill.

Being caught in a frustrating and powerless position, phone workers are getting fed up with our union officials with what we see as repeated sell-outs. The sell-out is coming primarily from the top levels of our unions and not generally from the locals. Glen Watts, National President of the CWA and Charles Pillard, International President of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (IBEW) have very little in common with most of our local presidents and Executive Board members. Watts and Pillard make big money, upwards of \$70,000 a year. They are not worried about losing their jobs because of automation, they are not forced to work overtime, they don't suffer job discrimination because of their skin color, they also do not have to suffer the daily injustices on the job that we do.

Once more they don't even have to care about the problems we face on the job, because they are not directly elected by us. Top level union officials maintain tight control over our unions and we don't even get to vote for them. One example of a top level sell-out is the recent Nashville incident. It was the local presidents of the CWA who took a stand against the company's use of forced overtime during the wildcats this summer. Glen Watts chose not to support the locals and members involved in these job actions.

The days of labor peace and compromise are over and out-dated at the phone company. We will only be able to recapture our unions if phone workers unite nationally around a common strategy and a common program to rebuild our fighting capacity and strength. While rebuilding our unions from the bottom up may seem like an awesome task, what other choice do we really have?

Fraser Proclaims New Direction for UAW

by Duane Calhoun

"I believe leaders of the business community...have chosen to wage a one-sided class war today in this country — a war against working people, the unemployed, the poor, the minorities, the very young and the very old, and even many in the middle class of society."

"My message should be very clear: if corporations like General Motors want confrontation, they cannot expect cooperation in return from labor."

With these militant words, United Auto Workers Union (UAW) President Doug Fraser resigned last July 19th from the Labor — Management Group. The Group is a committee of top business executives and union leaders, set up by ex-President Ford to work out "cooperative" solutions to problems such as taxes, wages, inflation, energy, and unemployment. The Group includes executives from such major companies as U.S. Steel, General Motors, General Electric, DuPont, and Mobil Oil, and officials of the Auto, Clothing, Seafarers, Plumbers, and Teamsters unions, as well as George Meany of the AFL — CIO. Although the Group is technically not a government body, its proposals carry a lot of weight with President Carter. Such labor — management committees, designed to mislead working people and their unions with the pipedream of peace between capitalists and workers, have existed in the U.S. on and off ever since the National Civic Federation was founded in 1900.

NEW DIRECTION FOR UAW?

Fraser explained his resignation by citing a long list of examples of corporate greed and exploitation, particularly the long list of legislation favored by labor that has been defeated in Congress — from tax reform to safety regulations to labor law reform. He then said: *"For all these reasons, I have concluded there is no point to continue sitting down at Labor — Management Group meetings and philosophizing about the future of the country and the world when we on the labor side have so little in common with those across the table. I cannot sit there seeking unity with the leaders of American industry, while they try to destroy us and ruin the lives of the people I represent...We in the UAW intend to reforge the links with those who believe in struggle: the kind of people who sat down in the factories in the 1930's and who marched in Selma in the 1960's. I cannot assure you that we will be successful in making new alliances and forming new coalitions... But I can assure you that we will try."*

FRASER OPENS DOOR FOR RANK AND FILE

Fraser's speech ought to be welcomed by the rank and file movement. The promise of a new direction in the

UAW, away from class collaboration and towards a class struggle policy is exactly what the most far-seeing elements of the rank and file have been calling for. The task for the rank and file movement is to make sure that the International leadership matches its talk with action. The rank and file must say to Fraser, "we are with you all the way, insofar as you really try to make good on the promise to build a fighting UAW."

At the same time, we must approach Fraser without illusions. Even Fraser's militant letter carries over the basic premises of class collaboration. Fraser is saying in effect "if you play ball with us, we'll play ball with you. In the past we had a nice thing going, but now you've gotten too greedy, so we're pulling out of the game until you wise up."

In fact, the old policy of labor-management harmony never served the interests of the mass of workers and led the UAW to its present position of weakness. Moreover, the monopoly corporations have not suddenly become greedy, having been generous in the past. The new offensive against labor grows out of economic drives beyond the control of individuals in management.

The monopolists are always out for the biggest profits at labor's expense. What is new is that under today's conditions of growing economic crisis in the whole international capitalist system, GM and company have to squeeze even harder on their workers.

We also have to look at where Doug Fraser is coming from. He is feeling the heat from both sides — the monopolies increasingly unwilling to make even token concessions, while the rank and file is increasingly dissatisfied. That is what has prompted Fraser to break with the Labor Management Group. But Fraser is still holding the door open. He hopes that his threat of a militant policy will lead management to return to being "reasonable".

Following his resignation from the Labor-Management Group, GM agreed to preferential hiring for UAW members in GM's unorganized southern plants. Fraser congratulated GM, saying "It clears the way toward continuation of the historical development of a constructive collective bargaining relationship between the UAW and GM."

We should recall that GM made a promise to be "neutral" in relation to organizing drives at these plants in the 1976 contract, and went right on fighting the union. Extracting this promise from GM was a victory and an important concession, but it hardly signals an end to the "class war" policies of the monopolies. Fraser's quickness to read into it a return to the good old days of labor-management harmony is a sign of his wavering.

It is going to be up to the rank and file to insure that Fraser's promise of a new policy is really filled with content. His resignation and speech are a welcome first step away from the disastrous policies of the past. The rank and file movement must build on this first step and insure that the union leadership moves forward.

The upcoming UAW contract talks will be one important arena to put the new policy to work. The central question will be jobs and job security and the key demand must be for a shorter work week. "Shorter work time", that is, a few more days off per year, is inadequate. The thirteen new days off won under the last Big Three auto contract did not even create enough jobs to offset those lost to automation over the same period.

Also, the offensive of the auto companies makes a truly united UAW more important than ever. To build unity the contract program must call for real measures to fight discrimination by the companies against minority and women workers. Only a union that fights for equality can really unite its ranks.

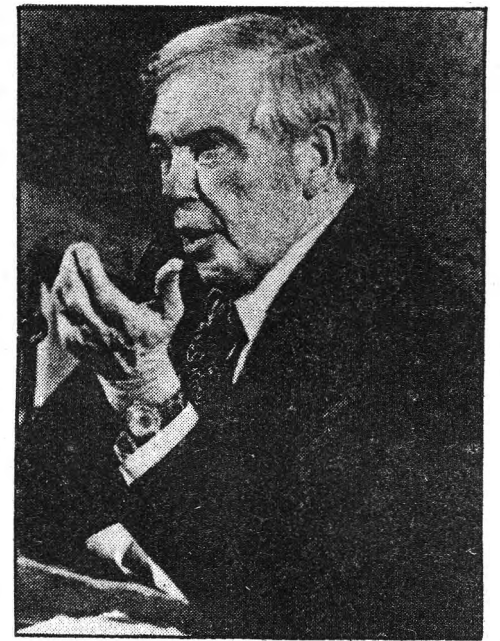
If Doug Fraser is about fighting the companies who are "ruining the lives of the people I represent", then he must take a strong stand in the interests of the membership in the contract talks. If he does he will have the full support of the ranks.

CLASS WAR ON THE POLITICAL FRONT

As Fraser pointed out, the class war of the monopolists is being waged not simply at the bargaining table, but on the political front as well. Big business dominated government has thumbed its nose at even the modest demands of the AFL-CIO.

Class war by the employers means that labor must organize as a class. It makes no sense to think that a political party dominated by corporate interests can represent labor politically. Again Fraser is close to the mark when he says: "The Republican Party remains controlled by and the Democratic Party heavily influenced by business interests. . . . with no visible, clear-cut ideological differences between them, because of business domination."

This reality calls for an independent political course. Labor must build unity with its allies — the movements of Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, and other oppressed nationalities, with the women's movement and all progressive forces in US political life — and venture into the political arena to combat the two "business dominated" parties. This is essential if the unions are going to build the strength to effectively combat the employers' class war.



United Auto Workers Union (UAW) President, Douglas Fraser, resigned from the Labor-Management Group set up by ex-President Ford.

Doug Fraser is moving in the right direction when he calls for the UAW to "Reforge the links with those who believe in struggle." The conference he called for October, encompassing union, civil rights, women's and poor people's leaders is evidence that this is not just idle talk.

On the other hand, Fraser's thinking and the focus of the conference all indicate a continued commitment to the Democratic Party — a strategy to reform that Party rather than an effort to build a new party.

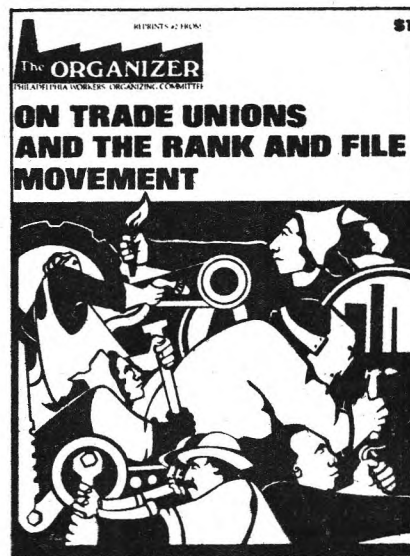
Is a new coalition likely to turn the Democratic Party around? Is the Democratic Party simply "heavily influenced by" big business or is it owned by corporate interests, lock, stock, and barrel? These are the questions the October Conference and the rank and file need to examine. Russell Long, the Democratic Senator from Louisiana and long time right-winger, offers some insight into how much "clout" labor commands in the Democratic Party: "Labor contributions have been greatly exaggerated. It would be my guess that about 95% of campaign funds at the congressional level are derived from businessmen."

The "new coalition" strategy was tried in 1971 and '72, when the Democrats supposedly "reformed" and McGovern became the Party's presidential standard-bearer. The result six years later? Jimmy Carter, who Fraser himself has called "an ineffective administration that can't come to grips with the problems confronting the American people."

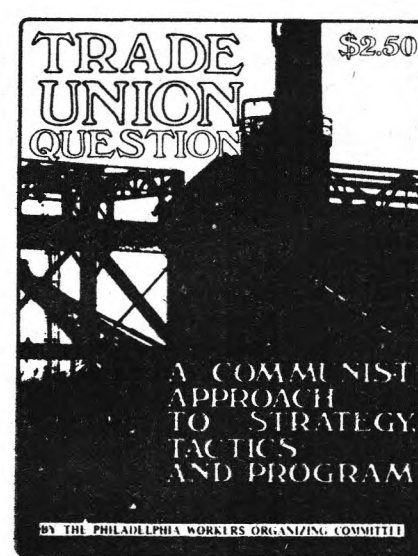
In sum, Fraser's turn is an indication of a new direction in the top circles of the UAW, but it remains limited and there is wavering in carrying it out. The main significance is that it provides the rank and file movement with a valuable opening, a means of mobilizing the membership to put the UAW on a class struggle course.



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Budd on the Move?

by JOE LEWANDOWSKI

On Wednesday October 18, the Budd Company announced in a general press conference that it is seriously considering plans to close its plant on Red Lion Rd. in Northeast Philadelphia. A company representative said that it planned to phase out its chassis division by 1980 and that the company may move the railcar division to Rome, Georgia.

The United Auto Workers (UAW) Budd Council which represents workers in most of Budd's 17 US plants met the same day in Detroit. The union body which represents 11,000 Budd workers issued a statement calling Budd's plans "an act of aggression against Budd workers at the Red Lion plant" and promised to strike Budd plants across the nation when the contract terminates in January 1980 if Budd moves the jobs out of Philadelphia.

While stating that productivity at Red Lion was the highest in the Budd chain, the company maintained that they were still suffering losses in the chassis division which makes frames for Ford Econoline vans and AMC Jeeps. The market for frames has drastically decreased as production of smaller cars with "unitized" construction has increased.

Budd indicated that it would probably move the Red Lion frame contracts to its other chassis facility in Kitchener, Ontario, a newer plant with lower labor costs. The company estimates it can save \$4 an hour at the Canadian plant because national health insurance there eliminates the need for company financed insurance policies and the Canadian wage freeze has destroyed the near equality in wage levels between US and Canadian plants achieved five years ago.

BUDD WISHES IT WAS IN DIXIE

The railcar division still looks profitable to the company, but the Red Lion plant facility is too large and too costly to house the railcar operation alone. By moving to Georgia the company would hope to avoid unionization and it would benefit from tax breaks in the southern state. The company indicated that it would consider staying in Philadelphia if it could find a suitable plant, could get some tax breaks from the city and could get workers to accept a 37% cut in pay and benefits.

Budd officials were clearly surprised by the union's threatened national strike, and have yet to respond publicly to it. If the company decides to keep the railcar operations in Philadelphia they undoubtedly will demand major concessions in wages, benefits and working conditions. At the moment the mood of Budd work-



ers is resolute — "We're going to fight like hell for our jobs and definitely no wage cuts!"

The threatened national Budd strike could make the Red Lion plant the focus for a major movement by labor throughout the city to turn back the tide of moveouts that has plagued Philadelphia in recent years. Over 130,000 jobs have been lost in the past seven years, most of them in manufacturing industries. If the Red Lion plant closes, 1700 workers will

be dumped on the street. Thirty-five hundred more Budd workers from the company's Hunting Park plant could face a similar situation in a few years because of the age of that facility.

The loss of either or both Budd plants would have a major impact on every worker in Philadelphia. The pay scale and benefits of Budd are among the best in the city. A major setback for them would affect contracts negotiated in every industry.

Puerto Rico — Repression Against Trade Unions

The following statement by Miguel Cabrera, a Puerto Rican Teamster Organizer, was made as his speaking tour of the United States was cancelled out due to the Taft-Hartley injunction placed against him. The harassment of Cabrera is part of the much broader repression of the labor and independence movements in Puerto Rico, which we have covered in past issues of the Organizer. Members of the Philadelphia Chapter of the Puerto Rican Solidarity Committee (PRSC) held an activity the night Cabrera was supposed to speak here, at which time his statement was read, participating individuals wrote letters and telegrams of protest to the Puerto Rican government.

As Cabrera states in his letter, another member of Puerto Rico's militant trade union movement will be coming within the next few months to the US. Anyone interested in attending such an activity can write to the Organizer for more information.

Compañeros and Compañeras:

The tour in which I and Companero Frank Vergara of the U.S. Trade Union

Committee Against Repression in Puerto Rico, were supposed to participate had to be postponed. The reasons for this postponement are very significant especially given the present situation which we in the labor movement in Puerto Rico are confronted with.

On Monday September 11th, just one day after I left for the United States from San Juan, the owners of the company Transporte Mercader (a trucking firm) in Puerto Rico brought charges against me, against Luis Carrion and against the Teamsters Union. The bosses alleged before the National Labor Relations Board in Puerto Rico that we engaged in "coercion" and on that basis they are demanding that we be found guilty by the courts, under the Broad Order clause of the Taft-Hartley Act. They allege that we violated the present injunction against our union which stipulates that we are to desist from putting "pressure, coercion or threats of physical violence against workers or management."

This Broad Order has only been used against three unions in the history of the labor movement in our country, ours (the Teamsters), the National Union of Workers (UNT) and the General Brotherhood of Workers (Hermandad General de Trabajadores). This order weakens the ability of our unions to organize because it is so general and vague that the accusations made by management can constitute sufficient grounds to find a labor leader or union member guilty. If we are found guilty we face \$5,000 in fines each (the union, Luis and myself) and in addition Luis and I face up to five years imprisonment.

The Broad Order is an instrument of the bosses which allows any company to bring charges against union members or leaders without any firm base of evidence or justification. In short, companeros, even a wrong look at management during a strike or contract negotiations can be construed as "coercion" and serves as grounds for indictment.

My hearing along with Luis and our union representative will be held this coming Monday, at which time if I fail to appear they will conduct the hearing in my absence. Upon being found guilty the NLRB and the company will go to court so that the Federal Court can order the imposition of the fines, imprisonment and probably both. We can be certain of what the response of the yanqui federal court will be and in particular when the judges in the federal courts in Puerto Rico are former company and corporation lawyers like Judge Torruellas and Judge Toledo to name a few.

Companeros in struggle, if the union were to lose this battle we have been confronted with, we would be seriously affected. We would be limited in that every time we attempted to continue our unionization of shops, this Broad Order would be applied and this time the bosses would not waste time in pointing toward previous convictions to gain easier victories against our union. As some of you know, one of the purposes of the frame-up against me and the persecution of our union is to prevent us from continuing our work with the membership and especially the task of organizing new shops. The colonial government, the NLRB and the bosses, have realized that their campaign to discredit the union backfired; not only are we winning more elections in

new shops, but in some shops elections have been held without our knowledge and we have been informed later by the NLRB that our union had won. In light of this situation, they will stop at nothing to paralyze the union and jail its leaders.

The case of Companero Radames Acosta from the Independent Airport Workers Union presently, is a good example of the repression the trade union movement faces in Puerto Rico. Three years following the attacks unleashed against the UNT during their strike, Radames was jailed under the antiworker and repressive Taft-Hartley Act. Radames is now out of jail after having served the three month sentence imposed on him and continues firm in the struggle that we will continue to wage and have to wage in Puerto Rico. I have spoken with Radames in Puerto Rico and after September 25th he will be able to come to the United States, more than likely during the first two weeks of October.

For us in Puerto Rico and I am sure for you in the United States, the fact that Radames is the first in the history of our country to be convicted under Taft-Hartley is very significant. Presently Radames is directing the campaign to unionize the workers of the Prinaire Company which operates at the airports and is involved in another set of negotiations. It is my hope that he will be able to be with you early this month.

While I know full well the impact and seriousness of having to postpone this tour, especially after speaking to companeros at the activity held in New York and the brothers and sisters from TUCAR, I am also confident that your efforts, like ours in Puerto Rico, will not be held back. I am confident that our anger and denunciation against this latest attempt to prevent the development of solidarity and support for the struggle of the workers in our country will only serve to reinforce our determination to build that support among the North American people.

I would urge you to join with us in raising our voices in the most militant protest and active denunciation. We must condemn this massive campaign of repression that has been unleashed against the trade union and independence movements in Puerto Rico.

Companeros de lucha, I am certain that the final victory will be ours.

In Struggle, Miguel Cabrera

Note: This is a translation from a statement made by Miguel Cabrera on the afternoon of September 14th in New York City.

Workers protest government repression



Miguel Cabrera (Puerto Rican Teamster Organizer) addressing the crowd.

Organizer, October-November, page 6

Part I

Growth of Reaction and the Danger of Fascism

by RON WHITEHORNE

The last year has seen a mounting tide of reaction -- an intensification of attacks on the democratic rights and living standards of the oppressed nationalities, women and the working class. Desegregation of schools and housing has been crippled and affirmative action programs placed in jeopardy. The right of women to abortion has been curtailed and the passage of the ERA is in doubt. Anti-discrimination laws have been repealed. Cutbacks at federal, state and local levels threaten vital social services and the so-called tax revolt, symbolized by Proposition 13, threatens to bring this development to crisis proportions. Efforts to pass right-to-work laws and de-certify unions are making headway in a number of key industrial states. The police, FBI and the courts continue to abuse the rights of citizens. An increasingly powerful lobby calls for a more aggressive anti-Soviet foreign policy and beefed up defense spending.

These are not isolated developments. Taken together they represent a definite policy -- a response by one section of the ruling class, that is, the owners of the monopoly corporations, to the present day dilemma of US capitalism.

What is the nature of this reaction? What are its prospects and how can it be fought? These are burning questions for all those who desire social progress. Marxist-Leninists have a particular responsibility to answer these questions in the clearest fashion.

THE ROOTS OF REACTION

Monopoly capitalism or imperialism tends toward political reaction by its very nature. The drive of the monopolies for super profits sharpens the contradictions between the bourgeoisie on the one hand and the masses of exploited and oppressed on the other. Imperialism intensifies the exploitation of the working class, deepens national and sexual oppression and subjugates peoples abroad. Its drive for new markets to plunder leads to war. Its internal contradictions produce uneven economic development, instability and crisis. Such a system can only uneasily exist with even the most limited forms of democracy. Monopoly by its very nature seeks to curtail democracy and political freedom, attack the living standards of the masses and maintain inequality.

At the same time, the popular forces seek to check the tendency toward reaction. Depending on the degree of organization and consciousness of the masses, this tendency can be checked and concessions won. The balance of class forces is invariably a factor in shaping bourgeois policy.

The struggle between reaction and the progressive forces occurs in a specific historical context. The options of the monopolists are not limitless but are shaped and circumscribed by definite political, social and economic realities. Also the monopoly capitalist class is rarely, if ever of one mind as to what set of policies will best serve its interests. There is invariably a struggle between contending groups who represent divergent, if limited, ideological outlooks.

Thus while the monopoly capitalist class is firmly united in its determination to maintain its rule, within that framework real and often sharp differences exist as to what policies best serve the overall interests of the class. This explains the existence of a bourgeois political spectrum with a left, a center and a right and with contending liberal, moderate and conservative outlooks and programs.

REACTION IN THE U.S.

Following WWII, owing to the devastation of its imperialist rivals, US capital was able to gain a predominant position in the world. This produced a period of relative stability and economic growth in the US, providing the context to dull the edge of mass resistance while isolating and repressing its most advanced expressions. When in the early 1960's the upsurge of the struggle for Black liberation posed a real threat, US capital was able to combine significant concessions with repression.

The defeat of the US in Vietnam and the launching of Nixon's New Economic Program marked a turning point and the beginning of a new period. While still a powerful political, economic and military force, the US has lost its position of pre-eminence. The spread of socialism, the rising tide of national liberation and the sharpened competition from imperialist rivals have all contributed to the weakened position of US capital and sharply restricted the options open to the monopolists at home.

The result was a new consensus in leading monopoly circles. During the Vietnam years, the ruling class was deeply split, divisions that produced the sharpest reverberations in the Democratic Party. These differences centered on the expediency of the war and how to best cope with domestic insurgency. The ending of the war and the onset of economic crisis substantially reduced the weight of these divisions. Carter's triumph in the Democratic Party and Ford's victory in the Republican signalled the emergence of the new consensus. While differences between the two existed, what was striking was the broad common ground they shared.

The dominant elements of monopoly united on a policy of austerity and both Carter and Ford called on the U.S. people to bite the bullet. Wage "restraint", high unemployment and cutbacks in essential social services are the new marching orders. A moratorium on any further concessions to the demands of the oppressed nationalities and women for equality is a necessary feature of this general policy.

Now a new cleavage is coming to the fore. A growing section of the monopolists are going over to the standpoint of extreme reaction. The New Right, as it has come to be known, is not content to hold the line in the face of the demands of the masses. Instead they call for an across the board roll-back of the gains of the last decades, a sharpening of the attacks on minorities, women and unions. Within the Republican Party Ronald Regan is the rallying point for these forces. The remnants of the Wallace movement and Democrats like Frank Rizzo belong to the same camp. The

right-to-lifers, the right-to-workers and the crusaders against communism are organized in hundreds of "non-partisan" organizations that are closely tied ideologically to the monopoly circles who constitute the real motive force of the New Right. On its fringes are the outright fascist groupings like the Nazis and the KKK.

As a growing political force, well-financed and well-organized, the New Right has scored a number of far-reaching successes--both at the local and national level. A serious bid for national political power can be expected in 1980 in the form of a presidential candidacy.

IS THE NEW RIGHT A FASCIST TREND?

If such a bid were successful would this mean the coming of fascism to the U.S.? This is an important question. How we answer it will shape the strategy and tactics we adopt in fighting the New Right.

Certainly the rhetoric and program of the New Right share important common ground with fascism. Ideologically, the New Right and fascism--be it Hitler's Nazis or the KKK--rely heavily on racism, sexism, national chauvinism and anti-communism. It is also unquestionably true that some New Rightists have open fascist sympathies.

Nevertheless, the New Right at the present time cannot be regarded as a fascist trend, although its prospects are by no means unrelated to the danger of fascism. Fascism is more than a program of bourgeois reaction, even an extreme program. It is a change in the form of class rule. Fascism aims at substituting terror and open dictatorship for bourgeois democratic institutions.

Some might argue that the overthrow of democratic forms is the aim of the New Right, but one they do not dare openly proclaim. In other words they are closet fascists who once in power can be expected to impose a ruthless dictatorship.

Two points call this argument into question. First, fascism has generally taken the form of an anti-parliamentary, anti-democratic mass movement. It has not realized its aims by accommodating itself to bourgeois democratic sentiment and then staging a coup. The road to fascism is prepared through a systematic assault on democratic institutions, both in the form of propaganda and terror. Hitler, Mussolini and Franco all openly spoke out against the "impotence" of the democratic state and matched their words with the para-military Brownshirts, squadristi, and Falange.

Secondly, fascism develops in response to definite historical conditions. It arises in a situation where the bourgeoisie is increasingly unable to rule by ordinary means. It assumes an intense level of class struggle--a social crisis in which class forces hostile to monopoly threaten the whole fabric of capitalist rule. In such a situation the dominant forces within the bourgeoisie turn to fascism. Fascism represents counter-revolution. In Europe it came to power as the vengeance the bourgeoisie took on the revolutionary working class.

Taking these points together we see that the New Right falls short of being a fascist trend. While the rightists favor measures that will restrict democratic rights, they are careful to abstain from any frontal assault on parliamentary institutions and constitutional principles. In fact they couch their appeal in terms of loyalty to these principles. The task for the New Right is to win over the decisive sections of the bourgeoisie to its program. Fascism, the advocacy of the overthrow of bourgeois democratic institutions in order to consolidate reaction, will hardly aid them in the pursuit of this objective.

The monopoly capitalist class as a whole has moved to the right. Its liberal wing is relatively isolated. Its right wing is growing in strength. The dominant center has shifted rightward but is not yet prepared to embrace the program of the New Right.

No important section of the bourgeoisie is presently committed to fascism. This is because given the present balance of class forces, the bourgeoisie can rule and realize its principal objectives within the framework of bourgeois democracy. No revolutionary movement is contending with them for power. The revolutionary movement that does exist is growing in strength and influence but remains in an embryonic stage. From the standpoint of the bourgeoisie the present form of class rule--the "shell game" of bourgeois democracy, as Lenin put it--fits the bill quite nicely, at least for the moment.

At the same time, however, the rise of the New Right is closely related to the danger of fascism. As the class struggle intensifies the danger of the ruling class going over to fascism increases. The New Right, both organizationally and ideologically, prepares the ground for the development of a fascist movement. The struggle against the New Right is part and parcel of the struggle against fascism and must be consciously developed in this way. Fascism grows out of reaction and draws on its legacy. In this sense the struggle against reaction is a struggle to nip the growth of fascism in the bud.

CONFUSION PRODUCES COSTLY MISTAKES

To mistake ordinary (even if extreme) reaction for fascism leads to strategic disorientation. It invariably involves a mistaken estimate of the aims of the enemy, which is bound up with an equally mistaken estimate of the development of the popular forces.

The case of the CPUSA following World War II illustrates some of the most relevant dangers associated with this line. After the war U.S. monopoly consolidated around a program of reaction. The anti-fascist wartime alliance with the Soviet Union gave way to the cold war. The monopolists set out to shackle the labor movement with Taft-Hartley and purge the CIO of left influence. They moved to first isolate and then repress the Communist Party.

(continued on page 16)

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Would you buy a used car from this man?

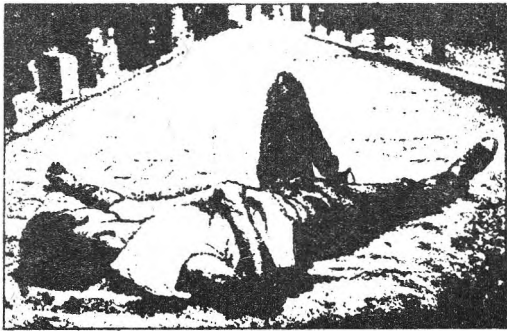
Lest we forget, the Rizzo years...



In 1975 Rizzo's campaign slogan was "He held the line on taxes". A few months later he boosted real estate taxes by 29.3% and city wage taxes 30.2%, the largest increases in the city's history.

Currently, City Controller William Klenk is predicting a deficit of \$164 million for next year which will mean another massive Rizzo tax bite on working people.

POLICE TERROR



Rizzo's philosophy, "spacco il capo" (Break their heads) is daily applied by Philadelphia police, especially in the Black and Puerto Rican communities. Atrocities include murders, frequent beatings, and harassment... all of which makes the police more terrifying than muggers



Behind Bars:

Augustine Salvitti of the Redevelopment Authority; James J. O'Neill, Pres. of the Plumbers Union and Rizzo's campaign manager and Buddy Cianfrani, Rizzo's ally in the state legislature... Other scandals have been hushed up and thrown out of court on technicalities. Special Prosecutor Walter Phillips lost his job when he started getting close to Philadelphia's City Hall.

Trade Unions Battle over Charter Change

by JIM GRIFFIN

Frank Rizzo's attempt to incite white against Black to promote the charter change and a shot at another term has stirred controversy in every quarter of the city. The trade unions are no exception. Rizzo's carefully cultivated image as "the friend of the working stiff" is badly tarnished after eight years of high taxes, runaway shops, and attacks on public employee unions. Rizzo's open attacks on Black people are rightfully perceived by many trade unionists as a dagger aimed at the heart of trade union solidarity.

The main opposition to Rizzo in the unions has come from below. The city's trade union leadership is divided on the charter change question. Rizzo maintains his key allies in the labor bureaucracy. The Building Trades are supporting the charter change. So are the leaders of both the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers (ACTWU) and the International Ladies Garment Workers.

Many unions are maintaining a neutral stance. The Philadelphia Federation of Teachers (PFT) leadership, perhaps in exchange for the recent contract settlement, has refused to take a stand. The core of opposition comes from 1199C (Hospital workers), the Retail Clerks, and the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME).

Rank and filers began early to organize against the charter change. The Stop Rizzo Coalition organized a trade union committee encompassing members of over 20 different locals. Beginning in August mass leafletting of the shops began. Rallies were held at shop gates, job sites and outside union meetings. Anti-Rizzo activists sold buttons, circulated petitions, and registered their co-workers to vote.

Where union leaders supported the charter change or refused to take a stand, rank and file forces organized opposition. In the ACTWU, for example, the Rank and File Committee unanimously voted to oppose the charter change at the same time union leader Harry Goldsmith, without so much as consulting his membership, threw his weight behind Rizzo. A petition campaign opposing the charter change has won broad support from ACTWU rank and filers.

In the PFT, where Ryan and Sullivan gingerly ride the fence, the Organizer, October-November, page 8

School Employees Action Caucus (SEAC) has been mobilizing opposition to the charter change. Attempts to raise the question before the Executive Board have been bureaucratically squashed, but a SEAC petition has been signed by thousands of members.

RESOLUTIONS AGAINST RIZZO

Some rank and filers have succeeded in getting the question before the membership and thus forcing the union to take a stand. The United Paper Workers Local at the Connely Container Corporation passed a resolution opposing the charter change and condemning Frank Rizzo for his racism and his anti-labor stands, concluding Rizzo was unfit to be Mayor.

At the initiative of the Concerned Members Caucus, Local 813 of the United Autoworkers at Budd's Hunting Park plant passed a resolution in May unanimously condemning Rizzo's "White Power" speech in Whitman Park. Again in October the Local unanimously voted to oppose the charter change and denounced Rizzo's "vote white" tactics.

UAW Local 92 at Budd Red Lion issued a statement condemning "elected leaders... who exploit racial or ethnic differences... and polarize the community". Out of fear of jeopardizing a possible city contract the leadership has resisted taking a clear cut stand on the charter question in spite of broad rank and file sentiment for such a course. Some may hope Rizzo will step in and keep Budd from moving the Red Lion plant. But Rizzo's track record in stopping runaway shops isn't good as workers from Midvale Steel or Triangle Graphics can testify.

UAW members from several locals are circulating a petition calling for the regional UAW CAP Council, the political arm of the union, to take a position. Leaders of the petition campaign are confident of victory if they can succeed in getting the Council to vote.

In the struggle to get the AFL-CIO Central Labor Council to take a position, progressive leadership and rank and file forces have worked in

concert with one another. On October 11th Henry Nicholas, President of 1199C, introduced a resolution calling for the Council to condemn Rizzo's racial polarization as contrary to the principles of trade unionism.

Outside the Council meeting an ad hoc group representing some fifty trade unionists including large numbers of local officers and shop stewards issued a statement in support of Nicholas's action. "Unions were founded on the principle of unity and solidarity between working people — Irish, Italian, Puerto Rican, Jewish, Polish, Hungarian, German, but especially between Black and white", the statement said. "Like the Southern politicians of years ago, Frank Rizzo has tried to cover up the problems of Philadelphia by trying to make Black people the scape goat".

A LOT OF HOOEY FROM ED TOOHEY

Also like the southern politicians of old who filibustered civil rights legislation, Rizzo's allies in the Council stalled and maneuvered to avoid a vote on Nicholas's resolution. The vote was put off for ten days on the absurd grounds that the Council lacked the means to record a roll call vote.

Ten days later a meeting of the Council's Executive (which includes only the heads of the member unions)

voted 8-2 that the resolution was "unconstitutional". According to news reports, Council President Ed Toohey said, "the Council does not have jurisdiction to rule on the resolution which is a moral and not a legal question."

The workers who built the labor movement by defying court injunctions, sit-down strikes, and militant unity would turn over in their graves if they heard this bit of feeble and cowardly mumbo jumbo.

Union members from a dozen different locals picketed the meeting, prompting the Building Trades representative to the Executive Committee to shout that Nicholas's resolution was the work of Milton Street's "social extremists" and Communists. In the vote only Wendell Young, President of the Retail Clerks, stood by Henry Nicholas. Earl Stout, who earlier said he would pull AFSCME DC 33 out of the Council if they refused to allow the roll call vote, excused himself from the meeting right before the crucial vote.

As we go to press the Trade Union Committee of the Stop Rizzo Coalition is organizing a labor demonstration calling for the Council to reserve the decision of the Executive Committee while simultaneously calling on the unions to take a stand against the charter change. **Phooey on Toohey — Vote No!**



Wendell Young, President of the Retail Clerks, takes a firm stand against the Charter Change.

WHITE WORKER REFLECTS ON RIZZO

by JOE LEWANDOWSKI

When the Frankford El emerged from the ground the sun was already low in the sky. Like dozens of other workers during rush hour on a crowded train, I wedged myself into a too-small space and concentrated on keeping my balance in the swaying car.

Now and again, above the clatter of the train I overheard bits and pieces of a conversation between two women, both white and both, I would guess, somewhere in their fifties. The one holding the *Daily News* talked of her job packing cookies and said she was on the way home to Frankford. The other one, whose home was in Bridesburg, talked of working in a small men's clothing shop.

The conversation shifted from work to a family wedding and finally settled on the headlines in the *News*. Frank Rizzo again occupied page one. "What do you think about this charter change?" asked the Bridesburg lady. "I'm against it," the Frankford lady answered firmly. "I don't like Rizzo, he's such a racist."

As the El skims the rooftops of Philadelphia's east side rowhouse communities it passes over neighborhoods that now reflect the growing Black and Hispanic population as well as blocks that have been home to the same Irish and Polish families for decades.

A few years ago many of these neighborhoods were considered to be Frank Rizzo territory, solid Rizzo turf. But times have changed. In his seven years in office Frank Rizzo's actions have had more to say than even the mayor's famous mouth. Rizzo has not produced for these working class communities.

And something else had changed too. Polls show that a growing number of white working class people are turning a deaf ear to Rizzo's appeals to fear and hate. Many have decided to vote against Rizzo, just as the Frankford woman did, because of his racism.

Rizzo's "white rights" and "vote white" statements have stirred mass outrage in the Black and Puerto Rican communities, but they have also made a lot of white people feel uneasy too.

Rizzo's words echo the right-wing extremism of the Ku Klux Klan and the American Nazi Party. These are offensive words to anyone who has a basic sense of justice and respect for human and democratic rights. These are the words that tear communities apart, create fear and chaos in the schools, and sow division in the ranks of labor unions.

Apparently there still is a sizeable number of people who are taken in by Rizzo's "white rights" pitch. For many it seems to have a certain logic to it, it conforms to what we have been taught to believe and expect all our lives. But if you look at Rizzo's line closely, you'll see that it is full of holes.

By now Rizzo's speech has become fairly familiar to everyone. He praises the contributions of the Germans, the Italians, the Jews, the Poles — it varies a little depending on the neighborhood he's in. If reporters or TV cameras are nearby he may tack on "Blacks" at the end of his litany of nationalities. But it is clear to all that that addition is just a formality, a feint to prove that he isn't racist after all.

He then goes on to say that "certain people" are being taken advantage of by the preference that is being given to "certain other people". Everyone, he says should have an equal break without regard to the color of their skin. You might think from these statements that Frank opposes the systematic discrimination against Black people that has existed for centuries and which still exists today. But no, Frank Rizzo doesn't oppose these injustices, he opposes the measures which are being taken to correct them.

He is opposed to three things in particular: affirmative action programs which give a preference to Blacks and other minorities in hiring and upgrading; busing to achieve school desegregation; and low income housing which is "forced" into middle-income neighborhoods.

The pitch is aimed at families like my own. Just two generations separate me from my Polish peasant grandparents who worked long hours in steel mills, coal mines, and clothing sweatshops. Most of the members of my family still work with their hands and their backs. We are proud of what we have accomplished, but none of us are rich. In fact, the struggle to raise our children and pay the bills has gotten more difficult in the past few years.

Rizzo is trying to make Black and Puerto Rican people the butt of our problems and frustration. But the truth of the matter is that my family has far more in common with Black people and working people of all races and nationalities than we will ever have with Frank Rizzo and his backers in the Center City banks and Executive offices.

In every factory, mill and mine in which my ancestors labored they worked side by side with Black men and women. On the assembly line today I work side by side with Black men and women. We share many of the same problems and we look to the future for many of the same things. But the history of racism in this country has also created some important differences in the experiences of European-American families and those of Afro-American and Latino families.

Many of the Black men and women who are my co-workers look back not three, four or five generations, but a dozen generations to their roots in slavery. It was the labor of millions of slaves which provided much of the capital which later fueled the rapid growth of industry in this country. My immigrant grandparents owe, in large part, their opportunities for a home and employment in this land to the super profits produced by centuries of slave labor.

For Frank Rizzo, history is simple. Everybody had it tough and the problems faced by Blacks were no different than those encountered by other immigrant groups entering American society. "Making it", in this "bootstraps" theory, is only a matter of hard work and perseverance.

But a study of the real history will show that in Philadelphia and elsewhere across the nation Black people faced some very different problems from the hardships encountered by the European immigrants. For example, between 1840 and 1880 many German and Irish immigrants settled in Philadelphia. This was a period of industrial boom and the new and rapidly expanding factory industries provided jobs for many of these immigrants.

The same was not true for Black people who were systematically denied access to these jobs. In 1847, for example, less than one-half of one percent of the Black adult male workforce could find jobs in the growing manufacturing industries.

Not only were Blacks excluded from jobs, many of them lost their jobs and craftsmen were not allowed to practice their trades and their sons were not admitted to apprenticeships.

During those years Blacks were frequent victims of race riots in which their homes, schools, and churches were burned again and again. Housing was segregated and Blacks were concentrated in the worst housing in the Moyamensing slum. And only Black people as a race or nationality were denied the right to vote.



Recent polls show Rizzo's support is declining among white workers in spite of his "white rights" policies.

The experience was repeated in basically the same way when the new wave of immigrants — Italians, Poles, Slavs and Russian Jews — arrived in Philadelphia half a century later. Blacks were not allowed to enter large industry in any numbers until the years of the First World War. The pattern of discrimination persisted, however, with Black workers confined to the dirtiest, most dangerous and low paying occupations within these industries.

Because of limited opportunities the largest migration of Blacks from the South to Philadelphia and other industrial cities did not occur until the years following World War II. Although the fifties were years of economic expansion, the opportunities that became available to Blacks even then did not compare to those open to the European immigrants of a century earlier.

Present day Philadelphia offers Black workers very little. The demand for large numbers of unskilled laborers from which the earlier white immigrants benefited has sharply declined. Blacks in North Philadelphia now live in the oldest stock of housing that was once lived in by the two earlier waves of immigrants, but the nearby factories have long since closed.

In addition the city services which serve the mainly Black and Puerto Rican communities — schools, public transportation and health services — are underfinanced and mismanaged. For the Black and Puerto Rican youth who are stuck in schools like Edison High and who face a 50% unemployment rate upon graduation, Frank Rizzo's "bootstraps" theory is an old and very bad joke.

There are several important conclusions to be drawn from this brief historical overview. One is that the European immigrants who were peasants and poor industrial workers did not create the conditions which led to the oppression of Black people. These conditions are created by the political and economic system of capitalism.

It was the factory owner's greed for more and more profits which kept my grandparents working 12 to 14 hours a day for only pennies an hour. It is this same lust for profit that enslaved Black people four hundred years ago and which is still the basis for the oppressive conditions which Black people face today.

When Frank Rizzo talks of Black people having unfair advantage over white people he is doing more than turn-

ing history on its head. He is diverting our attention from who is the real culprit of the problems we face. Why can't everybody have a job with decent pay? Why are we constantly worried about higher taxes, inflation and job security? Why is our city decaying around us? The root of all these problems and more is the capitalist system, the common and natural enemy of all working people of all races and of all nationalities.

Black people, because of the special oppression they have faced in this society, have a special grievance. When you write a grievance at your workplace against some management abuse, you usually expect more than an apology and promise not to do it again. If you lost pay as a result of the abuse you expect to be "made whole", to be compensated in total for your loss. You don't expect your fellow workers to chip in and pay you back for your loss. You expect management, which has committed the abuse, to come up with the money.

If you stand alone in fighting for your grievance, you probably won't get too far. But if you are backed up by your union, by your fellow workers, who will stand by you as a simple matter of justice and solidarity, you have a much better chance of being compensated for the loss.

Black and other national minority peoples can never be "made whole" under an economic system which is completely wedded to exploitation and racism. But there are measures which can be taken which would represent a step forward toward equality. Affirmative action programs, and desegregation plans, the very programs Rizzo opposes so loudly, are nothing more than the first steps toward justice and are absolutely necessary goals in order to build unity and solidarity within the entire working class.

When Rizzo opposes busing, low income housing, and affirmative action programs, he does it in the name of the "white ethnics". But he is not speaking for working people. He is doing the bidding of the "boss", the class of capitalists which must take the responsibility for the racism of our society and who must be made to pay the cost of correcting it.

When the polls close on Nov. 7, Frank Rizzo will learn that thousands of the Italians, Poles, Irish, Germans and other European-Americans have joined together with thousands of Afro-Americans, Asian-Americans, and Latino people to reject the racism and everything else which Frank Rizzo stands for.

Communism and Children: Separating Myth from Fact



by SARA MURPHY

The popular image of communists is that of ruthless machines ready to sacrifice their children at a moment's notice for the good of the revolution. Under socialism, children are marched off to indoctrination centers almost from the day of birth. The children are victims of unfeeling parents and a heartless social system.

This attitude reflects the hypocrisy of the capitalist ruling class who in their drive for profit care nothing about the children of poor and working people. Just a few generations ago, the employers forced children to work in the mines, mills and factories for subsistence wages.

As for communists they experience the same emotions that any parents do toward their children. There is nothing in Marxist doctrine that contradicts love for one's children. On the contrary, what distinguishes communists is that they are fighters for a better life for the working class and a better future for our children.

A POLITICAL QUESTION

Question: How can you see the question of children as a political question?

Answer: For communists, "political" doesn't mean "republicans and democrats" but refers to any social question that affects the working class. The welfare of working class children is a major political question.

The ruling class, of course, has its own political attitude toward children, but it is seldom expressed in so many words because it would win them few friends among the masses of people. But we can see it in practice: A tiny majority of children (theirs) are trained and educated from their earliest days to become part of that ruling class. From a young age, they attend the best, most exclusive and expensive private schools and are raised to be the "movers and shakers" of their class.

Their attitude toward working class children, on the other hand, is similar to their attitude toward a factory — it's there to produce and make them a tidy profit. Working class children are provided with just enough education and training to make them into a valuable and obedient workforce. And for national minority children, this is not even the case —

the racist system allows these children to grow up with little health care, and they are lucky if they can graduate high school with the ability to read the daily newspapers. Black youth, with unemployment rates upwards of 40%, become a reserve army of unemployed.

Working class children are nothing but another commodity to the ruling class, a commodity that can produce wealth for them. Children are an investment worth only a limited amount of care to sustain it.

Q: Then how are children viewed in the socialist countries?

A: In Cuba, a slogan which says, "Children are our only privileged group" is put into practice. Everything in short supply such as education, some foods, health care, goes first to all the children on an equal basis.

In the socialist countries, children are seen as the hope of the future. As Mao Tse Tung said:

"The world is as much yours as it is ours, and in the final analysis it belongs to you. You young people, you're dynamic, you're in full bloom, like the sun at eight or nine in the morning. It's in you that hope resides."

CHILDREN AND SOCIALISM

Q: But isn't it true that under socialism the state takes over the raising of the children?

A: Under socialism, the raising of children is seen as a joint responsibility between the family and the state. But we must remember that the state under socialism is the *working class state*. A truly democratic government based on the will of the working class, *not* on the will of a handful of exploiters.

This means that under socialism, *our* government would provide what we wanted for our children — the best possible health care starting with prenatal care, excellent childcare and very high quality education. We would get at the root causes of brutality against children. We could wipe out drug traffic and do away with the so-called "juvenile justice" system.

These are tasks that cannot begin to be accomplished by each family on its own — but requires a re-ordering of social priorities by the whole society, massive resources applied where the ruling class today has no interest in putting them — into the care of our children. A goal of

socialism is that every child grow to his or her fullest and highest potential — it's not in the interest of socialism to keep anybody down.

Q: But I heard that children are taken from their parents at the age of only a few months old and put in state-run nurseries.

A: This is a gross distortion. In our society today, care of babies and young children is seen as the sole responsibility of the woman in her home. This means women are left to care for their young children at home day in and day out until they are of school age. And while this is what many women do, there are just as many who cannot possibly afford this way of handling the childcare problem. Not only must the single, widowed and divorced mothers find work, but so must the average wife of a worker if they are to make ends meet in these inflationary times.

In addition, while all mothers want a close, caring relationship with their children, they also want to participate in life beyond diaper changing and conversations with a two year old.

Under socialism, women are encouraged to enter into the productive and political life of the society, and the obstacles which inhibit this development under capitalism are removed. One such obstacle for us today is the lack of quality childcare, especially for very young children.

Today there are six million working mothers of children under six years old. There are untold millions more at home supported by their husbands or on welfare who would work if the opportunity were available. And yet, there are only one million licensed childcare spaces.

In socialist countries, quality public childcare is a social priority. From an early age, children in nurseries are taught about the struggles of the working class and are instilled with the values of collective responsibility.

In China, for example, nurseries are set up at the factories. There the nursing mothers can leave their babies and return to feed them during the day. All mothers or fathers can spend some time during the work day with their young children. A professional staff hired by the workers themselves cares for children during working hours, seeing to their every need from nutrition to music, toilet training to sharing. Compare this with the reality of

the working class parent today who has to leave her child from dawn until dark with an underpaid, and most likely overcrowded babysitter.

The anti-communist threat that children will be "taken away" to "state nurseries" amounts to the same threat that those who oppose the Equal Rights Amendment lay on us: "Equality for women will destroy motherhood." In reality, it would make motherhood and fatherhood, as well as childhood, easier, happier and healthier.

FREEDOM & RESPONSIBILITY

Q: In places like China, isn't it true that you have to apply to the communists before you are allowed to have children?

A: No socialist countries place any legal restrictions on the right to have children. No permission from anyone is required. While the decision to have or not have children is an individual one, people are encouraged to look at the social implications of their decision and take these into account.

In China, for example, because of the problem of over population, people are encouraged to limit family size. Parents who go ahead and have large families are viewed as socially irresponsible.

At the same time among minority peoples in China who were kept down under the old regime and whose growth was restricted, population increase is seen as desirable and large families are encouraged. But in neither situation is anyone punished or coerced because of their decisions regarding having children. For those who choose against having more or any children, contraception and abortion is freely available. Those who favor having more children have access to all the services made available to parent and child alike.

Q: I can see the role of the state, but what is the role of the family itself?

A: Socialism does not transfer all the tasks involved in raising children to the state. Family life remains a central factor in a child's development. A socialist society by striving for a stable family based on equality between husband and wife actually strengthens the family's ability to contribute to the raising of children. The collective activity organized by the state (childcare, recreation, education, etc.) does not contradict family life, but complements and strengthens it. (See excerpts from interview with Margaret Randall for concrete treatment of this point.)

Nicaraguan People Battle for Freedom

by JENNY QUINN

Central America's largest republic has been the site of a massive popular insurrection and a cruel and bloody counter-offensive by dictator Anastasio Somoza Debayle's personal army -- the Nicaraguan National Guard. In a two month struggle that left at least 10,000 dead, and in which five major cities were taken by guerillas and retaken by the guard, Nicaragua took a giant step towards a democratic revolution. But the military might of the 81,000 US trained National Guardsmen beat the popular forces back, and the Carter Administration is hastily stepping in to set up a Camp-site David -- a mediation team under the auspices of the Organization of American States (OAS) whose goal is to split the conservative anti-dictatorship forces from the revolutionaries.

THE SOMOZA REGIME

In order to understand the current situation in Nicaragua, where conservative businessmen and revolutionary guerillas joined forces against the US-backed government, it is important to know a bit about the Somoza family that has ruled Nicaragua with a bloody hand since 1936.

The Somozas either own or control the National Airlines, major TV, radio and newspaper concerns, at least 30% of the prime farmland, meatpacking, concrete and metal fabricating plants, and a major construction monopoly. The presi-

dent, Anastasio Somoza Debayle, himself, is worth about \$500 million, and through his investments in insurance, banking and finance, controls the financial system of Nicaragua almost completely. This enormous financial empire was increased through the spoils of the 1972 major earthquake, when Somoza saw fit to use earthquake emergency funds as capital for further investments.

Somoza has protected his rule by building up a mammoth National Guard, which is bought off with both the spoils of terror and relatively high salaries. The US has supported Somoza in building this National Guard, and the CIA has worked closely with Somoza to consolidate CONDECA, a coordinated police effort for all of Central America for which the Nicaraguan National Guard and anti-guerrilla intelligence apparatus is the backbone.

Hatred of the Somoza family is almost a tradition in Nicaragua. Rebellions against the Somoza dynasty have not been uncommon, and today, virtually the entire country stands in opposition to Somoza and his martial law terror. Unemployment in Nicaragua is over 36%, and the average family income is about \$90 a year, while the Somozas put one-half of the Gross National Profit in their pockets. It's not hard to see why people want Somoza out, and his properties nationalized.

THE BROAD FRONT

All of the forces opposed to Somoza are grouped in the Broad Opposition Front, a front which may break down if the US-led negotiating team is able to use anti-communist sentiments to divide the business interests from the more politically progressive forces. But thus far, the Broad Front has been able to stand together all the way from calling a joint national General Strike August 25th, to support for the seizure of the national palace by the Frente Sandinista, Nicaragua's national liberation army on September 22. The front has faced the counter attack by Somoza's army together, but the diverse character of forces within the Front makes it seem unlikely that it will withstand the pressure of US deals with its right wing.

Specifically, the Front is made up of 16 political parties, trade unions, and church and civic organizations. It includes the traditional Conservative party, the Communist Party, and respected civic leaders called Los Doce, the twelve, who represent the Frente Sandinista within the Broad Front. The Sandinistas are the real backbone of the popular opposition in Nicaragua. They are the oldest and most consistent fighting force against Somoza. They were formed 16 years ago, naming themselves after Augustino Cesar Sandino, a popular rebel who led an attack on the 4,600 US Marines who occupied Nicaragua in 1928 (Nicaragua was the US's first real Viet Nam-style invasion).

The Frente Sandinista, or Sandinista National Liberation Front, has led all of the major insurrections against the government, and accomplished the spectacular take-over of the presidential palace on September 22. The Sandinistas are Marxist-Leninist in their orientation, but feel that all anti-Somoza forces can be represented in their ranks. Many progressive Christians belong to the Frente, and the Frente enjoys massive support by the Nicaraguan people, as has been demonstrated in the fighting with the National Guard.

Reliable sources say that the Sandinistas are preparing for another major offensive before the end of the year. Despite the fact that Somoza has spent 16 years trying to exterminate the Sandinistas, they have steadily grown, repelling one major blow after another, and becoming more sophisticated and effective as the years passed. Under martial law, suspected Sandinistas can be shot on sight but repression has not undercut their support.

US: STEPPING UP THE PACE OF MANIPULATION

While the Frente makes no pretense that it could rule Nicaragua by itself, and calls for a democratic coalition govern-

ment to replace Somoza, the US is dead-set against Sandinista participation in a government coalition.

The plan that US negotiator William Jordan is sketching out looks like this: Somoza would have to step down from his political post before the end of his 1981 term, but would not have to surrender his financial holdings. A government made up of conservative business interests and more "moderate elements" would replace Somoza, and a plan for lifting martial law would be articulated. The Sandinistas had demanded the lifting of martial law before negotiations, but it looks like the US has been successful in getting conservative leaders to accept negotiations under martial law.

The US financial interests have \$308 million in investments at stake in Nicaragua, plus the idea of using Nicaragua as a site for a new canal to rival the Panama. The only thing that de-escalated US intervention in Nicaragua before was popular sentiment in the US which forced a cut-back of military aid and troop withdrawal in 1932. Despite all the Human Rights talk, what the US negotiating team is about is turning the bloodbath that has just happened into profits for the future.

The talk of another Camp David for Nicaragua, in which the people fighting for democracy get repression, the US taxpayers bankroll another shifty deal and US corporations get another break is not in our interest. It is important that people let Washington know what we think about bankrolling another sell-out of working people, inside or outside US borders.

The Organizer supports the campaign to free all Nicaraguan political prisoners, and to pressure the US government to back off from its support for a government which goes so brutally against the will of the people. Below is a sample letter. Send them a message.

Pres. Jimmy Carter
White House
Washington, D.C.

I am appalled to know that you personally praised the Nicaraguan government for improving human rights at a time when its citizens were demanding an accounting of 3000 political prisoners who have disappeared.

Recent events in Nicaragua show that the majority of people there want an end to the Somoza family's repressive rule. The U.S. can best show its concern for the human rights of the Nicaraguan people by pressuring the regime to release all political prisoners and by respecting the right of Nicaraguans to establish a government which represents the will of the majority.

Childcare in Cuba

The following are excerpts from an interview with Margaret Randall, a North American woman who has lived in Cuba for many years and recently concluded a brief tour of the US. She has written several poetry collections and books about Cuban women. She currently works at the Cuban Book Institute and supports a family of six. The Organizer plans to publish more of the interview in future issues.



Margaret Randall

Organizer: How have Cuban women dealt with the changes in values from the traditional approach that it is better for a child to stay home with the mother?

WHY DAYCARE?

Margaret Randall: The primary reason that people send their children to daycare in Cuba is different than in the US. Cubans send their children first and foremost because it is in the daycare centers that they receive the seeds of a good and scientific education. Although it is important to free their mothers to work, this is not the principle goal of the daycare centers, as it is in the US.

The daycare centers begin at 45 days for the babies. This fits in with the maternity law which states that women can return to work if they wish a month and a half after the baby is born. Cuban women have four and a half months paid maternity leave, and they can take off as much a year to stay home with their child and still return to their jobs at the same pay. Women get paid time off for pediatrician visits, for nursing, for all sorts of things. The daycare centers are open from early in the morning until seven at night, so there is ample time in which to take the children and pick them up, with real flexibility. So you can see how different it is, how much less threatening to go back to work, because you are being supported to take the time to nurse your child, deal with health problems, etc.

O: Another problem we face here that I wonder how the Cubans have solved is taking care of children at night, when women want to go to community or trade union meetings, or other political meetings they might have.

50-50 AT HOME

M.R.: Cuban men have had to realize, in many ways they have been forced to realize, that women have as much right as they do to involve themselves politically.

The family code states that all men who are married to working women and have children share the responsibilities of the home 50%-50%. Of course this doesn't mean that it happens all the time, but real headway is being made. For meetings, this means that the men just have to share the times home with the children. Of course, it would be ideal if the state could keep the daycare centers open 24 hours a day and provide childcare for all meetings, but it just isn't possible now.

In some places, this is beginning to happen, and in others, communities are improvising their own childcare for night meetings at factories, or in community centers, but for the most part it is still handled within the family.

O: Today, 27% of Cuban women work outside the home. What is the main reason women stay at home? Is it lack of daycare, lack of jobs, or a desire to stay home with children?

M.R.: I don't think that most Cuban women believe any more that it is better for children to stay home with their mothers. There are just too many children around that demonstrate that this is false. Seeing a Cuban daycare child and a non-daycare child, that is all you need to be convinced. More, it is a function of the fact that all men in Cuba work. Before there was a 25% unemployment rate, but today all the men work, so some women feel that they can stay at home for the first time, be involved in their communities, go to school, and not worry where the next meal is coming from. For the women who want to work, there are jobs, and even though there is still a lack of daycare, women who really want to work get first priority for daycare slots.



Demonstration in Managua against Somoza. The Somoza family has ruled Nicaragua with a bloody hand since 1936.

The Abraham Lincoln Brigade - - - Freedom Fighters in Spain

This fall marks the 40th anniversary of the return of the American fighting men. 40 years ago this September their guns fell silent. 40 years ago this October their unit was disbanded, and 40 years ago this December they returned home.

However, you won't see any parades down Broad St. to honor these fighters, nor speeches by government officials praising their courage, no TV specials to show their former battlefields. The silence we hear will be like the silence of all the years past; like the silence of the history books and courses we had while getting an "education". It's as if they didn't want us to know, to understand who these fighters were, and why they fought and died.

Believe me, they have good reason not to let us know. These soldiers were the men of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade who volunteered to fight against the forces of fascism during the Spanish Civil War.

THE SPANISH CIVIL WAR

The Spanish Civil War started in July 1936, although the plans for the war had been mapped out long before. We can't go into all the causes and history of the War, but let us say that after centuries of kings and dictators, the Spanish people had struggled for, and won, a progressive government, their Republic, elected by a popular vote.

The forces of fascism, the church, supporters of the former king, the landowners and industrialists were not about to allow a simple thing like a democratic election stand in the way of their power. So, on July 18th, the Spanish Army, led by General Francisco Franco, revolted against the Spanish Republic, and against the Spanish people.

In truth, there was never a Spanish Civil War, for from the very beginning Franco used foreign troops, Moroccans, in aid of his conquest of the Spanish people.

With military and transport aid coming from Hitler's Germany, and Mussolini's Italy, Franco believed that his well-armed and well-trained professional Spanish and Moorish troops could easily take over the country. He underestimated the Spanish people.

After centuries of exploitation, with the living standards of the industrial workers one of the lowest in Europe, with peasants living in conditions similar to feudal serfs, and with repression, prisons and death having been the constant whips in the attempt to break the Spanish people, the wind of change had swept over the land. The government was now theirs, the future was theirs, and the Spanish people were not going to roll over and play dead for any "new order".

Unarmed for the most part, untrained for the most part, betrayed by government and military leaders, the Spanish people fought, suffered, and died, but they battled Franco to a standstill. At the cost of very large casualties, the fascist revolt was contained.

A decision had to be made, by the forces of darkness, by the rulers in Berlin and Rome. Would the two who were killing their own countries now move to destroy Spain? Their answer came quickly.

HITLER AND MUSSOLINI TO THE RESCUE

Most historians agree that, left to his own, Franco would eventually have had



Franco led a revolt against the Republic of Spain and against the Spanish people on July 18, 1936. Above: The People's Army on the way to the front.

to slither out of Spain, leaving most of his army captured or buried. But, as more Moorish troops arrived, so too came the Italians and Germans. Division after division of the regular Italian Army landed at the ports of Spain. Eventually over 100,000 men of the Italian Army, with full tank, artillery, and air support were to fight in Spain.

Smaller detachments of German troops, tank corps and artillery units were sent to Spain. One of Germany's biggest contributions to Franco was the infamous Condor Legion, an air squadron made up of hundreds of planes whose massive bombing of civilian targets, the first the world had ever seen, would be put to use later in England.

Along with these troops Germany and Italy sent every available tank, plane, artillery piece, machine gun, bullet, transport, all the devices of modern war. In effect Spain was now fighting four armies.

And Spain? It had no regular army, virtually no planes, tanks or artillery. Most of the people experienced in military matters had gone over to the side of the fascists. But the Republic did have something special, for it had the dynamite-throwing miners of Asturias, the Basque mountain fighters, the barricade-building workers of Madrid. Worker-fighters who would stand at the front, waiting for a comrade to fall in order to pick up the too few weapons and join in the fight. Spain had this, and then came the International Brigades.

INTERNATIONAL BRIGADES

Never in the history of the world had such a thing occurred. Men from Germany, Italy, Poland, China, Cuba, Ethiopia, England, Yugoslavia, over 50 nationalities, volunteered to go to Spain and fight for the Republic.

Individually, or in groups, they made their way to Spain, crossing hostile borders and in some cases being killed before ever seeing Spanish soil. They formed units: Thaelmann Brigade, Garbaldis, Dombrowski Brigade, Edgar Andre, MacKenzie-Papineau Battalion. With military training only after arriving in Spain, they threw themselves against the fascist armies.

40,000 came to Spain (there were never more than 17,000 in Spain at any one time), and over 20,000 lie buried there. But time after time, in unison with the developing units of the Spanish People's Army, they held up, slowed down, and downright defeated fascist armies larger and always better armed than themselves.

Why did these volunteers go to Spain? Perhaps it can be best expressed

WORKERS' VOICES

Harry Haywood on Solidarity with the Spanish Republic



The following is an excerpt from Harry Haywood's autobiography, *Black Bolshevik*, published by Liberator Press. Harry Haywood was a leading member of the Communist Party during its revolutionary heyday in the 1930s. He was an instrumental figure in the struggle to bring the party to a revolutionary understanding of Black Liberation. Later Haywood broke with the CPUSA over its abandonment of revolutionary principles in general and its liquidation of a revolutionary approach to Black Liberation in particular. Since the mid-fifties Haywood has been a force in building the anti-revisionist Communist movement. He is presently a member of the Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist). While we have important disagreements with Haywood's present perspective, the life and work of Harry Haywood as it is summarized in *Black Bolshevik* has valuable lessons to teach our movement and should be 'must reading' for class-conscious workers, *Organizer*, October-November, page 12

activists in the movements of the oppressed nationalities and Marxist-Leninists. The following selection is from the chapter on the Spanish Civil War:

For me, as a communist, Spain was the next logical step . . .

On April 26, 1937, the small village of Guernica in the Basque province of Vizcaya was bombed by German planes from about four-thirty in the afternoon until eight at night. The population was strafed by machine guns as they fled and 1,654 people were killed, 889 wounded. Communist parties throughout the world rallied to the defense of Republican Spain and organized the International Brigades, made up of communists and other anti-fascist fighters, to answer the fascist aggression.

Our Party in the US took up the call. It came during a time of deep domestic crisis and increasing radicalization of masses of Americans. We were already involved in the fight against domestic fascism and were developing a popular front under the leadership of communists. There was widespread support for Republican Spain. Over 3,000 American Volunteers travelled there, making up the majority of the Lincoln and Washington Battalions of the 15th Brigade. More than 1,500 died there. . . . Already alerted to the dangers of fascism through the 'defense of Ethiopia' campaign, Blacks played an active role in the movement to support Republican Spain with the National Negro Congress and the Southern Negro

Youth Congress adopting strong resolutions against fascist aggression. . . .

As a Black man, I was acutely aware of the threat of fascism. Blacks have always faced the most brutal, racist oppression in the US, but fascism would mean a great heightening of the terror and oppression. I felt it was wrong to say that the conditions of Blacks "could not be worse under fascism." It was through this understanding, that I felt the strongest solidarity with the Spanish people.

I was eager to go to Spain. We had carried on an active recruiting campaign for the brigade. Many of my co-workers in Chicago had volunteered . . . Also, I felt it would afford me the opportunity to learn many lessons in revolutionary struggle which would be invaluable for our Party and my people. Finally, I felt the presence of Black communists in Spain would help emphasize the solidarity between the Afro-American and Spanish people in the struggle against fascism.

I was reminded of this later in Madrid when Bob Minor introduced me to La Pasionaria (Dolores Ibarruri), the great woman communist leader who embodied the whole sentiment of the Spanish people's struggle. She was happy to see me and related how impressed she had been when she had watched the parade of the International Brigades through Valencia on the way to the Aragon front. Leading them was a handsome Black youth carrying the American flag. "How remarkable that Black people, so oppressed themselves, see the relation of our struggles and are here to join us," she said. "What happened to that young man?"

"That was Milton Herndon, Angelo's brother," I replied. "He was killed a few days later on the Aragon front."

by the German volunteer who said he was going to fight Hitler from Spain all the way back to Berlin; or the Czech who said he was learning how to fight so as to stop Hitler when he invaded Czechoslovakia.

Perhaps it was best expressed by the Italian volunteer who said that Spain was his country, as it was the country of all working people who loved freedom. The reasons were many, but the common denominator was a love for freedom, and a hatred of fascism.

U.S. PEOPLE CONTRIBUTE

The love of freedom was also strong in this country, and over 3,000 Americans volunteered to fight on the side of the Republic. Over a year and a half of almost continuous and hard fighting took their toll. Over 1600 of these heroes never came home. They fought in most of the major battles of the war, from the defense of the capital, Madrid, to the final government offensive, the crossing of the Ebro River. The American volunteers adopted a name which they felt stood for freedom. They were the Abraham Lincoln Brigade.

Who were the members of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade? They were mostly working people, seamen, miners, factory workers, along with students, writers, lawyers and doctors.

Some had active political backgrounds, and beliefs, others had had little political experience before Spain. A few had seen active service in the military, but most had no military training whatsoever before going to Spain. About one-quarter of the volunteers were members of the Communist Party USA or other left groups. This proud fact indicates that the left was well aware of the need to fight and stop fascism then and there, rather than to appease it and let it spread.

They were people like Jim Lardner, son of the writer Ring Lardner, who came to write about the Brigade, and stayed to fight and eventually die with the Lincolns. They were people whose officers lived and died with the rank and file. Out of the 13 commanding officers of the Lincolns, seven were killed in action, and five more were wounded at least once.

They were the members of the first fully integrated American military unit, with Black and white men living, fighting and dying together, where white soldiers were commanded by Black officers.

They were people who were wounded one, two or three times, and who would volunteer, would beg to go back to the front. They were people who when asked to serve as truck drivers or military instructors, thereby in a less dangerous place, would often initially refuse, saying that their place was at the front, no matter how dangerous.

They were people such as the volunteer on whose tombstone was hand-written "He died so that Spanish Democracy may live". These were the members of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade.

However, not only was the Abraham Lincoln Brigade an effective military unit, but they were a banner, an inspiration to all Americans in the movement for solidarity with the Spanish Republic. A poll of the time showed that 76% of the American people supported the Republic.

In September of 1938 over 70,000 people marched in New York City in support of the Spanish people. The Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade sprang up and aided in collecting money for the unit and for Spain. The American people identified with the struggle of the Spanish people, and with the Lincoln Brigade.

But what of the American Government, that bastion of democracy? Well, it played its part, and in effect sided with the fascists. In so doing, the U. S. government exposed the falseness of responsive democracy and its supposed devotion to helping other peoples of the world to obtain freedom and democracy.

U.S. GOVERNMENT SCABS ON FREEDOM FIGHT

On August 11, 1936, just three weeks after the fascist revolt, the US State Department started an embargo of arms shipments to both sides in Spain. The US was saying that the authenticity of the democratically elected Spanish government was equal to that of the fascists, who were then attacking and trying to overthrow that very government.

This policy was not all. As soon as the embargo was passed, US companies ignored it and sold oil, trucks, and other equipment to Franco. US companies, interested in fascism and studying how it could be applied here, knew which side they were on. Since the sale of these materials was known to the State Department, and since nothing was done to stop them, we can assume that the US government also knew which side it was on.

But even this was not all, for although there was an embargo against Spain, the US permitted shipments of war materiel to Germany and Italy, and guess where it was reshipped to? Between January and April, 1937, 60,000 airplane bombs were loaded on German freighters from just one plant at Carney's Point, New Jersey. When Spanish cities such as Barcelona were mass-bombed in March of 1938, even President Roosevelt had to admit that the fascist planes may have been dropping American bombs.

Is that all? Well, not quite. The US also put pressure on Mexico, one of the few governments helping the Republic, to stop such aid. The US established a consulate in Malaga in February of 1937, after the fascists had captured it. This is how the US treated the government of the Spanish people.

What was the government's attitude toward the volunteers? Three days after the first volunteers sailed from New York City to Spain on December 26, 1936, the House Foreign Affairs Committee asked the Justice Department to prosecute Americans enlisting in a foreign war.

Since no Americans are known to have ever enlisted to fight with Franco, it is clear against whom this threat was meant. In March of 1937 the State Department took a further step, when it stamped all passports "Not Valid for Travel in Spain". This was the first time any restriction was ever applied to US passports, and to violate such a restriction meant trouble from the Justice Department.

For the volunteer who dared to go against such threats, there were other maneuvers to keep them from going to Spain. One group of volunteers who had just arrived in France were offered free transportation back to the US, courtesy of the government. The US government clearly wanted no Americans fighting for the Republic.

After all of this, it should be obvious who the American government was rooting for in Spain, and perhaps why the history of the period has been kept from us.

With both the fascists and the so-called democratic governments allied against them (England and France acted as did the US); with the inability to obtain arms while their enemy was overwhelmingly armed with the most modern weapons; with trained reinforcements arriving for the fascists and betrayed by all sides; with astronomical military and civilian casualties, the Spanish Republic fell in March of 1939.

The International Brigades had been withdrawn in late 1938 in a last and futile effort on the part of the Spanish government to force world action against the continuation of German and Italian troops on Spanish soil.

Six months after the fall of the Republic Hitler attacked Poland. World War II started not in September of 1939, but in July of 1936. If the Spanish Republic had been supported by the so-called democracies; if the fascist armies had been defeated in Spain, future events, world history, would have been entirely different. And the Spanish people would have been free.

Carter Bankrolling Camp David "Peace" Settlement

After all of the hooplah about Carter's Middle-East miracle, the facts come out. What are miracles made of? Green stuff. The word in Washington is "A New Marshall Plan." Aid in the billions that would militarily and economically guarantee a political climate friendly to the US. Some of the features of the proposed plan are:

*Water desalinization plants and nuclear energy development.

*Two new Israeli airfields on the Negev Desert costing a cool million.

*\$1 billion to rebuild Israeli defense lines to replace those abandoned on the Sinai.

These extravagant plans which will come from the US taxpayers' pockets are backed by both the left and right of the Democratic Party in Congress. Frank Church of Idaho and "Scoop" Jackson of Washington have personally endorsed a proposal which would begin with a \$3 billion economic plan.

What remains to be seen is whether Egypt and Israel will carry all the way through. Rumors of snags in the negotiations are flying -- only one thing really remains clear. The deal if it goes through is a hard cash sell-out of the Palestinian people and a staggering set-back for the Arab peoples of the Middle East.



The Carter-Begin-Sadat "Peace" Settlement, should it really be carried out, spells a staggering set-back for the Arab peoples. And it deals a heavy blow to the Palestinian people. Above: a Palestinian refugee camp.

Shah Dangles Carrot while Wielding Stick

In the wake of the September 9th massacre of demonstrators in the capital city of Tehran, the Shah has imposed a "carrot and stick" form of martial law. On one hand, more than 1,000 dissidents have been arrested since the martial law declaration, and the Shah has made it amply clear that he will use the most brutal means to maintain rule. On the other hand, he has gone ahead with his "liberalization" plan -- staging a debate on television that discussed political differences, in which members of his hand-picked cabinet attacked each other. He had announced economic limits and restrictions on members of his family to show how democratically-minded he is, and he has declared amnesty for his political opponents in exile.

But the Shah's plan is not working as well as he had hoped. On the traditional fortieth day of mourning for the dead of the September 9th massacre, a general business and student strike was extremely successful. People stayed indoors to avoid the tanks and military personnel that combed the streets that day, but several people were killed despite the opposition's decision to stop holding open demonstrations for awhile. An attempt at further censorship was squelched by a four day strike by all Persian and English language newspapers.

Meanwhile, Washington showed its true colors by a reaffirmation of the mutually beneficial relationship between Iran and the US, and concern that the government there remain "stable."



An Exchange with the SWP ... Trotskyism and the CIO Years

The following letter comes from Jon Hillson, organizer for the Philadelphia Socialist Workers Party.

The *Organizer* is to be commended for providing its readers with excerpts from Farrell Dobbs' *Teamster Rebellion* (June, 1978). It is important both as a refutation of the media's distortion of labor history (as in the movie *F.I.S.T.*) and as a contribution to the discussion of revolutionary strategy in the labor movement-- a strategy essential to building a class-struggle current in the unions.

The introduction to the excerpt, however, leaves much to be desired. The *Organizer* notes the "sound, class-struggle leadership" and contributes to the "wealth of lessons from the strike actions" provided by the militant leadership of the Minneapolis Teamsters who, like Dobbs, were Trotskyists.

But the introduction then states that Trotskyists played a "generally negative and insignificant" role in the workers' upsurge of the 1930's, and that their main activity was to "fight" the Communist Party which was the "effective leadership of the left wing of the labor movement." This preoccupation of the Trotskyists allegedly led to their "unsavory combinations with right-wing, anti-communist elements and toward a disruptive sectarian policy toward the united front that built the CIO."

Space does not permit a thorough refutation of these historical inaccuracies, so I will concentrate on a contradiction in the *Organizer's* comments.

The Minneapolis battle was not simply a series of big strikes, but represented a continuous deepening process of class-struggle activity among American workers. In the course of its development, it posed a whole range of important questions. These included, among others, the relationship of revolutionists to the conservative-bureaucratic American Federation of Labor, union organizing concepts, strike strategy, labor-farmer and labor-unemployed solidarity, defending a union from fascist attacks, the role of communists in unions both as militants and official leaders, and advocating independent labor political action.

The revolutionary answers posed to these questions by the Minneapolis Teamster leaders embodies the Trotskyist strategy for the labor movement, which is why our party published Dobbs' four-volume series that includes *Teamster Rebellion*, *Teamster Power*, *Teamster Politics*, and *Teamster Bureaucracy*.

Isn't it contradictory to ascribe to the Trotskyists "sound class-struggle leadership" in the fierce and complex warfare that raged in Minneapolis on the one hand, and on the other, to consider their approach to the labor movement to be so wrong-headed?

It is true that Trotskyists were unable to make the same contribution nationally that they did in Minneapolis. This was because of their small size nationally and the extremely unfavorable relationship of forces with the Communist Party.

But the Teamster struggles themselves, and the later 11 state over-the-road drive, also led by Dobbs, contributed much to the nationwide workers' upsurge.

The 1934 Minneapolis strikes constituted one of the three big struggles of that year that paved the way for the founding and explosive growth of the CIO. (See photo below.)

And the American Trotskyist movement nationally took responsibility for the Minneapolis struggles. A number of central Trotskyist leaders went to Minneapolis in 1934 to help strengthen the local leadership. At the same time, Trotskyists throughout the country spread the news and the lessons of the Minneapolis struggle and sought to organize solidarity with it.

To the best of their ability, and given limited forces, the American Trotskyists as a whole applied the same strategy to their work as that of their Minneapolis comrades.

ROLE OF CPUSA

The Communist Party, on the other hand, unceasingly attacked the "sound class-struggle leadership" of the Trotskyists, both in Minneapolis and nationally.

The CP termed the 1934 strike settlement that cemented the organization of thousands of workers into Local 574 a "sell-out" and frequently echoed bourgeois slanders of "gansterism" in the union.

It even hailed the prosecution and jailing of Dobbs and 17 other union militants and local and national Trotskyist leaders in the first imposition of the anti-communist Smith Act in 1941. (This short-sighted sectarianism was underscored by the later conviction of CP leaders under the same law, which our party actively opposed.)

The Philadelphia Workers' Organizing Committee states that the touchstone of

what it calls "class-struggle unionism" is the necessity of communists to pose "the irreconcilability of the working class and the bourgeoisie and the necessity of the overthrow of the bourgeoisie." The PWOC holds that "independent political action" is the course the working class must take to break from its class-collaborationist misleaders. This is all well put.

Then what is the "effective leadership" which the *Organizer* holds the CP provided to the left wing of the labor movement in the 1930's?

Did the CP's strategic political orientation to the working class in its period of radicalization and upsurge live up to the crucial and principled standards outlined above?

The CP saw in the capitalist "New Deal" the American expression of the "people's front." It backed this bourgeois reformist ploy, devoted its efforts to "push the New Deal to the left", and ended up as its captive. This took the form of support to and working in the Democratic Party and boosting its phoney "pro-labor" wing.

In the 1936 election, under the slogan "Defeat Landon at all costs", the CP backhandedly urged workers to vote for Roosevelt.

It's one thing to lead militant organizing drives, but it's a whole new ballgame to explicitly promote a line of class political independence from the capitalist parties. The CP consciously opposed a strategy of directing the workers' radicalization out of the orbit of bourgeois politics.

This reformist strategy helped to entrench CP union leaders inside the labor bureaucracy where they helped tie the union movement to the capitalist state. How, it must be asked, did the CP's "effective leadership of the left wing of the labor movement" end up with its union officials being among the *earliest and loudest* advocates of the World War II no-strike pledge; of relentless speed-up; and of opposition to "independent labor political action" during the war? All this, under the dictates of US imperialism, represented a sharp departure from Leninist principles.

By thus helping to domesticate the labor upsurge, the CP paved the way for the bureaucratization of the CIO and for the Cold War witch-hunt. The size and influence of the CP in the 1930's should make an objective assessment of its real role all the more severe, given the enormous potential of the radicalization of that period.

Shorn of its prestige, muscle and social base, today's Communist Party is not

politically different from its forbear of four decades ago. Today's "detente" is yesterday's "collective security" -- a class collaborationist strategy in deference to the diplomatic needs of the Stalinist regime in Moscow. Today's "anti-monopoly coalition" scheme is simply a replica of yesterday's "people's frontism" and support to the New Deal.

The CP of Gus Hall continues in the tradition of Earl Browder, Eugene Dennis and William Z. Foster and provides the logical outcome of historical continuity under the anti-Leninist tutelage of the Stalinist bureaucracy.

Leninism, however, comprised the flesh and blood of the strategy promoted by Dobbs and the Trotskyist militants in the Teamsters. The history of their experience touches on virtually every aspect of revolutionary union strategy, from its theoretical underpinnings to its tactical nuances.

Leninist perspectives and methods were tested in Minneapolis against the Communist Party and the labor-reformists for more than half a decade -- from preliminary skirmishes to the general strike, from organizing class-struggle unions to the question of party-building. The two central concepts that characterized the perspectives of the Teamster leaders were union democracy and uncompromising class political independence.

The publication of excerpts from Dobbs' book in the *Organizer* represents a refreshing non-sectarianism, a willingness to learn from the experiences of revolutionists in the union movement. A study of the past necessarily means an exchange of ideas on the meaning of its lessons for today.

It's incumbent, we think, for revolutionists to shed the blinders imposed by old stereotypes and cliches and to seek objective political clarity on the big issues confronting us through debate, discussion, and collaborative activity wherever possible.

Without such an approach, it would be impossible to build the revolutionary party we both agree is needed. And the *Organizer* has taken an important step in that direction.

We hope that publication of this letter in the *Organizer* can enhance the evolution of such a relationship between the PWOC and the Socialist Workers Party. It is in the spirit of comradely debate and discussion that our necessarily limited remarks are conveyed.

THE PWOC RESPONDS:

John Hillson, writing for the SWP, raises two objections to our introduction to the Farrell Dobbs' piece: 1) that our characterization of the role of Trotskyism in the class struggle of the 1930's is based on "historical inaccuracies" and 2) that the CPUSA, far from being "effective leadership", in fact misled and betrayed the working class.

To fully address these points would require more space than this brief response affords. It is impossible to assess the role of Trotskyism in the US labor movement divorced from an analysis of Trotskyism as a particular ideological phenomenon and political tendency.

Trotskyism's attitude toward Stalin, the USSR, and the Popular Front are as important, if not more so, than its tactical orientation to the trade unions in assessing its general role in the US class struggle.

Similarly, consideration of the role of the CPUSA during the same period requires an assessment of the whole Popular Front policy and the Party's application of it. The questions raised by the CPUSA's practice in this period are enormously complex and call for a much more serious treatment than they have received, either from their own adherents or their various critics both left and right.

Nevertheless, some things can be said. The "effective" leadership of the CIO in this decade consisted primarily in



Scene from the 1934 Teamster strikes in Minneapolis. These strikes helped to pave the way for the founding and explosive growth of the CIO.

its indispensable role in building the CIO. The organization of millions of unorganized workers in basic industry was the enduring achievement of the working class movement in the 1930's. Even by the account of its enemies, the CP was a major factor in the building of the CIO. Beyond this, the Party's influence had much to do with the progressive character of these unions in contrast to their AFL counterparts.

At the same time, the quality of leadership, approached from the standpoint of Marxist-Leninist revolutionaries, certainly was limited. It is true, as Hillson points out, that the CPUSA adapted its policy to the needs of the Roosevelt bourgeoisie and that this shackled the revolutionary development of the working class. The abandonment of independent political action was the most serious casualty of this policy. Right errors ultimately blossomed into a full-blown right opportunist trend in the form of Browderism.

Certainly it would be a profound mistake for us to ignore the lessons of this experience and whitewash the CPUSA as the all-sided political vanguard the US working class required. But it would be equally mistaken to dismiss the enormous contribution of the CPUSA on the grounds of this same experience.

The successes and failures of the Party must be qualified against the backdrop of what was possible. . . of what the historical potentials and limits of the period

were. The combination of objective and subjective factors precluded the possibility of a socialist revolution in the US in the 1930's. A correct policy might well have produced a more class conscious labor movement and stronger motion in the direction of a labor party. But even here it would be simplistic to attribute the failure of the US working class to break with the two capitalist parties primarily to the erroneous policies of the CP. For a whole complex of reasons the New Deal had a strong hold on the US working class.

In short we would say the Party failed to do all that could have been done, that its errors were serious and had important consequences, but nevertheless it achieved a great deal. This is in contrast to the one sided treatment of Hillson which had not a word to say about the Party's role in the San Francisco general strike, the Flint sit-down, the Unemployed Councils, the Scottsboro case, the support for Spain and a host of other struggles, but waxes at length about the support for Roosevelt, the no-strike pledge and the support for the persecution of the Trotskyists. Furthermore Hillson does not analyse these policies in any sort of historical framework.

Considered in the light of the actual situation, we can at least grasp the interests of the proletariat that these policies aimed at serving. For example the defeat of fascism and the defence of the Soviet Union (both aims that the SWP subjectively supported) did require higher productivity and sacrifice on the part of US workers. Support for the no-strike pledge in this connection is at least debatable in our view.

And what of the role of Trotskyism in the labor movement in the 30's? Is it true that our characterization is based on "historical inaccuracies"? Hillson confines himself to the admission that the Trotskyist's influence was limited owing to their small numbers and unfavorable relation to the much bigger CPUSA and some further discussion of the contribution of the Teamsters.

TROTSKYISM IN PRACTICE

We acknowledge the contribution of the Minneapolis teamsters and for that matter countless other Trotskyist trade unionists who undoubtedly paid their dues in many ways. But this is not really the point. Fighters from all shades of the left spectrum — Musteites, Socialists, IWWs — all made their contributions. It is in recognition of this elementary truth that we refuse to limit the *Workers' Voices* column to those with whom we have ideological unity.

The question really is, what was Trotskyism as a trend within the labor movement? As far as we understand it, Trotskyist trade union program in its most abstract formulation was generally sound. The problem arises in the tactics through which the Trotskyists sought to win over the laboring masses to this program. In our view, the Trotskyists were guilty of a failure to apply consistently united front tactics, notably in relation to the reformist leadership of the CIO and most starkly in relation to the CPUSA.

Even more fundamentally the Trotskyist approach to the trade unions exhibited the characteristic flaw of Trotskyism. . . support for the aims of the proletariat in the abstract but opposition to the measures necessary to realize them in the concrete. . . all, of course, in the name of revolutionary principle.

The Trotskyist perspective on the question of a labor party illustrates this point. On the one hand the Trotskyists advocated the formation of a labor party for approximately the same reasons Lenin and the Comintern urged this policy on the CP in the early 20s. But on

the other hand the Trotskyists qualified this by refusing to advocate a "reformist" labor party. Since the embryonic labor party formations that developed were inevitably reformist this led the Trotskyists to oppose them (albeit with considerable vacillation and confusion).

While the SWP can contrast its advocacy of the labor party slogan to the CP's muted support for Roosevelt, the sectarian policy of the Trotskyists hardly contributed to the actual development of independent political action.


We charged the Trotskyists with "unsavory combinations with right wing, anti-communist elements" in the trade unions. Is this an historical inaccuracy? Listen to what Max Schachtman, then a member of the SWP, has to say in a candid discussion of trade union tactics with Trotsky himself: "In effect, in Minneapolis we are in a bloc with so-called honest reformists — who are scoundrels on their own account — who are in a bloc with the Democrats. This bloc is directed almost exclusively against the Stalinists. . . in action we are indistinguishable from the so-called honest reformists." What is Schachtman describing if not an "unsavory combination with anti-communist elements. . ."? Perhaps Hillson can explain how blocking with such forces as these against the "Stalinists" contributed to the class struggle.

SWP EXCHANGE CONCLUSION

The logic of this bloc is undoubtedly to be found in Trotsky's view that "the Stalinists are the most venomous of the bourgeois agents." It is ironic that while the Trotskyists fulminated regularly against the reformist allies of the "Stalinists" like Lewis and Hillman, they were prepared to bloc with other reformist "scoundrels" to frustrate the CPUSA.

We agree wholeheartedly with Jon Hillson's call for us all to "shed the blinders imposed by old stereotypes and cliches". We are not afraid to reexamine the conventional wisdom of the Communist movement. Hopefully Hillson will agree that the same injunction applies to the SWP which after all has its own set of historical orthodoxies. We also second Hillson's call for principled debate and unity of action among left forces and welcome his letter in that spirit.

... shed the blinders imposed by old stereotypes and cliches... call for principled debate and unity of action among left forces...



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American League Batting Champ Quits the Twins Plantation

by RON WHITEHORNE

Almost overlooked on the same day the New York Yankees beat the Boston Red Sox in a photo finish for the Eastern division title in the American League was the announcement that Rod Carew has had it with the Minnesota Twins.

Rod Carew had just won his 7th American League batting title. The year before Carew was named the American League's Most Valuable Player as he fell just short of breaking the magic .400 mark. The 33 year old, Panamanian-born Black has a lifetime batting average of .335, highest in both Leagues. In an age of power hitters Carew is a master of the "hit em where they ain't school", spraying base hits to opposite fields year after year. And in a time when superstars routinely sign multi-million dollar contracts, Rod Carew does it all for the Twins for \$170,000 a year. When other players turned free agent to land bigger salaries, Carew stayed with the Twins, a team he has played for since he first came up to the big leagues in 1967.

Carew's decision to quit the Twins had nothing to do with money. "I will not ever sign another contract with this organization", said an angry Carew. "I don't care how many options or how much money Calvin Griffith offers me. I refuse to be a nigger on his plantation and play for a bigot."

Calvin Griffith is the owner of the Minnesota Twins, who before moving to the Twin Cities region in 1961, were the famed Washington Senators. The Griffith family had owned the old Senators for years and established a reputation as the meanest and cheapest of Baseball owners. The Senators in the saying of the time were "first in war, first in peace and last in the American League" - a result of years of penny pinching mismanagement. Moving the franchise to Minnesota didn't change anything.

NO BLACKS IN MINNESOTA

What prompted Carew to quit were some off the cuff remarks by Calvin Griffith before a Lion's Club meeting in the small town of Waseca, Minnesota. Griffith was asked why he moved out of Washington. He scanned his all white audience and let it hang out,

"I'll tell you why we came to Minnesota. It was when I found out you only had 15,000 Blacks here. Black people don't go to ball games, but they'll fill up a rassling ring and put up such a chant it'll scare you to death. It's unbelievable. We came here because you've got good, hard-working white people here."

Griffith added insult to injury when he said that Rod Carew was a "damn

fool" for signing a contract for \$170,000 when everyone knew he was worth more. This is how Griffith rewards Carew's loyalty and service to the Twins.

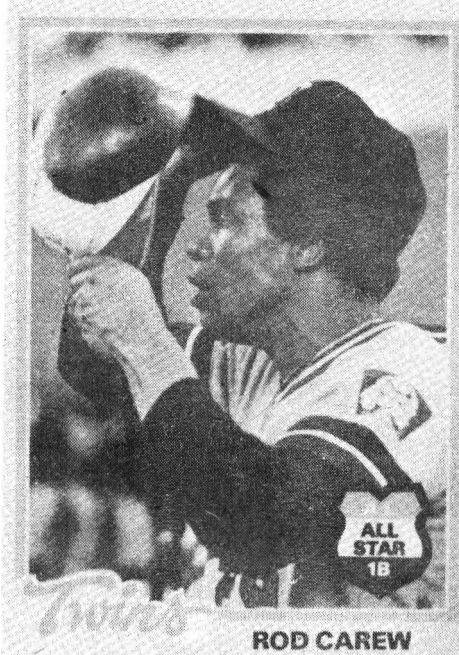
Carew undoubtedly spoke for many Black athletes when he said, "The days of Kunta Kinte are over... I hope somebody gets wind of this and I hope they drag him down... Spit on Calvin Griffith."

All the hub-bub about high player salaries and ball players refusing to blindly follow the rules, has obscured the arrogant, selfish and dictatorial ways of baseball management. Calvin Griffith reminds us who are the real "trouble-makers" in Baseball today.

Baseball is supposed to be the national game but all the big decisions are made by a small handful of people - the owners who set League policy, decide which cities will have major league teams and which won't, and run their individual franchises like plantations.

Ball fans in Washington lost their club, not because they didn't support it but because one man, Calvin Griffith, didn't like the skin color of half the city's residents.

Calvin Griffith also reminds us that racism didn't disappear from baseball once Jackie Robinson broke the color line. Management's regular self



ROD CAREW

congratulations on making baseball "an equal opportunity employer" can't hide the continued, deep seated racism of the owners.

Hats off to Rod Carew for having the guts to speak out regardless of the consequences for his own career. And Spit on Calvin Griffith.

Teachers

(continued from page 4)

support and parent-teacher cooperation were also stronger than in past years.

While there is no doubt that there has been a general increase in consciousness in both the union and the community about the need to wage a united fight, there is also no doubt that the intransigence of the board solidified much of the community and sparked rank and file militancy. As soon as the Board was forced to back down on some of the most important issues, the militancy began to erode, as can be seen by the lopsided vote by the teachers to go back to work.

Furthermore, the community forces' main concern throughout the summer and the short strike was to get the children back in school. The militancy shown at various demonstrations was fueled by the intransigence of the board. It seems unlikely, in analyzing these forces, that they would have understood and supported a longer strike to save the special programs, avoid the six month compromise, and ensure wages that would keep up with inflation—all at the cost of having their kids out of school. There is

still a strong, though mistaken, impression by masses of people that teachers are overpaid—and a serious lack of consciousness of the importance of at the very least keeping up with inflation. Furthermore, there is still a fairly limited understanding in the communities of the importance of the numerous programs for our children that the Board is carelessly chopping.

Finally, there was the question of transfers to achieve racial balance among the various school staffs. While this was not a contract issue, it became confused with the negotiations because of the timing. The school board waited until the last possible moment to comply with Federal racial integration standards and then complied with them in the most disorganized and backward way possible. The chaos created by badly planned and rushed transfers inflamed already deep-seated opposition to the plan. And far from standing firmly for the clear principle of integration for quality education, the union leadership has been hedging on the issue, thereby accomodating racist sentiment.

In summing up the strike then, it is clear that the PFT was able to maintain a holding action, pushing the Board back from its outrageous demands of the sum-

mer. The strength of the rank and file and its growing unity with the community forces sent a clear message to Rizzo, who feared that a long and bitter strike would hurt his personal political aspirations for a third term. But the struggle is nowhere near over.

BOARD ABUSES CONTRACT

The School Board, under pressure from the banks, is cutting programs right and left, not even respecting the terms of the contract. Classes of 40 are not unusual, as the Board puts into practice its racist disregard for the education of a school population which is 68% Black and Hispanic. Funding will continue to be a problem as long as the schools are funded by selling themselves to the economic interests of the bankers.

The contract which the PFT membership ratified is supposed to ensure teachers jobs for the duration of this contract. John Ryan stated so at the ratification meeting and the written summary included this. Since then however, there has been some question about the final wording of the contract. The union leadership has yet to show the final version to members and even build- ing representatives have been unable to

see it. Frank Rizzo has made some statements that further confuse this issue. Clearly, this is an essential item in the final contract and if it was not won, then the PFT membership was sold a bill of goods and the demand for the full restoration of jobs and programs has not been met.

The parent-teacher and community-union cooperation must be carefully developed. As the School Employees Action Caucus' leaflet states, "Defending and advancing public education depends on the unity of parents, students, school employees and organized labor." It is up to all of us to make sure that those issues which were won in the contract are not now trampled on by the board. It is up to us to make sure that the board organizes the transition in February, 1979 in the smoothest possible way. And it is up to us to build for the future—to fight for new funding based on the taxation of big business and not working people and to make sure that those funds go towards improving the quality of education in our schools. The fight isn't over just because the kids are back in school. It's now up to us to make sure that conditions in the schools are improved to ensure that our children are receiving more than a five-day babysitting service.

Reaction

(continued from page 7)

At first, under the sway of Earl Browder's right opportunist line, the CPUSA expected U.S. capitalism to move in a progressive direction. With the fall of Browder this rosy picture gave way to a characterization of the period as one of imminent economic crisis and pending fascism. This estimation led to a series of left errors. In 1948 the Party made support for a third party the condition for united front relations in the CIO, breaking with those forces who did not climb on the Henry Wallace bandwagon. In the absence of strong rank & file support for Wallace and with the bulk of the CIO leadership lining up behind Truman, these tactics isolated the Party, paving the way for the expulsions of the left.

In headier moments the Party argued that the masses were spontaneously breaking with the Democratic Party in spite of the treachery of their leaders and that the Party's tactics would be vindicated on election day. This illusion was laid to rest when Henry Wallace polled barely more than a million votes—less than a tenth of the Party's prediction.

When more sober about Wallace's prospects, the Party argued that the danger of fascism coupled with the danger

of war made the formation of the Progressive Party imperative, regardless of the consequences. Just how a still-born Progressive Party strengthened the anti-fascist fight was never made clear.

The indictment of Party leaders under the Smith Act seemed to confirm the Party's estimate that fascism was around the corner. Expecting the suspension of all opportunities for legal work, the Party took the bulk of its cadres under ground. The Party retreated from all positions of mass influence and ceased to be a real force in U.S. political life. The Party was liquidated in all but name. Party members led a demoralizing hide-and-seek existence waiting for the fascist takeover that never came.

Right errors in connection with a mistaken estimate of the fascist danger are also possible. Strategic formulations appropriate to a situation in which the fascist danger is an imminent threat can become a rationalization for a generalized right opportunist policy in a period in which these conditions do not exist.

Given the dominance of voluntarism and ultra-'leftism' in our movement, it is errors of a left character which are the main danger.

Look for Part II of "The Growth of Reaction" in the next issue of the Organizer.

Letter

(continued from page 2)

M-L becomes the method for formulating the strategy and tactics of the class struggle by the advanced fighters themselves. This in no way means that the theoretical tasks are somehow left on the locker room floor, as Silber would have us believe. He is fully aware of the intent to centralize ideological struggle, study and research through the Ideological Center.

I think that it would be apt to look at the anti-revisionist, anti-dogmatist organization which struggled in Chile during the UP period, and which continues to struggle in Chile today, the MIR. MIR went through an intense self-criticism as well as advancing its critique of revisionism after the coup. It assessed its main strengths and cited its main advances in the area of developing greater fusion with the working class in order to win its advanced fighter away from a revisionist perspective, and against left-voluntarism and theoreticism. If they had failed to take up the question of fusion until they had formulated a correct general line, their ability to win over 8% of the trade union activists in three years from a revisionist perspective would have gone untested.

While the MIR suffered from ultra-left weaknesses, its ability to survive the blows of the coup and re-emerge in a position to both rectify its own errors and

continue the struggle within the working class hinged on its correct approach to developing fusion with the working class and refusing to claim itself vanguard or party status until it had demonstrated its ability to win the most advanced fighters into its ranks.

Chile is perhaps the most dramatic example of the fusion of revisionist ideology with the working class. The specifics of this relate both to the flunkyism of the ChCP to Moscow and also to the particular history of the Chilean trade union movement. It also relates to the US imperialist strategy of the sixties - which bore similarities to the Marshall Plan in Europe that contributed to the development. Silber neither does this nor does he give us a good enough reason to follow his approach rather than one which includes the advanced fighters of the working class in the struggle to defeat a revisionist perspective within the class itself.

The real question that we all face is how serious the difficulties of consolidating a revolutionary perspective are under the duress of the daily battles for survival of working people. It is between a correct idea and its application in the real world that political line has meaning, and it will be political line developed and seasoned by the class struggle that shows its vanguard character.

In struggle,
N.K.