

The ORGANIZER

The Newspaper of the
Philadelphia Workers'
Organizing Committee



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Three Mile Island Nuclear Plant

Profits vs People

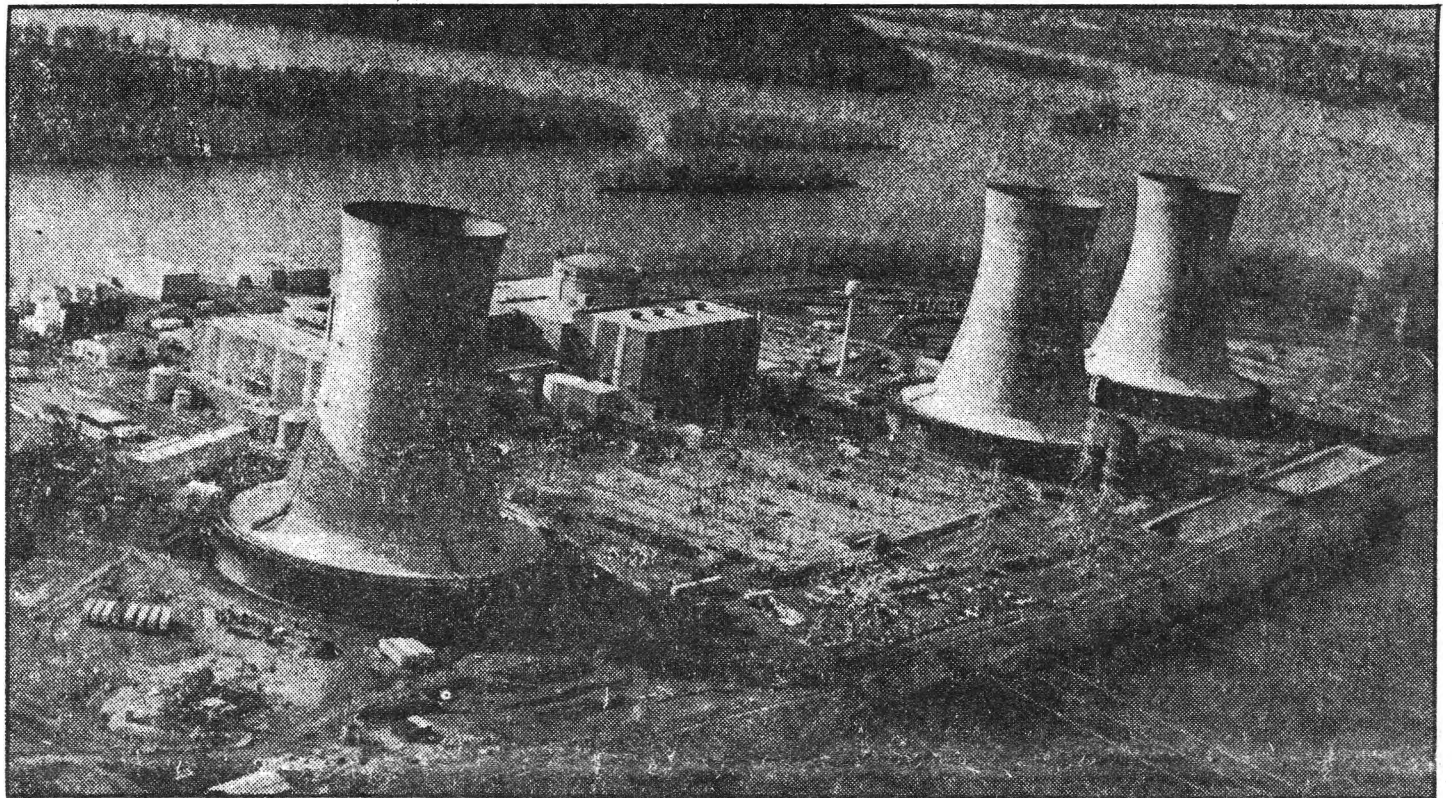
They told us it was safe and they lied. Nuclear power was the safe, clean, cheap solution to the energy crisis. Its critics were "nervous nellys" who wanted to return to the dark ages. The nuclear lobby, bankrolled by the energy monopolies, had its way and strange looking cones and domes mushroomed from coast to coast.

Then came Three Mile Island. A combination of mechanical breakdown and human error exposed thousands of people to radiation ten times the normal level. The possibility of a meltdown or explosion threatened thousands, if not millions more with radioactive fallout which could cause cancer, leukemia and genetic damage. They said it was safe, but the facts are that scientists don't know very much about the effects of radiation on human beings, except that they are all agreed any level above normal should be avoided.

And the engineers don't know very much about how to operate a nuclear power plant. Even now they are admitting they don't know how they are going to empty the reactor container of its lethal cargo. Many are saying openly that Three Mile Island will have to be abandoned, a radioactive scrap heap...a billion dollar monument to corporate greed.

We don't know now and we may never know just how close we came to a radioactive holocaust. Certainly the officials of Metropolitan Edison won't tell us. From the beginning they've tried to cover up the danger. Nor can the Federal Officials be trusted. The Nuclear Regulatory Commission, packed with long time friends of nuclear power, is like the fox watching the henhouse.

But we do know enough to be scared and angry. We know Three Mile Island was not some "freak" accident that could not hap-



The Three Mile Island nuclear reactor, ten miles southeast of Harrisburg, Pa., on the Susquehanna River. The verdict is still out on the extent of past, present, or future dangers. Till we have some real solutions all nuclear reactors must be shut down, and construction on new facilities must be stopped.

Inquirer

pen again. There have been up to 50 downs of Babcock reactors like the one at Three Mile Island. There have been at least a dozen incidents at other plants that closely parallel the one at Three Mile Island. Safety violations are routine and even the NRC acknowledged that a third of the existing plants fall short of meeting even their inadequate standards. Three Mile Island or worse is bound to happen again, maybe sooner, maybe later under the present circumstances.

The people's interest calls for these plants to be shut down and construction on new facilities stopped. Yet both the utilities and the government show no signs of doing either. They say, "we need nuclear power because of the energy crisis" and plea with us for a little more time to work out the "kinks".

While the streets of Harrisburg stood empty on Sunday, March 31st, the streets of major cities throughout Europe were

jammed with demonstrators. In Germany, people marched by the tens of thousands against the use of nuclear power in their own country and in solidarity with the people of Pennsylvania. The workers movement made up a large part of the protests. They realize that it is only organized and massive opposition to the continued use of nuclear power that will give us a voice on the subject.

On that same Sunday, a local radio reporter on the scene at the Three Mile Island plant said it all on responsible evacuation of the population. "The rich have left, the upper middle class have left, and many from the middle class have left. What we have here are the working people, the poor, the sick and the inmates of the local prison."

The utility companies have billions of dollars invested in plants and equipment. It is their profit margins, not our energy needs, which dictate their behavior. Both

the energy crisis and the proliferation of nuclear power are products of the energy monopolies drive for bigger profits. Alternative safer ways of producing energy exist, but the whole logic of monopoly capitalism runs counter to developing them. Because profits rule the roost, neither metropolitan Edison nor James Schiesinger can be trusted to deliver either safe or cheap energy.

Nationalization of the whole energy industry with democratic controls over management would be a positive step forward. But in the final analysis only the abolition of capitalism and the creation of a worker controlled, planned socialist economy provides the foundation for a genuinely humane and rational development of technology. As long as the energy policies are geared to producing higher dividends instead of meeting human needs, the plague of Three Mile Island will be with us in one form or another.



Thousands march to protest CETA cutbacks.

organizer photo

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Black Political Convention Backs Bowser

by Jim Griffin

On the weekend of March 9th the Black Political Convention, representing a broad spectrum of organizations, met to consider endorsing candidates for the mayoralty race and the city's row offices. At the first convention, held in late December and early January, the delegates drafted the "Human Rights Agenda", a platform of demands based on the needs of the community, but held off on candidate endorsements. The most recent convention was primarily to take up this unfinished business.

The major struggle at the convention centered on the mayoral candidacy of Charles Bowser. Bowser, as the only major Black candidate with substantial organized backing, figured to have an easy time of it. He expected to walk away with the endorsement and had planned his schedule accordingly, allowing only a few hours for politicking at the convention. Instead Bowser faced a serious challenge and had to fight for his political life on the convention floor.

BOWSER TRIES END RUN

Bowser miscalculated in thinking he would get the nod without having to commit himself on the Human Rights Agenda. The Convention's candidate evaluation committee had prepared a detailed questionnaire, based on the Human Rights Agenda, to determine where each candidate stood on the issues. Every candidate seeking endorsement was expected to fill out the questionnaire and on the basis of their response would be given a rating. Bowser failed to fill out the questionnaire.

When told that he would not be allowed to address the convention or be considered for endorsement, Bowser reluctantly agreed to fill out the questionnaire. The reason for his reluctance soon became clear. When the candidate evaluation committee reported on the ratings of the candidates, Bowser brought up the rear with a 557 out of a possible 861 rating.

Bowser's supporters defended his poor showing by attacking the rating

system. They argued that any candidate could say they supported the Human Rights Agenda but this was no proof that they would actually fight for it. This line of attack neatly skirted the question of why Bowser would refuse to endorse a platform democratically adopted by the broad forces in the Black community.

Bowser himself answered this question in a roundabout fashion. He said he couldn't support the Human Rights Agenda because parts of it were "against the law." He also said it was based only on the needs of the Black community and he sought to be mayor "of all the people."

In fact there is nothing in the Human Rights Agenda that is "against the law." Rather there are demands which are not presently part of the law or that would require that the law be changed. This is quite a different thing. Bowser implied that the Human Rights Agenda stands for anarchy to cover his own devotion to the present law which serves the city's financial, business, and political elite.

Bowser is on record as opposing any change in the City Charter. The charter in its present form minimizes popular control over local government in the interests of rule by Big Business. The charter would have to be changed, for example, to allow direct election of the school board, a popular democratic demand incorporated in the Human Rights Agenda. Bowser opposed this demand in the name of protecting the city charter. His lack of faith in the people and his trust in the ruling class is echoed in his stands on a whole range of issues that raise the question of control.

Bowser opposes the demand of public housing tenants that they elect the director of the Housing Authority. He opposed the demand for a civilian police review board. In a question and answer session in Germantown, Bowser said he didn't think the people had the expertise to exercise control over these institutions. The bankers, politicians, and the bureaucrats presumably have the "expertise", so they should be allowed to continue running roughshod over the people of this city.

MAYOR OF ALL THE PEOPLE?

Nor is Bowser's charge that the Human Rights Agenda is only in the interests of Black people true. The demands for more jobs, better services, greater democracy, tax reform and dozens of other measures are in the interests of all working people in the city. The Black Political Convention makes no demand for special favors for Blacks at the expense of white working people. Rather it rightly calls for an end to discrimination and real equality for minorities.

The reason Bowser objects to the Human Rights agenda is not because he seeks to be mayor of all the people, but precisely the opposite. He is eager to win the backing of a small segment of the people — namely the downtown power brokers who run the city from their corporate board rooms. Support for the Human Rights Agenda, which is support for the interests of both Black and white working people, would definitely antagonize the Big Boys. Bowser was willing to risk losing the support of the Black Political Convention in order to prove to the city's ruling class that he could be entrusted with power.

Unfortunately the full content of Bowser's rejection of the Human Rights Agenda and his slavishness to Big Business was not brought to the convention floor. Bowser's aggressive supporters maneuvered to prevent a full exposure of his views. But many of these same supporters were themselves taken aback when they read Bowser's questionnaire. Many housing activists, led by Milton Street, were actively backing Bowser without realizing that Bowser does not support many of their basic demands. Some Bowser supporters were surprised to learn that Bowser opposes cuts in the military budget and shifting the tax burden from poor and working people to the rich, while supporting Carter's anti-inflation program. Bowser has come out in opposition to further cuts in social services, but he clearly has no program for paying for these services.

The most damning testimony against Bowser during the convention came from his own candidate for controller, Charles



After much internal struggle, the Black Political Convention endorsed Charles Bowser for mayor. This endorsement, given Bowser's political weaknesses, is a setback for the development of independent politics in the Black Community.

Ludwig. Ludwig, a white, center city lawyer with a background in real estate did not inspire a great deal of confidence in either himself or his running mate. Ludwig, who admits to sending his children to private school and has absolutely no credentials as a friend of the Black struggle, symbolizes who Bowser is really trying to appease. It was evident to many delegates that Ludwig, while a fine candidate from the standpoint of Big Business, had no place on a ticket claiming to represent the masses of Black people.

In the end Bowser, nevertheless, succeeded in gaining the convention's endorsement, but it was much closer and more of a struggle than the 59 to 6 vote implied. Eight delegates abstained and some 35 odd delegates didn't vote at all, most of whom were not present when the vote was taken. Still Bowser got roughly half of the 101 possible votes. Had the full extent of Bowser's departure from the Human Rights Agenda been known his margin would probably have been slimmer. But in the minds of most of his supporters Bowser's appeal as the only Black candidate in a city which has never elected a Black mayor outweighed his liabilities.

There was a healthy recognition among the delegates that the business of the Convention isn't done and that it will be necessary to monitor the candidates between now and the election to see that they honor their commitments. A monitoring committee was created for that purpose.

That Bowser was able to win the endorsement in spite of such a miserable stand on the issues was a setback for the development of independent politics in the Black community. But the fact that this endorsement was won only after some intense struggle is a sign of the growing maturity of the movement.

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 capitalist system itself as the root cause of the day-to-day problems of working people. 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 exploitation, and today the movements opposing the monopolists are growing rapidly in numbers and in intensity. What is lacking is the political leadership which can bring these movements together, deepen the consciousness of the people, 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 on the difficult road to revolution.

The PWOC seeks, along 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

City Nurses Pay for No Layoffs

The City Administration recently threatened more layoffs of city workers. Then it was announced that there would be no layoffs at this time; but rather, money would be saved by other methods.

For the nurses (LPN's, RN's, and Nurses Aides) who work for the City, these cost saving measures were translated into a new 7 week schedule. The major points of this schedule, which began Feb. 5, 1979 are: 1) The work day begins at 7 a.m., one hour earlier than before. 2) Nurses must work an additional ½ hour per day. 3) Nurses will have a weekend off only every 7th weekend instead of every other at the prisons and every 3rd at the nursing homes. 4) Overtime work can be required with the nurses receiving compensatory time instead of overtime pay.

This seven week schedule is a hardship on many levels. Many of the nurses are the heads of families and have children at home. The new schedule means that if the children are in school

they may not see their mother for as long as 6-7 weeks at a time. For the mother who has children in day care there are real problems finding day care centers open at 6 a.m. Transportation presents another problem for the nurses at the prisons and Riverview. Getting to State Road in the Northeast on SEPTA is no easy feat, even at normal hours.

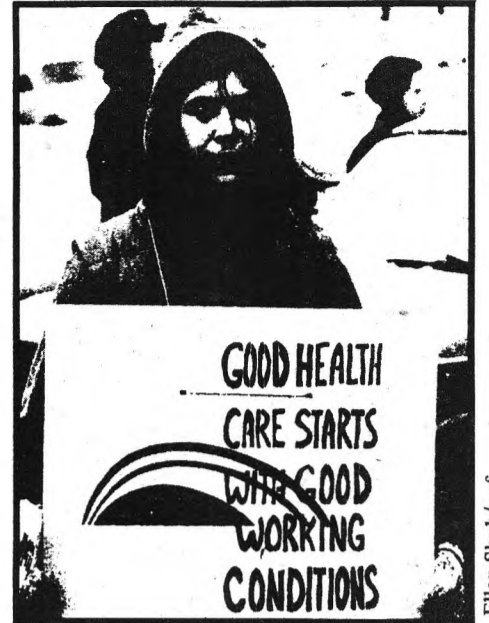
Furthermore, this schedule means also that nurses may have to work 2 or 3 different shifts in a week. Nurses at the prison are being forced to work overtime under threat of disciplinary action. When they do work the overtime it is paid back in comp time, hour for hour, instead of overtime pay, which would be time and a half.

The role of the Unions in this struggle becomes important. AFSCME DC Number 33 (which represents the LPN's and Nurses Aides) agreed to these changes before they were instituted, without consulting the membership. DC Number 47 (representing the RN's) was never consulted by the city before these changes took place. The General

membership of both District Councils are vehemently against these changes.

On behalf of the nurses a Class Action Grievance was filed protesting this violation of the Contract. Nurses from the prisons, Riverview and the Philadelphia Nursing Home have come together to form a Nurses Caucus to continue pressure on the City to change these schedules and to coordinate rank and file activity between the three institutions.

Why were the nurses in the Health Department the ones to pay for no layoffs? It has been clear during the course of the Rizzo administration that health care was not a priority. It is not only the nurses that are paying; the patients are also suffering. Patients during the week have OT (occupational therapy), Physical Therapy and other activities that do not occur on the weekend, with this new schedule the bulk of the staff work on the weekend, not during the week. While the nurses have been forced to comply with this schedule no other workers at these institutions



Ellen Shub/cpt

have, so patient care has become fragmented. Furthermore the City has shown its racist and sexist attitudes towards the nurses, most of whom are Black and women.

The Nurses understand that if they are going to win this struggle it is going to be through the united action on the part of all the nurses in the city.

Temple Nurses Prepare for Contract

Over 200 RN's represented by the Pennsylvania Nurses Association (PNA) are presently preparing for contract negotiations at Temple Hospital. Their current two-year contract expires on April 30.

RN's are increasingly unionizing and showing that they are willing to go out on strike in order to win their demands. At Medical College of Pennsylvania (MCP) RN's struck for 10 days in November of last year. (see the *Organizer*, Dec., 1978) They won a salary increase of 16% over two years plus a cost of living allowance, improved health and tuition benefits, and restrictions on mandatory overtime and shift rotation.

Last summer RN's at the Washington Health Center in Washington, DC., struck for one month after attempting to negotiate for one year. Their new contract contains most of their demands — a grievance procedure, better education benefits, better vacation and sick leaves, more insurance coverage, and higher wages.

Their strike was successful largely because they developed a high level of solidarity with other health workers in their hospital, plus support from the community and from several trade unions across the city.

Temple RN's have been building the membership of PNA over the past two years. The current contract was negotiated when few RN's were in PNA. As a result, the administration was able to take away benefits! Four weeks vacation was reduced to two, and every other weekend off was changed to every third, if weekend work was necessary, according to the administration (which is pretty frequent since the hospital is always understaffed). Medical benefits are poor, and contract language is weak in that it allows mandatory overtime.

The RN's are building the strength to win back what had previously been lost and are discussing critical issues beyond the basic bread and butter items. These

include an Occupational Safety and Health Committee, and special demands for the nurse with children.

They are also asking for nursing input in determining staff-patient ratios. This is an extremely important step toward reducing the exhaustion of the nurses as well as making it possible to give safe, quality patient care.

Temple RN's have been working closely with nurses from MCP. They are finding that the major weapon of both administrations is professionalism. Nurses are constantly told that it is "unprofessional" to join a union or "abandon the patient" by striking. The RN's feel that if their job conditions and patient care were of professional standards, then there would be no need to strike. It is the administration which forces its employees to strike because it is concerned more about cutting costs than ensuring decent working conditions or quality patient care.

The administration is also exploiting the divisions between PNA and 1199C which represents the LPN's and most of the other hospital workers. The RN's need to understand that they would be more powerful if they worked closely with the other workers with whom they share many needs, rather than keeping themselves separate. For example, the nursing administration expects the support of the RN's for the projected layoffs of LPN's, even though this will worsen the understaffing problem and make more miserable working conditions for the RN's.

A starting point for forging their much needed unity would be for the RN's to demand to have their contract expire at the same time as the 1199C contract. If they were united with the other hospital workers they would be in a stronger position to improve their working conditions and insure good patient care.

Victory for Puerto Rico's Crown Cork Workers

Crown Cork is a large corporation based in Philadelphia which manufactures corks, bottle caps, and bottling machines. It has over \$1 billion in sales a year, and employs 16,000 workers in 95 plants in the US and abroad. Of its 66 plants outside the US, one is in Puerto Rico. In 1970 Crown Cork opened its Puerto Rican operation, and shortly thereafter the company recognized the Seafarers International Union as the representative of the 125 employees. The Seafarers in Puerto Rico have become notorious as a union which scabs on other unions and is used to break strikes all over the island.

After five years of the Seafarers, the workers at Crown Cork had had enough. They petitioned for an election for an independent union which they themselves had set up. The NLRB called for an election. Shortly before the election, the company began harassing union activists who were working for the new union. This led to a walkout by almost all the employees. The company then fired 110 workers and brought in scabs referred by

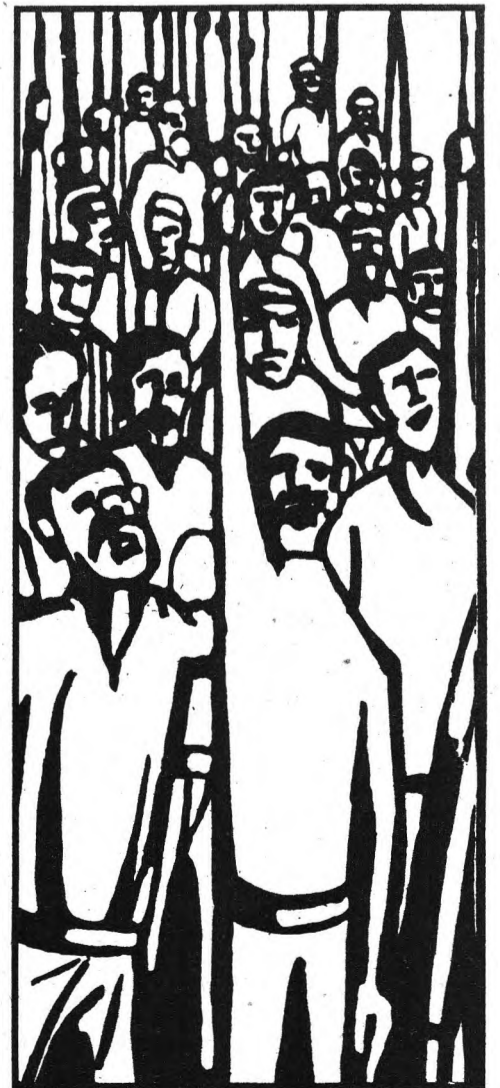
the Seafarers. The independent union, which obviously had the support of almost all the workers, continued picketing and sought justice through the NLRB. (For details on the Crown Cork strike see the Sept., 1977 *Organizer*.)

The Crown Cork situation was important because it was a symbol of the move to independent unions by Puerto Rican workers who were fed up with the company-collaborationist policies of the US internationals, such as the Seafarers. Only shortly before the Crown Cork strike, the Seafarers had helped break the well-known and militant strike by workers at the Ponce Cement plant who were trying to bring in an independent union.

Although the NLRB ordinarily sides with the bosses in its rulings on Puerto Rico, public pressure and the persistence of the workers led to a victory. In January of this year, the NLRB ordered reinstatement of all Crown Cork workers and \$2 million in back pay. This was a victory for the Crown Cork workers and for the entire Puerto Rican labor movement.

The fact that the NLRB ultimately decides many labor disputes in Puerto Rico is yet another example of the colonial status of Puerto Rico. The NLRB has jurisdiction over Puerto Rico but is based in Boston and its proceedings are in English. It is difficult for Puerto Rican workers to win under such circumstances. We in the US can play a vital role in support of Puerto Rican workers who are in conflict with their bosses and awaiting NLRB decisions. The NLRB is susceptible to public pressure, as was seen in the Crown Cork case and in the NLRB rulings in support of the J.P. Stevens workers in this country.

There is another lesson for US workers in the victory at Crown Cork. When US corporations close up plants here and move them to other countries like Puerto Rico, it is often because the workers in the new country are unorganized. The US labor movement should support workers who are organizing abroad, like the Crown Cork workers in Puerto Rico — such support will strengthen our own efforts here to prevent run-away shops.



Auto Emergency

Can Budd Afford Job Security?

by Duane Calhoun

Whenever workers demand more time off or more money, the first argument their employer comes up with is "we can't afford it". In the case of the Budd/Thyssen Company, they want their employees to believe that real job security for the Red Lion brothers and sisters is "pie in the sky". "You don't want the whole company to go out of business, do you?" says management. Well, the *Organizer* has compared the list of demands being put out by the Blue Ribbon Group (a rank and file caucus within UAW Local 92) at Red Lion with the company's own financial figures, and we found that they *can* afford it.

First look at the big picture. Thyssen bought Budd last year for almost \$250 million *cash*. Stockholders were paid 50% more for their shares than those shares had been selling for on the stock market. Would Thyssen have laid out that kind of money unless they were sure they were going to make a healthy profit in the future?

Right before the Thyssen deal hit the papers, the New York investment consulting firm, Value Line, said, "We maintain our belief that Budd has climbed to a new plateau of profitability from which its not about to slip. . . ." In 1977 (the last year when figures were published) Budd made a clear profit of \$46 million after taxes — that's over \$3000 raked off from the labor of each blue-collar Budd worker.

Yet Thyssen, Budd's new owner, is richer still. Thyssen is the 34th largest corporation in the world, and the ninth largest steel producer. It was the only European steel company to make a profit after the 1976/77 fiscal year. In 1977, Thyssen earned over \$67 million after taxes. Not bad, considering other steel-makers were losing almost that much the same year.

BUDD RAKING IT IN

It's an extra slap in the face that it's the Red Lion plant that Budd plans to close. A shrinking market and bad management have caused the Frame Division to lose money for several years in a row. But the Railcar Division is the *most profitable* operation in the Budd system. Value Line investment survey said in late 1977, "Railway operations, which were all but written off a half-dozen years ago, now are more than pulling their own weight and are expected to continue doing so."

Red Lion is Budd's only US railcar plant. In 1977, railcar showed a profit of 20 cents out of every dollar in railcar sales. The whole Budd system averaged a profit of 9 cents on a dollar of sales — railcar made more than *double* the company average.

"It's true that those are our figures," says the head of the Budd B.S. department, "but you just don't realize how expensive it is to run a business. Why, if we had to pay for all the things those radicals are demanding, nearly all our profit would be eaten up. And we must make a decent profit to stay in business, you know."

Well, we admit that as long as capitalists own the factories, they have to take a profit to stay in business. But let's *Organizer*, April 1979, page 4

look at just how much it would cost to guarantee the job security of Red Lion workers.

Rather than make a lot of guesses about how much each of the Blue Ribbon Group's demands would cost, let's give Budd the benefit of the doubt. We'll figure how much it would cost to pay the entire Red Lion workforce their *full* pay and benefits, to sit at home for a year instead of working. Surely that has to cost many times more than bringing new work into the plant, letting 25-year workers retire on full pension, or any of the other Blue Ribbon Group demands.

There are about 1000 workers now on the Red Lion payrolls. For a forty hour week, their yearly pay averages about \$20,000, with almost another \$10,000 in benefit costs (SUB contributions, pensions, Blue Cross premiums, etc.) Multiply those 1,000 workers by \$30,000 a year and you get \$30 million — the cost of paying the whole plant to stay home for the year.

Take Budd's 1977 profits *before* taxes of \$83 million (remember, their 1979 profits are bigger yet) subtract that \$30 million. Take away half of that for income taxes, and you get a final profit figure of \$26 million. A profit of \$26 million, after paying an entire plant full wages to do nothing — that's still more money than Budd ever made before 1976! So much for Budd's "hardship case".

SHORTER WORK WEEK

Another demand workers all over the US are making (not just the caucuses at Red Lion or Hunting Park) is for the short work week — four days work for five days pay, with double time for all overtime. This too has been called "pie in the sky" by everyone from Henry Ford II to George Meany.

The United Electrical Workers came out for the short work week several years ago, and they have put together a pamphlet that proves that the short work week *is* realistic. Using the example of the 35 hour week, they show how *two million* new jobs would be created. And they demonstrate that the added cost to industry would only reduce their profits to the level they were at before 1977.

But what about Budd — could they afford it? At the end of 1977, Budd had just over 18,000 employees in the US. We're guessing that about 15,000 (or less) of those are unionized, and would get the short work-week if the unions were able to win it in the contract. Business analysts estimate that about 2,200 new workers would have to be hired by a company the size of Budd, if the 4-day week went into effect.

Using Budd's figures for the end of 1977, the average union employee earned roughly \$14,000 per year (or \$7 an hour) plus another \$7,000 in benefits. (If anything, those estimates are on the high side.) That means the 32-hour week would cost Budd about \$46 million more, for the same amount of production. Take away from their pre-tax profits and subtract half for taxes, and they would still have made a profit of about \$18 million!

So the most "radical" demand of all — the 4-day week at 5 days pay — would still leave Budd with the same



Community News/cpf

When workers get together to demand job security, more time off, or more money the employer cries poor mouth. Clearly this is not true in most cases, and is definitely not true in the case of the Budd Company. Thyssen, Budd's new owner is the 34th largest corporation in the world and the 9th largest steel producer. Budd workers need job security, and Budd/Thyssen can afford it.

profit for one year that they made in 1974 and 1975 *put together!*

With the 32-hour in effect throughout industry, millions more would be working and paying taxes, instead of collecting unemployment compensation and welfare. More people would be buying cars and other goods, boosting Budd's business and the whole economy.

The notion that the 4-day week is a communist plot to destroy the American economy is pure capitalist propaganda. They said the exact same thing about the 8-hour day 100 years ago. Of course, we can't deny that the short work-week would cut into profits, and shift income from the wealthy stockholders to working people. What's wrong with that?

GOULD - ITE ...

by Jay Marcuk

Gould-ITE is in the process of reorganizing its Philadelphia plants. The shop at 19th and Hamilton Sts. will be closed by the summer. Some of the work is heading south and some is being relocated in the area. In all likelihood, several hundred members of UAW Local 1612 will be hitting the street.

Talk of a runaway is nothing new at ITE. The company announced the current move in 1977. At that time, the response of the union was to take the case to arbitration, arguing that the company had no legal right to move any bargaining unit work performed by members of Local 1612 during the life of the contract.

A decision is expected soon. But no matter what the outcome, it will not save any jobs. Even if the company loses, it intends to pay a settlement and move the jobs south anyway.

Because of these developments, the company definitely has the upper hand in approaching the 1980 contract. They expect more concessions from the workers as the price for keeping the remaining jobs in Philadelphia. Frank Redmiles, President of 1612, has already informed the membership that they will probably need "to give up something" in order to save some jobs.

In addition there will probably be a move to split the bargaining unit into those employees who work for Gould-ITE and those who work for Gould-Brown Boveri. Gould and Brown Boveri, a Swiss firm, launched a joint venture this year on contracts that were being produced by Gould Electrical Systems Group in Philadelphia. If this move is accomplished, it will further weaken the position of the workers to obtain any kind of real job security.

No, it isn't. What really is necessary is an offensive, both politically and at the bargaining table, to save jobs and stop the

runaway shop. Instead of bribing the companies to stay they must be penalized if they leave. ITE workers need a contract that gives them one year of severance pay if the plant moves, and which provides for two-year notice before any work is shifted, company funded job training so workers can learn a new skill if necessary and the right to strike during the length of the contract.

The problems facing ITE workers affect all of us. We have to build a broad coalition of trade unionists, the unemployed and community groups to fight for legislation against the export of jobs, support the struggle to organize the unorganized, and wage a struggle for the shorter work week at no loss in pay. What is necessary for Gould and the monopoly corporations generally, and what is necessary for the working class are two different things, and we can't afford to forget it.

THE UNION'S STRATEGY

In the face of these attacks the union leadership has failed to organize any genuine resistance. Rather than organize the rank and file for a real fight, Redmiles turned to the arbitrators to bail out the workers. In the absence of a forceful movement, to expect salvation from this quarter is a dangerous illusion.

Redmiles also has relied on his political connections with the Rizzo machine to stop the export of jobs. The city administration has sought to keep the company in town with various incentive packages. In turn, the Executive Board of the union passed a resolution supporting Rizzo's charter change and accused anti-Rizzo trade union members of "undermining the efforts of Local 1612 to save jobs". To date the only job these maneuverers have saved is Redmiles's position on the city zoning board.

The International UAW leadership has also been lax in its responsibilities to the membership. Gould is a notorious

Bulletin

If Budd Co. has its way, by the fall almost 1000 workers from the Red Lion plant will join the tens of thousands of Philadelphia workers left jobless by runaway shops in the past ten years. It's not a new problem, but it's one working people in Philadelphia have not yet solved. Some workers have seen two or three jobs leave them stranded. Can working people fight back, and keep jobs here? Has it been done before? How?

For the next few months, the Organizer will try to answer these questions. Our focus will be Red Lion, but the experience of Budd workers can be useful to all of us.

Rank and File Fights for Jobs at Budd Red Lion

by S. Bunting

What can Budd workers do to pressure the company to keep them on the payroll? How could Budd Co. preserve jobs for its workers, even if it moves the automotive contracts to Canada?

While the UAW International says nothing can be done, many rank and file members of Local 92, at the plant, disagree. The International bases its argument on the legal right of the company to move, even though it deplores the resulting unemployment. It also defends the company action on the basis that the Canadian plant is unionized.

The Company has made clear, however, that they are moving to save money on labor costs. The International Union, UAW, must face this classic excuse for a runaway. And it must accept responsibility for this situation in part, having accepted a second-class contract at Budd's Ontario plant.

Some rank and file workers, however, recognize that the company's attitude toward them is like that of a wrestler in a no-holds-barred match. These workers, among whom the Blue Ribbon Group (BRG) is the most organized section, are ready to fight tooth and nail to save their jobs.

In a special "Save Our Jobs" Bulletin, the BRG published a program.



They offered three major possible solutions: 1) bringing new work, not necessarily automotive, into the plant; 2) allowing voluntary early retirement at full benefits and with a Cost-of-Living Allowance; and 3) automatic hiring of Red Lion workers into new jobs at the Huntington Park plant.

The newsletter also pointed out that in the national agreement with Budd, which expires in January, a short work week of 35 hours would guarantee more jobs, and would be especially important if other measures do not succeed. But how the Company chooses to preserve jobs is not the most important point. As the newsletter says, "what we are concerned with is the result: that, even if the work moves, no Red Lion workers presently employed would suffer long-term or permanent unemployment. Once such a program is negotiated, the Company would be free to move the work to Canada."

Preventing the present work from leaving the plant is the number one tactical issue right now. What can Red Lion workers do to stop the move-out? Most obviously, they can strike. Picket lines could physically prevent the removal of machinery. But such a strike could not win except as part of a well-organized strategy to mobilize the broadest possible active support from other UAW members, the labor movement in general, and community organizations with a stake in the issue.

Political pressure must be put on the company, directly, and through the government, to maintain jobs in Philadelphia.

BROAD SOLIDARITY ESSENTIAL

Active support from other Budd Locals is important. To put the International Union in a position where it would be forced to support the demands of Red Lion workers, the issue must become broadly known. Other Budd Locals could petition the International, offer financial support or strike in solidarity. This would be the most important form of pressure from within the union, both against the defeatism of the International and on the pocketbook of the company.

Other unions could offer support in several ways, most importantly through political action. By publicly supporting the Budd workers' fight, they can build pressure to enact laws restricting runaways. Notice can go out to aspiring politicians that if they don't stand on the right side of the question they won't get union votes.

The leadership of other unions can have an impact on top UAW officials. They could mobilize their membership in support of direct action protests against runaway shops, such as rallies at City Hall and at plants threatening to leave (Budd is only one).

THE BLACK UNITED FRONT

Among non-union political organizations, the Black United Front (BUF) can at present provide the most valuable support for the fight against runaways. The largest and most influential political organization which is independent of the big business parties, the BUF represents a community which is overwhelmingly working class.

For this reason, the Human Rights Agenda adopted by the Black Political Convention includes many points which are in the interest of all Philadelphia workers, not just the Black community, including a strong stand against runaway shops.

The Blue Ribbon Group has already taken its case before the Black Political Convention session on the weekend of March 10-11, pointing out that the majority of the workers scheduled for layoffs are Black. While the BRG has consistently struggled against racism within the company and the union during its five year existence, the record of Local 92 as a whole is spotty.

Black workers have historically been prevented from upgrading into the railcar division at Red Lion, and Local 92 has not fought hard on the issue. If, as the company hints, railcar jobs can make up the slack, a concerted effort by the union will be necessary to insure that Black workers move into railcar, before there is hiring off the street.

The past record of Local 92 may make it hard to win support in the Black community, to the detriment of all of the workers whose jobs are threatened — a clear example of how racism hurts all workers. Now, more than ever, Local 92 must come to grips with this problem and take an aggressive anti-racist approach with the company.

Winning this struggle won't happen easily. It will require many levels of rank and file participation, labor solidarity, and direct political action which are rare at present in the worker's movement. Nevertheless, the principles on which it must be based are the principles on which the UAW and all genuine unions were first built: You must fight the company to win, and to keep, a decent job. And the only way you can win is if all working people support each other and unite against the employers.

Another Runaway?

anti-union company. When Gould bought ITE, ITE brought with it one of the best contracts in the Gould system with wages and benefits well above average for the electrical industry. Given this it could have been safely predicted that sooner or later Gould management would move against ITE workers.

What's needed is a Gould council within the UAW, bringing together all Gould workers to fight for their common interests. This would serve to protect individual locals from being picked off by management and strengthen the hand of the workers in winning strong contracts throughout the system. A council could use tactics like the threat of a national boycott of Gould products as a bargaining chip. But the international leadership has taken no steps in this direction. Undoubtedly they have encouraged the local leadership to rely on the arbitrators and the "good will" of the Rizzo machine.

The logic of the union leadership's approach threatens the wages and working conditions of ITE workers. Local 1612 leaders are now saying that to save jobs in 1980 the union must give something up and raise productivity. One sure target for a company take-away will be the cost of living add which is presently over \$2.50 an hour. Higher productivity inevitably means speed-up with worsening health and safety conditions.

The lack of any organized fight back within the union has left the mass of workers demoralized about their future. Redmiles and Co. have employed gangster-like tactics to snuff out any opposition. In a situation where members of a now defunct caucus were roughed up for handing out leaflets, where dissent is met with threats like "we'll bury you in cement", where an honest steward can be fired and then thrown out of the union so that he could not run for union office, and where numbers running has replaced trade unionism as a qualification for union leadership, it's easy to see why many workers will not even go to union meetings.

IS IT NECESSARY?

In 1979 Gould started a profit improvement program under the slogan "Is It Necessary?" Besides shoring up its competitive position, management ironically claimed the "most important" goal of the program was "to provide job security and financial rewards for our employees."

Workers at ITE might well ask, "Is it necessary to export our jobs to the low wage, anti-union South? Is it necessary to give up hard won gains in order to get minimal job security? Is it necessary to bribe Gould management with the taxpayers' money to get them to stay in Philadelphia?"

"Is It Necessary?" 1979 Profit Improvement Program



The slogan "Is It Necessary?" and the above sign are being used throughout the Gould system for their Profit Improvement Program which began in January. This program means higher profits for the company and speed-ups and general hard times for the workers. Workers at Gould-ITE are asking — "Is it necessary to move South?"



2000 SEPTA workers turned out for their union meeting about contract negotiations on March 11th. The new contract, accepted without a strike, contains a no-layoff clause and bans part-time workers — but the 6.3% wage increase fails to keep up with the rate of inflation.

organizer photo

SEPTA Workers Ratify New Contract

On March 23, SEPTA workers ratified a new contract by a five to one margin. The city of Philadelphia and SEPTA workers were spared the agony of another long and crippling transit strike. The Transport Workers Union (TWU) leadership has dubbed this contract a no-strike victory. But is this contract really a victory for SEPTA workers and transit users?

A glaring weakness of this agreement is that it did not even mention working conditions, which directly affect the community as well as SEPTA workers. So although there was no strike, Philadelphia's transit system will probably get worse. The same old ragged vehicles are rolling unchanged, overcrowded, broken down, probably not air-conditioned in the summer, and no heat in the winter.

In terms of money, transit workers obtained wage increases of 6.3% per year,

well within Carter's 7% limit. With inflation hovering around 10% this amounts to a substantial pay cut over two years. In addition, it is the worst wage package negotiated among public employees in Philadelphia this year. (Police and firefighters got 9% while teachers and city workers won around 7.5%.) Base pension remained virtually unchanged in spite of raging inflation. Retirees with over 30 years of service received monthly increases of \$2 every year of service beyond 30 years. In the shops no improvements were won in the grievance procedure or in changing the absence policy to remove pattern sick turn-ins as grounds for discipline.

Probably the most threatening part of the new agreement concerns those hired after March 15th of this year. New employees will only earn 75% of the top

rate for the first year, 85% for the second year, and 95% for the last six months. In addition they will be required to pay 30% of their Blue Cross and Blue Shield the first year, 20% the second year with no prescription card or dental plan for 30 months. This means SEPTA will save \$10,000 every time it fires a present employee and hires from the street.

THE "PHANTOMS"

The TWU leadership defended their position on the new employees in this statement in a union leaflet:

"The negotiating team bargained for all we could get for our members. It is not feasible to negotiate for people who do not now exist or, who may never exist...THE PHANTOM EMPLOYEES.

"The same people who say that the contract is not enough money are the ones who holler because we didn't take 5

cents out of your 45 cents to pay for these PHANTOMS."

In addition the local leadership claimed the contract kept up with inflation with the fringe benefits included. The main selling point of course was that the no layoff clause was intact and part time employees are still banned.

It is clear from the outcome that SEPTA workers were on the defensive. President Cooper prepared for a strike, drawing 2,000 workers to a mass meeting on March 11th where he assured TWU members that he didn't have a contract already in his back pocket as rumored. But the rank and file was prepared to strike only around layoffs and part time workers. Once that threat was removed, Local 234 was not organized to fight for any further gains.

Thousands Protest CETA Cutbacks

by Sarah Steinman

On Thursday morning, March 22nd, 3000 angry workers filled Market Street marching from City Hall to the Department of Labor at 36th Street. Chanting "Save Our Jobs", "Work, not Welfare" and "We're All Fired Up, Ain't Gonna Take It No More", the Black, white and Hispanic marchers demanded a stop to the government threat to lay off 2100 city employees enrolled in the federally funded CETA (Comprehensive Employment and Training Act) program.

The action was organized by the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) and supported by other unions and community organizations. As one CETA marcher said: "We're the people that the politicians complain about. They say we won't work and just want to collect welfare. We look for work and can't find it. Then we take a CETA job and these same politicians turn around and say 'Sorry, we can't afford to keep this job going! We're back on the street and back on welfare. It just don't make sense.'"

MAKING SENSE OUT OF CETA

Unfortunately, it does make sense to the Peanut man in Washington and the big business interests he serves.

CETA was originally proposed as a way of combatting unemployment by providing jobs or training for economically disadvantaged or unemployed persons. The way it works is that the federal government pays for CETA training or for the salaries of CETA participants working in public service jobs (on a federal, state, county or city level) or in private industry.

Now, while unemployment is on the rise, Congress and Carter have decided to cut back CETA and other social service programs and increase military spending as part of their anti-inflation campaign. Because Blacks, Hispanics, other minorities, women, and youth constitute the major portion of the unemployed, they are going to be hit the hardest by the cutbacks.

In Philadelphia, the new CETA regulations will cause the lay off of several thousand CETA workers by the fall of 1979. Many, if not most, of these workers will be ineligible for additional CETA-related services to help them find other employment, because the new regs also limit the amount of time an individual may be paid by CETA. CETA workers employed in public service jobs will be ineligible for other CETA jobs if they have worked since April 1978. The same applies to CETA workers in the private sector who have worked since October 1978.

Given the lack of jobs in Philadelphia, these new regulations practically doom current CETA employees to unemployment. Yes, people who want to work, who have proven their commitment to work, and have supposedly been trained for ongoing employment will now be out of a job. And neither the government nor private employers, both of whom have benefited from free CETA labor, are coming through with jobs for those trained workers.

This pattern will continue for new CETA workers and trainees as well. The new regulations state that an individual may not receive more than 2½ years total of any type of CETA training or employment in a five year period. More specific restrictions also include the following: CETA workers in the public sector are permitted to work only 1½ years within a period of five years; CETA workers in private industry are permitted to work a maximum of six months in one year, and/or one year within a five year period. Individuals may not receive more than two years of classroom training through CETA within a five year period.

Maybe these time restrictions do not appear overly harsh. The problem, however, rests largely in the lack of jobs. CETA workers or trainees are generally unskilled and/or have not worked for many years; some have not worked at all.

Though an individual is more likely to be hired as a result of CETA training or work experience, the job market is flooded with more experienced people who are looking for work. Employers, in most cases, will hire the more experi-

enced person. The result is that many CETA participants, who have been taken off the welfare rolls while enrolled in a CETA program, will now be dumped back into DPA's hands when their time has expired.

NEW APPLICANTS

The new CETA regs affect more than just current or future CETA participants. Many people who formerly would have been eligible for CETA programs will now be excluded. Starting April 1, there are stricter rules in Philadelphia regarding the length of unemployment and financial status.

Coinciding with higher unemployment rates, it is now increasingly difficult to be eligible for CETA, and applicants must wade through more bureaucracy in proving their eligibility. For example, they must present documented proof verifying their age, residency, income and veteran status before even finding out detailed information about the program they are choosing.

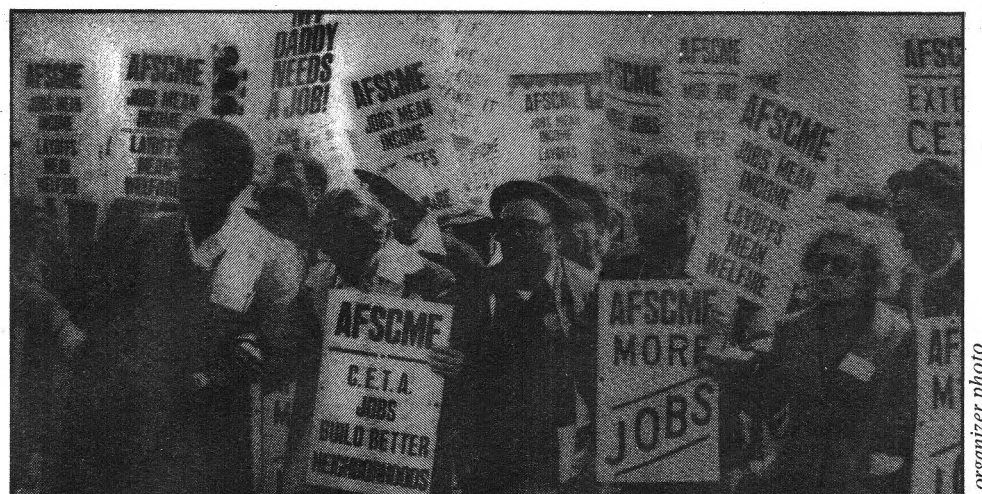
An extra step has been added to the admission process as well. Applicants' eli-

gibility and readiness to work will first be screened in a central location, and then a referral will be made to the specific CETA program site where further screening will take place. All these steps and requirements seem planned to discourage people from applying or following through with their applications!

These bureaucratic changes are being made as part of a campaign in Philadelphia and across the country against fraud and abuse in CETA. Officials are making a big show of clamping down on participants and programs as a way of preventing a continuation of the much publicized CETA rip-offs. In fact, this is a smoke-screen which provides the federal government with an excuse to cut back CETA.

The government's solution to CETA abuse is to cut back CETA programs and create punitive and demeaning application procedures that rob people of their dignity.

The solution for working people, and far more than just those affected by the current layoffs, is an improved and extended CETA, to meet the needs of the unemployed.



3000 angry demonstrators march from City Hall to the Department of Labor to protest proposed cutbacks in the CETA program. The action was organized by AFSCME and supported by other unions and community organizations. The proposed CETA regulations will cause the layoff of several thousand workers in Philadelphia, hitting hardest at Blacks, Hispanics, women and youth.

organizer photo

United Slate Scores Victory in PFT Election

The Philadelphia Federation of Teachers now has a new President, John Murray, who ran on the United Slate (US), the opposition to the incumbent slate (CB). However, the incumbents, including chief negotiator John Ryan, retained the rest of the Executive Board positions. The US also captured 70 out of 220 state and national American Federation of Teachers (AFT) convention delegate positions.

The elections were very close. 11,000 members cast their votes. Murray won by 60 votes, and the rest of the Executive Board won by from 50-200 votes. So what does this mean? Well, first of all, this was one of the largest voter turnouts in many years, which points to renewed rank and file interest in the union. And given that the Sullivan-Ryan machine has dominated the union since its beginning in 1965, it's a clear sign that the rank and file wants a change.

During the campaign, the US put out a 23 point program. They concretely addressed the problems of the grievance procedure and have committed themselves to accelerate this procedure to deal with health and safety issues. The US also has a position on building a good relationship with the community and increasing democracy within the PFT. Its delegates are free to vote as they see fit at national conventions as opposed to having to vote in a block.

The greatest weakness of the US has been its position on transfers for the purpose of desegregating faculties. Although they have come out in favor of desegregation, they opposed the forced transfers that took place in September '78 and February '79, stating that further delaying desegregation would have been preferable to these transfers. Although this spoke to the rank and file's dissatisfaction with the Board's chaotic methods,



John Murray, new President of the Philadelphia Federation of Teachers, unseated incumbent, Frank Sullivan.

it fed racist attitudes towards faculty desegregation and provided fuel for charges of racism by the CB slate.

The CB's campaign, which didn't start until mid February, mainly took the form of attacking personalities through literature and whisper campaigns, and making ridiculous accusations. CB also used red-baiting as one of its major campaign strategies. At a US membership meeting, Ray Pollard, Vice President on the US, encouraged all employees to respond to this by making it clear that people's political affiliations are not the issue. CB also portrayed John Ryan as the hero of the PFT, who single handedly wins victories for the membership. This is

quite an insult to a militant rank and file which showed great strength and unity last September when threatened with layoffs and takeaways.

John Murray is in a very difficult position now as the only member of the US on the Executive Board. It's clear that the only way he'll be able to implement the US's program is by gaining the support of an organized rank and file for that program. The rank and file organization that developed during the campaign has to continue to grow, both to give Murray and the US program support, and to hold Murray accountable to the rank and file and the program.

Puerto Rican Teamsters

A number of important new developments in the Puerto Rican labor movement have occurred in the past month. Teamster leader Miguel Cabrera was found innocent of the frame-up charges that he murdered corporate lawyer Alan Randall in Sept., 1977. Shortly after his acquittal, he and seven other Teamster officials were fired by the union for exposing the theft of union funds by the Secretary-Treasurer of the Teamsters, Luis Pagan. Cabrera and the other ousted officials are fighting back, trying to take their union back from Pagan. Meanwhile, on another front, the workers at Crown Cork in Puerto Rico won an important victory after a strike lasting more than two years. (See article on page 3.)

TEAMSTER MILITANCY

The Teamsters Union in Puerto Rico has 7,000 members and is growing fast. It controls not only much of the trucking industry but also has organized on the docks. Its success and its militancy have made it the target of persecution by the colonial government of Puerto Rico and by private industry on the island. The Teamsters have been an exception in

Puerto Rico, where most of the US based international unions have a reputation of doing little to protect Puerto Rican workers. Many of the most aggressive unions organizing in Puerto Rico today have been founded in the last 10-20 years as independent unions - breaking away from the US based internationals.

Some of the best organizers and most popular officials of the Teamsters in Puerto Rico are also open supporters of socialism and of the independence of Puerto Rico from the US. This has made the colonial government all the more eager to repress the Teamsters. One such official is Miguel Cabrera. He has had to spend the last 17 months fighting a frame-up concocted by the government. (See the *Organizer* Oct./Nov., 1978.) After a three-week trial which ended in early March and which was front page news throughout Puerto Rico, Cabrera was finally acquitted.

He had been charged with murdering corporate lawyer Alan Randall in Sept., 1977. Randall, with ties to US intelligence agencies and with a long back-

ground of activities on behalf of US business in Puerto Rico, was killed by a "workers commando" according to a document found at the scene of the murder. Seeing an opportunity to persecute the Teamsters, the colonial government blamed the murder on Cabrera. Charges were also brought against two petty criminals, largely to show Cabrera's supposed "connection" with organized crime.

The state's case was weak. They linked Cabrera to the murder through fingerprints found on the document at the site of the murder. These fingerprints, which the defense claims were transferred to the document by the FBI, have been called "the moving fingerprints" because the state changed its story so many times about where and when they were found. The other "evidence" was the testimony of a man named Tanco, who has been convicted of multiple murders and is notorious throughout Puerto Rico. Tanco made a deal with the prosecution to have his sentences reduced in return for claiming that he had heard in prison that Cabrera had murdered Randall.

SOLIDARITY DECISIVE

The evidence was so flimsy that the Puerto Rican press sided with Cabrera throughout the trial. But more important to Cabrera's victory was the support of virtually the entire Puerto Rican labor movement, which rallied behind Cabrera in an impressive show of solidarity. Labor support for Cabrera was a continuation of the labor support for the Teamsters in general, which originally developed after another Teamster organizer Juan Cabellero was kidnapped and murdered by the police in late 1977. New evidence on police involvement in the Cabellero murder has recently been disclosed by the Puerto Rican left.

Another source of support for Cabrera was a US delegation which went down to observe the trial and appeared on Puerto Rican TV and in the newspapers. The delegation was made up of Frank Vergara from the Puerto Rican Solidarity Committee, Kay Camp from the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, and Jim Carrol from the National Conference of Black Lawyers. Such US support is critical to protect Puerto Rican unionists and leftists from government harassment.

Cabrera emerged victorious from the trial only to find himself without a job.

He and other top officials had uncovered evidence that the Secretary-Treasurer of the Teamsters, Luis Pagan, had been stealing about \$250,000 a year from Teamster funds.

Pagan also owns the PEL trucking company, which is non-union and which is frequently used by the bosses in Puerto Rico to avoid contracting with unionized trucking companies. Pagan would even create false labor conflicts in a unionized trucking company in order to get new orders for PEL, leaving many Teamster members without work. Pagan also accepted a bribe from the Coca-Cola Co. in Puerto Rico in return for allowing Coke to be distributed by non-unionized truckers.

Unfortunately, corruption in the Teamsters Union, so common in the US, has also affected the Teamsters in Puerto Rico. Cabrera has now been forced, as have Teamsters in this country in organizations like Teamsters for a Democratic Union, to spend his energy fighting internal union corruption. The division in the Teamsters in Puerto Rico will undoubtedly hinder their drive to organize more shops and defend their members against attacks by the bosses.

RANK&FILE RALLIES

Cabrera has joined with the seven other dismissed union officials, and with two other Teamster lawyers who were also fired, to fight their expulsions. They have called a meeting of shop stewards from all over the island and will attempt to overthrow Pagan. Reports at press-time indicate that over 200 shop stewards attended the meeting, representing more than half of the shop stewards in the Teamsters in Puerto Rico.

The dismissed Teamster officials deserve our support. Their current battle is just one more hurdle in their attempt to build the Teamsters in Puerto Rico. Over the past two years, in addition to the Cabrera frame-up and Cabellero's murder, Teamster offices have been fire-bombed and the NLRB has imposed fines on the Teamsters, and on Teamster officials Cabrera and Carrion, which total more than \$160,000. These fines were imposed to prevent further growth of the Teamsters. Cabrera himself was forced to cancel a speaking tour of the US last fall when he had to suddenly return to Puerto Rico to face new court charges which could lead to a fine of \$5,000 and up to five years in jail.



Miguel Cabrera, Puerto Rican Teamster organizers, address workers at a rally protesting government repression. He was recently acquitted on a trumped-up murder charge. The Teamsters have played a successful and militant role in the Puerto Rican labor movement, unlike most US based international unions which have done little to protect Puerto Rican workers. Cabrera is now fighting corruption in the Teamsters Union, much like rank and filers in this country.

Organizing the South... Shipyard Strike at Newport News

by Duane Calhoun

It's been over two months since United Steelworkers Local 8888 set up picket lines outside Newport News Shipbuilding and Drydock Co., in Newport News, Virginia. This strike of 15,500 shipbuilders is probably the most crucial strike going on in the US today. According to an article in the *International Metalworkers Federation News*, "the strike has won worldwide attention as indicative of whether organized labor will be able to make significant gains in the South, traditionally hostile to labor unions." The main issue is union recognition — the company has refused to meet or bargain with the union, and has fired 124 active union members since the strike began on January 31.

FROM COMPANY UNION TO UNITED STEELWORKERS

The background to the strike stretches back many years, to the organization in 1940 of the Peninsula Shipbuilders Association as the "union" representing the Newport News workers. The PSA was organized by the company itself, to head off an organizing drive being conducted by the CIO's Union of Maritime and Shipbuilding Workers. A true company union, PSA never called a strike, never took a case to arbitration, and never called in an OSHA safety inspector. Over the past 38 years, many unions have tried to unseat the PSA; an effort by the International Association of Machinists in 1972 was defeated by a 2-1 vote of the workers.

In 1969, the yard was bought by Tenneco, a large multi-national corporation. From then on the PSA went from bad to worse, giving up the few meager benefits which they had. When the PSA forced a particularly bad contract down the workers' throats in 1975, the dam began to crack. Several PSA delegates (similar to stewards in other unions) began holding secret meetings with an organizer from the United Steelworkers of America, and with key workers in each department.

This small group of worker/organizers hammered on three points when

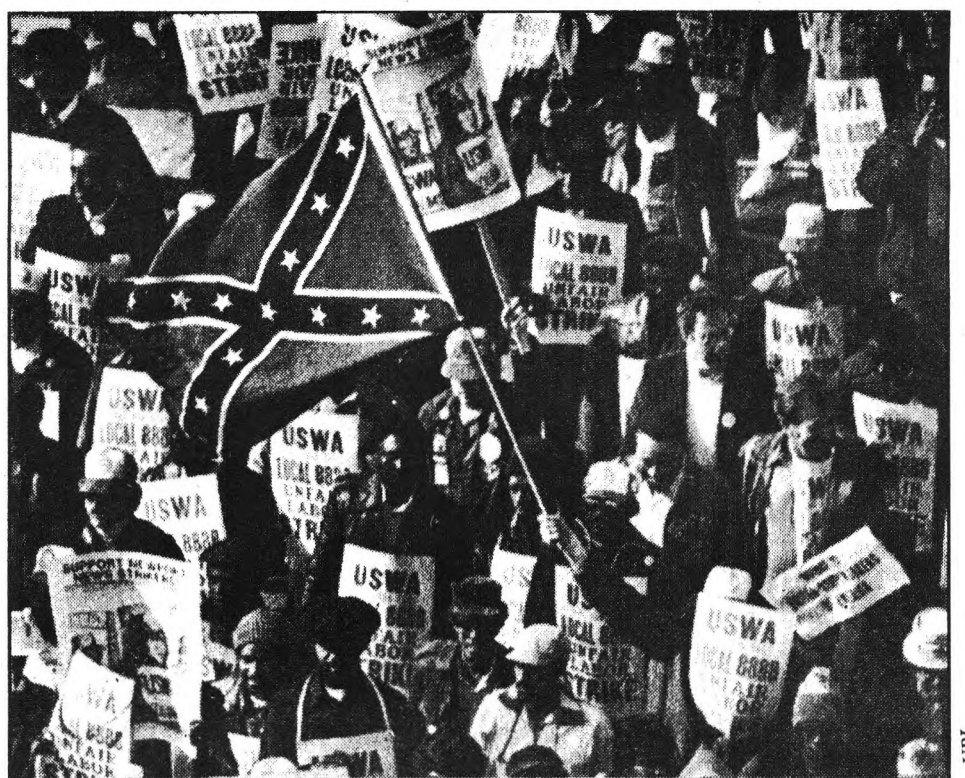
talking to their fellow workers: 1) PSA was a company union which did more to defend Tenneco than to fight for the shipyard workers; 2) PSA was undemocratically run by the unelected Business Manager, Bob Bryant. 3) PSA was a racist organization that never protested company discrimination against Black members, forcing individual workers to file federal lawsuits to curb job discrimination at the yard. The yard is about 60% Black, but most of these workers are in the least skilled and most dangerous jobs.

After a few months, the organizing drive came out in the open, and in January, 1978, the USW called for a new certification election. According to *Business Week*, Tenneco openly campaigned for the PSA. The Steelworkers won by 1500 votes. But the company refused to recognize or bargain with the union, and began the delaying tactic of appealing the election through the courts. After the company rejected several appeals from the union and from a group of local clergymen to negotiate, the shipbuilders struck on January 31, 1979.

STRIKE BEGINS

Tenneco responded by firing 124 workers active in the union, and more recently began telling the press that more would be fired unless the strike were called off. They placed radio and TV ads saying, "the Shipyard and the police are ready to guarantee your right to work despite the irresponsible strike," have been phoning workers at home, asking them to come to work. The company has spread lies in the press about how many workers are scabbing, claiming that 6 out of 10 are crossing the picket lines, in an attempt to demoralize the strikers and start a "back to work" stampede.

Citing the slow state of the shipbuilding industry, they have claimed that the strike isn't hurting them. Even the US Navy has lent a helpful hand, claiming that the strike is having "no effect" on the construction of ten new Navy vessels. (The union says work on these ships has come to an almost total stop) Despite all this, less than 2 out of 10 workers are crossing the lines and going to work, according to *Business Week*.



5000 strikers and supporters march for the right to unionize. The workers voted out the old company union and in January, 1978 voted in the United Steelworkers of America (USW). The company refused to recognize or bargain with the Steelworkers, so the workers went out on strike January 31, 1979.

The ranks of the strikers seem fairly solid at this point, but the danger of a "back to work" movement killing the strike is very real. The number of scabs has not increased, or decreased since the strike began. Three demonstrations have been held so far, and each one drew between 1500 and 2000 strikers, plus thousands of supporters. That's about one out of six of the 12,000 strikers.

Many strikers are still sitting on the sidelines, waiting to see which way the wind will blow. One striker told the *Guardian* newspaper, "If it stays solid, I'm willing to make the sacrifice. But if a lot start going back, there's no sense in staying out."

For newly-unionized workers on strike for the first time, facing a giant corporation in a non-union state, support from other workers is vital to keeping up morale and winning the strike. Donations of food and money, telegrams of support, and delegations of "guest" pickets have come in from all over. A mass rally in support of Local 8888 on March second drew 5000 people, about half from the yard and half from other unions.

The biggest supporting delegation came from USW District 31 in Chicago, led by rank and file rebel Ed Sadlowski. Most of the local "community leaders" have either stayed neutral or opposed the strike, claiming that violence may start at any time, and that Tenneco is to be thanked for "giving the workers jobs." The only visible support in Newport News, a conservative area dominated by the US military, has come from other workers, and from a small group of Black ministers.

Most of the Black clergy, very influential in the area and among Black shipbuilders, have remained neutral. This is partly due to pressure from Tenneco. But they are also justifiably unfriendly towards the USW because of its long record of maintaining racist dual seniority systems for Black and white steelworkers. If the USW had a better record in the fight against steel industry racism, many more of these Black churchmen could have been won to support the strike. That support is badly needed now by all shipbuilders, white and Black.

Family ties have been another source of support for the strikers. Shipbuilder Cindy Price, mother of three, told the *Guardian*, "I can last three to four months with not too much of a problem. I saved a little money, my husband has a steady job, and our folks are ready to help out. Striking is a family affair, you know."

USW LEADERSHIP

The strike leadership, unfortunately, is shaky. Most of the day-to-day tactical decisions, as well as conduct of the negotiations (when they begin) are in the hands of the Steelworkers District Office — District Director Bruce Thrasher and Sub-Director Jack Hower.

Two days after the strike began, the USW leadership offered to send the shipbuilders back to work if Tenneco would agree to three demands: First, submit the cases of the 124 fired workers to an arbitrator for his decision. Second, recognize the results of the first court test of the union election and stop any further appeals (at that time the union had no way of knowing whether the court would rule for or against the union.) Third, do not penalize any strikers once they go back to work.

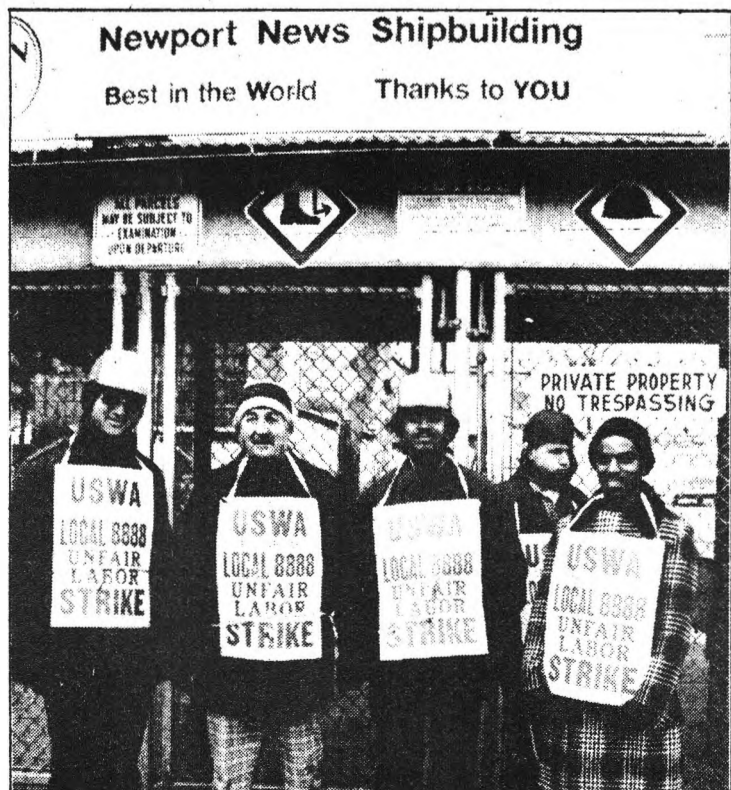
No mention was made of a pledge to recognize and bargain with the union. Almost the same package had been offered by a mediator, and rejected by vote of the union membership only a week before. Tenneco, sensing weakness and going for the throat, refused the offer.

Under the Steelworkers constitution, and local bylaws, a settlement does not have to be approved by membership vote. A vote of the 41 member local negotiating committee will be enough to legally ratify a contract. Even so, local officials promise that they will submit any contract offer to a vote, and will abide by the decision of the membership. Since that's a promise which is not backed by the force of the union constitution, it has to be taken with a grain of salt.

The Steelworkers International officers were the first in American labor to sign a no-strike pledge that was binding even after the contract itself expired — the so-called Experimental Negotiating Agreement (ENA) in the basic steel industry. With that kind of background, they can't be trusted to hold out for the best possible contract, or to be really serious about activating all the rank and file members to support the strike and not just sit at home. How much pressure the membership will put on their new leadership remains to be seen.

American labor can't possibly make any real progress today unless it gets larger and stronger. Inflation, bad contracts, and Carter's wage guidelines are cutting real wages for most workers. The Democratic congress has killed labor law reform and job-creation bills, wounded Social Security, and done nothing about affirmative action or National Health Insurance. Labor will never get strong enough to reverse these defeats unless it organizes more of the 3/4 of American workers who do not now belong to unions, and many of these are in the South.

The strike at Newport News, like the struggle to organize JP Stevens textiles, is one of the key battles in that war. These workers need our support badly. Send letters of support, food, money, and any other show of solidarity you can think of to: *USW Local 8888 Strike Headquarters, 33rd St. and Washington Ave., Newport News, VA 23601.*



On the picket line — Newport News Shipbuilding and Drydock Co., Newport News, Virginia where 15,500 workers have been out on strike for more than two months. This strike is the most crucial strike in the US today. At stake is workers' basic right to organize into unions — this amid the anti-union climate of the largely unorganized South.

Guardian photo by Ben Bedell

The 1985 Proposal : Opposition Mounts

by Anne Donahue

In past months, the *Organizer* has reported on the effects of the 1985 proposal. Nurses here in Philadelphia and across the country are becoming more involved in the fight to defeat the proposal. The *Organizer* would like to update its readers on these activities by rank and file nurses.

The 1985 proposal is a concept put forth by the ANA (American Nurses Association) which would require a two year college degree for practical nurses and a four year degree for registered nurses. It is an idea which originated with nursing administrators and educators who believe the way to improve conditions for nurses is to demand increased education. This position was adopted in 1965 by the ANA who has put pressure on its state affiliates to get the resolution passed by their respective state legislatures. The targeted date for this legislation to take effect was to be January 1, 1985.

Where does the proposal stand in 1979, fourteen years after the passage of the resolution? IT HAS NOT YET BEEN PASSED BY ANY STATE! The only state in which the proposal has even gotten out of the state association and into the legislature is New York. The proposal was introduced twice into the state legislature and twice the legislature failed to vote on it. Currently, another sponsor must be found to introduce the resolution, and this is becoming more difficult since public pressure against the proposal is mounting. In other states such as Pennsylvania, the proposal is still in draft form and has not yet been introduced into the state legislature. And in many state affiliates there is a debate as to whether to push for this legislation at all.

RN magazine, a leading nursing journal, recently conducted a survey of nurses across the country and discovered that a resounding 73% responded "No!" when asked if they were in favor of the proposal. The survey was limited however, in that it failed to include practical nurses.

THE FIGHTBACK

Why hasn't the 1985 proposal been passed yet? The answer lies in the increased militancy of nurses. Grassroots opposition has been on the rise across the country. In New York for instance, the Empire State Nursing Association, which is not an affiliate of the ANA, has actively opposed passage of the resolution. And groups are springing up in state after state to oppose 1985 — in Illinois, Colorado, Ohio, Connecticut, Pennsylvania and New York, nurses are organizing to defeat the 1985 proposal. On a national level nurses are starting to meet together to develop strategy to defeat the ANA's proposal. In October several nursing groups met in Chicago for a "Day of Sharing", and in March they met in Albany for a two day conference. This particular grouping has so far stuck to a purely legislative campaign of letter writing to congressmen. They have failed,

for the most part, to take up the special demands of practical nurses or the racist aspects of the 1985 proposal.

Another group which met in New York in December is composed of nurse-activists who are addressing themselves to more progressive questions like trade unionism among nurses, in addition to the 1985 proposal. While the initial meeting was basically one of exchanging information on work done in various localities, it is hoped that a more definite plan of work will eventually come out of this group.

Here in Philadelphia, Nurses Unite! and the Nurses Coalition to Defeat the 1985 Proposal have done an extensive campaign to educate nurses in the area to the effects of the 1985 proposal. Leaflets, newsletters, educational materials have all been used to inform nurses. Pressure has been put on the PNA (Pennsylvania Nurses Association — the state affiliate) demanding open hearings. When the PNA finally did hold a hearing in September, it was these two groups who *actively* mobilized 200 people to attend and participate in making their views known. It was the Coalition, composed of LPN's, RN's, black and white, older and young, men and women, who invited the PNA to discuss the proposal at a meeting in October which 100 people attended. It became clear at the meeting that the PNA was in an indefensible position and the speakers were forced to admit the discrepancies in the proposal. Yet, they could not or would not offer any means of changing it! In effect, the bankruptcy of their position was painfully evident to the nurses present.

WHERE TO GO FROM HERE: A PROGRAM

While most nurses would agree that more education is desirable, we oppose the present scheme which would have detrimental effects for many of us. The 1985 proposal is not in effect yet, but the objectionable parts of it are already with us. The demands in the box on page 15 are suggestions for some ways that we could obtain more education and limit the ill-effects of the 1985 proposal.

Nurses in Philadelphia have been receiving letters from other nurses all over the state and the country who are angry about the 1985 proposal. But anger isn't enough! Only when that anger is organized, focused, and directed, can it be useful. What can be done?

1. Share this article with a co-worker
2. Let the state affiliates know **LOUD AND CLEAR** where you expect them to stand on this issue. Circulate petitions, start a letter campaign, get press coverage, involve consumer groups
3. On April 28th, 1199C is holding a conference in Philadelphia about the 1985 proposal. **PARTICIPATE!** Contact union headquarters at 1317 Race Street for more information

4. Strengthen your union contract in areas relating to affirmative action, job security, and educational benefits. If you are unorganized, **GET ORGANIZED!** Only the strength, unity, and labor solidarity that organization provides can arm you to confront your employer and gain your just demands.

5. Join Nurses Unite! and the Coalition in Philadelphia and help other nurses defeat the 1985 proposal.

For further information contact Nurses Unite! P.O. Box 12283 Phila., Pa., 19144.

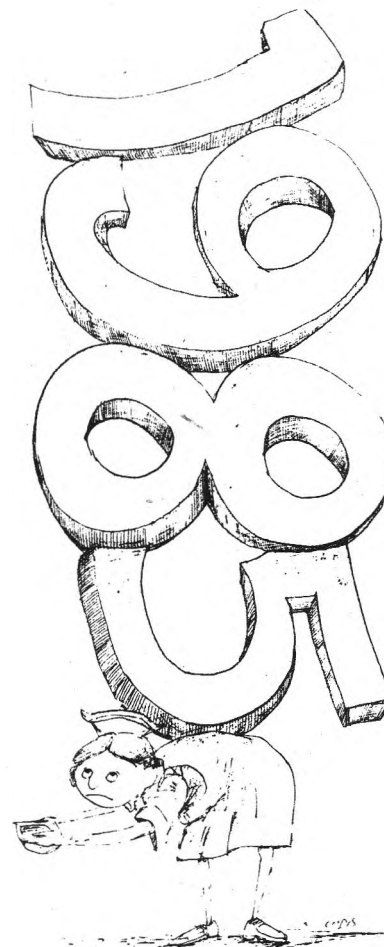
OBJECTIONS TO THE 1985 PROPOSAL

Nurses are against the 1985 proposal for many reasons. One objection raised most frequently is that college educations are expensive and most working nurses who do not have college degrees cannot afford the high costs of tuition in order to go back to school. This is particularly true for women who support families. In addition, funds for nursing education have been drastically reduced by Carter as part of his anti-inflation program.

Another objection is that people who do not live close to large cities often must travel hundreds of miles to obtain a nursing education in a college setting. Added to this, the lack of child-care facilities, and the daytime scheduling of nursing courses make attendance an impossibility for many. One of the most serious effects however, is that thousands of practical nurses who do not have college degrees will have increasingly difficulty keeping their current jobs. While there is a so-called "grandfather" clause which states that persons licensed prior to 1985 will not be affected, it is already evident that many places are not hiring nurses who do not have college degrees. So, while *technically* these nurses still have licenses, *realistically* they are losing their jobs. Financial and physical accessibility severely limit most persons seeking a nursing education. Then where does a national minority member who wants to get into nursing stand? Not only must a Black or Hispanic person face the limitations listed above, but he or she faces an even larger obstacle, that of institutionalized racism.

Taking a look at the number of Blacks and Hispanics in nursing is revealing. 7.5% of RN's are Black, while 47% of LPN's, Nursing Assistants and orderlies are Black. Only 2% of RN's and 7.2% of LPN's, Nursing Assistants and orderlies are Hispanic. Added to this, the fact that as late as 1973 a full 21% of RN programs had no Black students at all, and we can see how racial discrimination has taken its toll on the numbers of minorities in nursing today.

Even with this limited analysis we can see why almost a full 75% of nurses in the country oppose the 1985 proposal. The obvious question arising out of this is "If so many nurses oppose it, why is it being pushed by the ANA, and who will benefit?" The first part of that question



is fairly simple. For years, nurses have been treated in a subservient and condescending manner by male physicians and administrators. Many nursing leaders believe that if nurses have more education that they will be treated as "equals". These nursing leaders are honest in this belief...but their analysis falls short.

The inferior status of nurses within the health industry is not fundamentally a question of lack of professional training. Nurses are traditionally women and women are generally treated as inferior and unequal in capitalist society. Male supremacy has enabled the hospital administrators to treat nursing as "women's work" and thus pay nurses less and accord them a lower status than their training and qualifications merit. The demand for more "professionalism" glosses over this central fact.

Furthermore this focus tends to separate nurses from their natural allies, the mass of non-professional, semi-skilled or unskilled workers. Nurses face in common with other hospital workers low pay, poor working conditions and inadequate benefits. For RNs in particular, their "professional" status is used by the employers to compensate for these conditions and divert them from common action with other hospital workers to improve their lot.

The whole working class is facing an intensified drive on the part of the capitalist class to expand their profits at the expense of the workers. This attack is particularly sharp in relation to national minority and women workers. In the health industry cutbacks are producing speed ups and layoffs. Nurses are among the victims of this attack and 1985 plays right into it.

Look what happened at Temple Hospital where masses of LPNs were laid off. Practical nurses obviously did not benefit since they lost their jobs. RNs found themselves burdened with extra work generated by the layoffs. With fewer people doing the same amount of work this move toward a "more professional" labor force did not upgrade health care.

Finally by limiting the access to nursing education and phasing out nurses with less professional education, a threat to unionization of health workers is posed. A more "professional" nursing staff will be less likely to organize. LPNs, many of whom are minority workers, have been far more union conscious. Thus the base for unionism will have been undercut and the overall work force more divided and weaker. A union card — reflecting organized strength and unity — not a diploma, can force employers to listen!

(Turn to page 15.)

WHITCAPS



Iranian Women Demand Equal Rights

by Jenny Quinn

International Women's Day took on a special meaning in Iran, as tens of thousands of women took to the streets chanting "In the dawn of freedom, freedom is absent!"

Despite swirling snow and warnings from Ayatollah Khomeini to wait for an "Islamic Women's Day", women demonstrators and their male supporters openly challenged the Ayatollah's attacks on women's rights. Five days of marches backed by the newly formed Democratic National Front and the Marxist organizations Fedayeen and Mojadeen carried an unmistakable message: the Ayatollah cannot turn back the clock on progress for women in the name of Islamic law.

On March 7th, the day before International Women's Day, Khomeini made a statement that convinced many Iranian women that what he means by "Islamic State" is not what they envisioned when they fought to overthrow the Shah. Khomeini declared: "Sin must not be committed in Islamic ministries. Women should not be naked at work in these ministries. There is nothing wrong with women's employment. But they must be clothed according to religious standards."

By religious standards, he was referring to the floor-length veil, the female requirement of "chador", or traditional Moslem dress. There are dress requirements for men according to chador, but Khomeini has not called for men to observe strict standards, and most men don't. The veil, having long been a symbol of the subordination of women, was only one part of Khomeini's attempt to turn back the clock on women's rights. He also suspended the Family Law which allows limited divorce rights to women and prevents men from taking a second wife without the consent of the first. He barred women from military service and spoke out strongly against the sinful nature of co-education.

If all of these blows against democracy for women were to become a permanent part of the new society, the effects would be profound. Returning the institution of marriage to virtual ownership by the man is clearly reactionary, but the military service and education restrictions could also play an important part in stopping a widespread democratic revolution dead in its tracks.

Cutting off co-education would essentially cut off higher education for women, and severely limit education at all levels. Removing women from military service would eliminate women from the domestic service aspect of the military, where medical personnel and teachers often do their military service in a backward area of the country teaching basic reading skills, promoting better health care and performing other valuable services. So the immediate effects of pushing office workers in Teheran back into the veil would soon reverberate back to the most remote village, if women were willing to accept Khomeini's pronouncements.

But neither the women who faced heavy snow, armed opposition and severe warnings, nor the broader progressive movement which supported them were willing to be intimidated.

The first day's demonstrations were heavily attacked — women were stabbed, shot, and beaten. The following demonstrations were well protected by male supporters. Khomeini was forced to back off somewhat from his original statement, clarifying that he was explaining the "duty" of Iranian women, not giving an "order".

But Khomeini's retreat was not enough to de-escalate the movement. The third day of protest included a three-hour sit-in at the Ministry of Justice, at which a list of demands was presented. The demands included no chador requirements, equality with men under law, no economic, social or political discrimination against women, and protection of women's legal rights.

WOMEN'S ALLIES IN THE DEMOCRATIC STRUGGLE

The demands for women's rights presented at the Ministry of Justice on March 10th were a somewhat more elaborate version of an equal rights stand taken publicly March 5th by the newly formed Democratic National Front. The March 5th demonstration and memorial service had an important historic and symbolic meaning. Commemorating the death of Mossadeq, the nationalist Prime Minister overthrown by the CIA in 1953, the March 5th service became a forum for Mossadeq's grandson to announce the formation of the new Democratic National Front.



Iranian women take to the street by the thousands to protest Khomeini's reactionary policies toward women. Khomeini is trying to reinstate Islamic traditions which would erode the progress that women have made in recent years. The bold resistance of the women shows their commitment to fight for equal rights in the new Islamic republic.

Unlike the National Front which had large play in the news leading up to the overthrow of the Shah, the new formation is openly calling for the Marxist Fedayeen and Mojadeen to join its ranks and have full democratic expression within it. Many of the left-liberals who were active in the National Front are participating, but others now acting as members of the Khomeini-backed government are keeping their distance — either in fear of committing political suicide or because they fall into a more traditionalist camp which does not see carrying forward in the fight for a secular democratic state.

The basic political goals of the National Democratic Front are freedom of the press and assembly, equality of the sexes, and free trade unions. While no statements in opposition to Khomeini or the concept of the Islamic Republic were made, the implications of the political statement were clear — a democratic revolution lies unfinished, and lies in contradiction to the very concept of a religious state.

The step by Mossadeq's grandson, Matine-Daftary, to announce not only the formation of the front but also its openness to Marxist participation, was a profound one. Mossadeq himself was a rabid anti-communist who was waging a war of obliteration against the Tudeh, or traditional communist party, at the very time he was assassinated by the CIA. For his grandson to make this open break with anti-communist nationalism can have a significant impact. Indications are that the Marxists will participate, although at press time there has been no public confirmation. The joint support of the International Women's Day demonstration by the Front and the Marx-

ists was a good step towards joint actions around other issues.

IRAN'S NATIONAL MINORITIES

As in many other times and places of revolutionary change, women's rights appear as an important question alongside the issues of the rights of racial and religious minorities.

The Kurdish minority, which is Sunni rather than Shi'ite Moslem, is perhaps the most militant. At least five other nationalities, along with the Kurds, are calling for greater regional autonomy, greater material resources, and a greater role in shaping the character of Iran's revolution.

The Kurds did not fight the Shah for so many years in order to see his tyranny replaced by another. An Islamic Republic ruled by Shi'ite mullahs from Teheran is hardly an attractive prospect. The Kurds will not put down their arms until they have real guarantees that their national and religious rights will be respected. Dealing from a position of weakness, the Bazargan regime has made some limited concessions, but has made no real commitment to national and religious freedom for Iran's minorities.

The continuing revolutionary militancy of the Iranian oil workers, the democratic demands of women and the struggle of the national minorities for their full rights are all pushing the revolution in Iran forward, threatening the limits the Ayatollah has sought to impose on the revolution. Khomeini, having ridden the torrent of revolution to power, now finds the waters rising on his own Islamic Republic.

Women's Alliance Questions Mayoral Candidates

by Sara Murphy

A group of over 200 Philadelphia women met on International Women's Day to put their concerns before the candidates for mayor. A range of issues of particular concern to women were mailed to the candidates ahead of time, and they were asked to respond, then deal with questions from a panel and from the floor.

The issues raised included the need for affirmative action in hiring in all city departments and also affirmative action in upgrading, for minorities and for women. The special concerns of women in such employment included training women for non-traditional jobs and job categories, employing displaced home-

makers, and the need for quality day care.

Other issues were the need for great expansion of city health services, particularly in the neighborhood clinics; the need for legislation to end discrimination against women and women heads of households in housing; the need for funded programs to protect battered women and a special rape unit in the police department; an end to discrimination against gays.

Candidates who attended the forum were Bowser, William Green, Gaudiosi and Klenk, all democrats; L. Green, republican; A. Lieberman of the Consumer Party and Nora Danielson of the SWP. Unfortunately, all the candidates except

for Klenk and the Consumer and SWP candidates left very early in the evening and did not see fit to stay and respond to questions from the panel or from the floor.

For the most part the major candidates were perfunctory and patronizing to the large gathering of mainly women. While assuring the audience that they were all for women's equality, for the most part, they failed to address women's actual concerns concretely or seriously. For example, aside from Klenk who sounded downright radical calling for an investigation of sexism in job classification in the city departments, the major candidates tended to reduce the entire question of affirmative action to appointing women to their administration.

Other major weaknesses of the candidates were the inability to address the question of racism, particularly in dealing with the interaction of racism and sexism leading to triple oppression of minority women. And all the promises of social service programs were so many empty campaign promises as not a single one addressed the question of funding and the need to shift the tax burden from the poor to the corporations and the wealthy. Unfortunately, these issues were not highlighted by the Alliance which organized the forum, or by the panel which attempted to sharpen the questions.

Unfortunately for the candidates, the time when politicians could walk into a meeting, pat the women on the head and tell them they would take care of everything, then leave for "more important business" is long past. Women in the city who are active in the struggle for equal rights, such as most of those present, and broader sectors of women engaged in fights for equality on the job, a decent standard of living, and against racism, will be looking for an independent alternative to Tweedle Dum and Tweedle Dee.

Thanks from the PWOC

We would like to thank all of our friends and comrades for helping to make this year's International Women's Day a success.

First we'd like to thank all of the housing activists and health care workers who participated in the skits.

We'd like to thank our comrades from the Socialist Union of Baltimore for their contribution to the program.

We would also like to thank all of the musicians for sharing their music with us, especially Bev Grant and Jerry Mitnick.

Thank you to Rosemary Mealy and all of the children for their presentation of "Transmit...The Hour of the Rose."

Finally we would like to thank all of our friends who worked behind the scenes from the sound crew to the child-care workers.

Here we are reprinting some of the poems that were read at the International Women's Day event, in order to share them with a larger audience.

Black Shadow

*I am Black
Like a shadow — an invisible woman
Nobody seems to see me
mopping up the floors
emptying trash
cleaning up other people's dirt
Still I know the job got to be done
just like any other job in this hospital*

*Trouble is, nobody sees me as different from
the messes I'm cleaning up
Me and the trash get about the same respect.
Not a whole lot different from life on the plantation —
scrubbin floors and no respect
Only difference is now I'm free.
Free to work for wages that won't provide
for a family of four...*

*Sometimes I'm pushing that mop and I'm dreamin
about gettin me another job...movin up
making enough pay so I don't have to worry so much
gettin some respect*

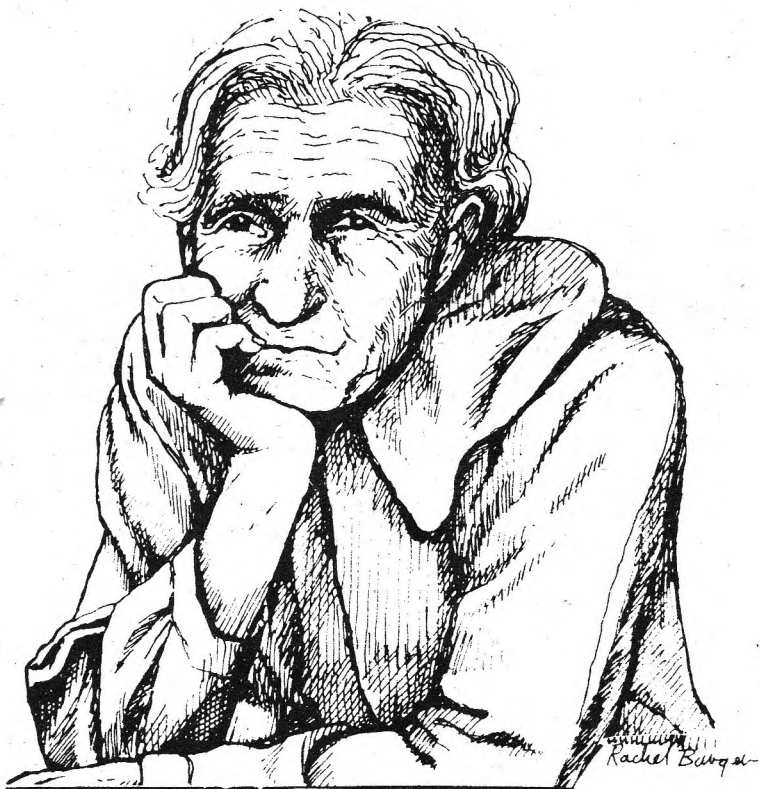
*Once I tried...but they said I wasn't qualified
dead end
So back I went to scrubbin floors, wipin sinks, emptying trash
Back into the shadows
But let me just say I ain't content.*

by a health worker



EXCERPT FROM:

73 on Yesterday



*73 on yesterday
73 times the years come and gone
Seems like each one harder than the last*

*73 on yesterday
there was Frank, but he's gone now
a warm gentle man
till a stroke cut him down
took the light from his eyes
took all the money that we'd scrimped and we'd saved
and he's gone now*

*73 on yesterday
Another year to shrivel and wrinkle and grow brittle in the bone
only the memories for company
and the stiffness in the knee
and the pills for the blood pressure
remember to take two at three*

*73 on yesterday
just me and a 200 dollar social security check
that don't get no bigger while the prices go up
That once a week chicken, can't afford it no more
and the gas and electric and doctors bills
and what they charge at the drug store for them little white pills.*

*73 on yesterday
Just the memories of other days
Good times and hard times too
But I was alive and I mattered*

*73 on yesterday
there's millions like me
Hard working women, all used up and forgotten
scrapped, like machines, to rust and decay
Just in the way because they can't make us new.*

EXCERPT FROM:

Transmit... The Hour of The Rose

*Take this rose and share with me
passing on to our children
the essence of our history...
We Black mothers especially —
must teach our young to answer
the call for solidarity/rememering our foremothers who
died in chains*

*And about the unsung heroines most recently
Remember Birmingham in '63
four Black children died in flames
we must be taught to remember their names:
Cynthia, Denise, Carol and Addie May*

*Give them an atlas so that
they may know where that in '78
thousands of Black children were shot down in Soweto
Teach them the songs of Vietnam
write them stories about Madame Binh
that Lolita is in prison...*

*...I leave this rose that you have shared with me
it's a symbol of hope
Its color, a reminder of the pain and struggle in the voyage to freedom*

Rosemary Mealy



Proletarian Unity League Responds... Fusion and the "Anti-Dogmatist" Phrase

The following is a response by the Proletarian Unity League to the five part series of articles that appeared in the Organizer last year. We will respond to this article in our next issue.

We appreciate Comrade Clay Newlin's review of our book, *Two, Three Many Parties of New Type? Against the Ultra-Left Line* (TTM) and the Organizer's offer to print our response. It is of course impossible to respond in a single short article to all the points raised in his wide-ranging five part review. Our pamphlet *On the "Progressive Role" of the Soviet Union and Other Dogmas: A Further Reply to the PWOC and the Committee of Five*, available from United Labor Press (PO Box 1744, Manhattanville Sta., New York, N. Y. 10027) goes at length into our differences with Newlin's perspectives on many critical issues, including international line and the nature of the main danger to the communist movement; some of this response is drawn from that longer paper. Here we will limit ourselves to certain problems in Cde. Newlin's party-building line: his ambiguous treatment of the "fusion" question, his changing view of the main danger (once dogmatism, today "left" opportunism), his sectarian tactics for the construction of a Marxist-Leninist trend, and the conception of party-building line itself. We will also touch on Cde. Newlin's inability to analyze some of the key errors of political line in our movement, an inability closely related to his incorrect view of the main danger.

FUSION, STRATEGY FOR PARTY-BUILDING?

Newlin spends a considerable part of his first two articles pursuing demons of his own invention. In his zeal to ascribe to us that same "unity view" which allegedly "guided the practice of the CLP, the RCP, and the CP M-L" (*Organizer*, Jan. 1978) Cde. Newlin unfortunately ignores major elements of our position while distorting others. Meanwhile, his own perspective remains somewhat confused.

The communist movement exists in order to accomplish:

"... the fusion of Marxism-Leninism and the worker's movement, a fusion which proceeds in and through the Communist Party. Through the Communist Party: the formation of a Party serves as the instrument for the rallying of the vanguard in such numbers that it may truly be considered the advanced detachment of the working class. But first of all in the Communist Party: without that fusion, you may have a revolutionary trade union movement or a propaganda association, but you do not have a Communist Party."

—TTM, p. 230

If the communist movement fails to accomplish this fusion, it has no reason to exist, and will inevitably wither away. Fusion thus describes both our goal and the party-building process as a whole, but it does not explain our key tasks or their interrelations, the main direction of attack, or which way our tiny and divided forces must set out in order to accomplish it. No goal or "essence", as Newlin would have it, can guide the struggle for the Party.

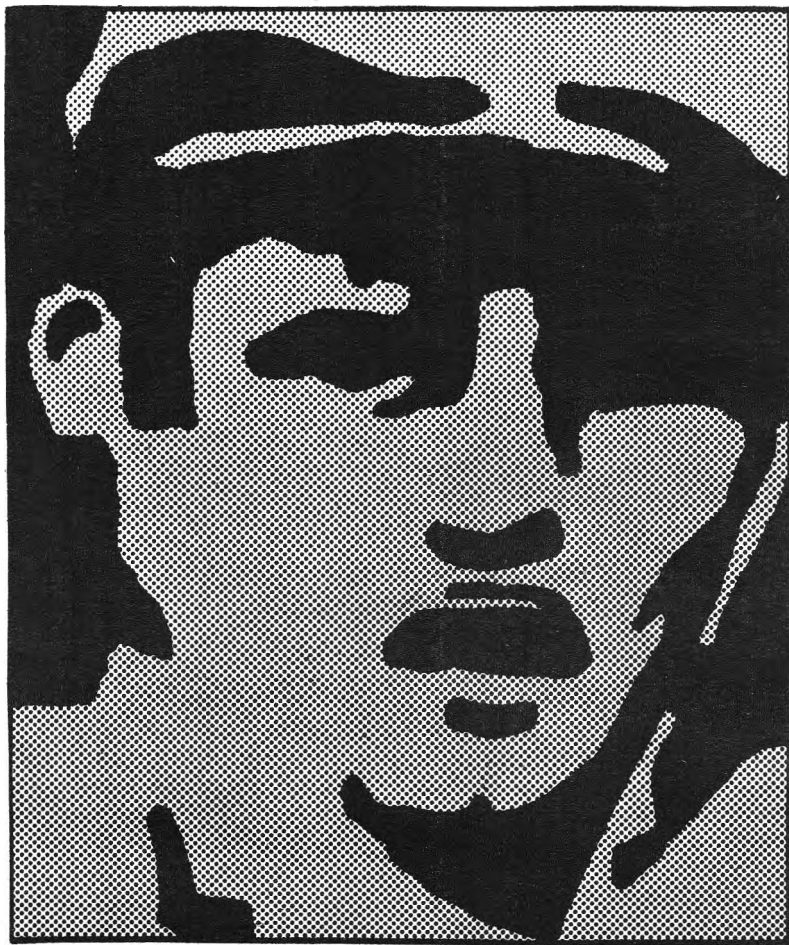
Because we do not embrace all the claims Newlin makes for the process of fusion, he thinks we belittle that work in favor of uniting what he calls the "existing stock" of Marxist-Leninists. We don't agree, and believe instead that Cde. Newlin incorrectly separates winning the class vanguard and communist unification, and ultimately belittles what real fusion is all about.

First, while he speaks at great length of our need to concentrate on "the problems raised by the practice of the advanced workers" by the "actual class struggle", he considers one problem too remote to have much bearing on their practice or on that struggle: the very real problem of communist unity. We think the lack of connection to experienced communists working throughout the country (especially in areas of such strategic importance as the Black Belt South, the Southwest, and much of the industrial heartland); the enormous shortcomings of nationwide political agitation; the lack of a national presence in the trade unions or the organizations of the national revolutionary and women's movements — all severely hamper the practice of non-communist advanced workers and that of the Marxist-Leninists. Surely every local organization must recognize the limitations of their work to win the politically active workers to Marxism-Leninism in this situation. Forging principled communist unity is therefore one of the most pressing "problems raised by the practice of the advanced workers."

Second, Newlin says that our theoretical work must prove "its vanguard character in practice" before "we will have the right to demand unity around it". (Dec. 1977) He also calls the advanced workers the "prime verifiers". This sounds good, but again it substitutes fine phrases for a concrete analysis of the relations among theoretical struggle, communist unification, and mass practice at different points in the party-building process. How do we test theory or have advanced workers "verify" it when our connections to the bulk of the class vanguard remain so tenuous? Mao once said, "The only yardstick of truth is the revolutionary practice of millions of people." (*On New Democracy*). He did not say "the revolutionary practice of twenty, forty, or a hundred local collectives." Can the PWOC, for example adequately test its "anti-dogmatist" position on the Black national question within the confines of Philadelphia? In the absence of real roots in the workers' and national revolutionary movements, theoretical struggle among the "existing stock" of Marxist-Leninists constitutes the first (though not the final or even the best) test our theory must pass.

For reasons having to do with these first two points, we must put in the first place the struggle against the "left" line in our movement, in order to unite Marxist-Leninists on a principled basis and win the proletarian vanguard to communism.

Third, Newlin's abstract conception of fusion prevents him from understanding why in our movement genuine communist unification depends to a large extent on establishing an organic link between Marxism-Leninism and the workers' movement. In TTM we argue that "a certain state of fusion of Marxism-Leninism with the working class movement must exist before party-formation has any meaning." (p. 229) We explain:



"A strategy for party-building, for the defeat of 'left' sectarianism, requires the transformation of the proletarian vanguard from a secondary factor, largely outside the communist movement, into the motive and leading force in the struggle for the Party." (p. 231)

Specifically,

"the broadening and deepening of our fusion with the class vanguard cannot await Marxist-Leninist unity for the simple reason that we cannot get that unity without overcoming our isolation from the workers movement, without enlisting a large section of the presently 'non-Party' vanguard in the struggle for the Party."

—TTM, p. 232

In opposing this view, Newlin asserts that we can have communist unity — real communist unity — prior to having achieved this state of fusion. Not only does he claim that "we can unite all genuine Marxist-Leninists prior to having achieved 'a certain state of fusion' with the class struggle"; he goes on to insist that this "could be a real unity nonetheless." (*Organizer*, Jan. 1978) Where Newlin earlier downplayed the need for communist unity, here he downplays the irreplaceable role the class vanguard must play in the struggle for the Party if we are finally to overcome the "left" line.

For all the talk about fusion, Newlin apparently fails to grasp why we must establish this "certain state of fusion" as a precondition to communist unification. A concrete analysis of the present situation in the communist movement shows that a united Communist Party consisting of more than a single, narrowly-based tendency cannot be brought into being without the overthrow of the "left" line. And this opportunist line cannot be overcome without the direct participation of a section of the class vanguard in the struggle against it and in the development of a Marxist-Leninist line in theory and in practice. The continued relative isolation of the Marxist-Leninist groups from the proletariat nourished the ultra-left line, which is the main source of our disunity. Unlike those middle strata from which our movement draws its main recruits, the class vanguard has a definite material basis in its conditions of existence and daily struggles for opposing the ruinous effects of "left" opportunism.

In sum, Newlin speaks of the vanguard's party-building role in terms at once too narrow and too general. The advanced workers become simply practical workers, "verifiers" of the theory which presumably the petit-bourgeois intellectuals develop. He presents no view of what definite relation winning the vanguard has to the defeat of "left" oppor-

tunism in our movement, and to the communist unification which can only follow this defeat. In fact, the advanced workers will not and cannot be second class citizens in the struggle for the Party: they must become the main column in the fight for a Marxist-Leninist line, against ultra-leftism and modern revisionism. Only if we take steps now to win the proletarian vanguard to communism can we defeat the "left" line and unite the Marxist-Leninists.

The self-contradictory, undialectical character of Newlin's position emerges clearly whenever he has to deal with the communist movement as it exists today. Then he leaps into the "unity" camp. He admits that "in any particular period of party-building, efforts to unite Marxist-Leninists . . . may come to the forefront of our particular agenda" (Dec. 1977; he does not identify the "particular period" in which we find ourselves, however). He agrees that ". . . we will have to achieve such unity [a united communist movement working in a uniform direction]. . . to finally reach the advanced." (Ibid.) Finally, he calls for "a center to both unify the anti-lefts [we will return to this phrase] and to organize the struggle against the ultra-left line." (*Organizer*, May, 1978) Doesn't all this bear a curious resemblance to the so-called "unity view" Newlin spends so much time criticizing? After all these concessions, what remains of Newlin's earlier criticisms?

One final point. Newlin believes that the liquidation of the "fusion question" has characterized the ultra-left line in our movement. There can be no question that the "Left-Wing" organizations have not proceeded very far in fusing Marxism-Leninism with the working class movement. But the issue is not whether they have succeeded, but rather what has helped account for their lack of success. And here Newlin misrepresents the history of our communist movement and the dominant party-building lines within it. For do "the ultra-lefts advocate building a vanguard in isolation from the advanced fighters of the working class" (*Organizer*, June 1978; our emphasis) as Cde. Newlin claims? Has the "unity view" really "guided the practice of the CLP, the RCP and the CP M-L" (*Org.* Jan. 1978)? Not at all. Avakian and the RU were the noisiest proponents of "fusion" as against the CLP, which after flirting with the "advanced of the advanced" in turn broke with the "petit-bourgeois New Left" in favor of integration with the masses. The OL likewise once claimed to "build the Party in the heat of class struggle" as against everyone else. Each of these groups, in opposition at various moments to the "dogmatists", the "arm-chair intellectuals", the "sideliners", the "petit-bourgeois crybabies", etc., have prided themselves on being the only ones willing to "get their hands dirty". Every

organization hell-bent on declaring itself the Party has vowed (and has had to vow) that its line had proved or would prove itself "in practice". We doubt that Newlin can show that any of the "parties" gave serious attention to the specific demands of communist unification.

After two articles on the so-called unity/fusion controversy, Newlin goes on to take issue with TTM's emphasis on party-building line. From what he says, you'd think we argue for concentrating the ideological struggle on "how to chair meetings" and the like. He fails to recognize that indeed his own five-part review concentrates on questions of party-building line.

Party-building line is the line which guides the construction and development of the revolutionary vanguard organization, the proletarian Party. That line is by no means confined to questions of organizational forms or even to "uniting Marxist-Leninists," as Newlin would have us believe. For example, our two-year struggle with the PWOC and other comrades of the Committee of Five, and Newlin's own debates with Cde. Silber of the *Guardian*, have often centered first on party-building line, and on that basis have touched on the unity/fusion question, the place of political line in the initial struggles to construct an anti-"left" Marxist-Leninist trend, the nature of the main danger, etc. Yet Newlin apparently considers these areas of party-building line "secondary organizational questions." (*Organizer*, May, 1978)

YES, ULTRA-LEFTISM OR DOGMATISM?

Now one of the most important questions of party-building line concerns the nature of the main danger to our work; we have debated just this question with the PWOC for over two years now. In brief, we have argued that the main danger comes from the "left," not the Right, that the ideological roots of the main danger lie in anarchism and anarcho-syndicalism, and that "left" sectarianism, which we define in our book as "left opportunism in party-building line," constitutes the key expression of this danger. The PWOC, on the other hand, has presented an analysis of something very different — something it called "dogmatism". It described dogmatism as the opposite opportunism from revisionism; it published a series of articles in its newspaper on dogmatism, arguing that "dogmatism" and specifically *not* "ultra-leftism" or "left" opportunism best characterized the main danger; it subtitled its major pamphlet "*Against Dogmatism on the National Question*," not against ultra-leftism on the national question; it published article after article referring only to "dogmatism" as the main danger, to "dogmatism" as a proper line of demarcation, to "anti-dogmatism," and to the "anti-dogmatist trend" while failing to refer to "left" opportunism. In July 1977, Cde. Newlin posed the alternatives for us in the starkest terms: "ULTRA-LEFTISM OR DOGMATISM?"

Once the centerpiece of PWOC's analysis of opportunism's main form in our movement, their concept of "dogmatism" informed their view of a wide range of theoretical and practical problems. Today everything has changed, and we find the last piece of evidence against the "dogmatism as the main danger" formulation in the fact that Cde. Newlin doesn't even believe it anymore himself.

Today, after two years of polemics with ourselves and other organizations over its incorrect formulations, we witness the most obvious backpedaling on the part of the PWOC, which reduces its references to dogmatism with each passing week. Not only have Cde. Newlin and others quietly changed the point of unity for the Organizing Committee for an Ideological Center. But the PWOC has basically abandoned its own perspectives on the main danger. Its leading members now casually declare that the ideological source of ultra-leftism lies in anarchist ideology, as if the PWOC had been saying that all along. It unceremoniously dumps the "anti-dogmatist trend" in favor of

an "anti-'left' tendency." There are many references these days to ultra-leftism, but few to the alternative Cde. Newlin posed back in July 1977.

Consider the June, 1978 *Organizer*, where Newlin has an article entitled "Lines of demarcation with 'left' opportunism." It has 16 references to "ultra-left," 13 to "left" this or that, 9 to "left" opportunism, 7 to "lefts," 4 to "left-wing" communism, 5 to anti-"leftism," and 1 each to "left-wing" and "leftism." It literally contains no reference to "dogmatism," "anti-dogmatism," or "dogmatist opportunism," to what Cde. Newlin has variously called the "nature," "key element," "ideological essence," "central feature," "theoretical basis," "root error" of "opportunism in our movement"!!! (see the 50-page paper by Cde. Newlin for the Committee of Five, "Dogmatism, the Main Enemy, and 'Left' Opportunism," available in *Party-Building and the Main Danger* from United Labor Press) Yet these are the same *Organizer* readers who were told by Cde. Newlin back in July 1977 that "while some may consider a discussion of which term most accurately conveys the essence of the ultra-left line not worthy of debate, a correct resolution of this discussion is *essential* to the future of the Marxist-Leninist movement" [our emphasis]. And they were told that dogmatism, *not* "left" opportunism or ultra-leftism, most accurately did so. Within less than a year's time, a question whose resolution is regarded as nothing less than "essential" for the future of the Marxist-Leninist movement is answered in two completely different ways, with no explanation given for this utter reversal. Does Cde. Newlin think that as events recede into the past, no one will remember what views he formerly supported? Where is the "rigorous self-examination" on which the former Committee of Four (including the PWOC) prided itself?

The PWOC has not simply agreed to a different point of unity for an organizing committee. In articles like these, it has abandoned its entire conceptual framework for thinking about the main danger. The example of the RU's line on democratic reforms provides a case in point.

Cde. Newlin accuses us of downplaying "both the seriousness and the depth of the political errors in our movement." (*Organizer*, April, 1978) Why we wonder, was our first publication in 1975 an analysis of the Boston busing struggle, including detailed analyses of our movement's political errors in that battle? Why did we include an entire chapter in our book on "left" opportunism in political line, going at length into the "left" errors of the RU and others? In any case, Cde. Newlin's faulty (and fast disappearing) analysis of the main danger has caused him to misunderstand the very nature of many of the "political errors in our movement." Within the Marxist-Leninist movement, no domestic event had a greater impact than the Boston busing struggle, and following that, those in Louisville and elsewhere. Around the Boston busing struggle, even more than around the ERA, the ultra-left line on the relationship between democratic reforms and socialist revolution emerged full-blown and in all its disastrous practical implications. A large section of the communist movement denounced partial desegregation through busing as a "sham reform" and actively organized against it.

When confronted with this widespread opportunist position, the "dogmatism" analysis simply falls apart. The PWOC and some other anti-dogmatists regard the opposition to busing and the ERA as stemming not from ultra-leftism, but rather from Rightism (see for example the Sept. 1977 *Organizer*, where the RU/RCP's "stand on busing and the ERA" is cited as one of several "right errors"). This is no small claim. While the PWOC cites only the RU/RCP's stand, in fact that stand takes a much broader section of the communist movement, including such organizations as the Workers Viewpoint

Organization, the Puerto Rican Revolutionary Workers Organization, the Revolutionary Workers League, the Revolutionary Communist League (MLM), the New Voice, the League for Proletarian Revolution (M-L), and others. If the RU/RCP's errors around busing and the ERA come from the Right, then the errors of all these organizations do as well, since they make substantially the same arguments (cf. our pamphlet on busing).

The RU's line on busing and the ERA did indeed conciliate and effectively converge with the reactionary opposition to these reforms. But it stemmed not from "semi-liberalism" (one of Lenin's terms for reformism or Right opportunism) but rather from "semi-anarchism." Specifically, their position derived from an ultra-left conception of the relation between reforms and revolution, between the fight for consistent democracy and the fight for socialism. It flowed from a typically semi-anarchist conception of democratic reforms under capitalism as measures which only confuse the masses, divert them from the true socialist struggle, and stabilize bourgeois rule. Ultra-leftism gets its opposition to reforms, particularly political and democratic reforms, from the anarchist and anarcho-syndicalist tradition. To describe this specific form of "opposition to struggle for reforms and democracy as 'contradictory' to socialist revolution," Lenin coined the term "imperialist economism," an economism of the ultra-left type. (See Lenin, CW 23, pp. 13-77.)

The PWOC thinks that the RU/RCP gets its dogmas around busing and the ERA from the Right. Moreover, since the RU's position (and that of others) draws from a whole theory of "sham reforms," then by implication the dominant "left" position on reforms, namely "left" economism, qualifies as "Rightist" for the PWOC. It therefore sees the Marxist-Leninist position as somewhere to the left of the RU position. We on the other hand think that the RU gets its dogmas around the relationship of reforms and revolution from the "Left," from petit-bourgeois revolutionism. We therefore see the Marxist-Leninist position as somewhere to the *right* of the RU position. The implications of this difference for the struggle for democracy and reforms are potentially very great.

The PWOC's confusion about the nature of the main danger, and Newlin's apparent willingness to alter his position without explanation, is bound to affect their leadership in the struggle against that danger. Many of our criticisms of the PWOC's party-building line over the past two years have concerned the sectarian tactics they have advocated for the construction of an anti-revisionist, anti-"left" opportunist trend. In his article of May 1978, Newlin goes at length into our views on the necessity of what Lenin called a "common liter-

ature" as well as other questions of tactics. Newlin not only distorts our views on this question, but also misrepresents Lenin's on the role of *Iskra*, while in his June 1978 article he exhibits his own confusion as to the analogy of that historical situation to our own. In these articles he tells scare stories about the CPML applying for entry into the "trend," declares his opposition to united action with "The Center" on the grounds of its especially dangerous role, and issues grave warnings that "PUL urges us to submerge ourselves in common publishing activities with the 'lefts.'" Here we must restrict ourselves to one comment.

Newlin asks rhetorically about the need for a "common literature: "WILL 'LEFTS' AGREE?" Better he should ask, "Will the 'anti-dogmatists' agree? Newlin assures us that "the centralization of the ideological struggle is central to the defeat of the ultra-left line," but we have only to examine the practice over the past two years of the PWOC and the Committee of Five to see real weaknesses in the comrades' commitment to the organization of democratic debate among the anti-"lefts". If, as Newlin claims, we "give no attention to the means by which such a tendency could be built," just what have we been struggling over these past two years? Has the PUL recently concentrated its energies on "utopian schemes for common publishing with the 'lefts,'" as Newlin would have us believe, or on (perhaps not much easier) efforts to get the PWOC and other comrades to organize some productive struggle, to open wide rather than restrict the struggle against, variously, the "dogmatist" or the ultra-left danger?

Cde. Newlin makes great claims for PWOC's own "plan". But what exactly does it amount to? An ill-defined "ideological center" which attempts to ignore or suppress opposing points of view among the anti-"left" forces, fails to rally major groups with whom it shares important unities (El Comite-MINP, the *Guardian*), has so far rallied overwhelmingly white M-L organizations. All this would not be so bad, but Newlin has gone on to baptize it "the Marxist-Leninist wing of the party-building movement."

The U.S. M-L movement has seen quite a few "centers," "wings," and "trends" over the last 20 years. What it has not seen is much communist unity relevant to the working class and national revolutionary movements. The PWOC has shown that in the main it recognizes the problems with our past, but it has not shown that it understands how to rectify them. No amount of unexplained line changes, or fine, empty phrases about fusion can substitute for that understanding. And no sectarian plan will help build it.

Proletarian Unity League
December 7, 1978

The PWOC will respond to this article by the Proletarian Unity League in next month's issue of the Organizer.

An Exchange between the Proletarian Unity League and the Committee of Five

(Detroit Marxist-Leninist Organization, El Comite-MINP, Philadelphia Workers' Organizing Committee, Potomac Socialist Organization, Socialist Union of Baltimore)

Focuses on the differences between the Proletarian Unity League and the Committee of Five in relation to party-building — What is the nature of the 'left' danger? Is it necessary to demarcate around international line in order to build a tendency in opposition to left opportunism? Contains five documents including two articles by the Proletarian Unity League, an article by Clay Newlin for the Committee of Five, the letter and draft unity principles for a Marxist-Leninist Conference by the Committee of Five, an appendix with a subsequent letter by the Committee of Five, and a second appendix in the form of an article by the Communist Unity Organization.

Available from the United Labor Press, PO Box 1744, Manhattanville Sta., New York, NY 10027. \$1.50 plus ten cents postage, 10 or more copies \$1.45 ea., postage included.



Myles Stryker/Workers' Graphics

Remember Malcolm X

by Michael Simmons

Last month in Black communities around the country there were commemorations to the man born Malcolm Little who became known as Malcolm X. In Philadelphia over 1,000 people crowded into AFCOM Learning Center to commemorate Malcolm. In Harlem, the Audobon auditorium again had a capacity crowd for their Malcolm X memorial. This is particularly significant because Malcolm has been dead for 14 years and racist history books have virtually written him out of the past. But who is Malcolm X? Why does his legacy continue to live?

Malcolm X was born in Omaha, Nebraska in 1925, when the strength of the Klu Klux Klan was at its height. Malcolm learned first hand about racist oppression because his father's death was a result of a Klan attack. The depression years found Malcolm in New York. The type of life that Malcolm found in New York in the 40's was not unlike life for Blacks in today's cities. Black people were living in the worst housing, had poor health services, faced police violence and had higher unemployment than the overall population. Similar to today's situation, Black youth found it virtually impossible to find employment. This led Malcolm to a life of a petty criminal which culminated in a six year prison sentence.

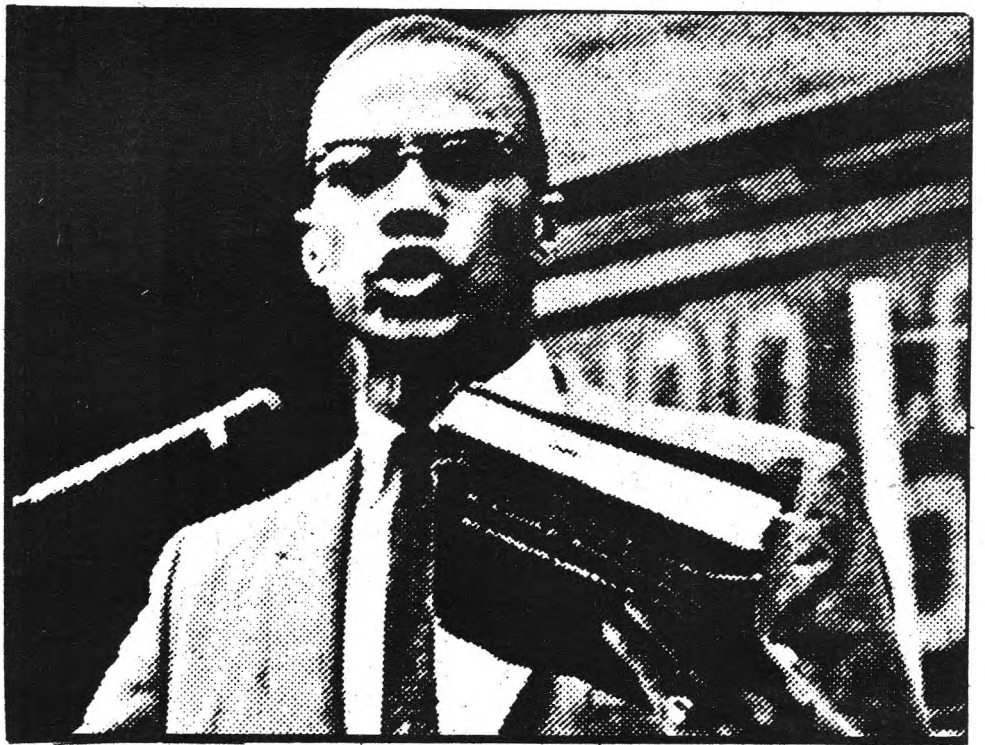
During his time in jail, Malcolm began to read world history. His brothers had informed him of the Nation of Islam led by Elijah Muhammed, and he soon became a member. After leaving prison in 1952, he became a full time minister for Nation of Islam. In this capacity Malcolm began to represent a "new day" for Black people. He proclaimed that Black people should be proud of their African heritage, and should stop feeling inferior to white people. He

presented the history of Black people as one of continual struggle for freedom from revolts on the slave ships to the contemporary Black liberation movement. As a Muslim minister Malcolm taught that all whites were devils and could not be trusted and that the salvation for Black people was to separate from whites. The Islam religion was the guiding principle for Malcolm and the Nation of Islam.

As Malcolm was becoming known to the American public, the Black liberation movement was on the rise. Brown vs. the Board of Education in 1954 set the stage for the movement. Also the anti-colonial struggles occurring in the third world and in particular in Africa were to have profound effects on this movement. The policy of the Nation of Islam was not to participate in the developing mass movement. This policy was increasingly frustrating to Malcolm, and in 1964, after an internal dispute, he left the Nation of Islam.

Malcolm's thoughts were in a period of refinement and expansion as he was continuing to understand the plight of Black people in relationship to domestic and world events. On the domestic front he clearly saw the need for principled Black unity. In 1964, he stated "I am prepared to cooperate in local civil rights actions in the South and elsewhere and shall do so because every campaign for specific objectives can only heighten the political consciousness of the Negroes and intensify their idealization against white society...good education, housing and jobs are imperative for the Negroes, and I shall tell the Negroes that while these are necessary, they cannot solve the main Negro problem."

Malcolm formed the Muslim Mosque, Inc. He immediately recognized that it was too narrow politically and three months later formed the Organization of



Afro-American Unity. This was a secular organization modeled after the Organization of African Unity.

FROM ISLAM TO ANTI-IMPERIALISM

During his days in the Nation of Islam, Malcolm developed an international consciousness about the plight of Black people. He was constantly providing a platform for leaders of newly independent African countries and held a historic meeting with Fidel Castro in Harlem in 1960. After his departure from the Nation of Islam, Malcolm traveled throughout the Middle East, Africa and Europe. After making the Hajj in Mecca, one of the most sacred events for a Muslim, Malcolm began to realize that race could not be the sole determinant in assessing progressive forces. In no way did he compromise his fight against racism. He felt that whites had to be judged on their demonstrated commitment to fighting for equality and combatting racist ideas among whites.

Malcolm's travel also gave him a perspective on Black liberation that went beyond the role of the U.S. government. In a now famous speech called the *Ballot or the Bullet* (1964), Malcolm said:

When you expand the civil rights struggle to the level of human

rights, you can take the case of the Black man in this country before the nations of the U.N....Civil rights means you are asking Uncle Sam to treat you right. Human rights are something you were born with... Expand the civil rights struggle to the level of human rights, take it into the U.N. where our African brothers can throw their weight on our side, where our Latin American brothers can throw their weight on our side, and where 800 million Chinese are sitting there waiting to throw weight to our side."

Malcolm began to explore the roots of racism. He looked to countries around the world and investigated their social systems. He began tying racism to economic systems. In 1964, he said "...all of the countries that are emerging today from under the shackles of colonialism are turning toward socialism. I don't think it's an accident. Most of the countries that are colonial powers were capitalist countries and the last bulwark of capitalism today is America...You can't have capitalism without racism. And if you find one (white person) and you happen to get that person into a conversation and they have a philosophy that makes sure they don't have this racism in their outlook, usually they're socialists or their political philosophy is socialism."

WORKERS' VOICES

Malcolm X Works on The Railroad

The following selection comes from The Autobiography of Malcolm X (Grove Press, 1964) and relates his experiences while working for the New Haven Railroad during World War II.

"Get'cha Good Haaam an' Cheeeese . . . Sandwiches! Coffee! Candy! Cake! Ice Cream!" Rocking along the tracks every other day for four hours between Boston and New York in the coach aisles of the New York, New Haven & Hartford's "Yankee Clipper".

Old Man Rountree, an elderly Pullman porter and a friend of Ella's, had recommended the railroad job for me. He had told her the war was snatching away railroad men so fast that if I could pass for 21, he could get me on.

I was promised the first available Boston to New York fourth cook job. . . fourth cook, I knew was just a glorified name for dishwasher, but it wouldn't be my first time, and just as long as I traveled where I wanted, it didn't make any difference to me. Temporarily, though, they put me on "The Colonial" that ran to Washington DC.

The kitchen crew, headed by a West Indian chef named Duke Vaughn, worked with almost unbelievable efficiency in the cramped quarters. Against the sound of the train clacking along, the waiters were jabbering the customers order, the cooks operated like machines, and five hundred miles of dirty pots and dishes and silverware rattled back to me.

After a few of the Washington runs, I snatched the chance when one day

personnel said I could temporarily replace a sandwich man on the Yankee Clipper to New York. I was into my zoot suit before the first passenger got off. . . I went bellying up and down those train aisles. I sold sandwiches, coffee, candy, cake and ice cream as fast as the railroad's commissary department could supply them. It didn't take long to learn that all you had to do was give white people a show and they'd buy anything you offered them. It was like popping your shoe shine rag.

The dining car waiters and Pullman porters know it too, and they faked their Uncle Tomming to get bigger tips. We were in that world of Negroes who are both servants and psychologists, aware that white people are so obsessed with their own importance that they will pay liberally, even dearly, for the impression of being catered to and entertained. The regular sandwich man, when he came back, was put on another train. The waiters and cooks had begun to call me "Sandwich Red".

By that time, they had a laughing bet that I wasn't going to last, sales or not, because I had so rapidly become such an uncouth, wild young Negro. . . I'd even curse the customers. I remember that once, when some passenger complaints had gotten me a warning, and I wanted to be careful, I was working down the aisle and a big, beefy, red-faced cracker soldier got up in front of me so drunk he was weaving, and announced. . . "I'm going to fight you, nigger".

I laughed, and told him, "Sure, I'll fight, but you've got too many clothes

on." He had on a big Army overcoat. He took that off, and I kept laughing and said he still had on too many. I was able to keep that cracker stripping off clothes until he stood there drunk with nothing on from his pants up, and the whole car was laughing at him, I never would forget that — that I couldn't have whipped that white man as badly with a club as I had with my mind.

Pappy Cousins was the Yankee Clipper steward, a white man of course. (Negroes had been in dining car service as much as thirty or forty years but in those days there were no Negro stewards on the New Haven Line.) Anyway, Pappy Cousins loved whisky and he liked everybody, even me. A lot of passenger complaints about me, Pappy had let slide. He'd ask some of the old Negroes to try and calm me down.

"Man, you can't tell him nothing!" they'd exclaim. And they couldn't. . . I'd go through that Grand Central Station afternoon rush hour crowd, and many white people simply stopped in their tracks to watch me pass. The drape and the cut of a zoot suit showed to the best advantage if you were tall, and I was over six feet. My conk was fire-red.

I was really a clown but my ignorance made me think I was "sharp". My knob-toed, organe colored, "kick-up" shoes were nothing but Florsheims, the ghetto's Cadillac of shoes in those days. (Some shoe companies made these ridiculous styles for sale only in the Black ghettos where ignorant Negroes like me would pay the big-name prices.)

Malcolm's stature was such that not only was he accepted as an official observer at the second meeting of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), but was also permitted to submit a statement on behalf of Black people in this country. This linking of the struggles gave many young Black activists of the 60's the type of exposure that is currently playing a significant role in the worldwide struggle against the racist minority regimes in Southern Africa. Malcolm's attempt to develop organization was formed along the model of the OAU and was thwarted by his assassination.

Malcolm's views on women began to evolve and change due to his exposure to many revolutionary situations in Africa. He began to understand women as revolutionaries and not as appendages to men. In 1964 Malcolm said,

"If you're in a country that's progressive, the woman is progressive...But in every backward country you'll find the women are backward...And I frankly am proud of the contribution that our women have made in the struggle for freedom and I'm one person who's for giving them all the leeway possible because they've made a greater contribution than many of us men."

Malcolm X lived nearly a year after he left the Nation of Islam. During that time Malcolm was refining and changing many views which he had previously held. He was always making reformulations based on what he saw as the most progressive direction for Black liberation. He was an uncompromising fighter for freedom, justice and equality and his legacy will continue to be a source of inspiration for all American revolutionaries.

Populist Frontlash in Cleveland...

Voters Rebuff the Banks

by John Reed

"We are in the frontlash of the new urban populism," said Mayor Dennis Kucinich, summing up his victory in a Cleveland referendum. "For the first time, the people of a beleaguered city said 'No' to corporate power seeking to rule the city."

Kucinich was referring to the vindication of his position on the solution to the Cleveland financial crisis. Since December 15th of last year when the city defaulted on \$14 million in loans from six local banks, Cleveland has been faced with a smaller version of New York City's economic woes.

Like New York, the city's creditors, spearheaded by the banks, have moved to take direct control of the Kucinich administration's business dealings. But unlike its larger predecessor, the Mayor has decided to oppose open bank dictatorship of the city's finances.

Previously, the banks had offered to refinance the city's debts if Kucinich would agree to sell the Municipal Electric Lighting System (MUNY) to the Cleveland Electric Illuminating Co. (CEI). MUNY sells power to about one-fifth of Cleveland residents while the other 80% receive their electricity from CEI at higher rates. The sale of MUNY would not only have meant immediate increases for those serviced by it, but by firmly establishing CEI's monopoly, it would further strengthen its bid for future rate hikes. And it would also have probably meant that the city would have been forced to drop its \$330 million anti-trust suit against the CEI for refusing to sell cheap power to MUNY during last winter's prolonged cold spell.

Kucinich would not accede to the bankers' conditions and thus set the stage for a confrontation. Instead of selling MUNY, the mayor rescinded a September promise not to ask for any tax increase until big business started paying "its fair share." Arguing that new revenues were necessary to prevent further cuts in the city's budget, Kucinich proposed a jump from 1% to 1.5% in the city income tax. Even though Cleveland residents had defeated tax hikes three times since 1970 in earlier balloting, he maintained that the voters would support him.

But in order to get the issue on the ballot, the mayor had to compromise. The banks had lined up support from most of the members of city council and

refused to allow the tax increase to be put to the voters without testing the waters on the MUNY liquidation as well.

The sides were drawn. Kucinich urged a "Yes" vote on the tax issue and a "No" on the MUNY sale. With the exception of endorsement from the UAW and a few other unions, most of his support came from community organizations in the Black, Puerto Rican and white working class neighborhoods. His forces raised about \$37,000, mostly in denominations of \$25 and \$50.

Led by the Cleveland Trust Co., his opposition stood for a "Yes" on both the tax hike and the MUNY liquidation. Supported by both the Democratic and Republican parties as well as the bulk of the labor officialdom, they raised a war chest of \$75,000, including donations of \$10,000 from the Eaton Co. and \$25,000 from the Growth Association (Cleveland's Chamber of Commerce).

The voters gave Kucinich what he asked for, and by substantial margins — 68% for the tax increase and 64% against selling MUNY.

Even though Kucinich claimed victory, he himself termed it "just one battle in a continuing war" and is hardly out of the rough. The \$30 million in increased taxes will not meet Cleveland's anticipated deficit. Along with the \$15.5 million currently owed, some \$25 million in short-term credit is due in October.

In addition, the banks — while annoyed at the defeat of their plans for MUNY, were not exactly displeased by the tax increase — have demanded more state control of the city's finances before they will agree to any expansion of Cleveland's debt. At their bequest, Ohio Governor James Rhodes has already announced support for state legislation to establish an appointed board with power over city finances.

Thus, the stage is presently being set for yet another test of the limits of the mayor's "urban populism." While Kucinich has stated that "a major problem in this country is the growth of monopoly capital," it is unclear which side of his approach to this problem will become dominant — conciliation or opposition.

But that is a question that only the people of Cleveland can decide.



"That's fine, Mr. Mayor...But what collateral do you have other than the city?"

Organizing Committee for an Ideological Center (OC-IC) Bulletin # 2

NOW AVAILABLE...

OC Bulletin No. 2 — The debate with the Guardian

The March, 1979 Bulletin of the Organizing Committee for an Ideological Center contains two documents: *The State of the Party Building Movement*, puts forward the views of the Guardian Staff, *The Circle Game* is a reply from the OC steering committee. Are there two trends among the anti-"lefts"? Do the anti-"left" forces need a single center? What are the obstacles to unity? These are the questions at the heart of this debate and deserve the serious attention of all Marxist-Leninists.

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NURSES DEMANDS:

1. NO JOB LOSSES IN NURSING!

—Any changes in nursing education should be accomplished with guaranteed job security for all levels of nurses.

2. END DISCRIMINATION AGAINST MINORITY MEMBERS!

—Affirmative action programs in hiring and admission to nursing schools should be maintained and strengthened.

—The accreditation process for programs of nursing should include an evaluation of remedial programs which serve to improve existing affirmative action programs.

3. MAKE NURSING MORE ACCESSIBLE TO ALL WHO DESIRE TO PRACTICE IT!

—Programs should have schedules that permit the widest participation of parents and workers. We need programs that include night school and work-study.

—Government monies in the forms of grants and interest-free loans should be expanded to permit the more economically disadvantaged to obtain a nursing education.

—The number of nursing programs at all levels should be increased in all areas of the state.

—Credit for experience should be given to those who are attempting to further their education in nursing.

4. HEALTH CARE EMPLOYERS SHOULD ASSUME MORE RESPONSIBILITY IN PROVIDING EDUCATION FOR NURSES!

—Tuition benefits, paid time off for conferences, paid leaves of absence with guaranteed employment while attending full-time schooling should be provided.

—The employer's aid should in no way abnormally tie the worker to the employer.

5. NURSES AT ALL LEVELS SHOULD HAVE DIRECT INPUT ON ALL MATTERS AFFECTING NURSING LICENSURE AND EDUCATION!

—Nurses in each state should vote on important matters affecting their livelihoods.