

# The ORGANIZER

## Carter's New Con Game

With his popularity at low ebb and the prospect of a one term presidency staring him in the face, Jimmy Carter holed up at Camp David for ten days to see what he could do to revive his sagging political fortunes. Carter met with dozens of big wigs who told him that low public confidence was destroying his effectiveness as an agent of monopoly capitalist interests.

In response Carter aggressively returned to the themes that appeared to serve him well in 1976. He went on television and delivered a sermon on the need for morality, patriotism and national purpose. He spoke of the distance between big government and the people and to prove he was going to set matters right he paid a surprise visit to a few "ordinary" folks (making sure the cameras were there to record it all for public consumption). Then, in order to demonstrate his determination to get government "going again", Carter shook up his cabinet and reorganized his staff - canning Schlesinger at Energy, Califano at HEW, Adams at Transportation, and Blumenthal at Treasury.

Carter's flurry of activity and stiff upper lip momentarily gained him a few points in the popularity polls, but at press time, he had slipped back down one point below his previous low in June. The reason is simple enough. Carter's "changes" are all on the surface while the substance of his policy remains the same.

### MORE BELT TIGHTENING ON ENERGY

Carter's energy policy is probably the single greatest source of current popular discontent with his administration. In spite of some posturing about "windfall profits", Carter's latest program is nothing more than a continuation of giveaways to the energy monopolies at our expense. By holding to his course of deregulation and cutting back on imported oil, Carter insures that we will get higher prices and the oil giants will reap even bigger profits.

The \$142 billion program to develop energy alternatives, with its stress on synthetic fuels, is a big windfall for the oil companies. These companies invest less in research and development than any other industry. Now they are to be rewarded with big government contracts that will help them to develop the technology to further pollute the environment and fleece consumers. Carter's call for the creation of an Energy Mobilization Board will only better organize the government's collusion with the energy monopolies and their attacks on our standard of living.

Another feature of Carter's policy is the scapegoating of OPEC. By blaming the energy crisis on the oil-producing countries, Carter hopes to take the heat off himself and the oil companies. A secret memo by domestic adviser Stu Eizenstat (which was leaked to the press)



specifically called for this scapegoating strategy. The administration also is trying to create support for possible military intervention in the Middle East by whipping up anti-Arab hysteria.

### A MUSICAL CHAIRS GAME

Carter's cabinet shake up was a highly orchestrated non-event. None of the cabinet changes signal any change in administration policy. Carter was able to cut his losses by ditching Schlesinger, increasingly exposed as a tool of the oil lobby. But his replacement, Duncan, intends to carry out the same policies. The other firings were largely explained on the grounds that these cabinet members were not good "team" players. Their replacements all pledged to be models of "loyalty" to the President.

These moves, combined with the reorganization of his own staff, are designed to portray the President as "taking charge". The image that we are supposed to have now is of a tough and determined

Carter heading up a unified administration that knows where it's going.

No amount of public relations and sleight of hand will rescue Carter and the government from the "crisis of confidence" that threatens it. Millions of US citizens rightly believe that this government does not represent them. Increasingly the people see that this government is owned lock, stock and barrel by the monopoly interests. This is why pleas from Washington for self-sacrifice fall on deaf ears. It is not because the US people are selfish and greedy, but rather because we know that those who want us to sacrifice are only trying to rip us off.

At root this is not just a crisis of confidence in Carter and this administration but a crisis of confidence in the monopoly capitalist system itself. As this crisis takes on more conscious, organized political expression, Carter is going to find it takes a lot more than some old-fashioned preaching and sacking a few henchmen to rescue the system.

## Human Rights Slate Gains Support

Election Editorial

Lucien Blackwell has accepted the draft of the Black Political Convention and the Consumer Party to run for Mayor on the Consumer Party ballot. Blackwell will head up a Human Rights slate of independents running either on the Consumer ticket or the Human Rights Party, an instrument created by the Black Political Convention. The slate also includes some progressive Democrats. With Frank Rizzo threatening to run a candidate of his own and with both Green and Marston camps in disarray, Blackwell and the independents stand a real chance of winning this fall.

### A REAL ALTERNATIVE

The *Organizer* believes that this slate offers to all working people in Philadelphia a real alternative to the policies of the two old parties. The Human Rights Slate is running on a platform, the Human Rights Agenda, which opposes racist, corporate domination of the city's political life and calls for a wide range of measures to improve the living standards of Philadelphia's people and democratize the city's political institutions.

First and foremost the Human Rights Agenda puts forward the urgent demands of the Black community - for housing,

education and social services, for measures against discrimination, for jobs and for an end to police brutality. All these demands, including those that promote racial equality, are in the interests of all working people in the city. Eight years of Rizzoism demonstrate that racist demagoguery and discriminatory policies benefit only corrupt politicians, the bankers and corporate interests. The Human Rights Agenda is a rallying point in all of our struggles to stop runaway

shops, the destruction of our neighborhoods, the decline of our schools, the crush of taxation, and the host of other fights we face as working people, Black, Brown, Yellow and White.

This platform goes well beyond what the politicians of the two parties are willing to commit themselves to, even in words. One of the important developments of the present campaign is that masses of people are breaking from

the two party system and setting an independent course. As long as working people remained locked within the two capitalist parties, the struggle for our basic needs will remain restricted within the narrowest limits.

The present Human Rights Slate represents the growth of such an understanding, particularly within the Black

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Washington, D.C. demo in support of the victory in Nicaragua (see page 9).



# Letters To The Editor



## Racism in SW Philly

The following letter from Frank Corso, a white worker in Southwest Philadelphia, who recently posted a \$1500 reward in the murder of Black youth Tracy Chambers, appeared in the Daily News:

Racism is the worst affliction man has ever inflicted upon another person. It not only deprives the minority, but also the majority, of the great potential that the minority can develop and contribute. Racism is everybody's business. It should be, can be, and will be put down wherever it shows its ugly head, but only if we

care. For it is not the racist we fear, but only ourselves. Once we rid it from ourselves then we can hope to rid others of it.

Racism is a disease we must remove if we are to survive as human beings. It is time to forgive and mend our wounds but never to forget. If we forget, it will only repeat itself. And then, Tracy Chambers and all of the other millions of innocent victims of racism like him throughout time — of all backgrounds — will continue to die and suffer for nothing.

## Super Seniority

To the *Organizer*,

I appreciated Candy Newlin's article (on Superseniority, in July — Ed.) very much for three reasons.

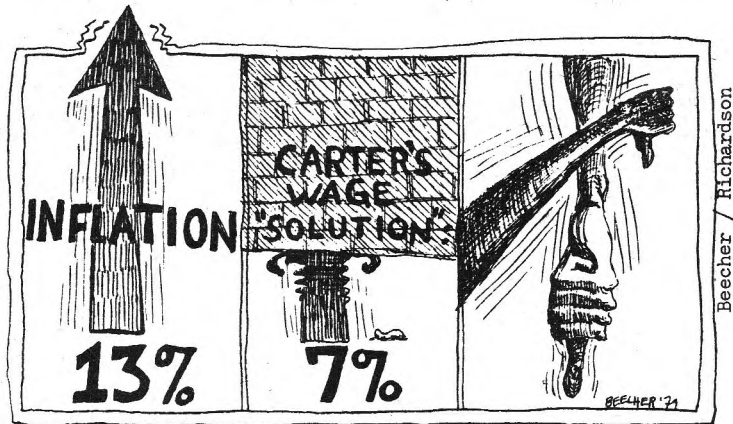
It was readable — I could easily understand the issues involved, without needing a dictionary for every other word. I think this is important — I would like to be able to understand these discussions and statements of principles but often get fed up or bored with the rhetoric.

It showed real strength to be able to publicly back down and change your position. It is critical to be able to know when you are wrong and admit it.

I never liked your previous policy on super seniority anyway. I had trouble formulating why — but this article really pointed to some of my misgivings and straightened out in my mind what I had felt at a gut level was incorrect.

Keep up the good work.

—J.A.  
Philadelphia



## 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.

## The Dan White Case

To the *Organizer*,

I'd like to note some inaccuracies in the article "Gay Rights Stonewall to San Francisco". Dan White did receive a manslaughter conviction, but he cannot be paroled for over five years, not five months, as the article stated. It was stated — and not documented — that the case became a rallying point for right wing forces. . . . On the contrary, I think that the case became a rallying point for the gay movement, which in SF has been noticeably less politically active in the last few years.

While it is clear that some right wing types didn't oppose the verdict they cer-

tainly didn't rally for it. Further, I think you missed the inherent racism of the court system: a middle class white man murders two elected city officials, including the mayor, in broad daylight, and gets eight years with parole in five. George Jackson (and many others) is dubiously convicted of a \$70 robbery and is indeterminately sentenced to far more than Dan White will ever be. The logic???

To summarize: the incident is more complex than you have presented it, and I think that you do a disservice to your credibility and analytical responsibility to present it otherwise.

C. W.  
Hayward, CA

## Dean Chodoff... In Memorium

The people's movement and the *Organizer* lost a good friend with the passing of Dean Chodoff after a long battle with cancer. Dean, as an RN was a militant voice for unionism at a time when unions barely existed among hospital workers. A longtime fighter against war and racism, Chodoff was an active member of both the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom and Women's Strike for Peace. She was a loyal partisan of the *Organizer* and a regular at our events. When an *Organizer* staff member was jailed during the struggle against the blockade of MOVE, Dean helped get the paper out on schedule by putting up bail money.

Dean Chodoff fought the disease that finally took her life with the same spirit she showed in the fight against oppression. Her courage, her determination to keep going in spite of pain and her freedom from self-pity are an example to us all. We will miss her. We will remember her as we will remember all the others who have come before us — by continuing the struggle for peace, freedom and socialism.

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### SUSTAIN THE ORGANIZER

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# Labor Round-up

## Runaway Stopped at Gould - ITE

by an ITE worker  
(with help from the Workers' Rights Law Project and Duane Calhoun)

In August of 1977, the Gould-ITE Corporation announced that it was going to close its circuit-breaker plant at 19th and Hamilton Sts. in Philadelphia. The company intended to move production to Wilmington, North Carolina. In October, UAW Union Local 1612, representing Gould-ITE employees, filed a grievance against the closing of their shop, claiming that their contract prohibited any such "runaway" from Philadelphia.

On June 8, 1979, Local 1612 won a significant and surprising victory: arbitrator Milton Rubin ruled in favor of the union, ordering Gould-ITE to keep its Hamilton St. plant open, and to bring back production that had already been moved south. The arbitrator said that "Article 1 Section 2 of the collective bargaining agreement prohibits the company from removing bargaining unit work to facilities outside the Union's jurisdiction." (Budd Local 813 at Hunting Park Ave., has an almost identical section in its contract (Local Agreement, page 136) which could turn out to be important if Budd ever decides to close part or all of that plant.)

This decision was based on three major points: a strict and literal reading of Article 1 Sec. 2, two similar arbitration cases which were won at Budd Hunting Park in 1972, and the history of contract negotiations between Local 1612 and Gould over the issue of plant closings.

The key sentence of the contract reads: "Other non-unit (non-union) em-

ployees shall not perform any work regularly performed by employees covered by this agreement." The company argued to the arbitrator that this sentence referred to non-union employees in the Philadelphia plants (mainly subcontractors, foremen, and engineers) and that the sentence did not limit the company's right to "remove or re-establish work" (quoted from Article 1, Sec. 1) to other parts of the country.

The arbitrator didn't go along with the company's reasoning. Basically, he said that when there is a dispute over the meaning of a contract clause, take the literal wording at face value. In this case, he said that the wording favored the union position.

The main point of his ruling though, was the history of negotiations over the contract language itself. As a rule in labor law, such "bargaining history and intent" is just as important in deciding cases as the actual wording of the contract itself. Article 1 Sec. 2 was put in the contract in 1974, two years after the UAW had arbitrated with the Budd Co. and won a decision (based on almost identical language) that bargaining unit (union) work could not be done by anyone but local union members. Local 1612 said that they told the company reps in the 1974 talks that they had the same intent when they proposed Article 1 Sec. 2.

The company claimed that they didn't know anything about the Budd case in 1974, and they claimed the union never brought up the subject in the negotiations. Mr. Rubin was convinced that company negotiators *did* know about the two-year-old Budd case, and the meaning

of the Budd contract language, when the sentence was proposed in the negotiations.

Arbitrator Rubin also put a lot of weight on a verbal promise given to Joe Ferrara and Frank Redmiles of the UAW by Gould Vice President W. C. Musham. At a meeting over dinner opening the 1974 contract talks, Mr. Musham promised UAW Area Director Ferrara and Local President Redmiles that all of Gould-ITE's Philadelphia plants would stay open. Company lawyers denied that such a promise had ever been made, but Mr. Musham failed to show up to testify at any of the hearings.

### LIMITED RULING

Unfortunately, this was a very limited ruling and will not necessarily apply to any shops outside the Philadelphia area, or to contract language which was not openly introduced in order to stop a possible plant closing. The arbitrator said "there is a particular meaning of the sentence for companies under contract with the UAW in Philadelphia." One of the reasons this decision was such a surprise is that several other unions have lost arbitration cases like this one, based on contract language that was almost identical to the Gould-ITE contract.

The one point that hurt the union most was that they had not fought the removal of work from the Bluebill Computer Center, part of Gould-ITE. This gave credibility to the company's position that they *did* have a right to remove work, which the union recognized, otherwise the union would have fought this movement also. This gave arbitrator Rubin reason for "pause and reexamination", but

in the end he concluded that this argument "is not fatal" to the union's case.

All in all, this was a big victory for the workers at Gould, and for the fight against runaway shops in Philadelphia. Besides ordering Gould to keep the Hamilton St. plant open until the contract expires, the ruling should also stop all subcontracting of work. The decision was not clear about back pay for workers who have already been laid off. There is also the possibility that Gould will try to get around the decision by endless court appeals and delays. This ruling can only hold the company here until next April, when the contract expires. Once that happens, Gould is no longer legally bound by anything in the old contract.

The next contract will be crucial to the future of Gould in Philadelphia, and for the people who work there. At least at that time Local 1612 will have the option of striking over the issue.

Gould could answer such a strike by simply hauling all the machinery and stocks out of Hamilton St. and down to North Carolina, leaving the strikers picketing an empty shell. Other unions have beaten that strategy, but it's not easy. Gould workers will have to be ready to deal with that, because no arbitrator or judge is going to protect us when the contract expires. This victory has thrown the advantage over to the union. If Gould workers and their union leaders are able to keep Gould-ITE in Philadelphia, it will be a great victory for all working people faced with plant closings and runaways.

## Area Hospitals Settle with 1199C

by a hospital worker

All 1199C members are back at work now, and what did they gain in their contracts? Well, not much. The wage increase of 8% the first year and 7% the second with the same cost of living clause will just keep workers where they're at now and will even be a loss if the present high rate of inflation continues. Temple workers got 6%, and 6% is a loss now.

The only real local-wide gain in contract language is superseniority for union delegates in layoffs. This is bound to give delegates more power in the hospitals, and strengthen the union as a whole. Guiffre had a demand for no outside contractors while union people were on lay-off, but that got dropped in the settlement. Even the hospitals that went on strike - Jefferson and Einstein South - ended up with contracts very similar to the ones turned down. But Einstein South had a stronger, more solid picket-line, and won some of the job security demands they went out for.

How did this happen when there was clearly widespread dissatisfaction with the tentative settlements? At Hahnemann and Childrens Hospital there was a strong "no" vote. Hahnemann's contract was accepted by the narrow margin of 226-202. At Temple, the union negotiating committee never came to a tentative agreement. And at Jefferson and Einstein South, for the first time in the history of the union in Philadelphia, the rank and file voted down the tentative agreement reached by the negotiating committee.

There was dissatisfaction with the agreements and there was rank and file militance, but there was not the necessary degree of organization. Many union members feel the union leadership didn't adequately prepare for this strike.

During the strike, the picketlines were militant but not strong enough, particularly at Jefferson. Of course the

courts, police and civil disobedience squad had a hand in that with their injunctions, beatings and harassment. But at Jefferson, it was doubly difficult since the majority of workers at the hospital are non-union.

This bears on the crucial problem facing the local - all the divisions within it. Not only does each hospital in the union have its own contract, but groups of workers within the hospitals have separate contracts, and some are not in the union at all. For instance at Temple, clerical workers, pharmacists, professional and technical workers, and service workers all have different contracts. And what happened was that all except the professional and technical workers settled during the strike, and it was difficult for them to get real support from the other workers.

When 1199 first organized, these divisions served a purpose. They allowed 1199 to organize part of the hospital (usually the service workers) first, when they would have lost if they had to organize the entire hospital at the same time. But now these divisions weaken the union, pit professional against non-professional, and white against Black. If the union is to grow strong, these divisions must be overcome, and non-union hospital workers must be organized. The union leadership has some plans for working toward a unified contract for each hospital, then a city-wide contract, and a drive to organize the unorganized.

But if the union is to forge ahead, the rank and file must be educated and organized around these issues. The struggle against false professionalism and racism must be a focus of education. The union must also begin to build support from the community. After all, patient care and hospital workers' working conditions go hand in hand.

1199C leadership have earned a reputation for progressive leadership for their

strong stands in the past. The same leadership is genuinely committed to build the union in the present. Yet it has not done a good job in involving and organizing the rank and file. There are too few local-wide and hospital-wide union meetings held, and not enough preparation for them.

It's up to the rank and file to take the initiative as workers at Jefferson and

Einstein South did, and bring the leadership with them. Because when hospitals face the threat of every single hospital worker out on the street with the com-

munity behind them, then hospital workers will get the wages, benefits, and working conditions they need and hospitals can afford, and patients will get the kind of care they need and deserve.

## Meatcutters Leadership - Which Side Are You On ?

Most workers expect that the employers will enforce their rules around absenteeism, theft, and the like, and that the union will defend them against arbitrary and unfair applications of such rules. But in Local 196 of the Amalgamated Meatcutters Union, the union leaders are lending the employers a helping hand.

President Art James and Secretary Treasurer George Stadler warned their members that absences of one or two days "not only result in management having to spend extra time to properly staff the business but means other employees have their schedules juggled without much notice." They added such absences aren't "fair unless necessary and when it happens too often it isn't fair, necessary or not." In short, rather than defending the employee's right to legitimate absences and compelling the company to take measures to avoid inconvenience to other workers, the union tells its members to not take off too often even if it is necessary.

These union leaders have also taken up the role of security cop for manage-

ment's property. In a recent memo the union expresses "great concern" over alleged "increases in stealing, outright theft or so-called "discounting" and warns members to follow a whole series of procedures.

James's and Stadler's zeal in protecting management's interests has drawn fire from Mary Smith, a cashier, Executive Board Member of Local 196, and long time defender of the interests of the rank and file. In a letter to the leadership Smith wrote, "It is very easy for me to see why the store owners would be alert to use these statements to their advantage, since it is obviously in their interest.

"It is however, a little more difficult for me to understand how this represents the best interests of trade unionists. In fact the workers who have spoken with me about this seem to feel that these sentiments do not fairly represent their views. There is a feeling, which I share, that expressions of such views could very possibly lead to severe discipline or the loss of jobs of some of our members. And is that really what we should be doing?"



# What's Happening in the Clothing Industry?

by Joan Kern

As you look around at the tailor shops in Philadelphia today it's hard to tell what's going on. Smaller shops like H. Freeman and Son are on the brink of closing and many others have already closed. Yet larger shops such as Botany "500" are booming and their parent companies (in this case Rapid-American) are buying out other clothing businesses. It's confusing. We're told that business is bad and imports are a threat to our jobs. We should look for the union label, "buy American" and meanwhile forget about wage increases. Just feel lucky to have a job.

## WHAT ABOUT IMPORTS?

Is this true? Part of the answer is to be found in a look at the state of the industry. Let's start with the question of imports.

In 1967 imports were 6% of the US apparel market, in 1975 they were 13.7% and this year they are expected to be 22%. Clearly imports are on the rise and some experts are predicting that during the 1980's imports may capture half the US market. Imports cut into the market because they undersell apparel made in the US. Labor accounts for 27% of the price of a garment. This highlights the fact that the apparel industry is one of the least automated and most labor intensive manufacturing industries in the US.

This also explains why firms in the Far East, many of them owned by US based corporations, can undersell domestic apparel. Workers are forced to work for a dollar an hour in Hong Kong, 50 cents an hour in Taiwan and 25 cents an hour in both South Korea and Sri Lanka.

US-based clothing manufacturers are calling for more government protection of the apparel industry. Apparel is already the most protected industry, but this has not stopped the growth of imports. With duties ranging from 16 to 32%, imported clothing still undersells US produced goods by up to 20%. The US government has not vigorously enforced the agreements it has with 18 foreign governments to hold apparel imports to a growth rate of 6% a year.

The dominant circles in the federal government are opposed to further protectionist measures. Part of the reason is that many of the foreign based firms are owned by US corporate interests. An even larger reason is that the corporation owners as a whole fear that more protection here will lead other countries to erect barriers to US exports and further weaken the position of US trade and the dollar.

Would more protection benefit US workers? The answer is no. Restricted imports would not necessarily lead to an increase of production and thus create more jobs. Freed from the pressure of foreign competition, the employers would more likely maintain low production and increase prices.

But aren't imports going to gradually destroy the industry and put clothing workers out of work? If that were so, big companies wouldn't be buying up smaller clothing industries. Rapid-American paid \$42,788,746 for McGregor even though McGregor has lost money seven years out of ten, and they haven't made a profit for the last five years. Corporations don't do things like that out of the kindness of their heart. There must be money in it somewhere. Sure enough, since the 1975 recession, the wholesale apparel



market in the US has grown by nearly a third and last year's results show that profits in the apparel industry rose 10%! Let's look at imports closer and see if we can understand what's happening.

Imports have an important drawback in that it takes up to six months from the time an order is placed until it is in the store ready to be sold. That's not too important for garments that are standard styles. But in areas of quick changing fashion if a store owner has an item that is selling well, s/he wants to be able to get more of that garment quickly before it is out of season and out of style. They cannot wait six months. As a result, less than 5% of women's dresses are imported compared to 25% of all trousers and Men's tailored clothing, 33% of knit shirts, 35% of men's woven dress shirts and more than 50% of all sweaters.

Does that mean that only highly fashionable apparel will continue to be manufactured in the US? No, because some companies have found that buying an import-proof brand name or a well-known designer name and advertising it widely pays off. Many people are willing to pay more for a brand that they feel is reliable. As a result some companies like Levi's have doubled their sales in less than two years.

Another area of apparel industry that is holding up against imports (less than 5% of the market is imported) is men's underwear. It's strength lies in the fact that it is highly automated. Other areas of apparel manufacturing are turning to automation to cut labor costs and compete with imports too. But there's a big drawback with automation. A computerized machine that designs and produces patterns greatly eliminates manual labor, reduces fabric used by 9%, but it costs \$225,000! A Gerber-cutter, which is the first numerically controlled fabric-cutting machine costs \$450,000! Only big companies can afford expensive solutions like automation, fancy advertising and designer names.

## GROWTH OF MONOPOLY

The US apparel industry has always been dominated by small businesses. More than 2/3 of the nation's clothing factories are family owned and run. All but 40 of these manufacturers have revenues of less than \$100 million. Small and medium size businesses have rising costs that big businesses escape. Recently the *Inquirer* reported that After Six expects sales of \$73 million this year, up from \$69.9 million a year ago but profits would be somewhat less than \$1 a share compared to \$1.41 last year! The reason for this drop has nothing to do with imports, it has to do with rising interest rates.

Clothing manufacturers rely on borrowed funds to finance their operations until they ship their goods to customers and get paid. Big companies have enough capital on hand so they don't have to borrow heavily. They can escape those high interest rates. So it looks as if there isn't much future for medium producers with sales in the \$20-\$50 million range. They often aren't flexible enough to turn out limited amounts of the very latest fashions

rapidly — the survival strategy for thousands of very small producers — and they are too small to afford the machinery needed to economically produce big orders, try overseas investments or spend a lot on advertising a brand name. That's why McGregor was bought out by Rapid-American who gets a brand name with licensees making and merchandising it in foreign countries.

As long as there's money to be made, the apparel industry will be around. Bigger businesses will swallow up smaller ones and there will be a push towards automation. These are the things clothing workers have to be prepared to fight. When businesses threaten to close and workers agree to take a pay cut to prevent that as happened at H. Freeman and Son in West Philadelphia, we've had the wool pulled over our eyes.

Apparel workers already make only 2/3 of the average wage in all manufacturing. We don't need it cut down even more. How about the banks taking a cut in their interest rates! They can afford to, we can't. We have to stop running scared and feeling our backs are up against the wall. Remember our strength. There are 1.3 million clothing workers in the US, almost twice the number of the nation's auto production workers. And with our sisters and brothers in Textile, we number 2 1/2 million, the largest single group of workers in the national manufacturing economy.

## STRENGTH IN UNITY

Those numbers only have a meaning if we stick together and use that strength. We have learned that in regards to Southern workers in the US. The fight against J.P. Stevens and for better working conditions in the South will better working conditions and job security for all of us. The same is true with workers overseas. When we feel trapped by imports, we start to resent workers overseas and that resentment turns to racism. We mutter about those Korean workers who work for nothing and then turn around and face a Korean worker on our shop floor. By blaming imports for all our poor working conditions the employers generate racism and keep us from uniting. Once again the wool gets pulled over our eyes.

We need to strengthen overseas working conditions in order to strengthen ours. Our future is tied together. Workers in Hong Kong who refused to make Farah pants during the strike in Texas understood that. We must continue to support union drives in the South and develop ties with unions abroad. We must demand our government stop supporting anti-labor dictatorships in Korea and Taiwan that allow American businesses to get rich off foreign workers backs.

And right here in Philadelphia we must push our union to fight with us. No more negotiated wage cuts. Yes, there are small businesses closing but there are just as many big clothing shops expanding and raking in the profits. We're standing together, Black, white, Asian and Hispanic, and we want our share!

## Quote of the Month

With the modesty we have grown accustomed to, Frank Rizzo recently announced:

"This city could never pay Frank Rizzo back for what I've done — slept on floors, no holidays, no vacation. I knew I was the difference between destruction and disorder."

Thanks, Frank.





## Autoworkers Want a Fair Settlement

# Big Three Contract Battle

by Duane Calhoun

### KEY UNION CONTRACT OF 1979 (PACE-SETTER FOR LABOR)

Ever since wizards and crystal balls went out a few hundred years ago, predicting the future has been a risky business. As contract bargaining starts this month between the United Auto Workers Union and the Big 3 auto companies (GM, Ford, and Chrysler), neither our staff wizard nor the *Wall Street Journal* are making any hard and fast predictions about the outcome. While the Big 3 and eight hundred thousand auto workers face off, many different forces are pushing and pulling on both sides.

More gas shortages, steep price hikes, and probably a recession are in the works. Jimmy Carter wants to make us pay for cutting inflation with his 7% wage guidelines. The sales and profits of the auto companies may go up, down, and sideways in the next three years. The UAW President, Doug Fraser, seems to be growing a backbone, but no one knows if it's for real. And, last but not least, rank and file auto workers are plenty mad about inflation, layoffs, safety, discrimination, and a long list of other problems. The question is, how mad? We'll put our crystal ball aside for a minute and look at each of these five factors in turn.

### THE ECONOMY — SPEED FREAK ABOUT TO CRASH

Just about everybody agrees that the US will go into a recession by the end of this year: the amount of goods manufactured will drop, and nearly a million workers will get laid off. Most corporate economists think this recession will be "mild" — unemployment will reach "only" 7.5%, and production should be climbing again by late in 1980. But then they said the same thing in 1974.

They also say that the two hardest-hit parts of the economy will be housing construction and automobiles. 1979 auto production will be down about 7% from 1978, and 1980 production will be down over 10%, or almost one million cars and trucks less than in 1978. If the resulting layoffs were spread out evenly among all of the one million auto workers, each worker would be laid off for an extra three weeks in 1979 and an extra month in 1980. Of course, the cutbacks won't be spread evenly: some will get speed-up and others will be on the street for many months. Some, especially at Chrysler, will never be called back.

Inflation is expected to continue climbing right through the recession, with gas and heating oil leading the way and medical care right behind. Real take-home pay (counting the effects of inflation) has already dropped three dollars a week since last fall for the average worker.

### GOVERNMENT — FRONT FOR BIG BUSINESS

Jimmy Carter has a simple plan for dealing with inflation: force workers to settle for small-change wage increases, while the corporations go on making record profits. UAW President Doug Fraser made some pretty tough statements last month, telling Carter to "stay the hell away" from the auto negotiations. Even if Fraser holds to those words, Carter still intends to put the heat on the union to stay close to the guidelines. And the Supreme Court ruled last month that he has the legal power to do so. If the trucking and rubber contracts are any yardstick, Carter won't be able to force the union to settle for 7% a year. But he will be able to hold the workers down to less than they could have won without the guidelines.

### THE CORPORATIONS — GREED NOT NEED

The auto companies are a mixed bag — GM and Ford are fat and sassy, as are most of the parts companies (Budd, Dana, etc.). Chrysler is hurting: not enough to go bankrupt, but some big changes are in the wind for that company. Chances are that Chrysler will stay with the pattern contract this year, but a breakaway move is possible.

The lower car sales for '79 and '80, and especially the big drop in sales of big cars, will hurt profits some. General Motors 1979 profit will drop to only about *three billion dollars* a year, from three and a half billion in 1978 (that's counting the effects of the long strike we expect).

Ford is a little behind GM, but not much. Chrysler is another story — they lost money in 1978 and will lose more in 1979. Although Chrysler can expect to bounce back to profit-making in 1981, it won't be nearly as profitable as GM or Ford.

Whether profits are high or low, one thing is sure — the loss of jobs will be a big problem for auto workers in the next few years. Even though production is expected to climb by at least one million cars per year, the US Bureau of Labor Statistics expects the total number of jobs in the auto plants to actually go down by about twenty thousand by the year 1985.

How can production and profits go up and jobs go down at the same time? Simple: automation, and more of it every day. At many plants, you'll need five or even ten years seniority to work steady from now on. Whether auto workers realize it yet or not, job security is shaping up as the major contract issue of the 80's.

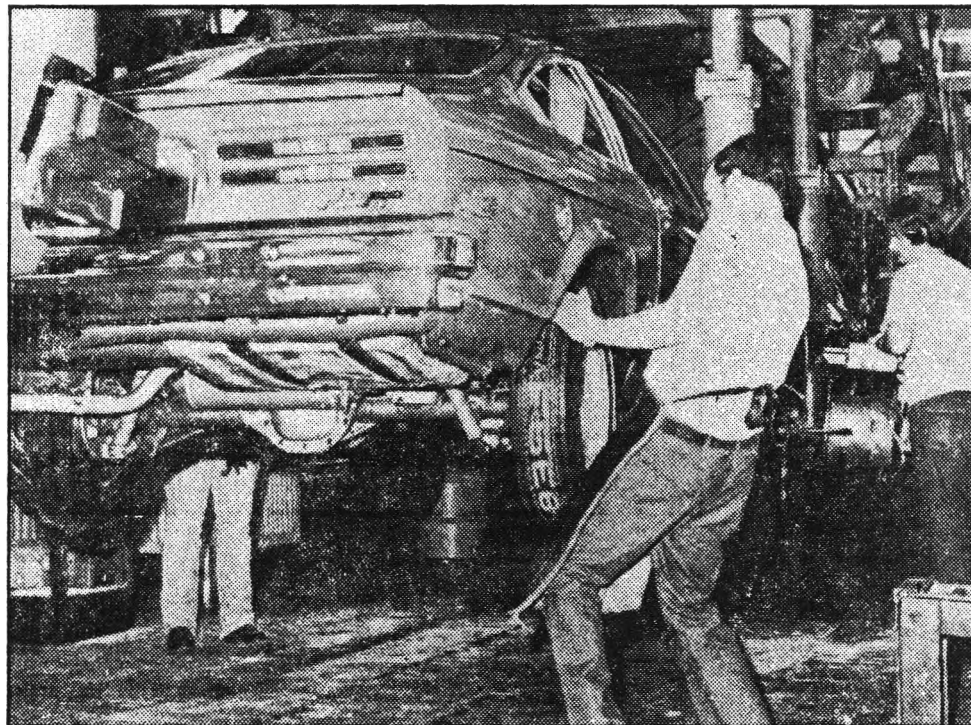
### THE UNION — TOUGH TALK, BUT...?

At the UAW's Special Bargaining Convention last spring, more money for pensions & regular cost-of-living allowance (COLA) in pensions was made the number one official union contract demand. A full UAW pension for a retiree at age 65 is now \$700 a month. Other key demands named at the Convention are shorter work time (more days off, which UAW leaders say will lead to the four-day week some day, and so create new jobs), more time off for overtime work (in addition to time-and-one-half pay), and a wage increase with bigger cost-of-living payments (average union wage in the Big 3 is now about nine dollars an hour).

Before the last contract in 1976, an organization called the "Cola On Pensions Committee" was formed to push the idea of regular COLA increases for retirees. The organization included UAW retirees, rank & file workers, and some local union officials. These forces organized a demonstration of a few hundred delegates at the 1979 bargaining Convention, and President Fraser responded by naming cost-of-living increases for retirees as "our number one demand in 1979". A similar loose organization also came together in 1976 to push the 4-day week demand. Rank & file caucuses in many locals are also pushing both the COLA in pensions and the 4-day week demands.

Since the Bargaining Convention, the priorities of the UAW leadership seem to be shifting, partly in response to rank & file pressure. The last issue of *Solidarity* (the UAW newspaper) to come out before negotiations started showed a definite shift in what was emphasized. COLA in Pensions was only mentioned once in the whole issue, while shorter work-time and protection against plant closings were highlighted.

While we agree that those two issues are two of the most important, and



There are nearly one million autoworkers in this country. This month, contract negotiations begin, and the auto companies may have a hot battle on their hands.

weren't emphasized enough in the past by the UAW leaders, don't forget that retirees do need COLA increases very badly. The Big 3 can certainly afford to make substantial concessions on *all three* issues. For example, using cost and profit figures from GM's Annual Report to Stockholders, the *Organizer* figured out that they could agree to a 4-day week at five days pay, and still make a profit of over *two billion dollars* the next year! That's as much profit as they made in 1974 and 75 put together.

One demand that stands out by being completely missing from the official program is the demand to integrate the skilled trades. Black workers make up at least a third of the unskilled workers in auto, but only about one out of twenty (or less) of the skilled workers. Women make up nearly one-fourth of unskilled workers, and less than one out of a hundred skilled trades. Apparently Fraser doesn't consider this blatant discrimination by the corporations (or the division and disunity it leads to among the union members) to be a problem.

The union's strike fund is quite a bit bigger now than it was three years ago: \$260 million dollars this June, compared to \$160 million dollars in June 1976. But that could be used up completely if a strike called against GM went much more than 60 days. UAW strike benefits are about \$60 a week, depending on how many dependents a worker has.

During the 1976 negotiations, many rank & file caucuses came together with some independent local union officials to form the *Coalition For a Good Contract*. The two main demands of that group were the four-day week and COLA in Pensions. The Coalition did have some effect: watered-down versions of these two demands were a part of the final contract. This spring, a number of rank and file caucuses took the initiative to organize a similar group for this contract, the Autoworkers for a Better Contract (ABC).

Unfortunately, the ABC was torn from the beginning by sharp disagreements over how to deal with the question of race discrimination. Some caucuses wanted to include a demand for opening up the skilled trades to Black and women workers, while others didn't even want the subject brought up. These differences proved too big to overcome, and the ABC has pretty much fallen apart as a national organization. It still exists as a strong formation in the Detroit area, although without the Independent Skilled Trades Council.

The bright side is that regional caucus organizations have held together in three key areas — Detroit, St. Louis,

and Eastern Pa./New Jersey. All three are united in retaining the focus on the struggle against racism, especially in relation to the skilled jobs. Detroit and St. Louis have the two largest concentrations of auto plants in the US, so these regional organizations may be able to have a real impact on the national UAW contract.

### PUTTING IT ALL TOGETHER

Putting all those factors together — the economy, Carter's plans, the corporations, the union leaders, and the rank & file — what do we come up with? With the corporations determined to keep profits up during hard times, and the workers' need for big improvements in the contract just to protect their jobs and income, the two sides are on a collision course. There will almost certainly be a strike on September 15, and GM will probably be the "target" company. (The "target" is the company that is struck if an agreement can't be reached by the September 15th deadline.)

There's an outside chance that the union will pick Ford as the strike target, since it's more vulnerable to a strike than GM. But GM has the really big bucks, and that's who the union most likely will go after. If GM is struck, it will probably be a long one, two months at least. GM won't give in easily: with profits down some, the Company will be tighter than usual with a dollar. They know that the big layoffs this summer have put the workers in a weaker position to last out a long strike.

The companies also know that if they push for take-aways (like workers paying for future increases in Blue Cross rates) at a time when workers are feeling this ripped-off and angry, they might set off a rebellion too hot to handle. So the Big 3 will probably put take-away demands on the table for show, and then drop them.

Their real goal is to hold the union to a small increase in wages and benefits. With a 9% or 10% yearly increase, autoworkers would still be left worse off than they are now, because of inflation. And the companies would be ahead. Even with the layoffs, most rank and file union members are mad enough and worried enough about inflation and unemployment to favor a strike in order to get a better contract.

How long can they hold out? How much pressure will they put on their union leaders? What terms will they vote to accept? How long can and will the companies hold out? How openly will Carter side with the companies? Well, let me take a look at this crystal ball, here...



# The Weber Case Affirmative Action Wins

by Karl Baker

The following article was contributed by Karl Baker, Vice Chairperson of the Philadelphia Chapter of the National Conference of Black Lawyers.

Last year in early July, hundreds of Philadelphians gathered on the east side of City Hall to protest the *Bakke* decision which had just been handed down by the United States Supreme Court. The coalition of groups present that day unanimously denounced *Bakke*. Although some of the "established" civil rights groups tried to minimize its impact and even discover "redeeming features", few were fooled. The Philadelphia Chapter of the National Conference of Black Lawyers appropriately described *Bakke* as "a racist attack on affirmative action" and promised to "continue to struggle in the courts and the streets until the *Bakke* decision is reversed and equality achieved."

The forces of racism, sexism and reaction won a big victory in the *Bakke* decision. Racists everywhere took heart in the decision and sensed their power on the rise. At schools across the country, affirmative action programs which had been implemented only under great pressure, were placed in doubt as a process of "reevaluation" began. Here in Philadelphia racist Mayor Rizzo beat his chest and declared that all affirmative action programs were "headed out the window."

## FIGHTBACK GROWS

Instead, the people of Philadelphia put Frank Rizzo out the window. The upsurge of struggle, particularly in the Black community that led to Rizzo's defeat, also inspired a determined and broad-based effort to defend affirmative action.

During the winter, the groundwork was laid for a conference on affirmative action. Nearly 50 organizations lent their support. On April 7th a successful conference, attended by hundreds of participants from all segments of the community, culminated in two important decisions: 1) the establishment of the Philadelphia Affirmative Action Coalition; and 2) participation in a regional demonstration in Washington, D.C. during the National Anti-Weber Week.

Those who attended the conference and demonstration were quick to learn that the *Weber* case, then pending before the US Supreme Court, was potentially far more damaging to the struggle for equal opportunity than the highly publicized *Bakke* decision.

## SUGGESTED READING ...

The struggle over the *Weber* case has produced considerable material analyzing the case and drawing out its importance. The following are three pamphlets well worth reading:

**Equality on the Job — A Working Person's Guide to Affirmative Action** is a 116 page, illustrated pamphlet putting forward the argument for affirmative action in a straightforward and readable fashion. It contains an extensive and well documented treatment of the *Weber* Case. Available for \$2.00 from the *Affirmative Action Coalition, c/o Center for Law and Social Policy, 1751 "N" Street N.W., Washington, D.C., 20036.*

**Labor and Affirmative Action** looks at the issues involved in the *Weber* case — is affirmative action "reverse discrimination"; affirmative action and seniority; affirmative action and collective bargaining and labor's stake in beating back *Weber*. Available from the *Michigan Coalition to Overturn the Bakke Decision, 409 Griswald 4th floor, Detroit, Michigan, 48226.*

**Why White Workers Should Support Affirmative Action** treats the struggle for affirmative action as part of the overall struggle for equality and class unity. The pamphlet is addressed to white workers and argues their objective interest in promoting affirmative action. Available for 50 cents from the *Detroit Marxist-Leninist Organization, PO Box 09262, Detroit, Michigan, 48209.*

## THE WEBER CASE

The case of *Weber v. Kaiser Aluminum, et. al* was brought by Brian Weber, a white male laboratory technician at the Kaiser Aluminum plant in Gramercy, Louisiana. The plant was opened in 1958 at about the time that Governor Orval Faubus was calling out the National Guard in Little Rock, Arkansas to prevent the court-ordered integration of Central High School. Although 39% of the workforce of the surrounding region was Black, as late as 1975, only 13% of the workers in the plant were Black.

In 1964 Congress passed Title VII of the Civil Rights Act which outlawed racial and sexual discrimination in private employment. In 1965, shortly after the Watts rebellion, President Johnson issued Executive Order No. 11246, which requires that private employers doing business with the federal government institute affirmative action programs to overcome the past effects of racial discrimination. In 1967 this was expanded to cover sexual discrimination. Brian Weber was hired at the Gramercy plant in November of 1968.

Under the terms of the Executive Order, Kaiser Aluminum was subject to review for compliance by the Atomic Energy Commission (AEC). Despite repeated reviews and recommendations, the AEC found as late as 1973 that there were no Blacks or women among the approximately 250 skilled craft workers at the Gramercy plant. One of its early recommendations had been that Kaiser establish a training program for craft jobs (rather than hire outside the plant from all-white craft unions) and that 40% of the trainees be minorities.

## 1974 AGREEMENT

In 1974 Kaiser Aluminum and the United Steel Workers Union finally responded to prompting from the Federal government and the fear that women and minority workers would file suit under Title VII. The company and union negotiated and agreed upon their first on-the-job training program for skilled craft workers. Fifty percent of the slots were set aside for Blacks and women.

The target for minority participation in the skilled craft workforce was 39%. The goal for women was set at 5%, with the questionable justification that only a small number of women would apply for this line of work. Kaiser assumed the \$15-20,000 yearly cost of training each applicant. The program was a real victory for all of the workers at Gramercy, since prior to that time they had no opportunity to advance to the skilled craft positions.



organizer photo

The two Justices who did not take part in the *Weber* decision previously supported Allen Bakke, and may be presumed to support Brian Weber. Significantly, however, one of the Justices who voted with the majority in the *Bakke* decision (Justice Stewart) changed sides and voted to reverse the lower court in *Weber*. Although different sections of the 1964 Civil Rights Act are involved in the *Bakke* and *Weber* decisions, the contrast in the approach adopted by Justice Stewart in his interpretation of those two sections of the Act is striking. This may indicate that Justice Stewart would change his vote in *Bakke* if the case were decided today, thereby creating a new five to four majority.

The clear lessons to be learned from the events of this past year is that the demonstration of our determination in the streets may determine what occurs in the highest courts. The victory which we won in *Weber* is of a defensive nature. We have succeeded in establishing only the legitimacy of voluntary affirmative action programs, and only in the field of private employment. We now must struggle to unite and strengthen our forces, reverse the *Bakke* decision, and fight to see that voluntary affirmative action programs serving those who have been discriminated against and oppressed are implemented and enforced.

Applicants were chosen based on their seniority, with the seniority of white males, Black workers and women treated separately. Thirteen trainees were picked the first year — seven Blacks and six whites. Although Brian Weber was 44th in overall seniority and had no hope of being chosen the first year with or without an affirmative action component, he challenged the program as constituting "reverse discrimination." He pointed to the fact that two Black trainees had less seniority than he by three months.

As a member of the grievance committee, Weber instituted a grievance with the union against the company, but since Kaiser was complying with the contract, the grievance was dismissed. Eventually he filed suit in Federal Court under Title VII of the Civil Rights Act.

## WEBER IN THE COURTS

The suit was given a one day hearing in Federal District Court. No Blacks or women were invited to give testimony concerning discriminatory practices. The US government did not intervene or give evidence of Kaiser's failure to comply with Executive Order 11246. Neither of the defendants, the company nor union, were willing to admit to past discrimination, since to do so might open them up to employment discrimination suits.

The District Court held that there had been no past discrimination, and that the affirmative action program was, therefore, "reverse discrimination" in violation of Title VII. The Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals affirmed the District Court, while explaining that if there had been past discrimination the affirmative action program would be legal.

This was the record that came before the Supreme Court. The problem which it

posed was clear. If the Court held that it was necessary to show proof of past discrimination before an affirmative action program could be upheld, then the implementation of voluntary or negotiated affirmative action programs by private employers would be ended.

No employer or union would be willing to defend an affirmative action program by admitting past discrimination, since that admission would make the employer liable for damages through employment discrimination suits. Yet the struggle for more voluntary programs offers the only hope for Blacks, Hispanics and women gaining greater access to decent jobs, since the alternative — litigation — is all too often expensive, time consuming and, in the end, frustrating.

Clearly, a large segment of the Supreme Court was comfortable with the lower court's decision. They were not concerned with the devastating impact that it would have upon the lives and hopes of many Black and women workers. They would rather that the equal protection clause of the 14th Amendment and Title VII be interpreted as "color blind" in the face of centuries of slavery, Jim Crow, segregation and continuing discrimination. For these justices, the principle of "color blindness" would serve to maintain the status quo, just as the principle of "separate but equal" served the Court at the turn of the century in the case of *Plessy v. Ferguson*.

## SUPREME COURT FELT THE HEAT

Yet the Court was also aware of the price that it would have to pay in defense of the status quo. It was aware of the growing militancy among Black workers, and the increasing readiness of white workers to grapple with the issue of racism. It was aware of the growing organization and consciousness among women in the struggle against sexism.

It was aware of the increasing focus which the struggle had taken on the issue of affirmative action, and the unity of forces which had been achieved. Finally, it was aware that the labor movement had begun to correctly perceive that the *Weber* case was both an attack on collective bargaining and working class unity. In the end, the majority of the Court broke with the direction that it had taken in the *Bakke* decision.

By a five to two decision, with two justices not taking part, the Supreme Court reversed the lower court's decision and virtually adopted the arguments of many of the organizations, such as the National Conference of Black Lawyers, which had filed *amicus curiae* (friend of the court) briefs opposing Brian Weber.

The Supreme Court held that Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act does not prohibit private employers from adopting affirmative action plans, even those using racial quotas if the plans are either "designed to eliminate conspicuous racial imbalance in traditionally segregated job categories" or adopted as a remedial response to "arguable violations" of Title VII.



# Racism in the Deep South ...

## Ku Klux Klan Steps Up Terror

by Jack Owens

*"We do not burn a cross but rather we light it to show that the Christian religion and the white race excludes darkness."*

—Ku Klux Klan speaker, Alabama, October 1978

To those who thought that the Ku Klux Klan was merely a forgotten part of our history — be warned. The burning cross is again flaring throughout the land spreading the virulent racism of its hooded bearers.

The Klan was formed in the post-Civil War South as a means to terrorize newly-freed Black slaves, so that they would not carry forward the democratic gains of Reconstruction. The Klan was responsible for thousands of beatings and murders both in and out of the South until the rising Civil Rights Movement forced the white sheets to be temporarily laid aside.

Riding the coattails of a general right-wing, racist offensive, the last two years have seen an upsurge of Klan activity in almost every part of the country. Klan members have openly participated in bitter anti-busing struggles in Boston and Louisville, Ky. They have publicly demonstrated in Seabrook, N. H., in support of the embattled Seabrook nuclear power plant. Typical of hundreds of incidents are the following:

\*\*\*In February, 1978, white men carved the letters "KKK" into the stomach of white anti-apartheid activist Richard Lapchick after invading his Virginia office.

\*\*\*In January 1979 the new home of a Deer Park, Long Island, NY Black family was burned to the ground seven hours after a cross was burned on their front lawn.

\*\*\*In June, 1979, two white men dressed in KKK robes shot arrows at 12-year-old Black Christopher Burley as he was delivering newspapers in the Dorchester section of Boston.

### PROTRACTED STRUGGLE IN TUPELO

The Deep South remains the stronghold of violent Klan activity. To their anger and surprise, however, Klan terrorists are finding that Black people in Mississippi and Alabama will not be intimidated out of their struggle for freedom.

The struggle of Blacks against official racism and Klan terror in Tupelo, Miss.

have focused national attention on this northern Mississippi town of 25,000. Led by the United League, (UL), Tupelo is the scene of perhaps the most militant and long term organized struggle of Blacks since the '60's. Protests of school racism, police brutality, and racist hiring practices have produced militant street actions and a crippling economic boycott of white merchants.

United League leaders have demonstrated a broad political awareness that reaches far beyond the boundaries of Tupelo. United League President Skip Robinson has frequently condemned the runaway, non-union shops plaguing the South. Attorney and UL leader Lewis Myers, at a November, 1978 rally, linked the struggle of Tupelo Blacks to the liberation movements of southern Africa and Palestine.

The Tupelo campaign has also been distinguished by the willingness of Blacks to defend themselves against racist attacks. In the presence of open police identification with the Klan, armed UL security forces have protected every march.

On the same day as one of the first United League demonstrations in May, 1978, the Klan held a rally in a city-owned recreation center attended by "99% of the city's cops, the chief of police, and the Mayor", according to Skip Robinson.

At a rally on June 10, 1978, the UL defied Klan threats to turn the march into a "blood bath". None of the 1200 marchers were injured although the atmosphere was so tense that one participant said afterwards, "none of us expected to come back." A Klan march of 150 on the same day was marked by the active participation of Tupelo police officers some of whom marched with billy clubs in hand.

Having failed to stem mass actions, the Klan — in typical cowardly fashion — has resorted to individual acts of terrorism. In June, 1978, a reporter covering the struggle was beaten by Tupelo police and later forced at gunpoint out of a local restaurant by hooded Klansmen.

In August, 1978, Klansmen fired 16 bullets into a car containing six Blacks but quickly fled when the Black returned their fire.

In November, 1978, after a march of 3000, with national participation, the Klan sabotaged a UL bus, nearly causing a tragic accident, and severely beat two



Bulletin

The Black Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) leads a march of 1500 Blacks protesting the frame-up of a retarded Black man, Tommy Lee Hines, on a rape charge.

United League supporters returning to their home in Birmingham, Alabama.

Half-way through 1979 the UL continues to grow and become stronger, and plans to organize chapters in other parts of Mississippi and Alabama.

### ALABAMA AND TOMMY LEE HINES

For the past year, the quiet town of Decatur, Alabama, has been the focus of Klan organizing in Alabama — a violent process set in motion by the case of Tommy Lee Hines.

In May, 1978, Tommy Lee Hines, a 25-year-old retarded Black man, was arrested by the Decatur police for raping two white women. Within hours the police announced that Hines had confessed and that a third rape charge had been added. Decatur residents were astounded, describing Hines as "shy, polite, and afraid of the dark". One resident speculated about the confessions. "I can just see a policeman saying 'Boy, you did it, didn't you?' and he'd say 'Yes, sir, yes sir.'"

At his trial on the first rape charge it was pointed out that not only would Hines have had to make careful plans for the abduction, but that he would have had to drive the victim to a deserted Decatur railroad station where the crime was committed.

Yet his teachers at the North Central Alabama Center for the Developmentally Disabled testified that his mental retardation and limited coordination would have made these acts impossible.

His father stressed that he could not even ride a bike let alone drive a car, and Dr. Jack Anderson, a white psychiatrist from the University of Alabama, testified that Hines had a mental age of six years and was incapable of understanding his "confession".

White Judge Jack Riley, however, refused to allow the all-white jury to hear testimony concerning his mental capacity, and on October 13, 1978, Tommy Lee Hines was convicted and sentenced to 30 years in prison.

From the time of his arrest, the KKK in Alabama has focussed on Hines, playing on one of the oldest and vilest of racist myths — the so-called "lust" of Black men for white women.

In August, 1978, the Klan staged a rally of 6000 in Decatur. On October 1, 1978, the day before the trial opened, Klansmen, armed with guns, clubs and

lead pipes, blocked a planned march by Hines' supporters from Decatur to the site of the trial in nearby Cullman.

Since Hines' conviction last October, Klan terror has spread from Decatur like ripples in a pond. In December, 1978, the Rev. Manuel Whitfield was whipped and beaten by three Klansmen after speaking at a rally in support of Hines.

In February, 1979, fully 200 robed and heavily armed Klansmen paraded through Decatur protesting a new city ordinance banning the carrying of weapons within 1000 feet of a public demonstration. Decatur police, some shouting greetings to Klan members, stood quietly nearby. The same day 200 Klansmen armed with sawed-off shotguns and pistols surrounded eight Black Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) pickets and fired shots into one of their cars.

In spite of the blatant terrorism and open display of weapons, including sub-machine guns, arrests of Klan members have been few and far between. In April 20 members of the United Klan of America were indicted for conspiring to shoot into the homes of two Alabama NAACP leaders.

Hours after he agreed to testify against the Klansmen, white Alabama resident Loyal Newton Bailey was found bludgeoned to death two blocks from the Birmingham Court House where the trial was taking place. Asked of the motive for the shootings, key government witness, Klansman Randy C. Ward said: "To intimidate them ... keep them in their place. They were trying to push affirmative action by getting Blacks jobs and trying to push for the promotion of Black people." Nine of the 20 were eventually convicted and given 2-4 year prison terms — sentences denounced as a mere "wrist-slapping" by Alabama civil rights leaders.

### FBI "INVESTIGATES"

The escalating violence around Decatur pushed the FBI to announce in early May that they were launching an investigation into Klan activities in Alabama — not surprisingly this announcement was not greeted with joy by anti-racists.

The FBI has proven that it is hardly a friend of Black people. Their campaign to smear and blackmail Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. is well-known. Last summer revelations by former Klan FBI informer Gary Thomas Rowe Jr. suggests that he covered up Klan terror and was encour-

(continued on page 16)

Organizer, August 1979, page 7



UPI Photo

One hundred and fifty Ku Klux Klansmen march through the streets of Decatur, Alabama, guarded by a KKK security man. Afterwards, 1500 Blacks marched (see photo above).



# The Energy Crisis, Part I

## Is There an Oil Shortage ?

by Jim Griffin

Long lines at the gas pumps and skyrocketing prices for gasoline, home heating fuel, and other petro-chemical products have brought home the "energy crisis" to the US people with a vengeance. The implications of this crisis run well beyond the dislocations caused by scarce fuel and the hole in our wallet as a result of high prices. Both the Carter administration and the economic experts are talking recession as both a consequence and a cure to the energy crisis, a recession that will mean a further deterioration of our standard of living. The Pentagon and leading figures in government are talking openly about the possibility of US military intervention in the Middle-East, an action that could produce war and nuclear confrontation. Given all these things, it's absolutely clear that we need to understand this crisis — what are its causes and what is its solution.

Many answers compete for our attention. The oil companies and the federal government tell us that we are running out of oil and that the solution is to tighten our belts and conserve. Exxon, Gulf, and the other monopolies are simply trying to help us by raising the prices to levels where we will be forced to use less. Washington and Big Oil also cite OPEC as the culprit, arguing that the oil producing nations are blackmailing consumers here and abroad.

In the face of this propaganda barrage the majority of the US people instinctively think that the crisis is a

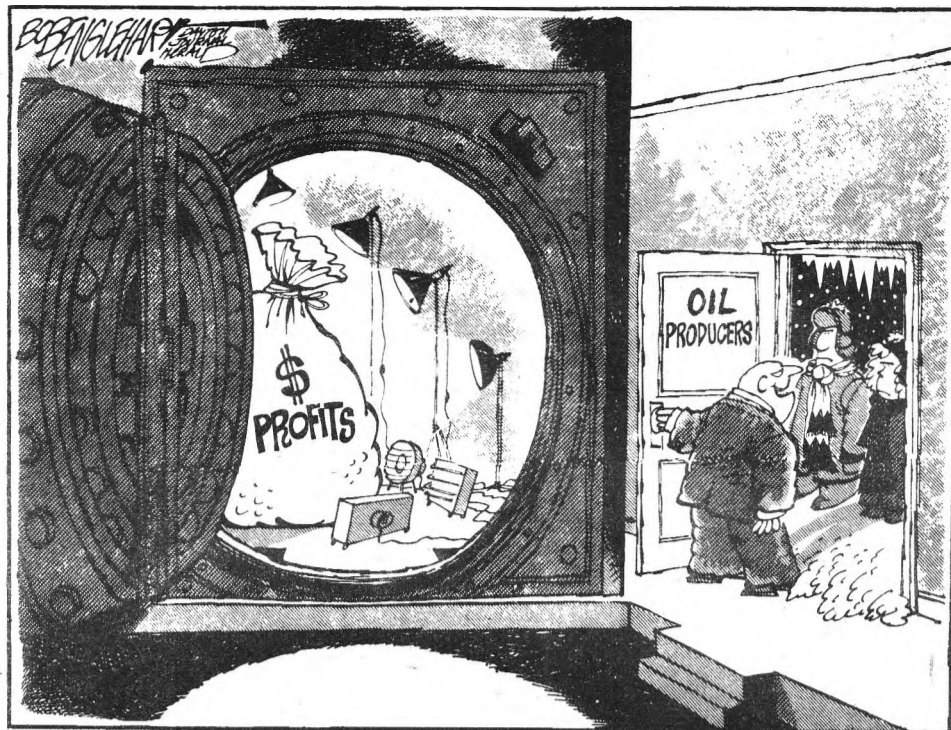
phony and that the real problem is the oil monopolies greed for higher profits, a greed that is unrestrained by the federal government. And a careful and sober analysis of the energy situation shows that this instinct is on the mark.

### ARE WE RUNNING OUT OF FUEL?

The simple fact is that there is no physical shortage of energy resources. What there is is an artificially created shortage rooted in the operation of the international capitalist economy that serves to further the interests of the dominant monopoly groupings.

We should note at the outset that cries that we are running out of oil are nothing new. In 1866, only 7 years after the discovery of the Western Pennsylvania oil fields kicked off the modern petroleum industry, the US Revenue commission called for the development of synthetic alternatives because of anticipated shortages in crude oil. In 1891 the US Geological Survey proclaimed that there was little or no chance of finding oil in Texas. In almost every succeeding year the industry and government warned about declining resources and claimed that domestic production had peaked. Yet production continued to rise dramatically and new reserves kept being uncovered.

In 1939 the Department of the Interior sounded the alarm, proclaiming that the US only had enough oil to last for 13 years. Oil production, neverthe-



"Sorry, but there's really nothing we can do to help you."

less, steadily rose into the 1970s. Only when, owing to regulation, the price of domestic crude dipped well below that of imported oil, did production level off. Once again we hear the warnings. Yet now that deregulation allows the price of domestic crude to rise we can expect production, none too mysteriously, to rise as well.

According to a comprehensive study undertaken by Yale University, the world's present oil reserves are sufficient to last 70 years at the present rate of consumption. Reserves only include oil that can be profitably recovered, given the present technology. Oil shale reserves, which are only now beginning to be exploited, are estimated to be 200 times that of crude. Coal, a conventional alternative to oil, exists in far greater abundance, enough to last for over 500 years. Moreover, contrary to popular impression, much of the world's surface

has not yet been explored for oil. The abundance of cheaply produced crude, particularly in the Middle East, has dampened the incentive of the oil companies to explore until very recently. Even the Middle East is thought to have considerably more oil than present reserves indicate. Thus the image of an oil hungry world scraping the bottom of the barrel simply does not conform to the facts.

Of course oil, and coal too, are depletable resources. They will not last forever and thus intelligent conservation and a gradual conversion to renewable energy sources like hydroelectric and solar power is only rational. But capitalism is not a rational system and its laws of motion have little to do with what makes sense for society. The present hue and cry over an oil shortage is not designed to promote a socially rational energy policy, but to help the oil

(continued on page 14)

## Movement for Public Ownership of Oil

While Jimmy Carter asks us to turn off our air conditioners and swelter in the summer heat in order to conserve energy, more and more Americans have a better idea — take over the oil companies! The fightback against Big Oil is growing and the demand for nationalization is moving toward center stage.

A growing number of unions have endorsed this demand. At the July 2nd conference of District 31 of the United Steel Workers (USWA), representing 210,000 members, a resolution was unanimously adopted calling for the federal government to "take control of all basic energy resources, cancel nuclear power programs

and begin implementation of renewable technologies..." Other unions, the UAW for example, have called for a more limited government takeover of exploration and refining.

Environmentalists and labor, often at odds, are coming together over the energy question. Ed Sadlowski, leader of the rank and file insurgency in the Steelworkers, and Barry Commoner, a well known environmentalist, have called for the formation of a Citizens Party with public control of energy as its central demand. Commoner says an independent party is needed in the coming election year "to help citizens take back control over our own resources, our capital, our political and economic institutions..."

Parren Mitchell (D-Md), head of the Congressional Black Caucus, has introduced a bill in the House of Representatives calling for investigation of the feasibility of nationalizing the oil industry. That this idea, long deemed "radical" and "socialistic", is even being discussed in the halls of Congress in an indication of its growing influence among working people.

### HERE IN PHILLY

Early in July a new coalition, POCO (Public Ownership and Control of Oil) was formed. Its program opposes deregulation of oil and gas and calls for the rollback of gasoline and home heating fuel prices, and for public ownership of the energy industry. Its first meeting attracted representatives from the Philadelphia Workers Organizing Committee (PWOC), Tenant Action Group (TAG), the Puerto Rican Alliance, the trade union committee of the Black United Front (BUF), the Keystone Alliance, the National Lawyers Guild, Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC), the Revolutionary Workers Headquarters (RWHq), and others. The new group plans a series of activities to mobilize the people of the Delaware Valley to fight back.

The BUF has also called for nationalization of the oil industry. They are distributing a bumper sticker calling for nationalization and putting forward the slogan "Pumps to the People."

Organized labor has also taken a major initiative. The Citizen Labor Energy Coalition called a "Rally Against Big Oil." The Retail Clerks, 1199-C, the Teamsters, the International Association of Machinists and the Building Trades Council are all involved in the coalition. The coalition has advanced a three point "People's Energy Program" calling for no deregulation, full refinery production, and the formation of a publicly owned

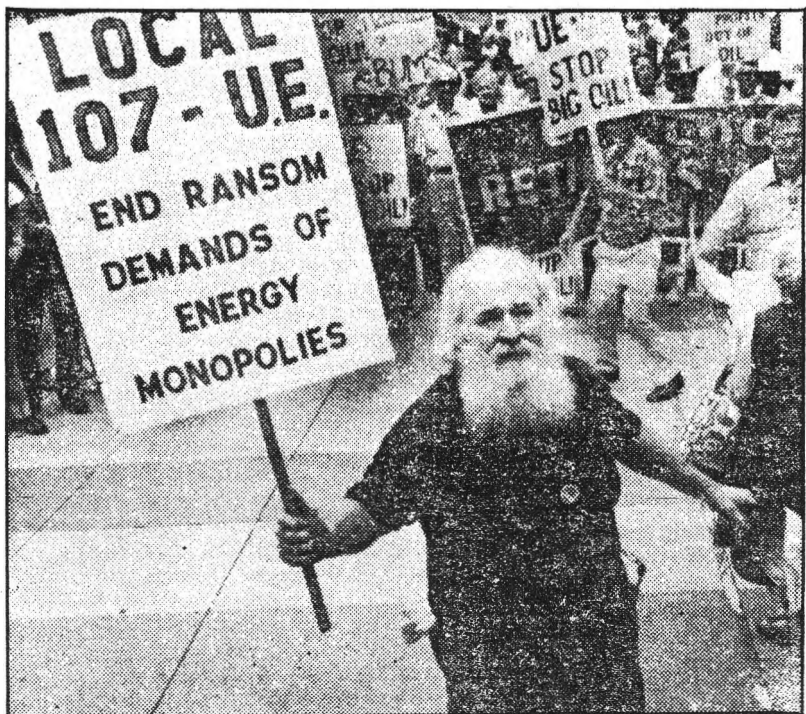
Energy Corporation of America. The Citizen/Labor group stops short of calling for a takeover of the existing privately owned energy monopolies. However, POCO participated in the rally and raises this demand with the blessings of the coalition.

In building this fightback movement, we have to keep certain things in mind. First, resolutions and statements are fine and good, but they must be backed up by mass mobilization. Only a mass movement of thousands and millions of US working people can block Carter's program of cutbacks in our living standards and move toward a real solution of the energy crisis. This movement needs to reach out and educate. It needs to bring people into the streets. It must make people's control of energy a burning issue in the next election.

Secondly, we must couple the demand for nationalization with the demand for democratic controls and management. The federal bureaucracy, as loyal servants of the monopoly capitalist class, cannot be entrusted to run the energy industry. There must be direct, popular participation in the administration of energy and the development of policy if public ownership is to genuinely serve the people's interest.

### YOUR CALENDAR FOR FIGHTING BACK AGAINST BIG OIL

- July 30th — POCO Demo, ARCO Hq, 15th and Market — Noontime
- August 4th — Anti-Nuclear Day of Protest. Display and panel discussion on public ownership and control of oil, Independence Mall
- August 25th — POCO Mass demonstration — time and place TBA.
- August 30th — Rally Against Big Oil, sponsored by Citizen Labor Coalition, JFK Plaza, 12:45



As the major oil companies rake in record profits, the people in the US are organizing. This fightback calls for the nationalization and public control of the oil industry.



# Victory in Nicaragua : Reconstruction Begins

by Kate O'Hare

The motto of the Sandinistas in Nicaragua is "a free country or death". On July 19th the Sandinistas took over all of Nicaragua as the hated National Guard collapsed. Nicaragua, for the first time in 40 years, was a free country. But over 15,000 had died in the seven week long insurrection led by the Sandinistas. 600,000 were homeless and lacked food, and 200,000 were unemployed in a country of 2.3 million people.

Somoza and about 50 of his top staff flew to Homestead Air Force Base in Florida on July 17. Somoza then began his life in exile at his palatial \$500,000 villa near Miami. It is only one of several mansions he owns in Florida. He also owns real estate in Texas, New York, and Europe. In Florida he owns a major supplier of beef and seafood which controls much of the meat distribution in southern Florida. All in all he has some \$500 million which he stole from the people of Nicaragua and has taken with him to southern Florida, the home of so many right wing Latins who the US has welcomed over the years.

## LAST MINUTE MANEUVERS

The US tried until the last to force the new Government of National Reconstruction to expand and include more right-wing elements. At first the State Department wanted Somoza to resign and be replaced by another member of the right-wing Liberal Party who would form a new government in Managua. This government would then ask for a cease-fire and open talks with the Sandinistas. But as the Sandinistas grew stronger militarily day by day, this scheme grew increasingly irrelevant.

The State Department, after ignoring the Sandinistas completely until the very end, finally sought direct talks with them. Newly appointed ambassador Pezzullo and special envoy Bowdler met with the five person Junta which heads the new Government of National Reconstruction. Talks were held in Panama and Costa Rica.

Two of the five person Junta are active guerilla leaders and often were absent from the talks because they were fighting inside Nicaragua. One is Moises Hassan Morales, leader of the United People's Movement, a mass organization bringing together many rank and file groups in Nicaragua. The United People's Movement is closely tied to the Sandinistas. The other guerilla leader is Daniel Ortega Saavedra, who at 35 years of age has been a guerilla in the Sandinista Army for 20 years. He is a leader of the Tercerista group, one of three factions which existed in the Sandinistas previous to a merger which took place earlier this year.

In the talks Bowdler and Pezzullo proposed that the five person Junta agree to incorporate two new right-wing members, and that the Junta agree to keeping the National Guard intact in the new Nicaragua. It should be remembered that most of the officers of the National Guard, including the lower level officers who did not go with Somoza into exile, have been trained by the US military.

The US representatives also wanted guarantees that Somoza supporters would not be harmed. In return for this, the US offered to get Somoza to resign and leave the country. The Junta refused to accept these demands. The US then got other Latin countries which had been supporting the Junta financially and politically (mainly Venezuela, Costa Rica, and Panama) to agree to cut back aid unless the Junta agreed to the US plan. This seemed like a major success for US diplomacy until further Sandinista successes on the battlefield once again made the US moves irrelevant.

The Sandinista rebels captured every town in Nicaragua except Managua, and

the ammunition of the National Guard was running out, despite secret arms shipments originating from Israel and from US bases in Panama.

When Somoza did leave, for a brief moment other politicians in Managua tried to hold out and remain in power, but that attempt quickly failed as the National Guard completely collapsed. On July 18, for example, the Guard kidnapped several planes coming into the Managua airport and loaded their families and friends into them for flights outside the country. Some went to Miami, some to Honduras. Those who went to Miami were allowed in the country with no questions asked. Apparently they had arranged all their papers beforehand.

Finally the US agreed to recognize the Junta as the new government of Nicaragua and obtained Somoza's resignation with no conditions. The Junta promised only to allow all Somoza supporters to leave the country using the Church and the Red Cross as institutions which would oversee the exit of Guardsmen and other Somoza supporters.

Meanwhile, the Junta established itself at first in rebel-held Leon, the country's second largest city. There the two guerilla commanders from the field joined the other Junta members on July 18. On July 19 the Junta was able to enter Managua and take power, as the leader of the National Guard surrendered.

## LESSONS OF NICARAGUAN REVOLUTION

In the end, all the schemes of the State Dept. went down the drain, and the Sandinistas captured city after city. The ace-in-the-hole offered by the US, Somoza's resignation and a cease-fire, was increasingly worthless as the Sandinistas neared an outright military victory on their own. Once again, the classic lessons of anti-imperialist struggles have been reaffirmed. Ultimately, to insure a political victory, it is necessary to disarm the military forces of imperialism.

This was the lesson of the Cuban revolution. It was also the lesson of the Chilean revolution which failed when the Allende forces did not have the armed strength to defeat the US-sponsored Chilean military. And now it is the lesson of the Nicaraguan revolution. It is surely a lesson which is being learned by the masses in other Latin countries oppressed by military dictatorships backed by the US. The Nicaraguan example will have a tremendous effect on the masses of Guatemala and El Salvador, for example — where near civil war already exists.

Of course, the Nicaraguan revolution also shows how to combine the military

and the political. The Sandinistas did not make the mistake of being isolated from the mass movement. They were constantly present in the mass struggles for better housing, better wages, more health care, etc. Their call for a general strike last June 4th was heeded by most of the population, and had a lot to do with the downfall of Somoza.

Their ties with the masses were seen in their rapid ability to expand their forces over the last year of military confrontations with the National Guard. In each attack on the National Guard, the support of the population was obvious. Often civilians played direct military roles. After each combat more civilians joined up, until the Sandinistas at the end were able to field an army of 15,000 against a National Guard of about the same size. Just a year ago, the Sandinista Army numbered only about 2000.

At the same time, the FSLN (Sandinista Liberation Front) has set an example of how to build a united front. The FSLN united with the moderate bourgeois opposition, represented by the Broad Opposition Front, on a democratic program for a post-Somoza Nicaragua.

Last year the Broad Opposition Front tried to go it alone, with US backing, in negotiations with Somoza. But Somoza refused to submit to a general election to determine popular support for his government, and the negotiations fell apart. The Broad Opposition Front then lost credibility and the initiative passed to the Sandinistas who had the military strength. Thus, the unity between the Broad Opposition Front and the Sandinistas did not require major concessions from the FSLN.

After the moderate bourgeois opposition joined in with the Sandinistas, all US efforts to split them apart failed. The Sandinistas also were able to gain the financial and political support of a number of moderate Latin American governments which have been opposed to the Somoza dictatorship for a long time. This support was crucial in order to isolate Somoza internationally and to gain the necessary military supplies for the defeat of the National Guard.

The basis of FSLN unity with the bourgeois opposition to Somoza is a broad democratic program which has gained support from almost all sectors of Nicaraguan society. Yet the FSLN has been able to lead the united front, not tail behind the bourgeois sectors of it, because it has had the support of the masses and the control of the troops.

In the new Nicaragua the FSLN will retain the political and military control

of the government and will make sure the demands of the masses are met. A top leader of the FSLN, Tomas Borge, will occupy the important post of Minister of the Interior. With this kind of control, the FSLN will be able to bargain from a position of strength with those elements of the bourgeoisie which are willing to work for national reconstruction.

Even during the initial period of reconstruction, we can expect the new government to move towards socialism. This direction will begin immediately when Somoza's vast holdings are taken over by the state.

## OUR TASKS

Our job here is to pressure the US government to provide massive financial aid to the new Nicaraguan government. The country is devastated. The National Guard bombing of the cities caused widespread physical destruction. The US supplied the planes and the bombs to the Guard. Reparations are now in order.

Furthermore, we must demand that Somoza be deported. Somoza is one of the most hated dictators of this century, responsible for the deaths of thousands upon thousands of Nicaraguans. The US should deport him back to Nicaragua to face justice. Right now he is basking in the Florida sun, rolling in wealth which was stolen at gunpoint from the people of Nicaragua and which should be returned to them.

Finally we must be alert for US attempts to overthrow the new government once things have quieted down. We can all remember how the US supposedly remained neutral when Allende was elected in Chile, but actually promoted a financial blockade which strangled the Chilean economy, while at the same time training fascists to carry out terrorism inside Chile.

We can expect US imperialism to try the same kind of thing in Nicaragua. Furthermore, Nicaragua's new government is sure to be a threat to the rulers of neighboring Guatemala, Honduras, and El Salvador. Those countries may well try to topple the Nicaraguan government using military force and supported covertly by the US.

The victory of the people of Nicaragua is likely to be a stimulation to all the popular movements in Latin America, where after a decade of military terror the masses are once again starting to take the offensive. We in the US have a great responsibility to promote active solidarity with Nicaragua, not just today as victory is achieved but in all the difficult days of national reconstruction which lie ahead.



Another tyrant has been overthrown! Joining the Shah of Iran on "vacation" is Nicaragua's ex-dictator, Somoza. Above, a rally in Washington, D.C. demonstrating in support of the new Nicaraguan government.



# Black Political Convention Endorses Human Rights Slate

by Mike Simmons

Phase III of the Black Political Convention was held on July 13, 14 and 15 at Tendely Temple AME Church. During the weekend meeting, 2,000-3,000 people from a broad spectrum of organizations met to debate the critical issues facing the Black community and to consider endorsements of candidates for the November election.

At Phase II of the Black Political Convention, a slate of candidates was endorsed with Charles Bowser at the head of the ticket. John Street was the only endorsed candidate who won, although there is strong evidence that voter irregularity may have prevented Herb DeBeary from claiming victory over Joe Coleman in the 8th Councilmanic District.

The convention was held against the backdrop of the bizarre events surrounding Charlie Bowser (see adjacent article). After making a deal to support Bill Green for mayor, Bowser abruptly "resigned" from public life and failed to show up at a scheduled press conference to announce the Green endorsement. Many observers speculated that Bowser and Green's announcement was scheduled to undermine the Black Political Convention process.



Councilman Lucien Blackwell — Philadelphia's next mayor?

At the opening session, State Representative David P. Richardson spoke on the politics of political brokerage. He said that "there is a new day in the Black community. No longer can our so-called leaders go behind closed doors and make deals on our behalf. No group of 'leaders' can claim to speak for the Black community. They must come before the people and account for their actions."

This set the stage for the major struggle at the convention: who to endorse as mayor. It was clear throughout the convention that participants were not enthusiastic about the choice between Bill Green and David Marston. By a 71-8 vote, with 15 abstentions, the delegates drafted councilman Lucien Blackwell for mayor. The debate around Blackwell's draft was centered on whether independent politics was a viable option. One delegate at the convention summed up the feelings of many delegates when he said, "We lose whether the Republicans or Democrats win. It is time for us to really win."

This statement was verified earlier in the day when candidates came before the convention. When Green was barred from speaking by his continual refusal to sign the BPC pledge, Marston felt he could capitalize on the hostility toward Green. However, Marston's presentation was limited to vague statements on recycling jobs and education. During questioning by the delegates, Marston refused to speak to the Republican party's support of Rizzo during Rizzo's administration or to disavow his support of Ronald Reagan during the 1976 Republican convention and generally failed to offer any clear program to aid the Black community.

The seriousness of the delegates at the convention was highlighted by the treatment of Augusta Clark, Democratic candidate for Council-at-Large. Clark, though she did not receive the endorsement at the Phase II of the BPC, was clearly a favorite of many convention delegates. Her victory in the primaries almost assured her endorsement at

Phase III. However, during the question and answer session, Clark was asked if she would support Rizzocrat James Tayoun for President of City Council. Clark's response of, "If there were not a qualified Black candidate I would support Tayoun," was met with a rain of boos. Many felt that this political pragmatism lost Clark the expected endorsement.

Earlier during the convention, there was a political forum that included Ralph Wynder, Consumer Party, Congressman William Gray Jr., Sladin Muhammed, African Peoples Party, Butch Cottman, Convention Planner, and State Representative John White Jr. This forum brought the struggle of independent politics versus the two party system out front. All of the speakers except Gray and White put forward the need to develop an independent party. Moreover, those in favor of independent action challenged the behind-the-scenes deals many Black politicians had made with Bill Green and David Marston as a continuation of the "lesser of two evils legacy."

Gray attempted to side-step the issue by stating that there was a need for the style of a Malcolm X and the style of a Martin Luther King. Many delegates resented Gray's attempt to counterpose Malcolm and King, ignoring the fact that both Malcolm and King saw the need for a mass based organization that determined their political direction.

## GREEN SUPPORTERS GET ROUGH TREATMENT

Gray, along with C. Delores Tucker, Bowser's campaign manager, were called to task by the convention for their endorsement of Bill Green before the convention process. Delegates reminded Tucker that less than two months ago she was telling the Black community that a vote for Bill Green was a vote for Rizzo. The attempts of Gray and Tucker to defend their actions were rejected with boos by the convention, which led to Gray's premature departure from the convention.

Another indication of the thrust toward independent politics was the vote received by Consumer Party candidates. At Phase II of the BPC no Consumer Party candidate got more than 10 votes. However, in Phase III, three Consumer Party candidates, Lee Frissel (Comptroller), Max Weiner and Ralph Wynder (both for Council-at-large) got majority votes. Had the 2/3 majority rule been suspended, as in Phase II, they would have made the Human Rights Slate. Nevertheless, their vote total was a clear indication that independent politics is on the agenda for the Black Community.

## COMING OUT OF THE CONVENTION

The first task is to develop a campaign structure for the endorsed candidates. Currently, activists are meeting to form a "Committee to elect the Human Rights Slate" which would be the campaign organization for the endorsed candidates. This would not preclude candidates from having their own organizations, but will help facilitate a team concept to centralize tasks such as the production of literature, fundraising and volunteer coordinators.

At this point the Human Rights Slate consists of Blackwell for mayor, Valerie Lane for City Commissioner, John Anderson for Council at Large, and Lucien Blackwell, David Fattah, and John Street for City Council in the 3rd, 4th and 5th councilmanic districts respectively. This leaves a large number of slots where no candidates have been endorsed. Many convention activists feel that efforts must be made to put forward more candidates for council and row offices, including support for those who received significant support at the convention but failed to gain endorsement because of the 2/3rds majority rule.



Bowser and Street held hands during the March in "retirement"? Will Street back Marston on Rights Slate?

# Lucien Blackwell Drafted

The following article was contributed to the Organizer by a journalism student in attendance at the Black Political Convention. The Organizer welcomes opinion, analysis, and news articles from its readers.

Councilman Lucien Blackwell, who is also president of International Longshoremen's Association, Local 1332, has accepted nomination as a third party candidate for mayor in November.

Minutes after being endorsed by the Black Political Convention Phase III, in which Bill Green was barred from speaking, Blackwell told a group of reporters, "Blacks and whites are capable of making their own decisions. If I run, I'll not only be a Black people's candidate but a poor people's. . . This system gives poor whites a little bit and gives Blacks nothing."

Several delegates of the 116 organizations registered, including John Street, raised the question of funding for the endorsed independent. "Anyone who thinks we can elect an independent candidate without money is a fool", said Street, "we need to take a long, hard, serious look at this thing."

State Representative Milton Street, who had on the previous day endorsed Republican David Marston for mayor, added that if the endorsement were not followed up by cash and community support, then, "they've put this man up here for nothing." Street also warned the delegates, "If we run an independent and we lose, don't expect me to deal with them." (the two majority parties)

The last statement by Street drew boos and cries of indignation from the crowd. Delegates made it clear to Street that as an elected official, he is responsible to the community and that he is obligated to keep "dealing with them."

After Street spoke, Blackwell stated, "I'm not worried about the consequences right now. We have always supported the two major parties and what have they done?" He also warned the convention against thinking it must match the corporate structure "dollar for dollar" in any political endeavor. "It's not the money, it's what you do out there in the fields. If I decide to accept, then I'll accept the consequences." Blackwell said that he considered himself "another instrument they (poor people) are using to free themselves."

Earlier in the evening, delegates passed a motion disallowing Democratic candidate Bill Green from speaking because of his failure to sign the convention's four-point pledge for all candidates.

Several delegates addressed the convention, blasting Green for what they considered his lack of respect and his failure to take the convention and the

Black community seriously. "A vote for Green is a vote for the Rizzo machine!" shouted one delegate. "If the Democrats or Rizzo had asked him to sign the pledge, he'd sign the pledge," said Milton Street.

Following discussion, the delegates voted by more than the two-thirds majority needed to bar Green from speaking. When it was made official that Green would not speak, the audience shouted "Go Home, Green."

The section of the pledge that Green objected to required candidates to "constantly act out of my accountability to the manifest virtues of the Black community as revealed at present through the Black United Front and whatever interest the Convention will establish."

Green said that to sign the pledge was to give the Black United Front a "blank check". Green knew in advance that he would be barred from speaking because of his failure to sign the pledge. His supporters tried unsuccessfully to pass a motion allowing him to speak anyway.

State Representative David P. Richardson, who has a long record of struggling for the community, was also drafted by the convention as a third party candidate to oppose incumbent Joseph Coleman in the 8th councilmanic district. Although he supports the Human Rights Slate, Richardson has chosen not to run.



# the fall elections

(continued from page 1)

movement. Rightfully distrustful of Green and his Democratic machine, unwilling to embrace former Ronald Reagan backer Dave Marston (from the Party that gave us Watergate) and disillusioned with the wheeling and dealing of Charles Bowser, the thousands who attended the Black Political Convention are charting a new direction. While the need for a thoroughgoing break with the two parties, politically and organizationally, remains unconsolidated, the Human Rights Slate represents a major step forward in that direction.

Lucien Blackwell is an excellent choice to head up the ticket. Blackwell as a city councilman representing west Philadelphia's 3rd district and as an active figure in the citywide Black movement, has a record of responsiveness to the needs of the people. Notably Blackwell has united with the struggle for jobs, for housing and against police brutality. As a trade unionist Blackwell has an understanding of the problems that face all working people. With his record, popularity and ties to the mass movements, Blackwell can expect broad support in a bid for Mayor.

## THE VOICES OF DOOM

Three objections have been put forward to an independent mayoralty campaign — the same objections that are always raised whenever a breakaway from the two party system emerges as a possibility. 1) there is not the money and the organization, 2) we will lose our leverage on the elected officials from the two

parties, 3) an independent campaign will benefit the right wing — in this case the Rizzoites.

Blackwell himself pointed out we can never expect to match the financing of the two parties who draw on the rich and Big Business. But experience shows that mass organization, such as developed during the Stop Rizzo Movement, is more than a match for big money. When the masses know what they want, are aroused and organized, the power of numbers will win out over the power of the dollar.

As for losing "leverage" over the two party politicians, where does this leverage come from anyway? Only an organized mass movement with its own agenda can force these politicians to make concessions. Look at the civil rights movement. Was the civil rights legislation of the 1960s the result of Black votes for Kennedy and Johnson? No, it was the mass actions, the sit-ins and the threat of rebellion that forced these politicians to finally pass these laws. It was a response to the independence of the Black movement and the fear of this show of self-reliance that prompted the Democrats to act.

This "leverage" has never been good for more than a few crumbs anyway. The two parties stand for Big Business. The Democratic Party, which claims to be for the "common people", favors throwing a few more crumbs our way than the Republicans in order to keep the masses in line. This argument about maintaining our "leverage" by keeping inside the two party system is in reality an argument for settling for crumbs.

As for "helping the right", it is the refusal to build a political movement outside the two parties which really helps the right. This argument exaggerates the differences between the "liberals" and the "conservatives". Remember 1964 when they said we had to vote for Lyndon Johnson to stop Barry Goldwater who would lead us into war. Johnson won and instead of peace we got the bombing of Vietnam and thousands of US troops packed off to Southeast Asia.

But differences between the capitalist politicians are basically differences about how to maintain the system of capitalist exploitation. These differences are real and we need to take them into account, but the whole logic of "lesser evilism" leaves us trapped on the treadmill of the two party system. The time is never ripe to make a break with the two parties, because one will always be a wee bit "worse" than the other.

In the present situation Lucien Blackwell can win — He can beat Green, Marston and any Rizzo candidate. Indeed a Rizzo-backed candidate will hurt Green and help Blackwell. This is what the prophets of doom regarding Blackwell candidacy really fear.

## OUR TASKS

A successful campaign around the Human Rights Slate and Agenda will not be easy. It will be an uphill fight. It will require an enormous grass roots organizing effort. It will require a massive educational campaign to counter the "lesser evil" logic, popularize the Human Rights agenda, and clearly demarcate the

alternative represented by the slate from the politics of the two parties.

Of particular importance will be a campaign among white working people drawing out their interest in supporting a slate that has its origins in the Black people's movement. The legacy of Rizzoism with its phoney championing of "white rights" remains strong. But if white progressives aggressively take up building support for the slate and drawing out the interests all working people have in realizing the demands of the Human Rights Agenda, the hold of Rizzoism can be further eroded and a sizeable vote for political independence registered in the predominantly white, working class wards.

To realize its full potential the Human Rights Slate needs to be broadened to include Hispanic and white candidates and more candidates from labor. Ralph Acosta, candidate for council in Harry Jannotti's 7th district, should be supported. Consumer Party activists, who have a record of support for the Human Rights Agenda, like Lee Frissell, Max Weiner and Ralph Wynder would all strengthen the slate. Progressive trade union leaders like Henry Nicholas of the Hospital Workers and Dave Niefeld of the Retail Clerks would also bring much to the ticket. These inclusions would broaden the multi-national appeal of the slate and help build a broad people's movement among all sectors of the community.

The *Organizer* and the PWOC plan to play an active role in the campaign. We urge all our readers to do the same. Let's put a people's candidate in City Hall — Elect the Human Rights Slate.

# Bowser Flip-Flops on Green

For a week after the May primary, Charles Bowser said he had been robbed. He began having weekly meetings with over 1,000 people castigating the Democratic Party and Bill Green and expounding on the disenfranchisement of the Black Community. He waged a focussed vendetta against Congressman Bill Gray for making a unilateral, premature endorsement of Bill Green. He told his followers that any decisions should await the Black Political Convention.

Yet, three days before the BPC, Bowser totally reversed himself. He came out for Bill Green. But before he publicly announced his endorsement, Bowser resigned from public life.

Up until July 10th "a vote for Green was a vote for the Rizzo team", but on that date a vote for Green was suddenly "in the best interests of the Black community." Up until July 10th, Bowser and his key backers put forward the theme "One plan, one team, one victory" but on that date it apparently became o.k. for a handful of "leaders" to determine the political direction of the Black community without reference to the Black Political Convention.

What was this turnaround based on? Did Bill Green go through some profound change? Hardly. Green's refusal to sign a pledge committing himself to defending the interests of the Black community as determined by the community itself at the Black Political Convention's recent session shows that Green has not changed one whit.

What Green did do is offer Bowser and his key supporters a few plums. The promise of "influential" jobs in a Green administration was sufficient to line up Charlie Bowser, C. Delores Tucker, Sam Evans and others for the Green ticket. Green also pledged to withhold support for Rizzoite commissioner Marge Tartaglione and Controller Thomas Leonard. But, as many at the Convention asked, what about Franny Rafferty, James Tayoun, Al Pearlman and the other prominent Rizzoites on the ticket?

Having concluded a deal with Green, Bowser found himself facing massive outrage among those who had supported him. Unable to effectively defend his deal before the masses, Bowser got cold feet and discreetly exited from the political stage, at least for the moment. Bowser hopes that by stopping short of an outright endorsement of Green, he can still preserve much of his influence.

At the same time, Bowser is still rendering valuable services to Green. On the Georgie Woods show Bowser said he retains "a concern for the candidacy of Bill Green." Simultaneously, Bowser announced he would not support an independent ticket. Earlier this summer Bowser went on record as willing to support Lucien Blackwell for mayor, but on the Woods show Bowser retracted such support in no uncertain terms.

Bowser supporters have been much more outspoken. C. Delores Tucker argues "there's nothing wrong with deals as long as they are good deals." Tucker urges the masses of Black voters "to trust Charlie" and "go along with him 100%." Sam Evans told the *Philadelphia Tribune* that "Bill Green has seen the light."

Neither Evans nor Tucker feel any need to account for their actions to the community at large. "Sam Evans doesn't wait on anyone", the head of the Family of Leaders explained to the *Tribune*. Evans forthrightly stated that he is not concerned about a Black agenda but only "the agenda of Sam Evans." In explaining his refusal to attend the Black Political Convention Evans proclaimed: "I don't have time to teach people the political realities". Tucker, who at least attended the Convention, was asked why she and Bowser switched to Green. She answered simply: "Because we wanted to."

With an opportunity to elect a genuinely independent Black candidate these so-called leaders have taken to throwing cold water on the whole effort. "Blackwell can't win", they argue. "He doesn't have enough money." Some have even gone so far as to suggest the city council leader is just on an "ego trip."

These attempts to sabotage a Blackwell candidacy and independent slate show where the real allegiances of these leaders lie. They are tied to the Democratic Party. Their only fundamental difference with Bill Green is that they want a bigger piece of the pie.



Bill Green, Democrat (top) and David Marston, Republican (bottom). Neither of these mayoral candidates or their platforms offer any real solutions to the problems facing the people of Philadelphia.



# Demonstrators Demand Justice for Jose Reyes

by Kate O'Hare

On June 29th about 200 demonstrators marched from 5th and Indiana streets through the Puerto Rican community down to the Roundhouse, the police headquarters at 8th and Race. The demonstrators, mostly Puerto Rican but with large numbers of black and white supporters, were demanding justice for Jose Reyes.

Jose Reyes was murdered by police officer Gerald Salerno on July 2, 1977 in front of eyewitnesses. The murder took place on Jose Reyes' front porch, near the corner of 5th and Indiana, and was followed by five days of intense community protest.

In the two years since the killing, the Puerto Rican community has kept up a steady campaign seeking to have the police officer Salerno brought to Justice.

Yet the District Attorney has not indicted Salerno, who is still a police officer today.

The rally at the Roundhouse was addressed by Juan Ramos, leader of the Puerto Rican Alliance which is spearheading the campaign to get Salerno brought to justice. The widow of Jose Reyes, Cecilia Reyes, also spoke to the rally, saying: "This cop should go to trial and be put behind bars." Cecilia Reyes was accompanied at the rally by 4 of her 6 children.

The rally was also addressed by Tony Jackson, a lawyer active in the case, and by John Street, who stressed the need for multi-racial unity and political action in the struggle against police brutality.

Demonstrators carried coffins with the names of Reyes and other people

killed by the police, such as Winston Hood, Cornell Warren, and Andre Carter. The coffins were laid on the Roundhouse steps as a way of symbolizing who has responsibility for these deaths. The Philadelphia police have shot and killed 162 people in the last eight years. This is about the same number of people killed in 8 years by police in New York City, which has four times the population as Philadelphia.

The police brutality here has gained national notoriety. In none of these 162 killings has a cop been disciplined for his actions. Many of these killings were unjustified. Usually the police claim that the cop was acting in self-defense.

In the case of Jose Reyes that was what happened. After a superficial internal investigation, the police stated that Salerno had acted in self-defense, and that Reyes was attacking Salerno with a pipe. Yet all the eyewitnesses to the killing who were not police said that Reyes was defenseless and lying prone when Salerno killed him. Reyes had a history of being harassed by the police, and his neighbors feel that the police were out to get him.

## SALERNO STILL ON THE LOOSE

Officer Salerno has a history of brutality. In 1976 he was indicted and convicted on criminal charges after severely beating a homosexual in Center City. He later got off on appeal. In 1977 Salerno attacked and beat another Puerto Rican, Edgardo Ortiz. Despite this history, Salerno has never been indicted for the Reyes murder, nor has a grand jury even investigated the case.

District Attorney Rendell claims that his office began an investigation of the case, but in September of last year announced that the investigation had been blocked by a state Supreme Court ruling prohibiting him from subpoenaing witnesses. The city had tried to issue subpoenas but the state ruled that Rendell did not have authority.

Several cops had already taken the fifth amendment in the case. Now, however, a new state law enables the DA's office to empanel a grand jury, and one is sitting now. Their deliberations are secret, and it is not known whether they have subpoenaed any witnesses in Reyes' case. Rendell claims his office is pursuing the case and the grand jury will look into it.

However, the statute of limitations for murder runs out in two years, and that date passed on July 2nd. It is not known if the grand jury took any action before that date. It is known that so far Salerno has not been indicted and continues to work in the radio unit of the police force. It is rumored that he was recently promoted.

Police brutality continues on a day to day basis in the Puerto Rican community. The Puerto Rican Alliance is currently active in another case, that of Raul Villarama who was framed on murder charges. Just recently another incident occurred which involved an Alliance member who was passing the corner of 5th and Westmoreland when he noticed a policeman kicking an older man repeatedly in the stomach. The older man was lying on the ground. The member of the Alliance protested, and the police then arrested him and held him overnight. He is charged on 6 counts, including inciting to riot, conspiracy, and disorderly conduct.

To check police brutality by Rizzo's cops we need a broad-based city-wide protest which brings together the Puerto Rican, Black, and white communities. We must fight for a civilian review board over the police and for the indictment and conviction of cops involved in police brutality.



Two years ago a policeman, Gerald Salerno, shot and killed Jose Reyes. Salerno has never been indicted or brought to trial in spite of his record involving several police brutality incidents.

Organizer photo

# Germantown Parents Fight for Daycare

by Ann Caswell

Throughout the past two months, parents and staff at the YWCA nursery in Germantown have been waging an organized protest against the closing of that center by the YWCA. The program, which died after only one year in service, was unique in that it provided quality care for infants starting at 6 months of age, as well as older preschoolers. A prime attraction for many parents was the fact that the program was fully integrated, with Black and white staff as well as children.

Initially, parents were called together in early June and told the program would have to close while elevator construction

proceeded for several months beginning in August. Parents were undaunted by this obstacle, however, and set up volunteer committees to continue the program at an alternate site during those months. They presented to the YWCA Board the following week their willingness to assist in site location, moving, and possible extra expenses such as supplementary liability insurance.

At that meeting, the parents and staff received a real slap in the face as it became clear that the elevator construction was only a "straw man" and that the Y had no intention of continuing the program because of budget difficulties. In fact, staff salaries, which had been approved by United Way, were not even included in the budget proposal.

At this point, the parents' group turned to struggling with the Y Board, pointing out that day care is the type of service to women and children that the YWCA ought to be committed to developing. At first, parents were upset that their young children had no day care, that they would be removed from the teachers and friends they had grown with all year, that their very ability to work was under attack.

Now they took up the struggle in its broader ramifications: In a petition to the Board of Directors, they pointed out how closing this program was a violation of the Y's slogan: "Our single imperative — to eliminate racism." They also pointed to the Y's commitment to developing the basis for women to participate in society as equals, and to the International Year of the Child. In the face of cutbacks in daycare all across the country, they said, the Y must reaffirm its commitment to children, to women, to the struggle against racism, not abandon it.

The petition requested an emergency Board meeting to reconsider the nursery. A picket line was organized for the purpose of reaching out to the broader community and enlisting their support in the struggle. "We're not against the Y," said one parent, "even though we've been deliberately misled by the Director. What we're about is appealing to the Board, showing the Board that this is a vital service to our Northwest community, that there's broad community support and need for this program, in fact to expand this program."

In its appeal to the emergency Board meeting, which came about directly as a result of parent and community pressure, the parents' group proposed that the Y fund a staff person to direct the nursery program, insuring more consistent admin-

istration, public relations, and primarily fundraising to continue and develop the program. The Board voted to terminate the program as earlier decided, and to reconsider it in the future.

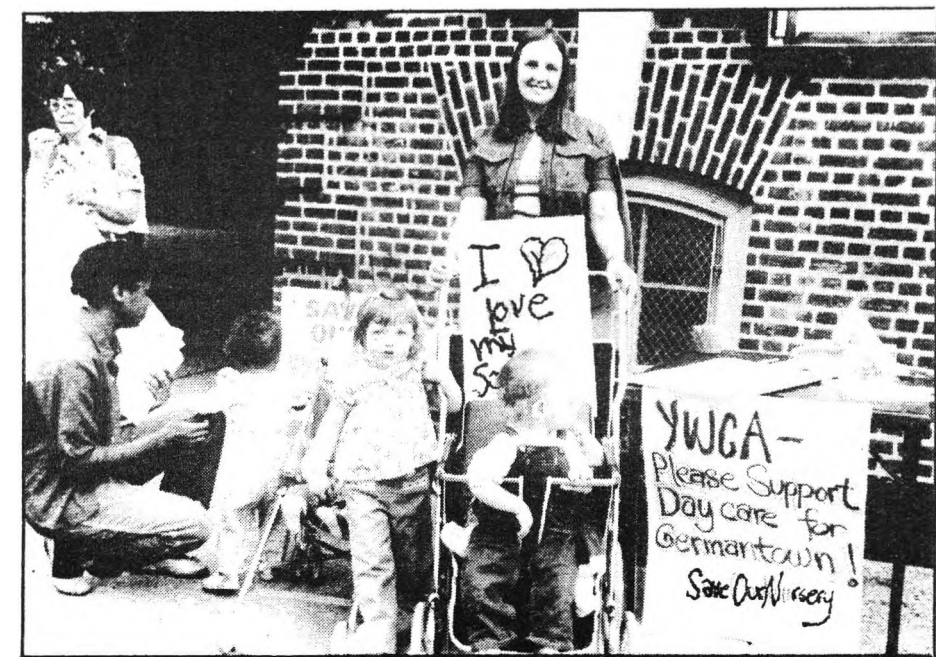
## PARENTS TO CONTINUE FIGHT

In the following parents' meeting, three decisions were made. The parents would work together to help each other find day care for their young children. They would write to the press to counter distortions put forward by the Y's director, who continued to report that the parents were only interested in their own few children and opposed elevator construction which would benefit handicapped and elderly Y members.

The parents also agreed that the Y's closing of the nursery was a symptom of the ills of this society, where the needs of children and working women are seldom considered. They hope to raise the issue of daycare in the broader political arena, specifically in the upcoming mayoralty campaign.

As one staff member pointed out, the Human Rights Agenda developed by the Black Political Convention speaks clearly to the need for daycare in our communities. Many row candidates, as well as Lucien Blackwell for mayor, have pledged to run on the basis of this Human Rights Agenda as their program.

In a society where nearly half the workforce is women, and where six million pre-school children have working mothers, there are only one million licensed daycare slots in the whole country. The Democrats and Republicans alike have continually cut and squashed federal funds for childcare. Only a broad peoples' movement which takes up the struggles against racism and sexism can force the government — city, state or federal — to fund vitally needed daycare programs.



The YWCA plans to close its childcare center in Germantown. Parents and teachers are working hard to pressure the Y to continue this much-needed program.



# Our Schools Need Bilingual/Bicultural Programs

Tito Sanchez was born in San Juan, Puerto Rico. When he was six years old his family moved to Philadelphia in order to find work, for by then the unemployment rate on the island had reached 30% and prices were even higher than in the US. He is bright, inquisitive and Spanish-speaking. He should be in the eighth grade but Tito is having a hard time keeping up with the work in the sixth grade where he is placed now.

Maria Soto, a first grader from South Philly, is in even worse trouble than Tito. When her mother and grandmother took her to class on the very first day of school they were very proud and happy that she was beginning school. But five months later they received a letter from the principal, written in English which they could not understand. The principal was recommending that Maria be placed in a class for the mentally retarded. The letter didn't mention that the school had failed to have Maria tested in her own language, Spanish.

It took two years for Nelson Alvarado's parents to force the Board of Education to provide the services that their son needed as a blind child. Nelson has finally been placed in a class for the partially sighted but his parents are very angry that he will lose the classes in Spanish which he had attended at his old school. They are just finding out that the school district does not provide special education classes in Spanish.

These are just a few of the problems that children from non-English speaking homes have to contend with when they try to get an education in the public schools in Philadelphia and elsewhere in the US.

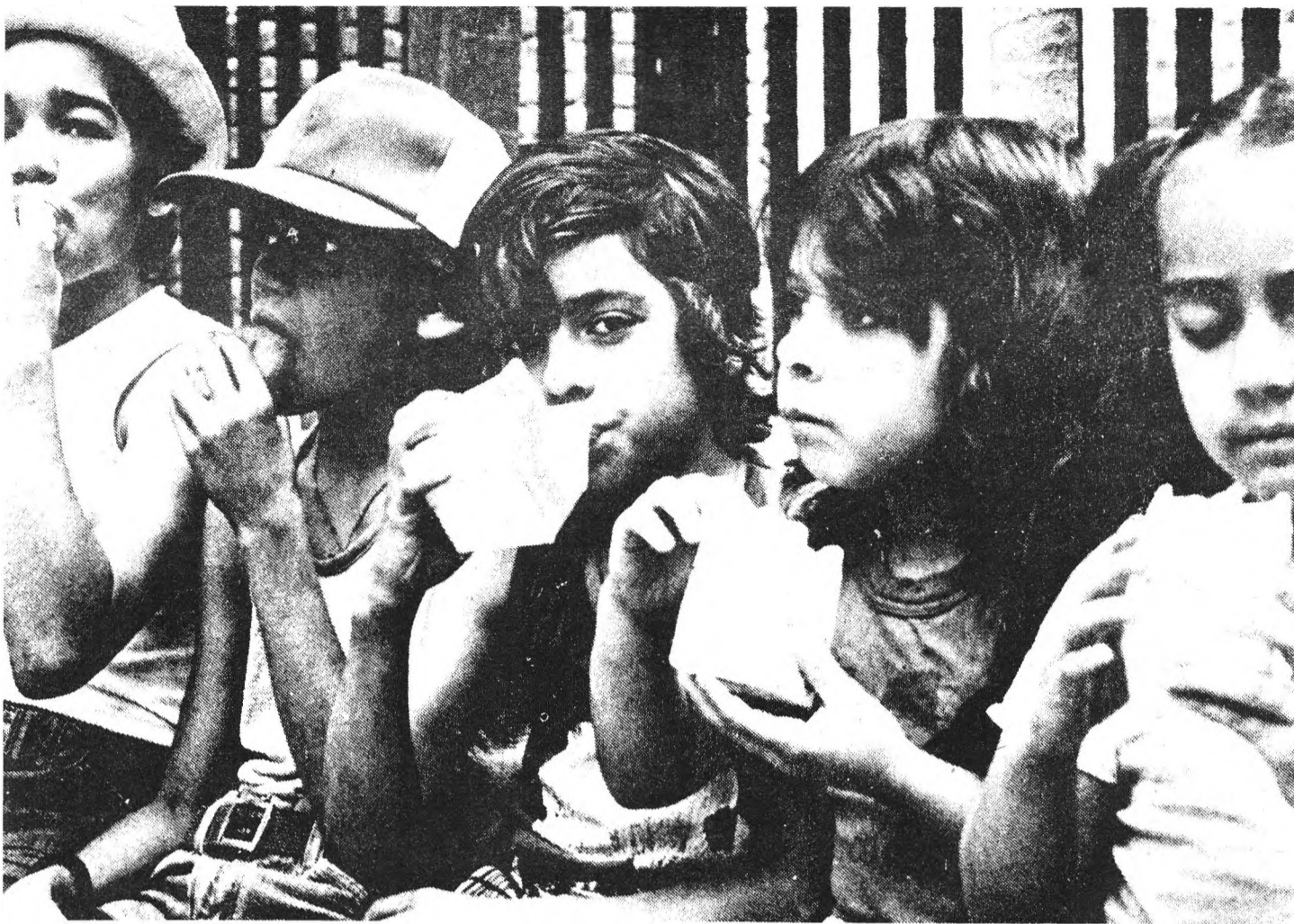
The Chicano people in the Southwest the Native American peoples, the Asian peoples on the West Coast and the Spanish-speaking communities along the East Coast are demanding that their children be given the right to learn in their own language, as well as in English. All across the country the non-English speaking minorities are calling for bilingual/bicultural education. Without these programs the five million children whose first language is other than English cannot receive the education to which they have a right.

In many parts of the country school officials place normal, intelligent non-English speaking children in classes for the slow learner and the retarded because they fail IQ tests administered in English. Before the first bilingual/bicultural programs were begun in New York City, 87% of Puerto Rican students dropped out of school. The drop out rate for eighth graders was 53%. The situation for Puerto Rican children in Philadelphia is very similar with 70% failing to complete high school. At the heart of the matter is the failure of the public schools to provide programs which would allow these children to learn in their own language and teach them about their own culture and history.

## LEARNING IN TWO LANGUAGES

What is bilingual/bicultural education? Essentially, it is the understanding that learning should occur in two languages, and that the history and culture of the non-English speaking students must be part of their curriculum along with the regular subjects.

These much needed programs must not be used to "ease" the foreign speaking students into a total English classroom. The heart of a good program is that it helps the student maintain his/her first language and culture while at the same time learning English skills. This may mean that a child spends half the day learning in English and the other half in his/her first language. In some schools certain subjects are taught in the foreign language and others in English.



Photograph By Steve Cagan

Across the country, non-English speaking minorities are calling for bilingual/bicultural programs in order that their children may receive a decent education. Public schools do not meet the need to teach children in their own language and teach them their culture and history.

Another important aspect of a good program is the involvement of people from the child's community in the learning environment. This helps to provide more speakers of the child's language and role models from his/her own culture with which to identify. This would help defeat the effects of the racist stereotypes that TV and movies present to all of us, images that are particularly damaging to minority children who are made to look down upon their own heritage. The school itself should have an adequate number of personnel such as psychologists, counselors and teachers who come from the child's background. Finally, the entire faculty must develop its knowledge of and respect for the culture of their non-English speaking students.

The struggle for bi-lingual education is part and parcel of the struggle for equality and full democratic rights of the oppressed nationalities in the US. It is not some oversight that the Spanish language, for example, has not been taught in the schools. The Chicano people in the Southwest were forceably incorporated into the US as the result of war and annexations. They were driven off their land, denied elementary rights that Anglo-Americans enjoyed, and forced into the pool of low paid and unemployed workers. The suppression of the Spanish language was part of the systematic discrimination vested on the Chicano people. The experience of the Native American and Puerto Rican people in the US is similar in the essentials of national oppression.

The struggle for equality, including equal status for minority languages, is not the struggle of the oppressed nationalities alone. The whole working class has a vital interest in this struggle. Inequality is a source of division and weakness that holds all workers back in the struggle for a better position in society. For example, the median income for Spanish speaking families is \$5,000 below that of the population as a whole, and the unemployment rate is much higher. These differences are the source of greater profits for the capitalist class and threaten the wages and job security of all.

The employers try to pit white workers against minority workers to get themselves off the hook. But the real interests of all working people is in fighting all forms of discrimination. Discrimination which originates with the bosses: it is a policy which undermines our conditions and livelihood and saps our ability to fight back.

English speaking children learning Spanish as a second language is an important means of breaking down the barriers that have been erected to separate us. Spanish is a language spoken by over five million people in the US and by hundreds of millions of people throughout the world. Learning about the culture and history of the Spanish speaking minorities in the US combats the ignorant misconceptions foisted on us by miseducation. For example, how many English speaking people know anything about the militant struggle of the Puerto Rican people against both Spanish and US colonialism? Heroic figures from this struggle like Albizu Campos and Lolita Lebron are virtually unknown to most North Americans.

## BILINGUAL EDUCATION IN PHILADELPHIA

What is the state of bilingual/bicultural education in Philadelphia? With 70% of Puerto Rican students dropping out of schools here it is clear that the needs of a great number of Spanish-speaking students are not being met. Within the past few years the Hispanic community has struggled hard to win a number of programs in the schools. Of these the Potter Thomas school at 6th & Indiana has the most developed bilingual/bicultural program. There, children spend half the day studying in Spanish and the remaining half in English.

But whenever the school board begins to boast about the national recognition that the Potter Thomas schools receives because of its innovative programs we must keep in mind that in Philadelphia only about 3,300 children out of a total of 15,000 children of Spanish speaking background are receiving any services at all. This means that thousands of Spanish speaking children are daily falling behind in their studies with many not even reaching high school.

The Hispanic community is continuing its fight for better schools for its children. In 1976, Aspira, a Puerto Rican community organization filed suit against the School District of Philadelphia for the board's failure to comply with the Education Amendments Act of 1974. This act guarantees the right of bilingual/bicultural education to all foreign speaking students. As a result of the suit the Board was forced to provide more programs.

At present the community is attacking the Board's neglect of the non-English speaking students in special education classes throughout the district. There are only two psychologists capable of testing in Spanish and virtually no Hispanic special education teachers. At this time the board provides no bilingual programs at all to special education students. Part of the fight for better bilingual programs will include demands for an affirmative action program that will increase the number of Hispanic school employees so that the children will receive the attention they deserve.

The demand for these badly needed programs is a vital part of the overall demand for quality, integrated education for the school children of Philadelphia. Under the present system, Black and Spanish-speaking children are allotted the worst facilities. Only when the schools are really desegregated will Black, Hispanic and white parents work together to demand the upgrading of all the schools.

In order to sow disunity among the people of Philadelphia the Board of Education has purposely excluded any plan for maintaining bilingual/bicultural programs within its desegregation plan. In a last ditch effort to forestall meaningful desegregation it would like the Hispanic community to think that desegregation and quality bilingual programs are mutually exclusive. This is nothing more than a cheap scheme to divide people who should be united. Until there is a citywide movement of Black, Hispanic and white parents and students, we will continue to suffer with schools like Kensington and Edison High Schools. Without a citywide campaign for quality education, for integrated education, it will be impossible to win the expanded bilingual programs that are so necessary.



# The Struggle for Abortion Rights

On June 23rd the National Right to Life Committee held its annual convention in Kentucky. The Right to Lifers pledged a three year campaign to amend the Constitution to outlaw abortion. But across the river in Cincinnati 1500 women and men marched in defense of women's right to abortion and against sterilization abuse. The demonstrators, organized by the Reproductive Rights National Network (R2N2), hit at the Hyde Amendment which denies federal funding for abortion and victimized poor women, a disproportionate number of whom are Black and Hispanic.

These two events symbolized the growing confrontation over the question of abortion. In 1973 the Supreme Court legalized abortion, in response to the growing power of the Women's Liberation Movement. Since then, the right wing, joined by the hierarchy of the Catholic Church, has been organizing a counter-offensive. The Hyde Amendment, adopted in 1977, has been their biggest victory to date. In many states

the "right to life" lobby has also succeeded in denying state funding for abortion. In 35 states presently no government funding at all exists for abortion.

Anti-abortion lobbying resulted in the defeat of a number of pro-choice elected officials in the last election. In some states these forces have organized their own party to push for a constitutional amendment. Increasingly the "right to lifers" have turned to violence and terror as well.

In January of last year "People Expressing a Concern for Everyone", a group associated with the National Right to Life Committee, claimed responsibility for attacks on six abortion clinics. This February, on the same day that NOW (the National Organization of Women) attempted to hold a dialogue with right to lifers, a Hempstead, Long Island, abortion clinic was firebombed by an anti-abortion arsonist.

Pro-choice forces have responded to this drive with more organized resistance.

In January the National Abortion Rights Action League (NARAL) coordinated nationwide rallies and other actions to commemorate the 1973 Supreme Court decision. On March 31st thousands marched in cities across the country in support of women's right to control their own bodies, demanding defeat of the Hyde Amendment and enforcement of new federal laws against sterilization abuse. In Philadelphia 300 people rallied under the auspices of the Reproductive Rights Coalition. A massive petition drive against the Hyde Amendment grew out of these activities.

At the Cincinnati rally Margaret Willis, chairwoman of the Ohio Welfare Rights Organization, spoke to the relationship between the Hyde Amendment and the growth of forced sterilization, noting that poor women are denied access to abortion and forced to turn toward sterilization. The racist and sexist bias of the health care system leads to many women being rushed into sterilization or being sterilized against their will.

Rising illegal "coat hanger" abortions and the growth of forced sterilization are killing and maiming more women — the poor, the Black and the Latino women who cannot afford private medical costs and do not get the most elementary respect of the medical establishment. This is the real consequence of the so-called "respect for life" that the anti-abortionists claim as their motivation.

The "right to lifers" are well financed and have ties to the organized right. The same forces who are trying to stop the Equal Rights Amendment, school desegregation and labor's right to organize are well-represented in the anti-abortion movement. Thwarting the aims of this lobby must be an important item on the progressive agenda for the coming year.

(For information about local activities contact the Reproductive Rights Coalition, 241-7160)

## Honesty is Bad for Business

by Kate O'Hare

Everybody knows the US economy is in trouble. But not everyone has heard of one of Jimmy Carter's answers to the problem: encourage US companies to bribe foreign governments so the US can increase its exports. A White House task force on exports has just finished its report to Carter. Most of the recommendations of the task force, which was set up by Carter, are to weaken and practically abolish the 1977 Foreign Corrupt Practices Act.

This law was passed when the public was scandalized by reports that foreign businesses and foreign countries were bribing the US Congress, while at the same time US companies were making huge secret payments to foreign countries in order to get lucrative contracts. The law makes it a crime for American corporations to bribe foreign officials, and gives enforcement responsibility to the Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC).

But this has been hurting business, and the corporations have been calling for repeal of the law. It seems that the SEC has been taking its enforcement powers too seriously. Over the last couple of years we have been hearing frequent reports about Exxon paying \$50 million to the government of Indonesia, or how United Brands bought off the entire government of Honduras. Just last July 10, for example, the SEC asked the courts to take over the International Services and Controls Corporation of Houston, Texas, which is a multinational construction company. One of SEC's main complaints against the Houston conglomerate was that it has paid out \$25 million in bribes over the last 8 years to foreign governments without reporting them on the books. About \$250,000, for example, went to the dictator Somoza in Nicaragua.

Such action by the SEC is proving embarrassing for US businesses, which like to have public images as respectable

firms. So a lot of quiet lobbying to repeal the law has been going on. The main argument is that the law hurts exports. All the big companies from other industrialized countries, runs the argument, have an advantage in foreign trade because they have no restrictions on bribing governments. The White House task force was persuaded by that argument. They estimated that the Foreign Corrupt Practices Act is costing US businesses about \$1 billion a year in trade lost to other multinational companies from abroad.

The task force recommended that the law should be rewritten "to permit US companies to be guided by the laws of the foreign countries where they do business." Translated into plain English, this means get rid of the law altogether. Instead of restricting the bribery powers of US corporations abroad, argues the task force, businesses should have to seek advance US government approval, secret approval of course, for important over-

seas payoff plans. In other words, this means its O.K. if big business runs our foreign policy, instead of the State Dept., by secretly bribing foreign governments. And it's O.K. if they spend millions of dollars without telling the tax auditors or the stockholders. It's O.K. because it will help increase exports. But big business should at least let the government in on what they are up to when the bribe involved is particularly large.

It's likely that the recommendations of the task force will be accepted. After all, Carter's right hand man, Zbigniew Brzezinski, was personally in charge of setting it up. And repealing the law will put US big business on an equal footing once again with the big foreign corporations in other industrial countries. It's dog-eat-dog in the world of international capitalism, reasons the White House, and US companies shouldn't have to fight with one hand tied behind their backs, restricted by things like honesty or morality.

## oil shortage ? . . .

(continued from page 8)

monopolies line their pockets through exorbitant pricing.

Energy alternatives to fossil fuels being developed in the capitalist world are not ecologically sound, renewable, and non-polluting sources such as water, wind and sun. Rather, it is expensive, capital intensive, and dangerous nuclear power which is attracting investment and being touted as "the wave of the future". The energy monopolies control the natural resources and the technology for nuclear reactors and power plants. The federal government has encouraged and aided this kind of energy development and refused to invest more than token amounts in alternatives like solar power. Since Exxon, Gulf, Mobil and company do not own the sun and since solar technology can probably be produced on a non-monopoly basis, the oil giants have little interest in such a project.

### WHO MADE THE WORLD AN OIL JUNKIE?

One of the greatest ironies in the present wave of conservation messages on the part of the oil companies is that it was these same companies who earlier created an unnecessary and wasteful dependence on oil. Seeing the oil cartel urging conservation is like watching a big time drug pusher warn us on the evils of drug addiction.

Before World War II coal was king and oil played second fiddle. Only in the US did oil play a major role and even here it accounted for less than half of total energy consumption. The US accounted

for 70% of the world's consumption of oil. During and after the war oil rapidly supplanted coal as the nation's number one energy source, accounting for roughly two thirds of consumption by 1952 and reaching over three quarters in the 1970s.

Even as late as 1950 oil played a negligible role in the economies of the other industrialized countries, accounting for one seventh of Western Europe's energy consumption and one fifth of Japan's. But in the post war period these economies, along with much of the underdeveloped world, underwent a rapid shift from coal to oil. Since most of these countries were coal producers and possessed little or no oil reserves, this shift corresponded to a change from self-sufficiency in energy to dependency — dependency on oil controlled primarily by the US oil cartel. By 1970 two thirds of Western Europe's and Japan's energy consumption rested on oil.

This development was not purely spontaneous but was shaped by Big Oil and the policies of the US government. In the late 1930s and early 1940s huge quantities of oil were discovered in the Middle East. Estimated reserves jumped from six billion barrels in 1940 to 300-500 billion barrels today. Up until this time the US was the largest producer as well as consumer of crude oil. Moreover the high quality Middle Eastern oil was more easily extracted than oil in the US and elsewhere. The Big Seven (the five largest American companies plus Royal Dutch Shell and British Petroleum) dominated this new oil bonanza. The Major oil companies were able to set low prices for this oil, undercutting coal, and still reap vast profits. Cheaply priced oil rapidly penetrated the markets

of Western Europe and Japan, pushing coal aside.

The oil companies were aided by the policy of the US government. War-torn Europe was dependent on the US for reconstruction and the US took advantage of this situation to ram US owned oil down the throats of the Europeans. Under the Marshall plan 2 billion out of 13 billion dollars in aid was specifically designated to finance imports of US owned oil. Marshall plan administrators blocked plans for the Europeans to develop their own crude oil production and assisted US companies in gaining control of Europe's refineries.

In the underdeveloped, oil importing countries of the third world, US policy has followed similar lines. These countries have been discouraged from developing internal sources of energy and rendered increasingly dependent on oil imported from the Big 7. The World Bank, dominated by US financial interests, restricts credit for manufacturing in general and energy production in particular, especially if it is undertaken in the public sector. Fearing potential competition to their Middle Eastern and African oil, the Big 7, through its influence with the US government, has restricted oil exploration in these countries. These same companies own most of the refining capacity in the oil importing third world.

### SOCIALIST COUNTRIES — SELF SUFFICIENCY AND NO SHORTAGES

There is no energy crisis in either the Soviet Union or the People's Republic of China. Indeed both countries are exporters of crude oil. The experience of these countries in relation to oil demonstrates the advantages of a planned economy free of manipulation by the international capitalist oil cartel.

Tsarist Russia was a major oil producer and one of the first acts of the Russian Revolution was to nationalize oil production. However years of war had destroyed much of the country's productive capacity. It was not until the late 1920s that Soviet production equaled pre-World War I levels. Since that time it has dramatically and continuously risen. Soviet planners have aimed at balanced energy production, developing a variety of sources and avoiding overdependence on oil. Energy consumption has been planned to not exceed production.

Soviet self-sufficiency in energy has resulted from greater efficiency in energy use. An extensive and high quality system of public transit is a prime example. Emphasis in recent years on private automobile production has been possible without reliance on imported oil because the Soviets only embarked on this venture when their own energy production had reached a level that could support large numbers of vehicles. Even so some observers believe the new emphasis on automobile transport may threaten energy self-sufficiency in the future and propel the Soviets to seek oil on the world market.

In contrast to the Soviet Union, China at the time of liberation produced almost no oil and was dependent on imports. In the 1950s China set about to rapidly explore and produce its own oil as part of a program of economic development and self-reliance. During this period China imported oil from the USSR as well as utilizing Soviet aid in building up its own petro-chemical industry. As the USSR had done earlier, China relied mainly on coal to fulfill its energy needs at a point when it produced little oil. The split with the Soviet Union which led to a cutoff of Soviet oil imports was only a temporary setback. China rapidly achieved self-sufficiency and today exports oil. (cont'd in a future issue)



# THE COMICS— FOR WHITES ONLY ?

by Ron Whitehorne

Every big city daily has a comics section. The comics are supposed to entertain and amuse us, to take us away from the sobering headlines and give us a few moments of relief. They deal in the realm of fantasy and no one expects them to be true to life. Animals talk and think like humankind. People with super-human powers abound. And even those strips which feature "ordinary" folks specialize in a brand of melodrama of humor which bears little relation to actual life.

Nevertheless, the comics reflect social reality in very definite ways. Some comics are explicitly social or political in their message. Others carry social views and values much more indirectly. Since millions of people read the comics every day and are influenced by them, no matter how unconsciously, it is worthwhile to take a deeper look at the social and political content of the "funnies".

The Philadelphia *Inquirer*, the city's morning daily, has the biggest and best selection of comics — 22 strips and five other features that cover a page and a half each day. It has a good number of old standards like *Dick Tracy* and *Steve Canyon* as well as some of the more popular newer strips like *Doonesbury* or *Spiderman*. Its page can be taken as more or less typical of the state of the comic art.

As the established morning paper in a city whose population is over 40% Black and Latino, one could reasonably expect the *Inquirer's* comic pages to reflect the experience and interest of these readers. Yet one of the most striking features of the comics is their whiteness.

## BLACKS ARE INVISIBLE

In the *Inquirer's* 22 strips not one deals with the Black experience as a central theme. There is not a single non-white hero or heroine to be found. And only six strips feature any non-whites at all.

It can be argued that in some strips the appearance of non-whites would be inappropriate. For example, *Hagar the Horrible* deals with a caricatured and comic Viking and his clan in a Nordic setting. We would not expect to meet Blacks, Orientals, or Latinos in Hagar's merry crew. What is significant here is not that Hagar's cast is all white, but that there is no comic with predominantly minority characters and themes that could balance it.

There are many other comics where we would expect non-whites but never encounter them. *Dick Tracy* and his super-sleuth companions are all whites, and what's more, so are all the colorful and daring criminal villains that Tracy outmaneuvers. Here is a big city cop who manages to function in an all white

environment. The same thing is true of the boy-wonder-cop Encyclopedia Brown, who appears to live in a totally segregated community and attends a segregated school. *Gasoline Alley*, a whimsical strip set in the inner city, also has managed to completely eliminate non-whites from its urban environment.

*Kathy* is a strip which attempts to treat the situation of young, single women in today's society in a humorous way. Kathy is white; her best friend Andrea is white, her boyfriend Irving is white — all her friends, co-workers, and even all the people who are merely background are white. The strip, even if in the most shallow fashion, tries to draw out the inequality between men and women. It is ironic that the existence of racial inequality has apparently never even occurred to the author.

*Juliet Jones* is a melodramatic serial concerning Julie, her lawyer husband Owen, and her voluptuous sister Eve. All three are portrayed as the nicest, most decent and civilized folks you'd ever want to meet. All three are white, and, what's more, have absolutely no interaction with non-whites. The most recent episode finds poor Eve in jail after being framed for possession of marijuana. Given the inequality in US society and the racist nature of the criminal justice system, minorities make up over 40% of the nation's prison system. But Eve managed to find a jail in which all the prisoners are white.

*Winnie Winkle* is another melodrama. Winnie is a saintly soul with a family to match. She also owns and runs a New York-based women's clothing factory. Of course the top management and designers are all white. We rarely get a glimpse of the workers who sit at the sewing machines, run the presses, and push the ranks around, but when we do, they're all white. In reality the garment industry in New York employs predominantly Latino and Black workers.

In all these strips and others as well, whites exist in a totally white world. Not only do minorities never make an appearance, their existence is never discussed or even alluded to. You would never guess from reading these comics that the US is a multi-national society, let alone one in which racial inequality and division were central social facts and issues.

## IS RACISM A LAUGHING MATTER?

In a few strips minorities do appear, but this is not necessarily positive. *Catfish* is a comic about an Indian scout and his bumbling associates in the US Army in the far west. The strip includes an Indian tribe which in comic fashion usually outwits the white man. If there were no such thing as US history, *Catfish* would be all good fun.

The fact is that the US Army for decades waged a genocidal war against the

Indians, seizing their land, slaughtering them and herding survivors into concentration camps. So it's hard to view the comic treatment of this historical episode as just lots of laughs.

Imagine a comic featuring a good-humored Commandant at Dachau and a bunch of fun-loving Jews cavorting around the barbed wire and ovens. No one would find this bit very amusing, no matter how clever the humor. Surely Native Americans have difficulty yukking it up over the adventures of Catfish in hunting down their people, but neither publishers nor authors of this strip show an ounce of sensitivity to this reality.

The most overtly racist comic strip is *Steve Canyon*. Steve is a CIA operative who is on the job week after week protecting us from Communists, terrorists, and the third world. This strip has plenty of Asians, Africans, and Latinos, and almost all of them are portrayed as ruthless, deceitful and without any moral conviction or scruples.

The Asians come right out of old Charlie Chan movies — they are shifty and obsequious, or they are brutal and fanatical communists. Canyon and the other all-knowing Americans in the strip clearly regard Asians and other people of color as less than human. US atrocities in Vietnam are not unrelated to comic strips like this one. Lt. Calley and his generation undoubtedly were exposed to the morality of *Steve Canyon*.

A more sophisticated brand of racism is offered in the very popular, "hip" strip, *Doonesbury*. *Doonesbury* specializes in social and political satire, some of it quite clever and most of it politically harmless and safe. *Doonesbury's* poitics are vaguely left, a brand of radical chic that appeals to its mostly young, white and college-educated audience. The comic's hip veneer obscures its racist bias. The strip features a caricature of a Black "street person" named Leroy. Leroy blames the "Man" for everything and uses racism as an excuse for never looking for a job and hustling instead.

Leroy represents a racist stereotype — a widely held view that Blacks are too lazy to work, they blame all their problems on whites, and they'd rather hustle and cheat. *Doonesbury* makes no attempt to portray the all-sided reality of the Black community. It packages and markets the same old white supremacist ideas for its supposedly sophisticated audience.

## A FEW EXCEPTIONS

Some strips are integrated but treat their Black characters as indistinguishable from whites. Stan Lee's popular *Spiderman* features a Black newspaper man named Robby. Robby is middle-aged, dignified, and intelligent, a refreshing departure from the usual stereotypes.

Robby is a positive character, probably the most compassionate and perceptive figure in the strip, next to Spiderman himself. This is all to the good.

On the other hand, Robby reflects nothing of the experience and perspective common to Black people in this society. The effect is that while a positive image of Blacks is projected for a change, the actual character of race relations and their impact on both white and Black is totally glossed over.

A better integrated strip is *Funky Winkerbean*, a light but witty comic about a suburban high school. Both the faculty and student body are integrated. Blacks are neither caricatured nor treated as white people with Black faces. While *Winkerbean* has no political or social pretensions, it has satirized the paternalism with which many whites treat Blacks. One series featured a white faculty member meeting a Black co-worker for the first time. The white teacher, much to the consternation of his Black counterpart, felt compelled to use what he imagined to be Black street lingo and a contorted "Black" handshake.

The only comic strip that tackles the question of racism head on is *Tank McNamara*, a sometimes very funny satire of the sports world. McNamara takes the sports scene as it is — a world of white and Black. It does not pretend that all is harmony and brotherhood, either on or off the playing field.

Alone among the comic strips, it attempts to treat the tensions, divisions and hypocrisy that are the expressions of racism. In doing so, McNamara is uneven. Much of the time it perpetuates typical biases toward minority athletes. The common view that Black super stars are overpaid and spoiled comes across in the cartoon's frequent lampoons of Reggie Jackson.

On the other hand the strip has exposed the racism of the owners. In a recent series the search by the basketball owners for a "Great White Hope" was roundly satirized. But even this was compromised with some not so very funny strips on affirmative action for white basketball players. For all its weaknesses at least McNamara does not try to sweep the question of race under the rug. It is a telling point that it is virtually unique in this respect.

For many years the racism in popular culture was open and direct. Minorities were completely excluded except for a few demeaning, stereotyped roles. Now with Blacks on TV selling everything from laundry powder to cheeseburgers some are quick to conclude that racism is a thing of the past. It isn't so. Separate and unequal remains the reality of race relations in the US. If you don't believe it, just read the comics.

### Winnie Winkle



The majority of workers in New York's ladies garment district are Black and Latino, but at Winnie Winkle's factory, they're white.

### Catfish



Catfish's genocidal war waged against Native Americans is just "good clean fun."

### Spiderman



Stan Lee's Spiderman is one of the few comic strips that even has Black characters.

### Steve Canyon



Milton Caniff's Steve Canyon specializes in racism, sexism, and anti-communism. Asians in this strip are typically portrayed as cruel and fanatical.



# NNMLC Develops the Subjective Factor

## PART 2

# Re-establishing the "Left" Line on Party-Building

by Clay Newlin

In our first article we saw that the National Network of Marxist-Leninist Clubs' (NNMLC) incorrect and sectarian orientation to our immediate tasks was rooted in a narrow circle approach to the anti-"left" tendency. Instead of basing their intervention on the genuine interests of the party-building movement as a whole, the Club leaders have chosen to proceed according to what best serves their claim to seats on the Party's future central committee.

We also pointed out that historically the circle mentality has been a key aspect of the "left" line on party-building. Like the NNMLC, numerous small circles have anointed themselves "leading centers", advanced their "general lines" and sought to build the Party from their own narrow circle outwards. And like the NNMLC, the cores of Communist League, Revolutionary Union, October League, Workers' Viewpoint Organization, Marxist-Leninist Organizing Committee and others all pursued sectarian tactics toward their main competitors.

But the NNMLC's dependence on a narrow circle approach is qualitatively different from that of its predecessors. Previous attempts to establish circle dominance developed when ultra-leftism held nearly unchallenged ideological hegemony over anti-revisionists. As a result, although a narrow circle mentality was bound up with ultra-leftism, it was not essential to the maintenance of "left-wing" communism.

The present situation is different. The NNMLC is part of a tendency where ultra-leftism is in decline and Marxism-Leninism on the rise. Like "left" opportunism generally, the "left" line on party-building is under attack and fighting for its breath.

In such circumstances, those influenced by ultra-leftism have an *objective interest* in the circle spirit. Centralized ideological struggle accelerates the advance of Marxism-Leninism whereas the distorted wrangling of circle competition retards it. Thus, those who defend Marxism-Leninism have every interest in the assertion of party forms of struggle. Those who defend ultra-leftism cannot survive without preserving circle warfare.

The NNMLC's "leftism" can be shown through a critical examination of

its line in any one of three areas. Its summation of previous errors on party-building line, its own party-building strategy and even its conception of the Party itself demonstrate the most pronounced "leftism".

### ERRORS ON PARTY-BUILDING LINE — RIGHT OR "LEFT"?

The NNMLC's analysis of the anti-revisionist movement indicates that in their view the principal errors on party-building line were *right* and not "left" ones. They argue:

*"In brief, the overall party-building view of the dominant organizations of the new communist movement was to take their rudimentary political lines, attempt to make them a material force among the masses through an all-sided preparatory formation, and through summing up experiences develop a more refined line." (Developing the Subjective Factor, pg. 21)*

That the NNMLC regards this line as right opportunist can be seen in their so-called critique of fusion. They argue that any attempt to make Marxism-Leninism a material force prior to the formation of the Party only serves to shackle communists "to the bourgeois ideology of the spontaneous movement. It ties the development of the subjective factor (for the NNMLC the subjective factor coincides with the Party! —CN) to the immediate objective conditions of the present backwardness in the working class." (ibid., p. 27)

The incorrectness of summing up the party-building lines of RU, OL and Co. as right opportunist should be apparent to anyone with even the most superficial knowledge of our history. The efforts of these organizations to transform themselves into parties was not characterized fundamentally by subordination to "the backwardness of the working class".

In fact, the party-building lines of RU and OL were characterized by voluntarism. Far from tying their fortunes to the mass movements, they essentially negated the importance of establishing a vanguard relation with the class. Their primary orientation was to establish their dominance over anti-revisionists and then declare themselves a Party.

A failure to correctly sum up the previous errors on party-building line can only lead to further disarray in our movement. To grasp this we have only to reflect on the past results of anti-revisionists taking "left" errors for right ones.

The Workers' Viewpoint Organization (WVO) (which the NNMLC conveniently forgets to mention in its critique of previous errors on party-building strategy) summed up the mistakes of RU and OL in a manner almost identical to that of NNMLC. (See *Workers' Viewpoint*, Vol. 1, No. 2). They too came to the conclusion that the chief error of these organizations had been their attempt to fuse with the class struggle prior to forming the Party.

On the basis of this summation the WVO put forward an alternative party-building line (strikingly similar to that of the NNMLC). They argued that "theory is primary" in the period of party formation, that "fusion with the class" should await the completion of a "complete ideological and political victory over revisionism", and that the essence of party-building was setting right the general line of the communist movement "through ideological struggle against revisionism."

As is well known, the WVO line failed the test of practice. (No wonder the NNMLC denies that practice is the criterion of truth during the period of party-formation.) Far from correcting the errors of RU and OL, the WVO succeeded in reconstituting these errors in a more exaggerated form.

### A PARTY FOR WHOM?

The NNMLC's incorrect summation of the past is rooted in its own version of the "left" line on party-building. The "leftism" implicit in their view is so pronounced that it even forces the NNMLC to make a serious (and revealing) blunder in their formulation of our central task. They write: "the central task before US Marxist-Leninists today is the rectification of the general line of the US communist movement and the re-establishment of its communist party" (op. cit., pp. 5, 7, 11, 33, 50, et al; emphasis added, CN)

Precisely! What the NNMLC desires to build is *not* the revolutionary vanguard of the US working class but the "party" of the communist movement! The anti-revisionist movement will be forever in debt to the NNMLC for this exquisite expres-

sion of the "left-wing" approach to party-building.

Underlying the ultra-left approach to party-building (and much of the rest of the "left" line as well) is the characteristic petty-bourgeois fear of the masses. Lacking confidence in the ability of the working class and oppressed nationalities to make a contribution to the development of a genuine instrument of revolution, the Avakians, Klonskys, and Tungs (leader of WVO) of our movement have sought to wall themselves off from the "backward" workers.

To the extent that they take up party-building, it is to build an instrument of the declassed petty bourgeois intellectuals who predominate in our movement. These elements recoil from uniting with the advanced workers. Instead they seek a political organization which will allow them to "lead" the proletariat without having to answer to it. They desire above all a "party of the communist movement".

It is not just blunders, however, that manifest the NNMLC's "leftist" party-building strategy. Even their intended formulations have a "left-wing" character. The principal expression of NNMLC's ultra-leftism is its statement that "rectification of the general line" and not fusion is the *essence* of party-building.

The error of this formulation cannot be understood without grasping the materialist conception of essence. By essence Marxists understand the organizing principle of a process. In the case of party-building, it is that principle which guides our efforts from their very inception up to their culmination in the formation of a genuine Party. It determines the interrelationship of the varied theoretical and practical tasks and provides the key to identifying which are principal and which are secondary. In short, it provides the determining pivot for the Party's creation.

Certainly, the development of a general line for revolution in the US (giving the word "rectification" its most generous interpretation) is a central task in party-building. A party without program and strategy is like a football team without a game plan and plays.

But to argue that the development of program for the US revolution is the very essence of the party-building process is

## Ku Klux Klan . . .

(continued from page 7)

aged by the FBI to take part in violent acts.

Rowe, for example, has told Alabama authorities that he shot and killed a Black man during the 1963 Birmingham rebellion. He informed FBI agent Byron McFall of the killing and was advised to "just sit tight and don't say anything about it."

The Michigan American Civil Liberties Union in 1978 released FBI documents showing that in the early 60's the FBI supplied the complete itinerary of two busloads of Freedom Riders to a Birmingham police officer who was also a KKK member. The document surfaced as part of a \$1 million lawsuit filed by Walter Bergman who has been confined to a wheelchair since being

beaten by the Klan in the Birmingham bus station.

Tensions have continued to run high in Decatur through this spring and early summer. On May 26 a march to commemorate the first anniversary of Hines' arrest was stopped by around 150 club-swinging Klansmen. Suddenly shooting started which left three Black and two whites seriously wounded. Police claimed that a Black had fired first and two days later arrested a 49 year old Black, Curtis Lee Robinson.

Shortly before the confrontation, however, Klansmen were overheard on their CB's saying they were "going to get Dr. Lowery (SCLC head Joseph Lowery) or any other n---r they could get". During the gunbattle Evelyn

Lowery — wife of the SCLC leader — narrowly escaped death as bullets smashed into the door and through the window of her car.

Once again Klan violence was no match for the spirit and determination of Decatur's Black community, and the day after the unsuccessful march plans were already being laid for a new one. Joseph Lowery, in speaking to this determination, said:

*If we allow the Klu Klux Klan to dictate where or when or how we can march, then they can dictate where or when or how we can work and we'll be back in slavery again.*

True to their words a new march was set for June 9. The Klan once again tried to scare the marchers off vowing "We'll never leave our guns in the car again." But once again they failed. 1500 marchers, some from as far away as New York and California, marched unharmed through Decatur singing, chanting and shouting their defiance of the Klan.

Speaker after speaker denounced the Klan and vowed not to rest until Tommy Lee Hines was free. Anne Braden, a white member of the Southern Organizing Committee for Economic Justice, called for stepped-up white support — "now whites also must say we are never going back to the way things used to be and we must free Tommy Lee Hines to prove it."

Joseph Lowery captured the militant spirit of the struggle which eventually will be victorious against everything the Klan and its racist allies can throw at the people of Decatur. In responding to a charge by Decatur mayor, Bill Dukes, that the SCIC was using Decatur, he said:

*The mayor said that the SCLC is using Decatur and that Decatur is innocent. Decatur is so innocent they can take a man with a child's brain and give him thirty years... To hell with you Decatur.*



WHAT? SUBJECT OUR PURE THEORY TO THE WORKERS? DON'T BE ABSURD!



City Paper/cpf

profoundly incorrect. It implies that the building of a revolutionary party is fundamentally a theoretical process or that a vanguard will be built basically through *thought* and not action.

### THE SWAY OF IDEALISM

There is a clear connection between this view of the essence of party-building and idealism. Idealism holds that the essence of all phenomena, whether natural or social, is thought. Thus for the idealist the essence of socialist society is socialist theory, the essence of the revolutionary movement, revolutionary theory, and the essence of party-building, developing a correct general line.

Intellectual strata are, of course, especially prone to idealist errors. Their whole identities are bound up with their ideas. Their legitimacy in the revolutionary movement depends on their ability to generate theory that can serve to guide the practice of revolutionaries. The tendency to overrate the importance of their own role is strong and obviously helped along by a well-cultivated contempt for the working class. Idealism is often little more than an ideological justification for that tendency.

Consistent with its idealist "essence" of party-building, the NNMLC also opposes the "notion that communists' theoretical work today must mainly address the questions posed by the present-day mass movement" (ibid., p. 27) This idea, they argue, will inevitably bind communists to the "bourgeois ideology that of necessity dominates the spontaneous movement." (ibid., pg. 28).

The idea that focusing primarily on the problems posed by the actual struggles of the masses inevitably leads to bourgeois ideology is profoundly mista-

ken. In the first place, the questions that are presently being "posed" to us are precisely the most important problems encountered in building a viable revolutionary movement.

Among such questions are how to forge the leadership of the working class into a political party, how to overcome class divisions, how to break the hold of reformist ideology, how to exploit imperialism's contradiction with democracy and how to build solidarity with the proletariat's world allies. If one analyzes the mass movements objectively, these are the very questions "posed" by the masses.

Secondly, what leads to subordination to bourgeois ideology is not the practice of addressing questions actually raised by the mass movements, but by the adoption of bourgeois solutions for them. The line between proletarian and bourgeois ideology is drawn not on whether one addresses the questions "posed" by the class struggle, whatever its level of development, but on the answers provided for them.

Thirdly, if we are not to focus on the questions actually raised by the masses, on what should we focus our theoretical work? On those questions which spontaneously pop into the heads of Marxist-Leninists? On those questions which are most likely to advance our claims to circle hegemony?

Is it not obvious that any criterion other than the actual runs counter to Lenin's thesis that "the task of socialists is to be the ideological leaders of the proletariat in its actual struggle against actual and real enemies who stand in the actual path of social and economic development?" (Lenin, *Coll. Wks.*, Vol. 1, p. 298; emphasis in original)

### PRACTICE — THAT DIRTY LITTLE WORD

The NNMLC's downgrading of the primacy of problems actually faced by the masses shares nothing in common with Marxist materialism. It is only a more extreme version of the same "left" idealism and fear of the masses that characterized the "leftist" call for abstention from reform movements. In essence, it unites with the infantile desire to steer clear of bourgeois ideology by avoiding any contact with the "dirty and swarming" workers.

Bound up with its contempt for the questions posed by the mass movements is the NNMLC's fear of practice in the pre-party period. The demand that our theoretical work should be subjected to the test of practice and judged on the basis of whether or not it demonstrates a vanguard character is held to be incorrect.

Consider, for example, the following formulation:

*"In the pre-party period, the indication of the accuracy of the party's line and its vanguard potential is found in the ability to clarify key questions for Marxist-Leninists. In uniting on a leading line, Marxist-Leninists of course rely on their grasp of social reality as the measure of a line's accuracy and power."*

(op. cit., p. 28)

Thus for the NNMLC the criterion of truth during the pre-party period is the ability of a line to gain a following in the communist movement.

By this standard, the CP M-L must have the correct line!

A genuine Marxist-Leninist will never settle for measuring theory on the basis of its following. Instead, he/she will demand that the "accuracy" of line, its "vanguard potential", and one's "grasp of social reality" be subjected to the yardstick of practice. For a revolutionary, a line will be shown to be accurate, to have a vanguard character and to grasp reality only to the extent that it leads to revolutionary practice among the masses.

The NNMLC's "new" formulation of the criterion of truth is not just rooted in a cynical pursuit of influence among communists. Once again their fear of the masses is exposed.

The NNMLC is frightened that upholding practice as the criterion of correctness will lead to polluting communists with bourgeois ideology. If our movement is forced to demonstrate its vanguard character in practice, it is likely to succumb to opportunism. Better that it should avoid even the thought of putting its theory to the test.

### WHAT EXACTLY IS AN "ADVANCED DETACHMENT"?

"One's line on party-building actually draws out the question of what is one's conception of the Marxist-Leninist party

itself," the NNMLC writes (ibid., pg. 41). True enough and given what we have already seen of the NNMLC's party-building line, we can expect their treatment of the party to be similarly one-sided.

In their discussion of the nature of the Party, the NNMLC lays great stress on the party as the *advanced detachment* of the working class. They repeatedly invoke the favorite slogan of the "Gang of Four": "the correctness or incorrectness of ideological and political line decides everything." And they also quote Stalin's *Foundations of Leninism* to the effect that:

*"In order that it may really be the advanced detachment, the party must be armed with revolutionary theory, with a knowledge of the laws of the movement, with a knowledge of the laws of revolution."*

They devote almost four pages of their pamphlet to discussing this important aspect of the party. (ibid., pp. 8-11)

But there is no discussion whatsoever — not so much as a word — of the other main aspect of the Party. The need for the Party to be not only advanced but also a *detachment* is ignored.

To grasp the importance of this second aspect, consider what Stalin had to say only a few paragraphs after those quoted by the NNMLC:

*"But the Party cannot be only an advanced detachment. It must at the same time be a detachment of the class, part of the class, closely bound up with it by all the fibres of its being. . . . The Party cannot lead the class if it is not connected with the non-Party masses, if there is no bond between the Party and the non-Party masses, if these masses do not accept its leadership, if the Party enjoys no moral and political credit among the masses."*

(Stalin, *Works*, Vol. 6 pg. 9; emphasis in the original.)

Thus Marxists such as Stalin held the essence of the party to be the fusion — pardon the expression — of revolutionary theory with the advanced fighters of the working class. But consistent with its "essence" of party-building, the NNMLC sees the essence of the Party as its ideological and political line.

In summation, the NNMLC's narrow circle mentality, its critique of previous party-building lines, its own party-building strategy, and even its conception of the Party itself all demonstrate its own "leftism". And it is a "leftism" that is as pronounced as any in the history of the anti-revisionist movement — even including Workers' Viewpoint.

Nothing could demonstrate our tendency's inadequate critique of ultra-leftism better than this. And nothing could further underline the importance of seeing the NNMLC put right!

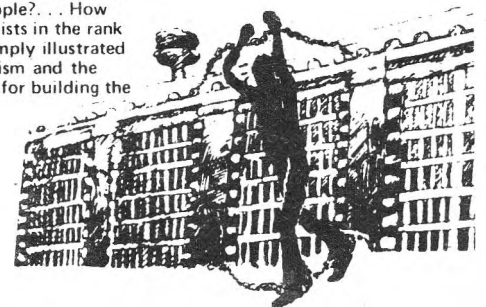
## Gay Socialist Network

Lesbian and gay male socialists who might want to be part of a nationwide network for mutual support in our struggles in the gay community around political work and in progressive parties and movements around gayness, send name and address to the ad hoc network building group from Baltimore, Philadelphia, and Washington, care of Joe Stewart, 1425 Rhode Island Ave., NW, Suite 203, Washington, DC 20005. Tentative but obvious network tasks could be a newsletter, a conference, a coordinated presence at the October 14 March on Washington. Comments and suggestions, names and addresses of others, and offers of help are needed and very welcome.

## RACISM AND THE WORKERS' MOVEMENT

A PWOC Pamphlet

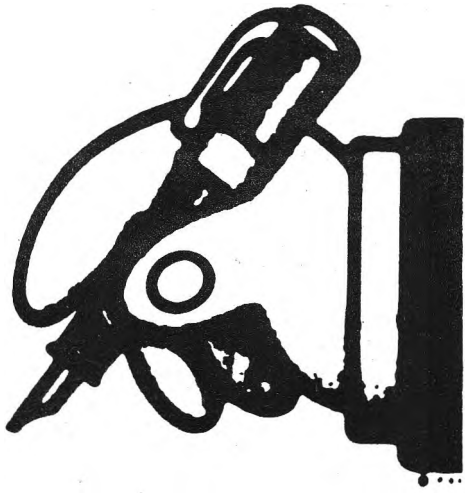
RACISM AND THE WORKERS' MOVEMENT analyzes the role of white supremacy in the US, particularly in the trade unions. . . . Who profits and who pays from the oppression of Black people? . . . How can racism be licked? . . . How do activists in the rank and file movement build this fight? Ample illustrated and written in popular language, *Racism and the Workers' Movement* can be a real tool for building the struggle in your shop or union.



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# An Exchange on the Michigan Tax Revolt



The following is a criticism of the article "Tax Revolt in Michigan" (V.5, No. 1) by Jim Jacobs, a member of the Detroit Marxist-Leninist Organization and a response from the Detroit Socialist Collective, the authors of the article.

Comrades of the Organizer:

...The article "Tax Revolt in Michigan" written by the Detroit Socialist Collective, contained the following sentence: "The most effective mobilization against the Headley Amendment was organized by the Coalition to Defeat E, H, and J."

First, the statement is not true. The Detroit Alliance for a Rational Economy (DARE), a group of black and white activists emerging from the campaign of Ken Cockrel, conducted a far larger and more successful campaign against the proposals. It was DARE who produced a concrete analysis of the proposals from a left perspective. It was DARE that attempted to analyze the questions of tax reform within the context of capitalism.

Moreover, it was DARE which took this material into communities, trade unions and to plants in far more aggressive ways than any work of the Coalition. For example, over 30,000 copies of the enclosed *Broadside* were carried into working class neighborhoods — both black and white — in Detroit. Additionally, there were ten days of systematic leafletting which included major automobile plants. Finally on election day, over 350 people were enlisted by DARE to work the polls, passing out material against the proposals. In this process, many black clubs, neighborhood organizations and trade unionists were mobilized. Also, there was an attempt to build alliances with some of the major figures and institutions affecting working class people which also opposed the tax proposals.

In contrast, the efforts of the Coalition were rather minimal. On paper, it is true that many organizations joined. They ranged from the New Detroit Committee (a group founded by major automotive capitalists after the 1967 rebellion) to some AFSCME locals. Even DARE was a member of the Coalition. But there was little educational material prepared by the Coalition, nor a major attempt to mobilize people to defeat the proposals. Indeed, on election day, the Coalition's poll worker effort was so small and disorganized, that they appealed to DARE for aid and literature.

But all of this is relatively unimportant. Who did the most work is insignificant in comparison to the political nature of the forces in the Coalition. While there were many trade unions and community organizations committed to the Coalition, the backbone of the effort was led by the Communist Party, the Communist Labor Party, and other revisionists. It was principally pushed *against* the activities of DARE, which has grown to represent a force independent of both the Democratic Party and revisionists. Thus, the Coalition was a paper group that did little to build real struggle against the proposals. Nor did the coalition attempt to introduce any analysis of the tax proposals, or place the struggle within the context of anti-capitalism. Typical of revisionism it tailed behind the Democratic Party, and presented its analysis in only the most economist terms.

The authors of the article were aware of DARE's activities. Indeed, some members of the Detroit Socialist Collective participated in the DARE operations as poll workers. They may have disagreements with DARE's approach, strategy, or tactics — all of which may be justifi-

able because certainly errors were made. But to ignore it, or at least not to report it in any fashion is incredible.

And what's worse, the article winds up praising the minimal efforts of revisionists and liberal reformers. This hardly serves the *Organizer*, or all of us in the Trend very well. I would suggest the *Organizer* look carefully at future articles which under the guise of "reporting", distort reality, and glorify the work of people who are hardly our friends.

Fraternally,  
Jim Jacobs

*Detroit Socialist Collective replies:*

We do not consider it a serious omission or major political error on our part to not make special mention of DARE. As Jacobs himself admits in his letter, DARE was, after all, a member of the Coalition to Defeat E, H, & J. We certainly recognize DARE's contributions to the tax struggle and its importance to the progressive movement in Detroit. However, we felt the correct focus of the article should have been on the coalition as a whole and not on the accomplishments of a single group within it, nor on the internal left dynamics of the tax reform movement. Certainly, another article should be done analyzing the various contending political lines or looking more closely on DARE, and we would encourage Jacobs to do that. But that was not the purpose of our article.

However, this is not the major weakness of Jacob's criticisms. Counterposing DARE's role in the Michigan tax struggle *in opposition* to the Coalition as a whole is sectarian and divisive. It raises the question of whether Jacobs is concerned with building a real people's movement, or with building up a particular organization.

There is also the matter that many of Jacob's attacks on the Coalition are totally without basis in fact. For example, Jacobs contends that the tax coalition was a paper organization projected by the CP to oppose DARE. If Jacobs had bothered to consult with DSC or rely on members of his own organization who attended the initial meeting of the Coalition, he would have learned that the CP did not create the Coalition, nor was it even present, even though they were invited.

Later on, only when it was clear that the Coalition was a viable mass form did the CP join. But does the mere presence of the CP within a mass organization imply CP hegemony over it? Such a notion is not only ludicrous, but in this case, grossly untrue.

Jacob's other criticisms that the Coalition "did little to build real struggle" are also false and, what's more, they represent a real slap in the face to the core group of activists who devoted many hours organizing demonstrations, mass meetings, a car caravan, leafletting at shopping centers and plant gates, poll distributions and open debates with Tisch and Headlee.

Jacobs is also misinformed if he thinks the CLP was a "backbone" to the Coalition. Their contributions to it were less than nil. His knowledge of the Coalition is apparently pretty limited and he could have avoided another embarrassing mistake if he had done a little investigation, beginning with picking up the phone and asking us.

We presume he is basing his assertion on the fact that the initiator of the Coalition was the United We Can group that

emerged out of the CLP's mass work four years ago. Meanwhile, Jacobs does not seem aware that CLP pulled out of UWC and ceased to be a factor within it during the General Baker campaign for State Representative. However, we are not so much concerned here with Jacob's obvious ignorance of the mass work and internal workings of the Coalition. We would assume, though, that someone who attempts to discredit our credibility and objectivity would have covered his own flank a little bit better.

What we are mainly concerned with is Jacobs' tendency towards "left"-sectarianism and ultra-leftism towards the reform struggle and the struggle against revisionism. Given Jacobs' obsession with the CP's presence (as well as the other "revisionists" who he never identifies), is he suggesting that Trend forces begin to pick up the banner of "No Unity With Revisionists?" We know where we've heard that one before and where it has led.

The Coalition was not a left organization, nor did it pretend to be, nor should it have been. It represented a United Front of organized labor, individual trade unionists, community groups, churches, left groups, progressive petit bourgeoisie, and liberal Democrats. How that formation could have been united around and acted upon a common anti-capitalist analysis in the two months of its existence would have been a colossal political feat even Lenin would have admired.

Even given the mass nature of the Coalition, its leadership was quite open to a broader political analysis of the tax struggle and to the participation of the left forces. The AFSCME Hall, for instance, was made available to UWC for a forum on the tax revolt which did place the question within a class context. Councilwoman Maryann Mahaffey (a consistent ally of DARE's Ken Cockrel on the Detroit City Council) related impressions of her recent trip to Chile. She also made the connections between the repressive political and economic policies of the

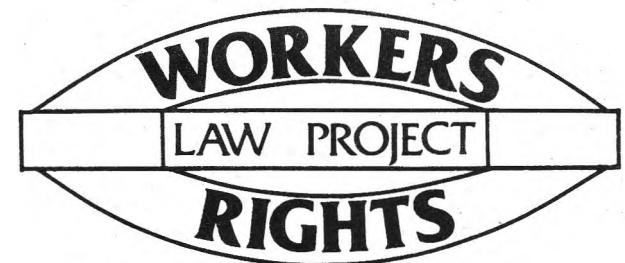
junta with the "tax limitation" and "balanced budget" schemes of right-wing economists like Milton Friedman.

In addition, the Coalition took a very non-sectarian attitude towards making the literature of all groups within the Coalition available. What's more, the AFSCME Committee to Save Public Services brochure, "Tax Cuts or Tax Rip-Off?" is certainly not devoid of class politics. While working within the Coalition framework, DSC united with other advanced and progressive forces to develop a class-conscious awareness of the tax revolt within the core grouping. In the general agitation of the Coalition, DSC also distributed nearly 1000 copies of a mass pamphlet of our own which we shared with our co-workers, friends and members of the Coalition. In addition to that, we held a forum for DSC friends and contacts in which we deepened our analysis of the tax revolt.

It should have been obvious to anyone at all familiar with the Coalition that it was not tailing behind the Democratic Mule but was pulling and yanking like hell to get it off its butt and moving. Denouncing these forces as "other revisionists" and "liberal reformers" says more about Jacobs' contempt for the working class and the reform struggle than it says about them.

In conclusion, we wish to state that, unconditionally, we still stand by our original article and reject Jacobs' criticisms. Again, if he thinks a Marxist-Leninist analysis should be done of the DARE organization, then certainly he would be best qualified to do that. Perhaps, also, he and/or DMLO could share with the Trend their perspective on how Marxist-Leninists should work within reform struggles and how we should struggle against revisionism. By doing so, we believe they could perform a tremendous service to the Trend in its task to root out all forms of "left" opportunism in all areas of our work.

In struggle,  
Sam Stark for DSC



## SWIM PARTY AND PICNIC

Date: August 19, 1979 (raindate August 26. Call ME 5-4006)

Time: 1:00 P.M. — 10:00 P.M.

Place: 8120 New Second Street, Elkins Park

Agenda: good food, good people, good music, good swimming, good childcare

Cost: \$3.00 donation (includes one plate of good food; children under 12 free.)

Directions: Roosevelt Blvd. to Front Street; turn north to first light; turn left to next light; turn right onto Masher; follow Masher, bearing left at fork onto Second Street; site is 3 lights north of Cheltenham.