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# THE ORGANIZER

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## Stop the Murders in Atlanta

by Jim Griffin

In Mobile, Alabama, a Black man was hung with a rubber tube, the first lynching in the US in a dozen years. In Lancaster, Pennsylvania, last week, three white men forced a Black man to disrobe and attempted to hang him by his rectum from a crane hook. An in Atlanta, Georgia, the 27th victim in a two year string of murders of Black youth was found asphyxiated.

The Atlanta murders, chilling enough in their own right, symbolize a much larger pattern of racist violence. Violent attacks directed against Black people have sharply escalated over the last year. Klan and Nazi activity are at a higher level than any time since 1965, according to law enforcement officials. The Justice Department reports a sharp increase in the incidence of police brutality and abuse. Apparently spontaneous attacks are on the rise as well.

The increase in acts of racist violence mirrors the rise in the institutionalized violence and racism emanating from Washington. The Reagan administration proposed, and Congress just passed, a budget which, while attacking the living standards of working and poor people generally, falls with particular severity on Blacks and other national minorities. Congress, with the active support of the White House, is considering legislation that would effectively destroy affirmative action and desegregation, and allow the Voting Rights Act to lapse. The Supreme Court gave a taste of the role it will play over the next period when it recently upheld the right of the city of Memphis to close down a street that led from a Black neighborhood through a white one, despite the demonstrable inconvenience this will cause the Black community and the absence of any other than racial motives for the action.

The President himself was touched by this wave of racist violence when he was shot by a former Nazi who left because the Nazis were not militant enough in fighting for white supremacy. Yet, while Reagan regularly speaks out against the alleged terrorism of the Soviet Union and the revolutionary movement in El Salva-

dor, he remains silent on the terrorism directed against Afro-American people within this country.

### REAL ISSUE IN ATLANTA

The question of racism in Atlanta cannot be reduced to the identity or motives of the killer or killers. No hard evidence has been made public which would allow anything more than guesswork on these questions. But whether there is one killer or more, whether the killer is white or Black, the fact remains that the failure to move resolutely to apprehend the murderer and protect the children is a sharp indictment of the authorities, ranging from the Atlanta police to the White House. This failure is rooted in racism, in the view that a Black life is not worth as much as a white life.

From the beginning the Atlanta police force has been slow to act. Mayor Maynard Jackson, concerned about the negative publicity which would upset Atlanta's business community, sought to downplay the seriousness of the situation. Only after ten children were dead and community pressure and national media exposure were brought to bear, did the police acknowledge that there was an emergency.

Even after the creation of a police special task force and widely publicized community searches, the police did not break with a business as usual approach, including routine manifestations of racism toward the Black community.

When Evelyn Miller reported her son missing in November she was told by police that she would have to wait 24 hours before they officially recognized him as missing and took any action, this being the usual police procedure. A week later Eric Miller was found dead. Anne Rogers reported that her son was missing on November 10th. Two days later the police showed up at her house with a warrant for her son's arrest for burglary dated November 12. According to Mrs. Rogers, the police were "nasty" and abusive. Shortly thereafter her son Patrick was found dead.

In January, 14 year old Eric McCloud tried to flag down a police car after a



man tried to kidnap him in front of East Atlanta High School. The patrol car ignored him. When police received phone calls from a man who pinpointed the place where 15 year old Terry Pugh was found dead, the police made no effort to trace the calls, even though they were two weeks apart.

Parents in Atlanta have expressed deep resentment over police and media descriptions of their children as "street kids". The implication here is that these youth are up to no good and their parents are irresponsible in caring for them.

### ROLE OF FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

This was most explicit in an incident involving the FBI last month. FBI director William H. Webster angered Atlanta authorities when he made a statement to the press that four of the cases were "substantially solved" and that there was a suspect in a dozen others. To compound matters Agent Mike Twibell followed up his boss by telling a civic group in Macon, Georgia, that "some of the kids were killed by their parents" because they were "nuisances". Atlanta Mayor Jackson and community leaders demanded an explanation and apology from the Bureau for these statements but to date none has been forthcoming.

The FBI's treatment of at least some of the parents of the Atlanta victims raises further questions as to whether the Bureau is seeking to apprehend the killer or heap racist abuse on the victims. After reporting her son missing, Mrs. Evelyn Miller, by her own account, was threatened and intimidated by FBI agents. Miller was told that she had to take a lie detector test and that if she refused the courts would force her to do so.

Federal aid to the local investigation effort has been token in nature. The low key approach of federal law enforcement officials contrasts sharply with cases like that of Patty Hearst, when an all out, high gear effort was made. Ronald Reagan has been all but silent in relation to Atlanta despite repeated calls for him to speak out strongly.

### KLAN AND ULTRA-RIGHT IN ATLANTA

While the white supremacist hate groups may or may not be directly involved in the Atlanta murders, there is

no question that their activity has contributed to creating the political atmosphere in which the killings have occurred. The Atlanta area reads like a who's who of racists. J. B. Stoner, the head of the National States Rights Party, who is appealing a conviction for bombing a Black church, is headquartered nearby. Klansman Allan Roberts, involved in the conspiracy to kill civil rights workers Goodman, Schwerner and Chaney, is another local figure. Then there is Mitchell Livingston Werbell III who heads up Cobray, Inc., a notorious training camp for mercenaries and right wing paramilitary groups. Congressman Larry McDonald, a member of the John Birch Society and an outspoken supporter of South Africa's apartheid system, rounds out the list.

According to the NAACP, a letter calling for "Open Season" in hunting down Blacks has been widely circulated in the Atlanta region. At a Hertz Rent-a-Car agency Black women workers have received this letter along with physical threats if they do not quit. White policemen have been targeted for recruitment by the KKK and those who have spoken out against the Klan have received threatening letters.

Throughout the country, anger, protest, and demonstrations of concern over Atlanta have been mounting. Many white and Black people are wearing green ribbons — the symbol of solidarity with the children of Atlanta. This Memorial Day, the Committee to Stop the Murder of Children in Atlanta has called for a massive demonstration at the Lincoln Memorial in Washington. This demonstration, as the first broad-based expression of protest on a national scale, has a critical importance. As we go to press the demonstration has attracted widespread endorsements including significant labor backing.

All working people need to stand up and let Reagan and Co. know that we will not tolerate more murders, more lynchings, and the wholesale attempt to take away the hard won gains of the civil rights movement. The attacks on Black people are part and parcel of the attacks on us all — on our living standards, our democratic rights and our desire for peace. The attacks on Black people and the code words of racism that are employed to justify them are attacks on the whole working class — attempts to keep us weak and divided in the face of an assault by big business. See you in Washington.

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# Letters To The Editor...

## More on the Campaign against White Chauvinism



To the Editor:

In the December *Organizer*, Clay Newlin wrote that the resistance to the OCIC's anti-white chauvinism campaign proved its importance. Newlin didn't bother to discuss the many factual charges raised against the OCIC and instead chose to attack the integrity and motivations of his opponents.

The fact of the matter is, the campaign was initiated and carried out with no clear plan or goals, no single method and so indulged in speculation about individual motivation that it became a replica of "brainwashing communism" as described by J. Edgar Hoover. It has become the shame and scandal of the anti-revisionist, anti-dogmatist movement so that any legitimate anti-racist concerns of the campaign have evaporated. What is left is what actually happened, the purging of

the OCIC of dissident elements of diverse ideological character.

No wonder there has been such demoralization to the point that some have left the communist movement altogether. So many people who broke with the dogmatists in the last five years or so and committed great energy and hope to the anti-dogmatist tendency must now again try to pick up the pieces.

The OCIC anti-white chauvinism campaign is one which is sure to warm the hearts of the ruling class as they watch us self-destruct once more. As a former OCIC member, not associated with any "united front" against the OCIC, my emotional response is to be glad I'm out of it, as I wonder, politically, what future there is for the communist movement.

John Ziv

would sooner leave than fight for their position in the OCIC.

Long ago rectification refused to struggle out their differences with the OC — in the OC. Then last summer a parody of rectification's flight was acted out by the BAWOC minority and TMLC among others. Now this non-struggle wing is gaining new forces from within the OC who are leaving the OC over *vague and unarticulated* criticisms of ultra-leftism in the OC's campaign against white and petty bourgeois chauvinism.

The OCIC in taking up the campaign against white chauvinism is creating the conditions for the development of *multi-national* unity in the party building movement by breaking down the racism and accommodation in those who are taking up the task of organizing the vanguard of the working class. Only by breaking down the white and petty bourgeois chauvinism in the OCIC will we be able to see clearly the working class as it *really* is, and *really* see the leading forces in it and the process by which it is moving forward.

The campaign against white chauvinism is not an attack of the NSC on the ranks of the OCIC or on forces in the tendency. It is an attack of the OCIC on bourgeois ideology. When the battle opened up, many fled from the struggle like the opportunists of the 2nd international who sided with their own bourgeoisies rather than risk the perils of revolution and civil war.

Others moved quickly to take up the struggle against bourgeois ideology. But white chauvinism did not crumble at the first attack and some of our leading comrades have fallen in the struggle having left the OCIC rather than deepen the struggle by breaking with their own unity with bourgeois ideology whether it be racism, petty bourgeois chauvinism or the accommodation to those deviations.

But the new wave of those who want to cancel the campaign claim the fact that leading comrades have fallen proves the campaign is ultra-left, rather than deepening their own commitment to rooting out

racism in our ranks that holds the process at its present backward state where *even leading comrades* hold some unity with racist ideology.

Out of paternalism many whites in our ranks call for a halt to the campaign because there are *real* casualties in the struggle against racism. Rather than seeing that those who lead the fight might be the first to fall, but our summation of their weaknesses make victory that much closer.

Those of us who were reluctant to take up the fight, myself included, because of our own unity with white chauvinism and petty bourgeois chauvinism must now take up the campaign and carry on the fight. For *only* by defeating white chauvinism and petty bourgeois chauvinism in our movement will we create the conditions for working class forces to take leadership positions in our movement.

At the same time only ideological struggle that challenges the basis of the white flight will make it clear the real enemy is the bourgeoisie and win the whites back into the struggle.

It is not time to withdraw from the struggle — but to carry it to its conclusion. Only sharpening the contradictions can push the process forward by exposing the opportunism of unity with the bourgeois ideology of white and petty bourgeois chauvinism. Only this will show the way forward out of the morass of bourgeois ideology.

Sharpening the struggle means, strengthening our class stand by *orienting* all our party building work to building unity around anti-racism and anti-petty bourgeois chauvinism; bringing new working class and National Minority forces into the OC who are attracted by the unity expressed in the campaign — allowing ideological leadership that is coming forward in *this* struggle to take overall leadership for the further development of

(continued on page 10)

## Open Letter to White Petit Bourgeois Comrades

Comrades of the white, petty bourgeoisie An honest look at my own practice reveals my weaknesses around not putting out my views in the OCIC or becoming demoralized and not doing my party building or mass work because of defensiveness around being criticized for white chauvinism. This has held back the process of party building. I don't think I am exceptional. I think these errors of defensiveness leading to immobilization or flight *characterize the reaction* to the struggle against racism.

I think it's time we white folks broke from this childish approach of being defensive around a *real* problem, racism, and begin to take up our party building tasks with more seriousness.

C. Newlin's article in the *Organizer* 2 months ago exposed the seriousness of the errors of the forces that are defending white chauvinism in our movement. The 1st crisis in the anti-revisionist movement, when the Angolan revolution and the choosing up of sides, with the people, or US imperialism took place was a break-away movement of a sector of the anti-

## Petit Bourgeois

revisionists from the ultra-lefts. It was not a movement *for* a new political form. Our unity was *against* the ultra-left sects.

The fence sitters between ultra-leftism and Pt. 18 who eventually the OC forced a break with over principle 18 were able to have free reign in our tendency for a long time *because* of the lack of a center that could clarify the issues.

The second crisis is different. In the meantime we have deepened the process of organizing an ideological center process for our tendency. Today it is not various individuals or small circles that are leading the struggle against opportunism, it is the OCIC, a national process open to *all* who agree with the 18 points and the need for a single center for our tendency.

The fence sitters in the struggle against white chauvinism and petty bourgeois chauvinism who say they would criticize *both* racism and the campaign against white chauvinism are pushed quickly into the camp that is openly anti-single center, *because they refuse* to struggle out their views in the OC — but

## The Philadelphia Workers' Organizing Committee

# Who We Are



The PWOC is a communist organization, basing itself on Marxism-Leninism, the principles of scientific socialism. We are an activist organization of Black and white, men and women workers who see the capitalist system itself as the root cause of the day-to-day problems of working people. We are committed to building a revolutionary working class movement that will overthrow the profit system and replace it with socialism.

We seek to replace the anarchy of capitalist production with a planned economy based on the needs of working people. We want to end the oppression of national minorities and women, and make equality a reality instead of the hypocritical slogan it has become in the mouths of

the capitalist politicians. We work toward the replacement of the rule of the few — the handful of monopolists — by the rule of the many — the working people.

The masses of people in the US have always fought back against exploitation, and today the movements opposing the monopolists are growing rapidly in numbers and in intensity. What is lacking is the political leadership which can bring these movements together, deepen the consciousness of the people, and build today's struggles into a decisive and victorious revolutionary assault against Capital.

To answer this need we must have a vanguard party of the working class, based on its most conscious and committed partisans, rooted in the mass movements of all sectors of American people, and equipped with the political understanding capable of solving the strategic and tactical problems on the difficult road to revolution.

The PWOC seeks, along with like-minded organizations and individuals throughout the US, to build such a party, a genuine Communist Party. The formation of such a party will be an important step forward in the struggle of the working class and all oppressed people to build a new world on the ashes of the old.

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# Congressional Black Caucus Has A Better Idea

Feed the Pentagon, Starve the People that's the mood on Capitol Hill these days. The Republicans, joined by many conservative Democrats, are supporting the Reagan administration budget package which combines over \$50 billion in cuts for social programs with a big boost in military spending. The regular Democrats are floating a budget of their own, the Jones resolution, which differs only in degree from the Reagan budget. The only major difference with the Reagan economic package surrounds the question of a tax cut, with many Congressmen from both parties favoring a smaller tax reduction.

But there is one center of serious, progressive opposition to the Reagan program—the Congressional Black Caucus. The caucus has put forward an alternative budget to those of both the administration and the Democratic leadership. Entitled "The Congressional Black Caucus Alternative Resolution: A Constructive Alternative for the Recovery of the US Economy", the proposal calls for full employment, increasing services and programs that help poor and working people, cuts in military spending and government waste, and tax reform that will benefit lower and middle income people rather than the rich and monopoly corporations.

The CBC budget would restore the budget cuts called for by Reagan in the areas of social services and in some cases increase funding over the present levels of these programs. The CBC calls for full funding for CETA, Medicaid, public assistance, unemployment compensation, food stamps, child nutrition, student financial aid, health care programs and community legal services, all areas which Reagan proposes to substantially cut back or eliminate entirely. In addition, the CBC budget would appropriate more for housing and mass transit.

The CBC opposes the Reagan budget's "block consolidation" approach to the distribution of federal monies. Block consolidation enables states and localities to spend the money appropriated for a given region as they see fit rather than as determined by Congress. Thus funds for education, presently legally mandated to be spent on desegregation or bi-lingual education, for example, could be spent for upgrading football. This "states' rights" philosophy has historically served as a cover for the defense of white supremacy and this is precisely the role it plays in the current administration's proposals.

While increasing spending for human needs, the CBC budget total is only slightly larger than the Reagan proposal (see

box). In addition, the CBC proposal projects a smaller deficit than the administration's package. This is managed through two measures: a \$25 billion cut in military spending and the closing of tax loopholes to the monopolies to raise additional revenue.

## OPPOSES MILITARISM

The CBC disputes the assumption of both Republicans and the regular Democrats that the road to security is via bigger and ever more lethal stockpiles of weaponry. "The extraordinary increases sought in the FY82 defense budget... will only escalate the national and international trend towards greater militarism", according to the CBC resolution.

The CBC does not limit its call for reductions to "waste" or "fat" in the Department of Defense. They call for cuts in both the development of new weapons and in existing weapons systems.

The amount spent on new weapons has increased from \$35 billion in FY 80 to a projected \$68 billion in FY 82, a whopping 69.6% jump. The CBC calls for scrapping of the Reagan plan for building five new manned bombers, reactivating two battleships, the USS Oriskany, the SSN-608 submarine, the CVN Heavy Aircraft Carrier and the Roland missile system. Among those systems already being developed the CBC would terminate the MX missile, the Trident sub, the Trident II missile, the Pershing II ballistic missile, ground and sea-launched Cruise missiles, and anti-satellite weapons devel-

opment. Taken together, these cuts would save over \$20 billion.

## PROGRESSIVE TAX REFORM

Reagan's tax proposal of a 10% cut per year across the board for the next three years benefits the rich. If Reagan's tax package is passed, taxpayers with incomes under \$20,000 will actually end up paying \$93 more in taxes in 1984 (taking inflation and social security increases into account). But if you are in the less than 1% of the population that earns \$200,000 and up you will save \$19,427 on your tax bill.

By way of contrast the CBC calls for increasing the standard deductions for single people from \$2300 to \$2800 and for couples from \$3400 to \$4300. Increases in the Earned Income tax credit and a 10% tax credit for social security taxes are two additional changes proposed that would lower taxes for working people.

The CBC also calls for closing a number of tax loopholes that benefit the monopolies and the rich including the various incentives to the oil companies and the infamous "two martini lunch" expense account deductions.

The CBC proposal is not without some serious weaknesses. While it modifies the giveaways to business, which take the form of a greatly expanded depreciation allowance in the Reagan budget, and seeks to redirect private investment to economically depressed areas, it implicitly accepts the logic that big business

should be subsidized by working people to provide more jobs. While restoring existing programs threatened with huge cutbacks, the CBC does not put forward the call for dramatic increases in public works and investment which are necessary to address the present economic crisis.

Nevertheless the CBC budget remains a genuinely progressive alternative to the Republican and Democratic proposals—the only practical alternative within the Congress. It shows clearly that social programs can be maintained and increased without increasing government spending and while reducing taxes on working and poor people. Support for the CBC proposal should and can be a rallying point for all progressive forces opposing the cutbacks and the growth of military spending.

The CBC has not limited its role to simply issuing this proposal. Caucus members have been seeking to actively build support for it and against the cutbacks in their districts and across the country. In Philadelphia the CBC has actively assisted the People's Alliance for Human Needs, a coalition of over 200 organizations opposed to cutbacks, militarism, and US intervention abroad. The Alliance has endorsed the CBC budget and has been lobbying for it with area Congressional representatives as well as staging mass actions against the Reagan budget.

For a copy of the CBC budget, write: Congressional Black Caucus 82-344 House Annex 2 Washington, DC 20515.

## A COMPARISON OF THE REAGAN AND CBC BUDGET PROPOSALS FOR FY 82 (\$ in billions)

	REAGAN	CONGRESSIONAL BLACK CAUCUS	DIFFERENCE
Budget Authority	772.4	792.3	+19.9
Outlays	695.3	721.1	+25.8
Revenues	650.5	677.6	+27.1
Deficit	-45.0	-43.5	+ 1.5
<i>Selected Budget Functions:</i>			
<i>(Budget Authority)</i>			
050 National Defense	226.3	199.4	-25.9
270 Energy	9.0	10.4	+ 1.4
300 Natural Resources and Environment	7.9	11.2	+ 3.3
150 Community & Regional Development	7.3	9.3	+ 2.0
500 Education, Training, Employment, Social Services	24.6	36.6	+12.0
600 Income Security	261.8	282.6	+20.8

## The Democrats and the Budget Cuts

With few exceptions the Democrats on Capitol Hill have either climbed on the Reaganomics bandwagon or meekly opposed the administration in favor of a budget proposal that is no different in kind from the Reagan more guns, less butter package.

In both the House and Senate conservative Democrats from the South and elsewhere have supported the Reagan budget outright. 63 Democrats in the House voted for the administration's budget which was even co-sponsored by a conservative Democrat from Florida. In the Senate 28 Democrats joined 50 Republicans to pass the budget, including Democratic Minority leader Robert Byrd of West Virginia.

The bulk of Democrats who did vote against the Reagan budget favored the Jones resolution, the "official" Democratic alternative. While the Jones resolution would restore some of the cuts in social programs, it follows the President's budget in reducing spending for human needs while boosting military spending.

The best measure of where the Democrats stand on the cutbacks was the vote on the only progressive alternative to the Reagan program, the budget proposal of the Congressional Black Caucus. The CBC budget maintained or increases spending for all social programs while cutting the military budget. It includes progressive tax reforms that would reduce the tax burden on poor and working people while closing corporate loopholes (see article elsewhere in this *Organizer*). The CBC resolution was rejected in the House, where the Democrats have a 217 to 190 majority, by a 356 to 69 vote.

The official Democratic leadership in Congress could barely muster even token opposition to the GOP. House Speaker Tip O'Neill went through the motions, but refused to rally opposition or speak out against defections in his own ranks. Both O'Neill's statements and his support for the Jones resolution indicate that he accepts the basic premises of the Reagan budget—social austerity and military build-up. Thus it is not surprising that the

Massachusetts Democrat largely sat out the budget fight.

The position of the number one Democrat in the Senate, Robert Byrd, represented a significant current among Democrats generally in Congress. Byrd voted for the administration budget, citing the need to give the President a chance, respect for his mandate, etc. Democrats who took this position cynically believe they have the best of all possible worlds. If the Reagan budget proves to be politically popular they can point to their support for it. If it provokes massive resistance among rank & file Democrats at the polls, they will argue they voted for it in order to expose the falsity of Reaganomics by allowing the GOP to put them into practice.

## AFTER THE VOTE

Some Democrats were furious at the defections in the Democratic ranks and the unwillingness of the official leadership to exert Party discipline. Richard

Hatcher, the Black mayor of Gary, Indiana and vice chairman of the Democratic National Committee, spoke out sharply against this capitulation at a meeting of the National Committee. Hatcher called for measures to discipline those who voted for the Republican budget including withholding campaign funds in the next election. The Democratic leadership responded by refusing to consider any punitive measures against those who refused to support the Party's own positions.

The response to the budget dramatically shows that the masses of the US people who will be hard hit by the right wing offensive unfolding in Washington cannot rely on the Democratic Party to defend their interests. With the exception of the Congressional Black Caucus and a small group of consistent liberals there are no allies among the Democrats in fighting the attacks on living standards, democratic rights and peace which are being orchestrated in the White House.

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# Coal Companies Plan for Long Strike

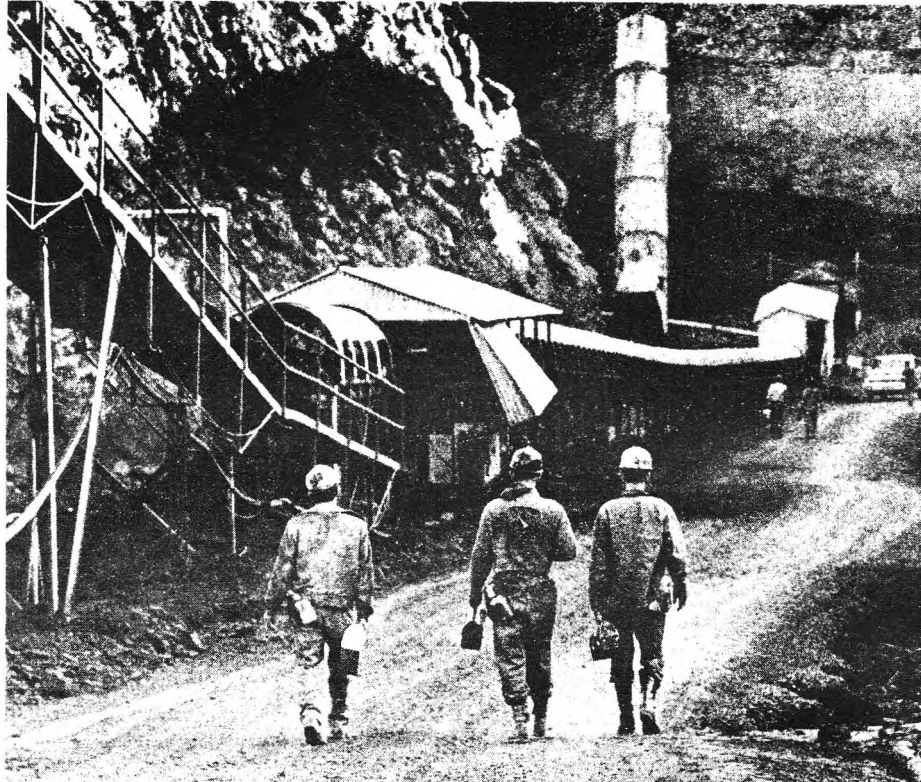
by Keith Forsythe

Soft coal miners have been out on strike since the beginning of April, after voting 2-1 against a contract negotiated by United Mine Workers President Sam Church and Bituminous Coal Operators negotiator Bobby Brown. Nearly all the major companies in the operators association are owned by oil companies (ARCO, Occidental, Continental, Gulf, SoCal, etc.) or steel companies. As we go to press, there have been less than a week's worth of negotiations, and so far the operators say they won't budge beyond their last offer.

The government, the operator's association, and individual companies are all giving out different estimates of how much coal has been stockpiled, but the smallest estimates say that the steel and electric utilities (the main customers for coal) have enough on hand to last till the end of June. Some non-union coal continues to be mined, especially in eastern Kentucky and Tennessee. And there has been an increase of about 10-15% in the tonnage of scab coal mined nationally since the first week of the strike. Most of that apparently is coming from western strip mines.

Coal exports, one of the most profitable markets for the companies, have declined drastically, prompting worried articles in *Business Week* and the *Wall Street Journal*. Coal loading at Philadelphia, and Hampton Roads, Virginia, two of the largest coal shipping ports, has slowed to a trickle since the strike began.

With their large stockpiles of coal, and the huge cash reserves of the multinational oil companies, the owners have two objectives in forcing a long strike. One is to teach the miners a lesson, that they should accept what they're offered at first and keep quiet. By eliminating the pension-fund payment for non-



union coal processed by unionized companies, and by permitting for the first time non-union subcontracting of mine work, the contract they proposed would have meant the slow but sure erosion of the UMWA's strength. The companies' secondary objective is to bankrupt the smaller companies that can't stand a long strike, thus putting Big Oil in position to cash in big as coal demand grows in the next decade.

## NON-UNION COAL

The key to the strike is the fight to slow down and stop non-union coal. The threat of a shutdown of the major electric utilities and steel plants of the East and Midwest is the most powerful

weapon the miners have. But with only 44% of the nation's coal coming from union mines (it was 75% only seven years ago), curbing the flow of scab coal, or at the least keeping it from moving faster, is a must if the miners are to force Big Oil and Big Steel to bargain. So far hundreds of miners have been arrested trying to do just that, getting charged with violating injunctions which ban picketing, and similar offences.

Miners get no strike benefits from their union, let alone bail money, so the support organized at the local level is critical for the success of the strike. In the last strike, workers in other industries took up plant gate collections for the miners, and sent car caravans of food to

the coalfields. Such activity is needed now, if the miners are to stop the threat to their union.

Forty-five years ago, the United Mine Workers union lent its money and its organizers to the effort to form the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO), the first really successful attempt to organize unions in the basic industries of steel, auto, electrical machinery, and transport. Without that helping hand from the Miners, unions like the United Auto Workers, United Steel Workers, United Electrical Workers, and many others might not exist. Now's our chance to return the favor. For information on the strike, what type of support is needed, and where to send donations, contact one of the following:

District 6  
Miners Relief Fund  
Box 688  
St. Clairsville, Ohio 43950  
(614) 676-3972

District 17  
UMWA Auxillary  
Helen Rentch  
Box 466  
Belle, W. Va. 25015  
(304) 744-0178

District 31  
Women's Auxillary  
Mary Ann Fisher  
(304) 363-3553

District 28  
Virginia Strike Support Committee  
Drawer N  
Clintwood, Va. 24228  
(703) 926-4495

Coal Field Defender  
Box 5367  
Capitol Station  
Charlestown, W. Va. 25311

# Remember Joe Louis

by Jim Griffin

The death of Joe Louis last month inevitably renewed the debate over who was "the greatest" heavyweight champ of them all. The transparently racist attempt of some sportswriters to use Joe Louis against another great Afro-American, Muhammad Ali is the ugly underside of this debate. According to this view not only was Louis a better fighter, but he was also "a gentleman", the implication being that Ali was not. What this really means is Joe Louis "knew his place", and Muhammad Ali was "uppity".

As to who was the better fighter there is plenty of room for honest differences. Like all such debates it will never be resolved. What is indisputable is that both Louis and Ali, along with Rocky Marciano are the top heavyweights of the modern era. As for being a "gentleman", if this is taken to mean that Joe Louis accommodated racism, then it is a gross distortion of history. Besides being great fighters, Louis and Ali, in different ways and in different periods, both were symbols of Afro-American pride and resistance to racism.

When Joe Louis gained the heavy-weight crown in 1937 he was only the second Black man ever to hold it. The first Black champion, Jack Johnson, had refused to respect the color line and was driven from the country because

he had a relationship with a white woman. For over 20 years after Johnson fight promoters discriminated against Black fighters and insured that the title would remain in white hands. Louis, the son of sharecroppers and a former auto worker, changed all that.

## FIGHTING FASCISM

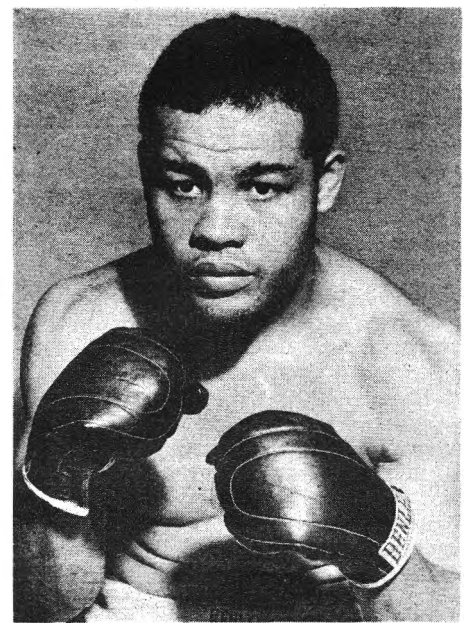
In 1938 Joe Louis met Max Schmeling, the "Aryan" hero of Nazi Germany. Adolph Hitler hailed Schmeling as a prime example of Nazi superiority. Louis had met the German fighter earlier in 1936 and was knocked out by him in the 12th round, his only loss up to that time. The fight became a symbol of the confrontation between the forces of racism and fascism on the one side and democracy and progress on the other. Schmeling himself helped make it so by contributing a series of disparaging, racist remarks about Louis and the Afro-American people.

Millions in the US, both Black and white, looked for Louis to teach Hitler's gladiator a lesson. Louis did not disappoint them. In the first round he subjected Schmeling to a pummeling he would never forget, knocking him down three times. In two minutes and four seconds it was all over and Schmeling had to be carted off to the hospital.

During World War II Joe Louis, as a soldier, covered 21,000 miles and gave 96 boxing exhibitions to over two million allied troops. Louis spoke out on the need to win the war against fascism and combatted the idea that the Afro-American people, because of the oppression that they faced in the US, had no stake in the war effort. "There's a lot of things wrong with America," Louis said at the time, "but Hitler ain't going to help it."

Nevertheless Louis was angered by the racism and segregation he saw first hand in the Army. He spoke of Black people "ready and willing to go out and try to kill Hitler and maybe get themselves killed, but they can't sleep in the same barracks with the white guys or go to the same movies or hardly get in officer's training."

Louis retired in 1949 after defending his title a record 25 times. He had earned over \$4 million in the ring, but most of it had gone to promoters, managers, trainers and a variety of hangers-on. The next year he was forced to try a comeback. After being outpointed by Ezzard Charles and knocked out by Rocky Marciano in 1951 Louis retired for good. His post-ring years were filled with bad health, broken marriages and constant harassment from the IRS for back taxes. To survive Louis took a



Culver Pictures

number of jobs which must have humiliated him — jobs in which he was a front man and big name for everything from Dairy Cooperatives to Gambling Casinos. Despite his desperate financial plight Louis refused to travel to South Africa although he was offered \$100,000 to tour there.

Louis's accomplishments in a ring career that spanned 17 years and included 71 fights and 54 KO'S expanded the opportunities and helped to break down the barriers of racism not only for Black athletes but for all Black people.

# UAW's "Buy American" Campaign...

## Will it Save Our Jobs?

by Keith Forsyth

Imported cars have captured over 25% of the US market and Japan has surpassed the US as the world's largest auto producer. Three quarters of a million US autoworkers are laid off. In the minds of many auto workers stopping foreign competition is the key to job security and protection of their living standards. This perception is fed by their union, the UAW, which has taken money slated for organizing the unorganized and spent it on a media blitz focused on the "Buy American" theme.

"Buy a Foreign Car - Put 10 Americans out of Work" and "Unemployment - Made in Japan" are two UAW slogans which have been blazoned on bumper stickers and advertisements. In Congress the UAW has lobbied for legislation that would impose higher tariffs or quotas on Japanese cars for a 3 year period, after which any company selling over 200,000 cars yearly would be required to manufacture 40% of that car inside the US (referred to as the "local content" requirement).

Would restricting imports address the very real problems of US auto workers? Even if there was a complete ban on imported cars immediately, total car sales, foreign and domestic made, are so low this year and last that there would still be fewer jobs in the industry than in 1973.

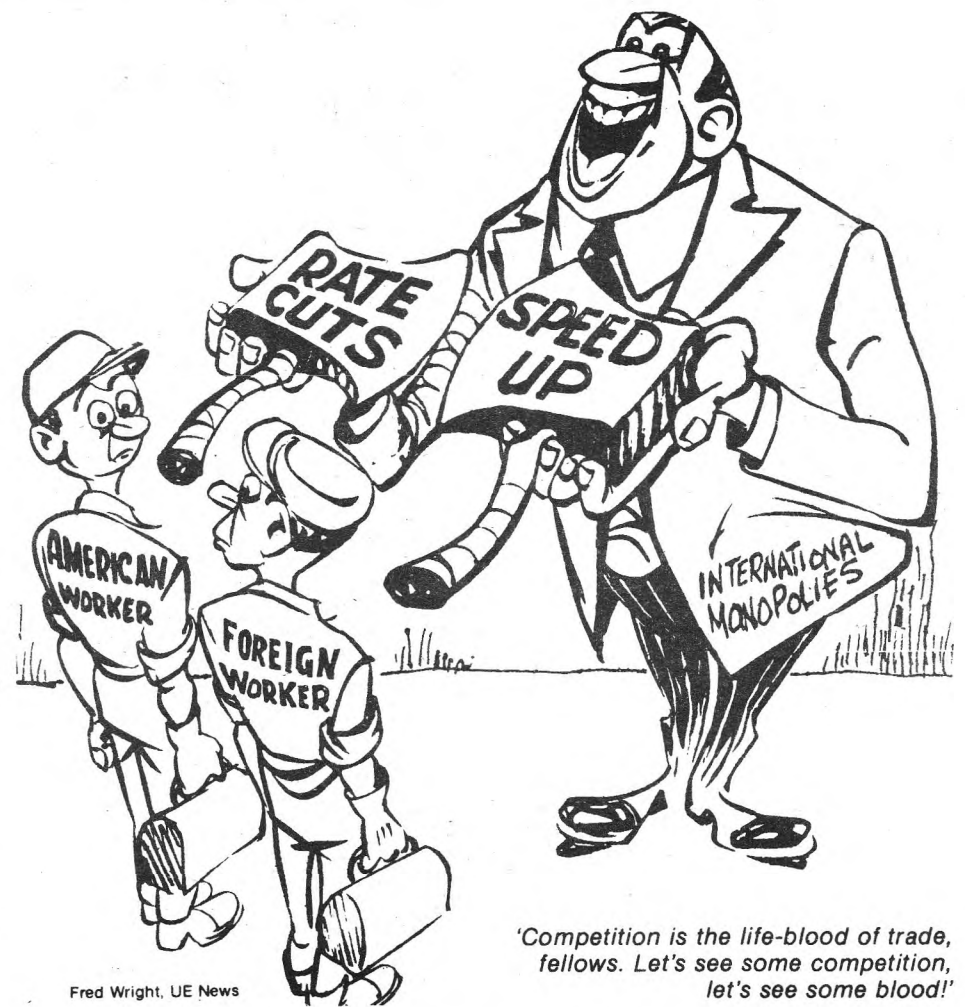
*Business Week* magazine, a weekly for corporate execs, spelled out the reasons for that in a recent issue. High inflation plus high unemployment means that fewer people can afford to buy cars than could in 1973. "The high interest rates that destroyed US car sales last spring are decimating them again this winter, wiping out the big sales jump that normally accompanies the opening of a new model year. The third factor cited by the magazine are the "steep prices Detroit says it must charge" for fuel-efficient cars. The Big 3 are "gambling that demand is so great that consumers will buy the cars even at much higher prices." But those cheapskate consumers just didn't go along with the plan.

Another factor is automation. The Big Three automakers plan to cut their workforce in production by one fourth (between 1975 and 1985) through automation, without reducing the number of cars built. This process is speeded up every time sales drop in the industry. For example, after the 1974-75 recession the Budd Company (a major supplier of parts to the Big 3) cut its total workforce from about 21,000 to 17,000 without reducing its sales; it was done with automation and combining two jobs into one.

In fact, US auto companies aren't that serious about competing with the Japanese. If they can sell more cars by freezing out the competition, fine. But competing, no. According to *Business Week*, "Detroit may be missing a great opportunity to re-capture much of the market share lost to imports in recent years (due to high prices)... Detroit is still not producing cars that are fully competitive in terms of fuel efficiency... Unlike the Japanese, who price aggressively (low) in order to secure markets and do not worry about a few negative numbers, Detroit is primarily concerned about short-term profits." And Detroit can't even keep up with what sales it has: "Buyers wait up to three months for the popular X-car (GM)..." and many Ford Escort buyers can't get automatic transmissions because Ford isn't making enough.

And just what is an "American" car? A Volkswagon assembled in Pittsburgh from parts made mostly in the US? A Ford Escort with electronic systems made in Japan, bearing made in Japan, and suspension parts from England and Spain? According to a report being done by New York University, for the US Dept. of Labor, Ford Motor is planning to drastically increase its purchases and manufacture of parts in foreign countries, especially parts for the new "world car", the Escort.

The whole "Buy American" campaign neatly sidesteps the fact that the Big 3 and other US based corporations have been exporting US jobs for years and continue to do so. Even bank-



"Competition is the life-blood of trade, fellows. Let's see some competition, let's see some blood!"

rupt Chrysler is building a new plant right across the Mexican border. The US auto manufacturers build plants in countries where workers are forced to work for lower wages, where brutal dictatorships have outlawed strikes and unions. The large investment in South Africa is a case in point.

A protectionist policy is dangerously shortsighted in that it inevitably leads to other countries restricting imports in retaliation. If Japan were to raise tariff walls against the US, the huge US export trade would be killed with the consequence of more jobs lost. If only indirectly this would effect autoworkers too.

When it comes to railcar and bus production, the real problem is the lack of money being spent for mass transit in the US. While the US leads the world in railway freight car production, exporting millions of dollars worth yearly, less than 10% of the world market for passenger rail cars is in the US. Person for person, every other industrial country in the world has a mass transit system many times the size of the US system, and that is why their plants build more cars and build them cheaper.

Four years ago, none of the American railcar producers would even bid on orders placed by the Boston and South Jersey PATCO system, and foreign companies eventually got the job. All the American companies said they were "too busy". The PATCO job ended up being done in Canada, using drawings sold to Canadian Vickers Co. by the Budd Co.

Meanwhile the US producers were complaining about "unfair foreign competition." While denouncing government subsidies of foreign producers, American corporations in a number of industries collected government subsidies totalling \$1.4 billion last year on their exported products, through Domestic International Sales Corporations (DISC). This money,

baiting and super-patriotism to discourage working class people from supporting workers' struggles overseas.

The struggles of South African workers, or for that matter the people of El Salvador are portrayed as communist inspired, rather than expressions of rebellion against an unjust government. The violence of apartheid, which continues to forcibly divide families, providing work for men only in urban centers while women and children are exiled to rural "bantustans"; which continues to detain, torture and murder any who raise their voices in protest; which continues to bomb civilian settlements in Angola & Mozambique in an

made up by the rest of the taxpayers, allows companies to pay taxes on only half of the profits they earn from exports.

The fundamental flaw of the "Buy American" approach to saving jobs is that it unites US workers with their exploiters against workers in other countries. Are Japanese workers who face the same problems we do the source of our problems? And are the companies who are laying us off and putting the screws to us at contract time our allies in the fight for job security? Are Black South African workers who are forced to work for low wages because of the vicious apartheid system taking away our jobs or is it the corporations who create and maintain such conditions to make bigger profits the real culprits? The scapegoating of foreign workers follows the same logic as the scapegoating of national minorities here in the US. Both rest on an appeal to racism and on the old tactic of divide and conquer.

The only "practical" way to fight for jobs is not on the side of the companies against other workers, but against the monopolies and with international solidarity. The demand for a shorter work week, for public investment in mass transit, for nationalizing those plants which are shut down - these are real solutions to the jobs crunch.

The way to stop the export of jobs is to support the workers of other countries in their fight for democracy, unions, and decent wages and conditions. US corporations who violate fair labor standards abroad should be subject to penalties. Super-profits reaped from such foreign investment should be subject to prohibitive taxation. In this way we unite our fight with the fight of workers in other nations. Corporations, whether Japanese or American, salute the Green flag and no other. Until we recognize this we'll never get out of the hole.

effort to turn back the clock toward colonialism, this is ignored.

Patriotism is employed when the press speaks of "preserving American interests". Preserving American interests in South Africa means preserving the rights of Ford, GM, Mobil, and dozens of others to segregate their workforces, pay less than minimum wage, serve as defense installations, and most of all bring home two or three times the rate of profit then can in the United States. Clearly, these are not the interests of American workers in South Africa. Our interest instead should be in supporting the Black working class of South Africa in its struggles against these giants.

## South Africa... (continued from page 12)



up by riot police and the special Branch (equivalent of the FBI), Ford and dozens of other multinationals can continue to keep 85% of its Black workers in the lowest grades, refuse to bargain collectively with them, and pay them little more than the minimum wage.

While more and more workers in the United States are moving to strike and demonstrate against the attacks on our living standards against the take away contract offers in auto, coal, and steel. Many companies can rely on their overseas production to provide a cushion to resist a strike here. Ford makes the majority of its profit out-side the United States. South African coal miners still make only a few dollars a day, and coal has been exported to the US in part to help undercut the United Mineworkers.

Just as South Africa backs up the corporate discrimination and exploitation there, the US government aids giant corporations in their rip-off of workers in underdeveloped countries. On the one hand, the US provides (paid for with our tax dollars) weapons and police training, and even garrisons, to governments which provide a "good climate for investment" - the businessman's phrase for cheap labor and no democracy. On the other hand, Reagan and company rely on red-

# Impact of 2 1/2 Hits Bay State

Over 1500 Boston parents, teachers, and students march to City Hall and the State House to protest school closings and cuts in education...500 high school students in Chelsea, 350 in Quincy, and 1200 in Saugus walk out to oppose school cutbacks...Boston AFSCME locals threaten to strike if union members are laid off while Mayor White's patronage appointees keep their jobs...5000 public employees and their supporters rally at the State House; three days later a second rally sponsored by the Mass. Teachers' Association draws 20,000...a labor-community coalition forces the Mayor to cancel a luxury birthday party for his wife...community protests block some cuts in bus and subway service.

This is only a sample of the opposition to Proposition 2 1/2 that has emerged in Massachusetts in the past month. Proposition 2 1/2, a business-sponsored tax cutting measure, was voted in last November in a statewide referendum. It requires cities and towns to cut the property tax rate to 2 1/2% over the next five years, as well as cutting the auto excise tax. In its first year, it has meant a loss of \$557 million in tax revenues, and by the end of the year an estimated 30,000 public employees will be laid off.

During the election campaign, supporters of Proposition 2 1/2 dismissed threatened service cuts as "scare stories." But now it is becoming obvious that the cuts are very real. For Boston, Proposition 2 1/2 means 100 layoffs a week. Hundreds of teachers have lost their jobs, 27 schools have been closed, and there is a very real possibility that the entire school system will close down in April, leaving thousands of high school seniors without their diplomas. All city construction — on parks, gyms, recreation centers, and more — has been halted. Half of the Parks and Recreation Department will be laid off by July 1, and the majority of community parks, pools, and recreation centers are being closed.

The Boston Fire Department plans to eliminate 20 fire companies this year, laying off 575 firefighters and leaving the department unable to respond to multiple fires. Hundreds of Boston City Hospital workers are losing their jobs, and health clinics in Mission Hill and Roxbury have been closed. The MBTA has cut service by 25%, eliminating bus routes and greatly cutting Sunday service altogether. Branch libraries are closing, the Community Schools program is crippled, programs for the elderly are being slashed. In all, Boston has lost \$97 million. And all this is just the first year of five years of cutbacks.

*The following is reprinted from AFSCME Local 1489 News (Boston City Hospital), March, 1981.*

The Mayor has been trying to bust the city unions, and now he sees a way of doing that: getting black and white union members to fight among themselves for crumbs. That way, we will be too busy to fight the \$600 a week no-show do-nothing flunkies, that White appoints, who really take the cake.

Recently, White said he would not follow seniority rules because he wants to preserve Affirmative Action. Excuse me, Mr. Mayor! In the layoffs of AFSCME 1489 members last year, seniority was ignored, and the majority of those laid off were minorities. The city is not concerned about affirmative action. They just talk "affirmative action" to find an excuse to get around union seniority provisions.

The union stands for the protection of all its members, black white, yellow and brown. Seniority is not a sacred principle. Veterans have had affirmative action for a long time, getting preference in hiring and being the last to be laid off. Unions have fought for super-seniority for union leaders, to protect their strongest fighters. In the city, civil service workers have super-seniority over provisionals. Now we must stand behind a layoff plan that defends seniority, but also ensures that one section of our members, minority people, do not suffer unequally. We need a dual seniority system, with separate lists for white and minority workers. With any layoffs, the same proportion of minority people should still be working.

**UNITY & EQUALITY: SACRED UNION PRINCIPLES.** If the mayor succeeds in getting minorities to oppose the unions because the unions stubbornly insist on strict seniority that will wipe out jobs for minorities, then we will be seriously weakened. But if we stand together behind a fair layoff plan that will protect all our members, that will uphold SENIORITY AND AFFIRMATIVE ACTION, then we will have the strength to force the city to give in to our demands.

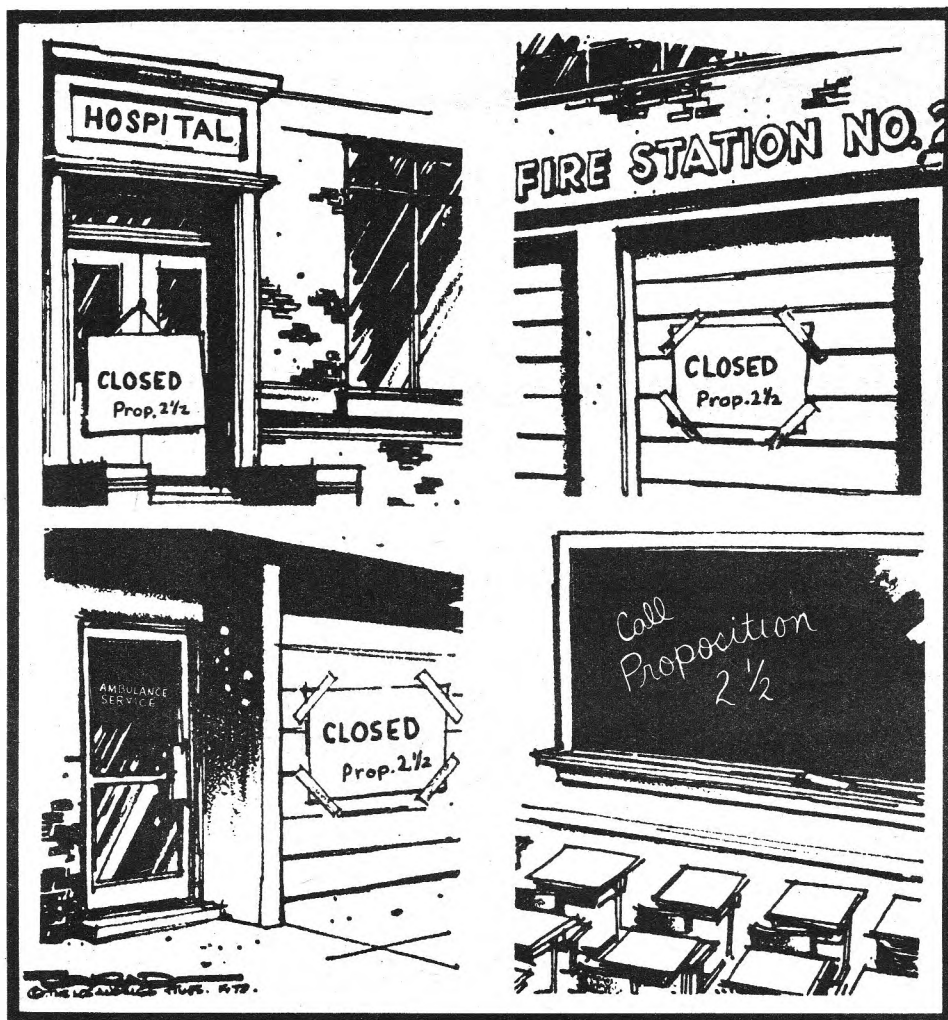
While all of Massachusetts is being hurt by the cuts, the Black and Hispanic communities are being devastated. The Massachusetts Commission Against Discrimination estimates that three out of every four Black city workers will lose their jobs. In Boston, 250 out of 300 minority firefighters and 175 out of 200 minority police face layoffs. Of 900 non-tenured teachers in the Boston schools, 800 are Black or Hispanic; as the last hired and first fired, they will be the first to lose their jobs.

At the same time, the Black community is facing the first and the greatest service cuts. The first fire station to close was in Roxbury. So were the first health clinics. The first bus routes to be cut served the Black community. And the years of struggle for desegregated schools are being undermined. As the public school system slowly collapses from lack of money, more and more parents will send their children to private schools, leaving the city schools only for those who cannot afford an alternative — mainly Black and Hispanic families.

## WHO IS BENEFITTING?

While Proposition 2 1/2 is wiping out city services across Massachusetts, its promised benefits have not come through — at least not for working people. More than two-thirds of the tax savings are going to businesses. Another \$65 million goes to landlords, who for the most part have no plans to pass the savings on to their tenants. Most homeowners will soon find their tax savings eaten away by higher expenses. Boston is seriously considering fees for city parks, ambulances, and trash pick-ups, as well as higher water rates. City residents will be paying more for transportation, day care, health care, and recreation as municipal services disappear. Fire insurance rates will soar as the fire department is cut back. And the schools may even start charging fees for "luxury" items like athletics or shop.

During the election, Proposition 2 1/2's corporate backers promised more jobs if the measure passed. "Cut our taxes," they said, "and we'll invest more and hire more people." These corporations are investing more — but not in Massachusetts. Gulf & Western will save millions, but that hasn't stopped it from closing the Schrafft Candy plant in Charlestown. Digital Equipment and Prime Computer find it more profitable to open plants in Puerto Rico, where poverty and repression of the labor movement hold wages down to half the Massachusetts' level. Firestone and Ingersoll Rand would rather invest in South Africa, where Black workers are



paid \$1.00 an hour, than here. The big corporations go where the profit is, and right now, that isn't Massachusetts.

"Proposition 2 1/2 will only cut waste and corruption," its supporters promised. But Boston has been treated to the spectacle of Mayor White illegally transferring money from the health and fire departments to pay for his public relations staff, while hundreds of needed workers have lost their jobs. As one park employee said, "Soon there'll be no one in my department except the political hacks who sit in the office all day."

In fact, the only winners from Proposition 2 1/2 are the banks and the corporations. Big business has a multimillion dollar tax windfall. And the banks can charge higher interest on loans to Massachusetts cities by claiming their loans are "risky" because the cities may not be able to repay them on time.

## RESISTANCE IS BUILDING

As the impact of Proposition 2 1/2 has become clear, resistance to the cutbacks has begun to emerge across Massachusetts. A key focus has been the schools. The Massachusetts Teachers' Association has begun a statewide Save Our Schools coalition, which sponsored a rally of 20,000 people at the State House March 28. The coalition is calling for tax reform, including an end to loopholes that allow the computer companies to avoid millions of dollars in taxes.

In Boston, a broadly based organization called the Campaign to Support Public Education has been organized to fight for full funding of the school system. The Campaign is a multiracial organization which includes a wide range of parents, teachers, students, and community supporters of the schools. It is organizing in the neighborhoods for quality desegregated education, parent and teacher input into cutbacks, and affirmative action in layoffs. Other organizing is going on within the schools — there have been high school student strikes in at least four towns, and a Greater Boston student walkout is scheduled for early April.

Other public employee unions have begun to organize against Proposition 2 1/2 as well. A new Boston coalition has brought together AFSCME and SEIU locals, the Boston Teachers' Union, and Fair Share, a large community group, to demand tax reform and an end to patronage. The coalition is organizing neighborhood meetings and rallies, leading up to a citywide rally. Individual union locals are organizing as well — the Fire Fighters, for instance, played a major role in a rally at Mayor White's wife's birthday party which forced the Mayor to cancel the affair. Unions at Boston City Hospital are starting to mobilize their members to work against 2 1/2. Several Boston AFSCME locals have threatened to strike if their members are laid off before patron-

age appointees, and the MBTA mechanics union nearly closed down the mass transit system until a court order blocked scheduled layoffs.

In the neighborhoods as well, hundreds of people are organizing to protect local services, from the L Street Bathhouse in South Boston to the Uphams Corner Branch Library in Dorchester. In Mattapan, residents packed a meeting with MBTA officials to protest plans to end trolley service. In Codman Square, Dorchester, a coalition has formed around jobs and programs for youth. Other neighborhoods are fighting for programs ranging from swimming pools to Community Schools.

## MOVEMENT DIVIDED

But although thousands of people have begun to organize against Proposition 2 1/2, the movement is still weak and divided. The key to stopping Proposition 2 1/2 is labor-community unity, and the key to that unity is the fight against racism. The public employee unions and the Black and Hispanic communities have been the first victims of cutbacks, and together they could form a powerful force for change.

Unfortunately, so far the unions have been very weak in laying the foundations for unity. Most are insisting on layoffs strictly by seniority, a policy which would mean that Black and Hispanic workers, who have only been hired recently under affirmative action programs, will be the first to go. In a vote which divided union members along racial lines, the Boston Teachers Union recently came out against affirmative action in layoffs. As a direct result of this policy, the union has been lukewarm in its participation in the Campaign to Support Public Education, a broad community group which supports affirmative action.

Mayor White has already begun to use the affirmative action issue to counter attack against the unions. Responding to union attacks on patronage, a mayoral spokesman told a Black newspaper that the unions "have displayed little sensitivity to minorities." The Mayor, he said, would be in there fighting for affirmative action. This statement is pure hypocrisy, coming from an administration with a long history of racist hiring practices, an administration which has declared that public education is "no longer politically important" now that most students are Black or Hispanic.

The main goals of the unions must be to fight against layoffs of any workers from their jobs. The unity to achieve this can only be built if Black and Hispanic members see that they will not be the ones who bear the main burden if layoffs do come. Without this commitment to equality of sacrifice, the fight against all layoffs will be greatly weakened.

# Repression Against Gays in Toronto

by Jerry Silberman  
(with thanks to *The Body Politic*)

On the night of February 5, Toronto's police force carried out the largest scale harassment of the gay community ever conducted in that, or any other North American city. Raiding four gay baths, a total of 306 men were arrested, and \$35,000 damage caused to the premises of the clubs.

The following night, Friday the 6th, a demonstration was called, and over 3000 mostly gay men marched from the gay community to the 52nd Police Division, which carried out the raid, and then to Queen's Park, the site of the Ontario provincial legislature. Eleven arrests occurred during the demonstration, and several people were injured.

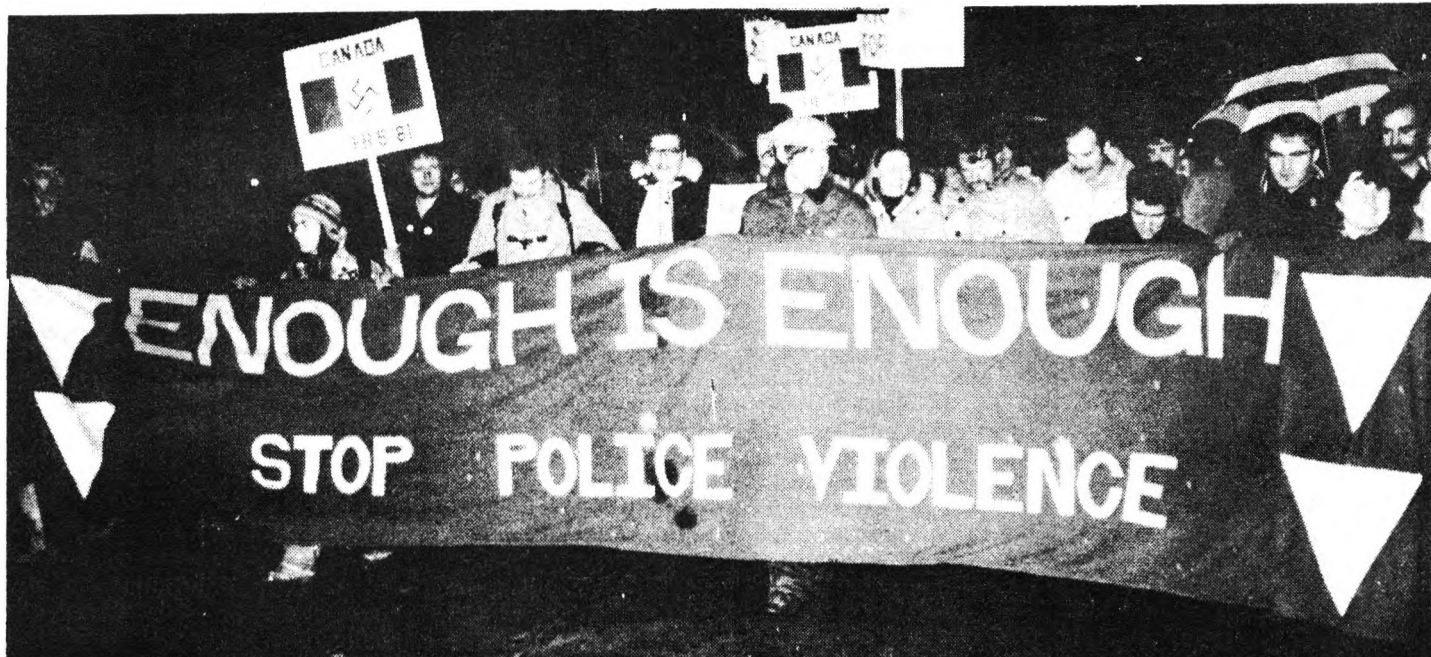
Two weeks later, on the 20th, a well-planned demonstration against police brutality against gay people drew 4000. It again raised the demand, already rejected by the police commission on February 12, for an independent inquiry into the raids. This demonstration featured many speakers who were not gay, in support of the gay community's demands. Speakers noted the need for unity between gay people and other minorities in the city, and linked the attacks with the rising right-wing trend in Canada. Statements of support have come from Wally Majesky, President of the Metro Toronto Labor Council, The Canadian Civil Liberties Association, the *Globe and Mail*, Toronto's leading newspaper, and many local and national progressive organizations.

## GAYS PROVIDE CONVENIENT SCAPEGOAT

Homosexual activity between consenting adults is legal in Ontario. Why then the raids? What have been the consequences? Despite the technical legality of homosexuality, gay people remain a convenient scapegoat for right-wing politicians. The raids occurred less than two months before provincial elections. The gay community of Toronto has been politically active in recent years, consistently on the progressive side of controversial issues. An openly gay candidate for city council last fall achieved a creditable showing on a platform that included a strong stand against the recycling of downtown neighborhoods.

Gay activists in Toronto have campaigned effectively for sex education in the public schools, and an end to anti-gay discrimination on the part of the Board of Education. Two resolutions passed by the Board last September, however, were repealed in a meeting a few weeks after the raids.

The New Democratic Party, the most progressive of Canada's three major parties, with strong ties to the labor movement, has historically had a position of support for full equality for lesbians and



3000 Toronto gay men, lesbians and supporters demonstrate against police brutality. Swastikas replacing the maple leaf in the center of the Canadian flag are meant to compare the tactics of Toronto police with those of Hitler's storm troopers.

THE BODY POLITIC

gay men. This has been opportunist support, since the NDP has never forcefully struggled for legislation, but primarily used the position to win support from gay voters. Even though the NDP has been retreating in the face of the right-wing assault, their paper position was grist for the mill of the Progressive Conservatives (Tories), the victorious party.

Although Toronto has a relatively small Black population compared to most major US cities, they have also been subject to police brutality. The Black and gay communities have on various occasions united in protest.

On the other side, far right groups openly used anti-gay bias to attack liberal politicians, and to provide a cover for the Tories who sound moderate in comparison. Renaissance International, the Canadian version of the Moral Majority, Positive Parents, and the League Against Homosexuals, which calls for the death penalty were all active in the recent campaign. Positive Parents distributed literature stating that a vote for the NDP was a vote for homosexuality. The Ku Klux Klan has recently opened an office and begun a recruiting drive in southern Ontario.

The legal basis for the raids was the "bawdy house" law. The law defines a bawdy house as "a place that is kept or occupied, or resorted to, by one or more persons for the purpose of prostitution or the practice of acts of indecency." Neither "place" nor "acts of indecency" are defined in the law, obviously giving a police chief great leeway. According to some court decisions, a married, heterosexual couple could be prosecuted for "acts of indecency" for oral sex. Conviction can carry stiff fines and imprisonment.

Under the bawdy house law, there is no need to demonstrate that the acts were public, or that there was coercion involved. In maintaining such laws, the provincial government provides itself with a convenient tool for witch-hunts and invasion of privacy, which has been used primarily, although not exclusively, against gay men. The February 5 raids were not the first, only the largest, in recent history. George Hislop, defeated city council candidate, was under indictment at the time of the election because of a past raid on a club of which he was part owner.

## EFFECT ON THOSE ARRESTED

As a result of anti-gay bias the impact on many of those arrested went far beyond the charges, most of which will eventually be reduced or dropped. The police systematically called the employers and families of those arrested, describing the charges, an action which is not called for by any law.

A number of people have been fired from their jobs, while others who have been threatened have been able to rely on their unions and solidarity from co-workers to preserve their jobs. Those fired have no legal recourse, as the Ontario Human Rights Code does not protect against discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation.

Even more tragic can be the impact on families. Because of anti-gay bias, many men hide their sexual orientation, some leading a double existence in marry-

ing and raising families to prove that they are "normal". This pattern of "secret lives" is a desperate effort to cope with the oppression of being gay, and is unfair to all involved. One task of the gay liberation movement is to eliminate the social pressures which force gay men into this situation. But the callous revelation of this situation to a wife, child, or parent by the police is no help. At least one suicide has been provoked by such tactics in the aftermath of a raid in Toronto, and numerous families have been split apart with no idea how to seek aid to re-adjust.

Another consequence of the highly publicized raids has been a substantial increase recently in reported instances of physical attacks on gay men by gangs and individuals out to "get a queer". Since the police have denied any wrongdoing in the raids, and stonewalled all criticisms for brutality and wanton destruction of property, anti-gay groups clearly see a green light for any tactics they wish to pursue.

The response to the raids in Toronto, while not evoking apologies from the police, has certainly had an impact on their view of gay people as disorganized and isolated from the rest of society. As demonstrations of support have occurred in the US and western Europe, other gay communities and their supporters realize that what happened in Toronto could happen in their cities, and that a public and united movement in support of full equality for gay people is the best defense.

## Budget

(continued from page 3)

In 1982 with the effects of the cutbacks being felt and Congressional elections coming up the Democrats will be clamoring that a vote for them is the solution. But the lesson of the budget fiasco, as well as the performance of the Democrats when they have been in power, is that an independent, people's alternative is required — candidates who are committed to a people's program and prepared to stand up and fight against the monopoly corporations and their political hirelings.

While Congressional approval of the budget is a major defeat, the battle is by

no means over. The budget process still allows for transfers of funds from one program to another. In the fall the budget will be adopted in its final form. The present budget sets ceilings for spending but within this framework Congress may still make adjustments. Thus the people's movement needs to continue and intensify mass action, lobbying and grass roots organizing to defeat the cutbacks in social programs and increases in military spending. Congressional representatives need to be put on notice that there will be a day of reckoning for those who place the greed of the Pentagon and big business over the needs of the people.



# Bobby Sands and the Struggle for Irish Freedom

by Jim Griffin

On May 5th, Bobby Sands died on H Block, Long Kesh Prison after 66 days of fasting. A week later a second striker, Francis Hughes also succumbed. Other Irish provisional nationalists continue the hunger strike begun by Sands, and the IRA has vowed that more will follow until the British meet the demands of the prisoners.

To British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and the Rev. Ian Paisley, right wing leader of Protestant loyalists in Northern Ireland, Bobby Sands was a terrorist who took his own life. To Northern Ireland's Catholic ghettos, which elected Sands to Parliament, as well as to friends of the Irish cause throughout the world, Sands was yet another martyr in the centuries old fight for Irish national freedom, murdered by British imperialism.

Bobby Sands and his fellow hunger strikers stopped eating to win five elementary demands. They demanded that their status as political prisoners be recognized — that they be accorded the rights of this status, such as freedom from prison work and the right to wear civilian clothes. Until 1976 Irish nationalists were recognized as political prisoners. But in 1981 Margaret Thatcher was prepared to allow Sands to die rather than restore these basic rights.

## CRIMINALS OR PATRIOTS?

The reason is clear. Thatcher wants us to believe that the IRA and other Irish nationalist and Republican groups are criminals. Any concession that would imply recognition of the IRA as a political organization is unacceptable to London. By treating Irish nationalists and Republicans as criminals and focusing on the issue of terrorism, British imperialism seeks to obscure the real issues in Northern Ireland from world opinion.

The pro-British view which is generally projected in the US media portrays Northern Ireland as the scene of mindless sectarian violence between Catholic and Protestant extremists. A "silent majority" of both religious communities only wants relief from this terror. The British Army is cast in the role of a mediator, a presence for peace made necessary by fanatical nationalists. Violence in Northern Ireland is portrayed as one-sidedly emanating from the Provisional Wing of the IRA (the other IRA wing, the Officials, oppose the military tactics of the Provisionals). The violent repression of the British Army and the terrorist attacks and programs of Protestant para-military groups are rarely highlighted.

The real sources of the violence in Northern Ireland are rooted in the systematic oppression and inequality of the Catholic minority in the interests of maintaining the rule of British imperialism. While the conflict in Northern Ireland takes a religious form, religious differences do not explain it. Rather it is the drive of Great Britain to maintain Ireland in a colonial position, directly in North, indirectly in the South, that is the wellspring for the present struggle as it has been for centuries.

## CENTURIES OF COLONIALISM

Ireland was conquered by Norman kings in a series of bloody wars in the 12th century. Ever since England has sought to subjugate Ireland and the Irish people have fiercely resisted. In the 16th and 17th centuries a variety of laws were passed to force the Irish to abandon their Catholic faith in favor of adherence to the Church of England. These laws provided a handy excuse to strip the Irish of their lands and elementary rights, a measure that was employed against all those who refused to swear allegiance to the English Church.

During the same period English and Scottish settlers of Protestant faith were given lands in Ulster, the six northern counties of Ireland. These lands were seized by the English Crown and used to pay off those who had fought in England's wars. The British Crown deliberately sought to develop the Protestant settlement in Ulster as a means of weakening Irish resistance to British rule.

The rise of British imperialism intensified the oppression of the Irish people and aggravated the division between the North and the South. Millions of Irish died of famine and millions more were forced to immigrate as the consequence of the British policy of turning Ireland into a source of cheap foodstuffs to fuel England's industrial development, enriching British landlords in Ireland and British capitalists in England while impoverishing the Irish people. In the North of Ireland industry was favored, mainly linens and shipping, while in the South it was sharply restricted. The best jobs were reserved for Protestant workers.

In 1921, following a period of strikes, uprising and armed campaigns against the British, London abandoned direct colonial rule over the whole of Ireland. The Irish Free State, so-called, was created as a dominion of the British Commonwealth to rule over the 26 counties of the south. But the six northern counties were retained as part of the United Kingdom. This partition of Ireland was rejected by the Irish Republican movement and by the Irish people as a whole who defeated virtually all the candidates in the first Irish Free State election who supported the partition.

## IRELAND TODAY

Today Ireland is nominally independent, having severed its ties with the British Commonwealth in 1948. But the Irish economy remains dominated by

British interests. The ruling political parties, whatever their rhetoric, are subservient to these interests. The cornerstone of continued British domination remains Northern Ireland. Continued partition is not simply an offense to Irish national pride but serves to maintain Ireland as a whole in a weakened neo-colonial position.

The division between the rural South and the industrial North distorts and hampers Ireland's economic development and reinforces its commercial dependence on Britain. The demand of the Irish Republicans for a united Ireland embrac-

ing all 32 counties is the only way out of this dependence. In addition the most farsighted of the Republicans recognize that only an Irish Republic based on the rule of the workers and small farmers committed to building socialism can achieve genuine independence.

The partition of Ireland created a state in Northern Ireland with its own parliament while also allowing for representation in the British Parliament as a constituent part of the United Kingdom. The Stormont government, so named

(continued on page 13)



Militant/Marc Lichtman

# WORKERS' VOICES

## James Connolly: Irish Patriot, Working Class Internationalist

*"There's a page in Irish History when the working class fought back Where the might of exploitation at last began to crack In farm and field and factory, in every mine and mill A flame was lit, it's burning bright, that flame is burning still And Connolly was there, Connolly was there, Brave Bold Undaunted James Connolly was there."*

James Connolly symbolizes the fighting spirit of the Irish working class for national and social freedom. Like other Irish Republicans Connolly believed that the expulsion of British imperialism from all of Ireland was the condition for Ireland's ridding itself of centuries of poverty and humiliation. But Connolly also believed that it was the Irish workers who would lead the struggle for national liberation and that only a socialist Ireland, an Ireland free of capitalists and landlords, could be truly free.

Connolly led the Irish workers both in the struggle to organize and win immediate economic gains and in the fight to drive British imperialism out of Ireland. In 1916, in the midst of World War I, Connolly was one of the leaders of the Easter Rising, a courageous insurrection against the British. Unable to stand because of wounds sustained in the battle, he was captured by the British, strapped into a chair and shot

by a firing squad. Connolly's courage and devotion to the cause made him an Irish national hero. His analysis of the tasks of the Irish freedom movement have profoundly influenced Irish revolutionaries for 70 years.

Connolly was also an internationalist. Born in Scotland, the son of Irish migrant labor, Connolly was one of the founders of the modern Scottish labor movement. Connolly also spent a number of years in the US where he was active in the Socialist Labor Party and became a founding member of the Industrial Workers of the World. As a participant in the revolutionary working class movement in three countries, Connolly was a fervent advocate of the unity of interests of all workers regardless of nationality. When the imperialist war of 1914 broke out this internationalism was put to the test as the governments of Europe pitted worker against worker. Connolly was not found wanting. Like Eugene Debs in the US and Lenin in Russia, Connolly opposed the war and advocated revolutionary action against his own imperialist government. The following are some excerpts of his writing on this theme.

"All the workers of the world are like ourselves, beasts of burden to a propertied class, their lives ordered and ruled for them by the interests of that class, their countries stolen from them by the armed might of the hirelings of that class...to take up arms in anger to kill

any of the poor driven workers of another nation at the order of our rulers is as clearly an act of murder as any crime of violence ever committed."

"Should the working class of Europe, rather than slaughter each other for the benefit of kings and financiers, proceed tomorrow to erect barricades all over Europe, to break up bridges and destroy the transport service that war might be abolished, we should be perfectly justified in following such a glorious example, and contributing our aid to the final dethronement of the vulture classes that rule and rob the world."

"As an Irish worker I owe a duty to our class, counting no allegiance to the Empire. I'd be glad to see it back in the bottomless pit...If you are itching for a rifle, itching to fight, have a country of your own, better to fight for your own country than for the robber empire. You have been told you are not strong, that you have no rifles. Revolutions do not start with rifles; start first, get your rifles after. Our curse is our belief in our weakness. We are not weak, we are strong. Make up your mind to strike before your opportunity goes."

"Starting thus, Ireland may yet set the torch to a European conflagration that will not burn out until the last throne and the last capitalist bond and debenture will be shrivelled on the funeral pyre of the last war lord."



# Thousands Demonstrate in Washington U.S. Out of El Salvador!

On May 3rd the presence of tens of thousands of demonstrators, who marched from the Lincoln Memorial to the Pentagon signalled the birth of a mass anti-war movement in the US and the existence of broad and militant opposition to the policies of Reaganism. The action, jointly organized by the People's Anti-War Mobilization, PAM, and the May 3rd Organizing Committee, demanded, "An End to US Intervention in El Salvador", "Money for Jobs and Human Needs, Not the Pentagon", and "An End to Racism, Repression and All Forms of Bigotry". It was the largest such action in years with upwards of 100,000 present, according to rally organizers and many observers. Support marches in San Francisco and Seattle on the same day drew ten and five thousand respectively.

The demonstration succeeded in its aim of projecting popular opposition to US intervention and militarism despite a near blackout by the media and widespread predictions of violence which were employed to scare potential marchers away. Sectarianism and internal divisions among the forces organizing the action were also a problem, but one that was largely overcome by the compelling and widely felt need for united action.

## NEW MATURITY EVIDENT

The May 3rd action inevitably invites comparison with the mass anti-war mobi-



Ellen Shub



Marilyn Humphries

lizations of the Vietnam era. The demonstration indicated the gains in terms of political maturity and development, signs that some of the lessons of that period have been assimilated. At the same time the weaknesses of the action underline the tasks we face for the future.

Whereas the Vietnam era anti-war movement was divided over the question of whether to build a single or a multi-issue movement, there is broad agreement that the present movement must link the struggle against war and militarism with the other pressing concerns of the US people, most centrally the attacks on the living standards of the working class and the intensification of racism. This was reflected in the slogans for the march, the multi-national, multi-issue character of the speakers selected for the rally, and in the composition of the demonstration.

The march included large Black, Hispanic and labor contingents. There was also significant participation from church and religious groupings. Relative to earlier anti-war demonstrations the May 3rd action was a definite step forward in the effort to build a unified peace movement that includes the most decisive sectors of the people. At the same time the march remained disproportionately white,

young, and middle-class in composition, clear evidence that a practice based on a working class, anti-racist perspective remains partial and flawed.

This weakness was evident in some of the local organizing where, in spite of the rhetorical commitment to the involvement of working class and national minority people, mobilization was geared to the traditional peace constituency and there was resistance to concrete measures to facilitate outreach to working people. There was also a clear tendency to see the anti-racist slogans as for minority people only — devices to draw them in rather than an organic part of the politics of the action that needed to be a focus of agitation with all constituencies.

One of the most moving moments at the rally occurred when the veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade marched through the crowd. As part of the International Brigades 45 years ago, these men had fought to defend Spain from the onslaught of fascism. Their example of internationalism and their persistence in its cause despite being hounded and persecuted during the McCarthy years moved to crowd to rise spontaneously and applaud the veterans. That so many of the demonstrators knew who they were and what the Brigade represented was an indication that the present movement has a sense of its continuity not only with the recent but the more distant past.

## MEDIA DISTORTS ACTION

Many marchers were furious at the media handling of the action. With few exceptions the print and electronic media undercounted the size of the demonstration, simply repeating the estimate of the Washington Park Police, who put the numbers present at 25,000, clearly a gross underestimation. In addition, the accounts published in most papers trivialized the march by making it appear to be a nostalgic walk in the sun by aging flower children.

The political themes of the march as well as the seriousness and diversity of those present was conveniently overlooked. Nonetheless, we can be sure that the government took account of these facts. Even more important, those who came to Washington, many new to mass actions and anti-war politics, will return to their communities and workplaces galvanized and ready to spread the message delivered there.

The future of the specific coalition which organized the May 3rd action is unclear at this point. Both PAM and the Ad Hoc May 3rd Organizing Committee plan to continue in some form. PAM was initiated by the Workers World Party, a relatively small Marxist grouping with its origins in Trotskyist circles. PAM also includes a significant number of other organizations, particularly Black and minority forces.

The Ad Hoc group is composed primarily of the more traditional peace groups although it also includes other forces like the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP) and the Committee in Solidarity with the people of El Salvador. The differences between the two groupings were largely of a secondary, tactical nature. According to many participants, these differences were aggravated by a sectarian unwillingness to compromise on the part of the Workers World Party in particular.

This sectarianism extended to some of the peace groups which left the coalition or downplayed mobilization because they did not get their way. Many, if not most, forces in both coalitions desire a single coalition and believe that there are no differences of principle which should prevent such a unification. Initiatives along these lines are being undertaken by groups in both coalitions. Clearly the future of both is bound up with the willingness to set aside narrow organizational interests in order to achieve the broadest unity of action.

## Mass. State Senate Says "No U.S. Aid to Junta"

Massachusetts Senator Jack H. Backman (D. Brookline-Newton) sponsored the first-in-the-nation resolution which was adopted without dissent earlier this month. Sen. Backman explained, "Many people in Massachusetts are gravely concerned that the actions of President Ronald Reagan are calculated to create another Vietnam. At a minimum, they will discredit the United States in the eyes of all those concerned about justice in Latin America and around the world."

Resolutions similar to the one sent to Washington by the Massachusetts Senate have been approved by the Catholic Church, Amnesty International and the Council of Churches.

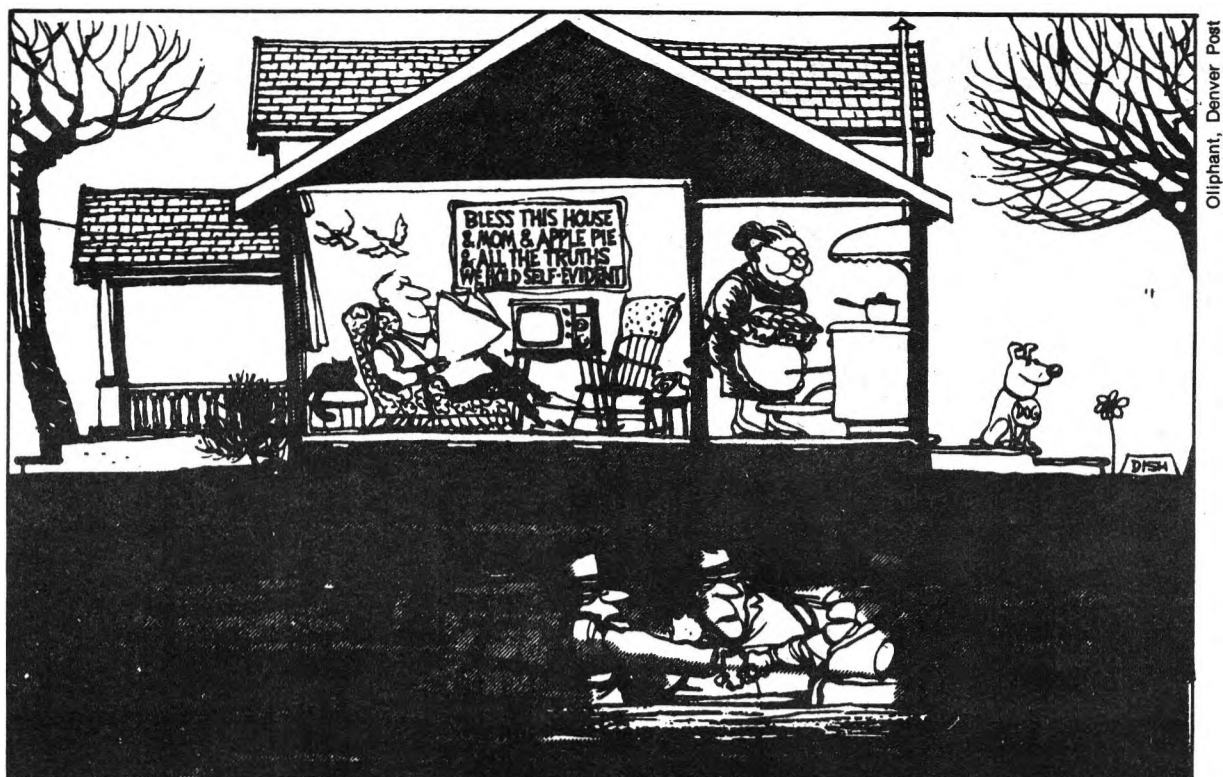
In a resolution transmitted to President Ronald Reagan and the state's Congressional delegation today, the Massachusetts Senate called for the US to stop further support of the present military government of El Salvador.

The State Senate resolution asks Congress and the President to "withdraw further United States support to the military junta in El Salvador, and to cease any military intervention by arms or other support." The Senate also appealed for "a cessation of further violence and for establishment of full respect of human rights in El Salvador."



UAW Local 900 on the march to the Pentagon in Washington, D.C., May 3.

# Repressive Legislation on Right's Agenda



"Hi, Ferguson, FBI". . . "Oh, Hi, Kelley, CIA. . . Meet Wilson, phone company". . . "Hi."

contributed by Audrey Clement

On April 4, 1981, NCARL (National Committee Against Repressive Legislation) conducted its 22nd annual meeting to discuss the ongoing struggle against forces of reaction on Capitol Hill. According to Representative Robert Kastenmeier (D-Wi), the convention's guest speaker, the prospects for NCARL never looked grimmer. Although the clock ran out on three key bills opposed by NCARL during the last session of Congress — S. 1722, a recodification of federal criminal law; S. 114, a death penalty bill; and S. 2216, "The Intelligence Identities Protection Act", a bill which would criminalize the exposure of intelligence agents — the same bills have all been reintroduced in the current session of Congress and passage of all of them is virtually assured in the Senate. In addition, on the House and Senate calendars are a variety of bills not contemplated by the 96th Congress, which, if enacted, would effectively cripple the Bill of Rights.

## REVIVING HUAC AND DEATH PENALTY

Esther Herst, the National Director of NCARL, itemized these bills in an overview of legislation presented at the conference. At the top of the list was House Res. 48, which would reestablish the House Unamerican Activities Committee under a new name, House Internal Security Committee (HISC). It was introduced by Rep. Larry McDonald (D-Ga), and if passed would most certainly impact on all progressive organizations in the U.S.

Currently the resolution is sitting in the House Rules Committee, which has no plans to release it to the House floor for a vote. House conservatives have, consequently, launched a discharge petition drive, which requires 218 signatories in order to obtain its release. There are currently 135 signatories to the discharge petition and the number is expected to increase under pressure from the right.

Next on the New Right's agenda is a death penalty bill, S. 114, similar to the bill which was approved by the Senate in the 96th Congress. This bill would authorize the death penalty for a variety of federal crimes including treason, espionage, homicide, bank robbery, kidnapping, rape, aircraft piracy, destruction of go-

vernment property and disclosure of classified defense information.

It is expected that S. 114 will be reported out of the Senate after hearings are conducted in late April and early May. Senate liberals, led by Levin and Cranston, are planning a filibuster on the Senate floor, but passage is expected anyway.

Robert Kastenmeier, who heads up the House Judiciary Subcommittee on Courts, Civil Liberties and the Administration of Justice, which has jurisdiction over the death penalty bill sponsored by John Ashbrook (R-Oh) in the House, has reassured NCARL that he will not report the bill out of his committee. Another issue that will be addressed by Kastenmeier's subcommittee is a bill limiting federal appellate court jurisdiction over desegregation, school prayer, and abortion rights. The threat to civil liberties posed by this type of legislation is that it would deny the federal courts the right to hear appeals from state courts on matters relating to the implementation of federal law, and thus serve to undermine those Supreme Court decisions which have extended democratic rights.

While Kastenmeier is likely to kill efforts to pass such limiting legislation, his counterparts in the Senate, Orrin Hatch (R-Ut) and John East (R-NC) have promised to promote it and at this point have the votes to do so.

## UNLEASHING THE FBI, CIA

Another initiative contemplated by congressional reactionaries is an effort to unleash the FBI and CIA, which failed in the last session of Congress. This would be accomplished in two ways — first, by weakening the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) to prevent disclosure of intelligence collected by the FBI and the CIA to the affected parties, and second, obtaining an executive order from Reagan which would end the proscription against domestic counterintelligence activities by the CIA written into the National Security Act of 1947.

While these activities are generally conducted illegally anyhow, and current CIA director William Casey questions the need for such legislation, there is much

support on Capitol Hill for open authorization of intrusive tactics without probable cause. Support is strong also for overturning a rule issued by the Carter administration that required the Attorney General's approval of CIA/FBI involvement in domestic intelligence activities.

In the area of criminal code reform NCARL is somewhat more optimistic. Though approved by the Senate in the 96th Congress, and guaranteed passage in the House, the clock ran out on S. 1722 in the lame duck session of Congress following the election debacle of 1980. While the bill has been reintroduced in the House by Reps. Kindness and Hall, John Conyers, who heads the House Judiciary Subcommittee on Crime, is expected to oppose it, and the Senate has not yet taken any initiative. In the previous two sessions of Congress the leadership for criminal code legislation came from Ted Kennedy, but now it is the Republicans who are taking the initiative.

This is not the end of the litany of repressive measures currently contemplated by Congress. There will be hearings in April on a new Intelligence Identities Disclosure Act in the House Intelligence Committee, which is expected to pass. Ironically, one of the co-sponsors of the bill (H.R. 4), Jim Wright (D-Tx), has been targeted for defeat in 1982 by the National Conservative Political Action Committee as being too liberal.

There have been two bills introduced in the Senate, S. 440 and S. 482, which would authorize preventive detention for persons suspected of crime, before trial or conviction. There is a bill to eliminate renewal of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 when it expires in 1982. This move is being led by arch-conservative Strom Thurmond (R-SC) who heads the Senate Judiciary Committee. But Ted Kennedy in the Senate and Peter Rodino (D-NJ), who heads the House Judiciary Committee, have promised to seek extension of the act.

Yet another threat to civil liberties is a move on the part of the Reagan administration to abolish the Legal Services Corporation, LSC, established in 1973, which provides legal services for the poor. Without the LSC, much of the progressive legislation of the '60's would never have been enforced and much of the reaction on the right would never have been contested in the courts. The ACLU predicts that abolition of the LSC will have a substantial impact on the prosecution of civil rights violations and general abuse of civil liberties by government officials.

Passage is expected in the Senate of a bill reducing LSC funding from \$321 million to \$100 million. But in the House, Kastenmeier's subcommittee, to which the bill has been referred, once again leads the opposition, and Rodino has introduced a bill authorizing full funding for the LSC. It is anticipated nonetheless that Reagan will veto any bill authorizing adequate funding for the LSC, even though the American Bar Association, a rather conservative group, supports it.

## ABORTION

Finally we come to the issue of abortion. The approaches for legislating away a woman's right of abortion are many and varied. They extend from a call for a constitutional convention to pass an amendment to preserve the life of the unborn, to a simple resolution, the Human Life Statute, declaring that life begins at the moment of conception. Such a statute would effectively undermine the Supreme Court decision of 1973, *Roe v. Wade*, which deferred the question of when life begins to a woman and her physician, thus enabling a woman to obtain an abortion up to the final trimester of pregnancy.

In the face of these attacks NCARL is lobbying and using the courts to hold the line. The Reagan victory has brought about a substantial increase in contributions and support and the organization is guardedly optimistic.

NCARL itself has been a target of government harassment, and has a \$16 million civil suit against the FBI for a twenty year campaign of intimidation waged against its former director Frank Wilkinson. This suit has been challenged by the FBI in US District Court in Los Angeles on the grounds that the harassment, originally authorized by J. Edgar Hoover in 1962 and documented by 4000 pages of evidence obtained from the FBI under the FOIA, has ceased. Federal District Court Judge Wallace Tashima, however, upheld NCARL's complaint, and the case is bound to bring profound embarrassment to the FBI.

With only a small cadre in Congress who consistently defend democratic rights, NCARL faces an uphill fight in deterring repressive legislation. Mass education and mobilization of labor, the movements of the oppressed nationalities, women and all progressive forces will be necessary to deter the Reagan administration from recreating a new wave of McCarthyism and worse.

## Letters...

(continued from page 3)

the movement for an ideological center for our tendency.

Those who cry "leftism" are taking a liberal stand of *strategic compromise* with the bourgeois ideology of white and petty bourgeois chauvinism. They have no faith that bourgeois ideology can be defeated. Their stand will only lead to their becoming irrelevant in the class struggle.

The campaign is having a positive impact on our tendency. It is attracting fighters from the working class who are *serious about the fight* and not just about *Organizer*, June 1981, page 10.

a lot of talk. It is also convincing white and national minority petty bourgeois comrades of the necessity of breaking with their own view of themselves as the *natural leadership* of the process based on their warped view of themselves and of more seriously taking up the class struggle. It is these fighters who together will make history by pushing the ideological center process forward out of the morass of bourgeois ideology that has condemned the anti-revisionist movement to isolation from the class struggle for the last 20 years.

Until victory,  
Joe Haaglund



Post-American/cpf

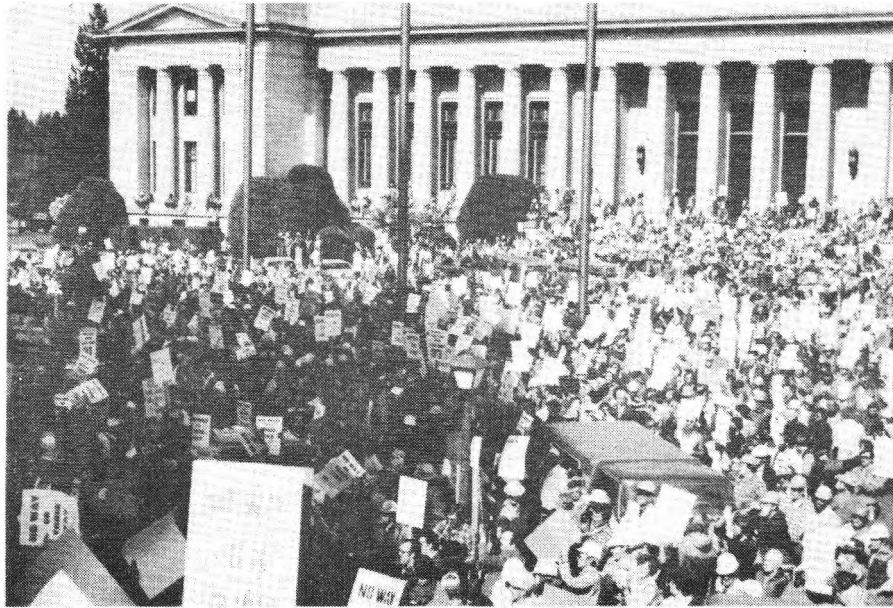
# Washington State Labor Fights Cuts in Worker's Compensation

Eight to ten thousand enthusiastic and militant workers rallied in the Washington State capital of Olympia on March 18. They came together to bring a message to the legislators influenced by the state's insurance industry...No way on 3-way! The issue is a Workers Compensation System which has excluded private insurance companies and has been a State-operated system. Business interests, especially insurance, want to open this system up to profit-seeking workers comp plans through a legislative bill called the 3-way bill.

The rally was called by the United Labor Lobby, a legislative coalition of the Washington State Labor Council, the Teamsters and other unions not affiliated with the AFL-CIO, such as the Washington Education Association. Some union officials were pushing for an even stronger action, such as a one day general strike to march on the state capitol. But conservative forces in the labor movement held this back. Many other unions, while nominally supporting the action, failed to take the most minimal actions to support it, not even announcing it at their union meetings. The State Building Trades Council, usually a bastion of backward politics played a leading role in building the rally. The International Woodworkers of America (loggers and mill workers) and the AFSCME turned out many of their members.

The organized labor movement opposes the move for several reasons. One is for every dollar paid into the State Fund in premiums, \$1.05 in benefits is available for the needs of injured workers. Private insurance companies pay out an average of only 65 cents (because they soak up money in commissions, advertising and profit). Another reason is the State Fund administers the plan. Private insurance companies tend to frustrate the law due to their built-in profit incentives to deny claims, reduce awards, etc.

The bill as passed by the House would have changed the whole method of calculating benefits, from one where workers get a lump sum for a permanent partial disability, to one where unspecified permanent partial disabilities such as back injuries, lung diseases, disfigurement loss of hearing or sight would only be compensated if the worker could show that the disability cut his/her wages by more than 10%. This wage loss concept



Thousands rally at the Washington State Capitol to protest threatened changes in workers' compensation.

is only used in one other state, although business is pushing its adoption elsewhere. If there was enough wage loss, then the worker would get 80% of the wage loss greater than 10%, but only for ten years. The whole concept is anti-worker because it says the way that you value a worker's disability is to determine how much his productive function is diminished. Whether a worker is able to play with his children again, or enjoy sports or other non-work activities is irrelevant.

The rally forced its proponents to make some key amendments, such as deleting the whole "wage loss" concept. It has also helped bring the matter to the attention of small businessmen in the state who stand to suffer under the bill, which will cause premiums to rise 80% to pay for the profits and administrative costs of the private insurance companies. Several local Chambers of Commerce have had to drop their usual anti-labor posture and come out in opposition to the bill because of the increased premiums.

The rank and file response to the rally call was immediate and militant. A nuclear reactor construction project was shut down with the majority of the workers taking off in solidarity with the

rally. A construction project for SAFECO, a Seattle-based insurance company and prime mover for 3-way, was also shut down. Seventy busloads of union workers and uncounted carpools were organized. Veteran labor people were saying this was the largest labor rally in 50 years. The mood of the workers was one of getting their message across and being unimpressed by titles and position. When the Governor, John Spellman, a moderate Republican, addressed the crowd and he was vague on his stand toward 3-way, the workers began chanting "veto, veto", amid pleas by the labor "leaders" to let him speak. The Governor left the podium after making a non-committal statement.

From the mass rally, workers grouped into legislative districts and poured into the Capitol Building to visit their representatives. The huge lobby was filled with chants of "no way, 3-way" as workers crowded the floor and lined the balcony. In the discussions with individual representatives, workers solidly put across their point of view. Those representatives who were sitting on the fence were confronted with the facts: the insurance companies and big business are pushing the bill...the workers who live under the system are opposing the change...so which side are you on?

## COLLABORATION POLICIES BEING WEAKENED

The rally brings to light a contradiction facing organized labor and the bulk of the present leadership. The old methods of collaboration are weak in light of the offensive by business. Labor officials have to switch tactics or lose. Many officials are afraid of the militance of their members. This rally could have been twice the size had the paid staff of the unions taken up the task of organizing. Many union rank and file only had one week or less notice of the rally and in some local meetings the rally was never brought up for discussion. The head of the King County Labor Council, James Bender, did next to nothing to build the demonstration.

The King County Labor Council (covering the Seattle metropolitan area) is being put to the test on two other issues as well. One involves a resolution, put forward by the Shipscales Union, Local 541 (a predominantly Black union) to ban the Ku Klux Klan and the Nazis Party. Bender withdrew this resolution and submitted as substitute that also called for the banning of the Communist Party. Despite a flurry of opposition by such unions as Service Employees, United Food & Commercial Workers, and Local 1488 of AFSCME, the amended resolution passed. Bender chose the occasion to call on the council to cease taking up "political" issues and stick to trade union basics.

A second resolution is to support the Seattle United Trades Committee's efforts to expose racism in the shipyards and to defend the free speech rights of workers on the job. This resolution has not been introduced yet, but indications are it will be greeted by the same red-baiting and reactionary sentiment on the part of the officials.

Despite the demand of the times for a militant working class program, most labor officials have to date refused to break the policies of red-baiting and reaction. The job of the left and progressives in the labor movement will be to build on the enthusiasm and militance of the rank and file as shown at the 3-way rally and move on over those labor officials who refuse to change with the times.

Below is a song sung at the Olympia rally.

## Short Work Week for Nurses

The following is excerpted from an article in the March/April issue of the Nurses Unite newsletter. Nurses Unite is a group of Philadelphia area nurses, both organized and unorganized, RNs and LPNs, who are working to improve conditions in the health care industry. They are currently waging a campaign around the issue of understaffing. Nurses Unite can be contacted at P.O. Box 12283, Phila., Pa. 19144.

Understaffing has been identified as a major problem in nursing with many causes. However all agree that this problem creates other issues — the most important of which is the delivery of minimum care to our patients. Hospitals cite shortages in the number of nurses available to hire but ignore their policies of poor wages, inadequate benefits and erratic hours caused by mandatory overtime. Nurses Unite! maintains that if a

hospital sincerely desires the best in patient care and demonstrates this commitment through policy changes, nurses who share this commitment will appear.

Baylor University Medical Center has shown this commitment and Nurses Unite! salutes them in their solution to understaffing. Baylor University Medical Center is having no trouble finding nurses since it instituted a two day work week at a full week's pay. The hospital borrowed the concept from a tire manufacturing plant when it started losing as many as 20 nurses a month to better paying jobs with more regular hours.

But soon after advertising the new plan, 200 nurses applied and 100 were hired within five days. The plan requires nurses to work two 12 hour shifts Saturday and Sunday at a full week's wages and benefits. That means the hospital's 1000 full time nurses can work a Monday to Friday shift, a schedule almost unheard of in the hospital nursing profession.



### WHICH SIDE ARE YOU ON

To keep the big boys honest  
Is why we're here today  
We'll give a one-way ticket to  
That 3-way bale of hay! (chorus)

Oh, shout the news to everyone,  
Oh, shout it 'neath the dome:  
For every worker here today,  
There's a hundred more at home! chorus

Oh, legislators, listen!  
Oh, listen when we say  
That any one of us could be  
Hurt on the job today. (chorus)

Oh, will you vote against 3-way  
And meet the worker's need,  
Or will you listen only to  
Insurance carrier greed? (chorus)

Oh, the insurance lobbyist smiles at you,  
He talks so glib and fine,  
But he'd suck the blood of working folks  
For the sake of the bottom line. (chorus)

John Spellman is our Governor,  
He's labor's friend, he vows,  
And he can prove it to us all  
By pledging VETO now! (chorus)

Old Mister 3-way's gonna die,  
He couldn't be no deader.  
And Substitute Bill Thirty-One  
Is headed for the shredder! (chorus)

# Black Workers Organize In South Africa

by Jerry Silberman

On June 16, 1980, 80% of the Black workers of South Africa stayed away from their jobs. June 16 is the anniversary of the student uprising in Soweto, one of South Africa's largest Black townships, in 1976. The general strike however, demonstrated the continuing strength and organization, despite intense repression, of the South African workers' movement.

Black trade unionism in South Africa goes back to the 1920's, when the Industrial and Commercial Workers Union achieved a membership of 100,000. Since that time, Black workers have formed many organizations, legal and underground, in response to the attacks of the South African government. The white labor movement has generally, with the support of the government, opposed the organization of Black workers. The South African Confederation of Labor as a matter of principle prohibits Black members, while the larger Trade Union Council of South Africa (TUCSA) accepts Black workers only in "parallel" unions with no direct voice in leadership or negotiations.

In response to this segregation, in the mid-fifties, the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU) was formed. SACTU is non-racial, open to workers of all nationalities, based on the principles of democracy and equality in the struggle against the employers and the apartheid system. As a result, it has been overwhelmingly a Black organization.

South African labor law does not cover Black workers, and does not accept or recognize integrated unions. Black workers are governed by the "Bantu Labor Act", passed in 1953, which was a facelift job for the "Masters and Servants Act." Recent changes, adopted as a result of the Wiehahn Commission and other government investigations into how to contain and defuse the increasing militance of Black workers have still not provided basic trade union rights.

Even beyond official policy, the government has done all it can to discourage Black union organization. The South African Security Branch has questioned management which has negotiated with Black unions and has applied pressure by the refusal to issue business permits. The failure of the British multinational, Smith and Nephew, to renew its collective bargaining agreement with the Black Textile Workers Union was the result of such pressure.

Detention and banning of Black union leaders have had a chilling effect on labor organizations. Issued under the Suppression of Communism Act and other laws relating to internal security, a banning order prohibits an individual from conversing with more than one person at a time, or being quoted or named in the press.

SACTU grew quickly in the 1950's, and by 1961 had 53,000 members, three-quarters African and most of the remainder Colored (South Africa's term for people of mixed race). SACTU was aligned with the African National Congress and the other organizations which adopted the Freedom Charter in 1956. Its members included workers from almost every significant industry, including textile, mining, iron and steel, chemical, dockworkers, tobacco, rubber, paper, the railways, and more. SACTU's declaration of Principles included the following passage:

"We firmly declare that the interests of all workers are alike, whether they be European or non-European, African, Coloured, Indian, English, Afrikaans or Jewish. We resolve that this coordinating body of trade unions shall strive to unite all workers within its ranks, without discrimination and without prejudice. We resolve that this body shall determinedly seek to further and protect the interest of



Black workers installing cable in Johannesburg. These workers still do not have basic trade union rights.

all workers, and that its guiding motto shall be the universal slogan of working class solidarity, "An Injury to One is an Injury to All."

## INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY

The continued existence of apartheid depends on direct and indirect assistance from international capitalism. The tremendous profits available in South Africa are available only by virtue of the repression of Black workers, and capitalist corporations and their governments have shown their gratitude in many ways. They have rushed to provide financial support and new investment after the crises of Sharpeville in 1961 and Soweto in 1976. They have provided arms in violation of an UN embargo, and have agreed to defense planning at all major industrial facilities.

SACTU has actively taken up the task of building international working class solidarity for the struggle in South Africa, and today can depend on the support of many labor unions in both socialist and capitalist countries. Bringing the struggle of the African working class to the attention of the world was due in part to the exile of many SACTU leaders in the sixties. From offices in London, Tanzania and Zambia, SACTU has maintained underground links with the struggle at home while taking the word abroad.

In June, 1973, the International Trade Union Conference Against Apartheid convened. For the first time since World War II an international trade union conference embracing all trends took place to condemn the inhuman practices of apartheid and work out a plan of action against the regime. 200 million workers world wide were represented. TUCSA representatives were sent by South Africa to speak in support of the regime, but were forced to withdraw when African unions threatened to walk out.

SACTU delegations have established links in many socialist countries. In 1978, they were hosted by trade unions in Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, Poland and the USSR. In capitalist countries, the Scottish Trade Union Congress and the Irish Congress of Trade Unions have actively supported the struggle. Delegations have also visited New Zealand and Australia.

In 1971-2 the Canadian Union of Public Employees sent a donation to SACTU and appealed to its 80 locals to do the

same. Tours in 1975 and 1977 established strong ties with the labor movement in Quebec, and gained financial support from the Ontario locals of the United Auto Workers and the United Electrical Workers.

In 1977, Zolo Zembe, a SACTU member based in London was invited to speak to the national convention of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America (UE). This visit was the first of its kind in the US, and was a major breakthrough given the open support for South Africa on the part of the US government and major corporations. The International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) and the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists have also actively supported SACTU.

In October 1979, when Zembe was addressing unionists on the West coast, Lucy Mvubelo was completing a speaking tour in the east. A Black worker willing to defend South Africa's segregated unions, Mvubelo's tour was sponsored by the government in an effort to counter the growing solidarity movement. Legitimate trade unionists, on the other hand, are denied passports by the South African government. Mvubelo faced a great deal of opposition in this country due to work done by solidarity groups and progressive forces.

## THE FORD STRIKE

With the repression of SACTU within South Africa, new organizations and forms of struggle have arisen, and shown that solidarity can gain victories even in the face of South Africa's laws.

On October 31, 1979, Ford Motor Company told Tamazile Botha, one of the Black technicians at its Port Elizabeth Assembly plant, to give up his political work, or quit Ford. Botha was president of the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organization, one of the new, local organizations which is part of the Black Consciousness Movement in South Africa.

Ford expected Botha, one of the more privileged Black workers in its plant to hang on to that privilege and sell out the movement, but it didn't work that way. Botha walked out of the plant, and the next day the entire Black workforce of 700 struck. This was the first battle in a three-month war between Ford, generally known as one of the more liberal employers in South Africa and its Black workforce.

Round one ended in a victory for the workers as Botha was reinstated. Round two began when the Ford Workers' Committee, the legal representative of the workers under South Africa law, charged the company with discrimination — failing to provide equal pay for equal work, and failure to provide training for Black workers. Workers Committees are not allowed to discuss political issues, and race relations is a political issue. Ford refused to bargain, the workers walked out a second time. As all strikes are illegal, Ford, working hand in glove with the apartheid government called out the riot police. The workers stood fast, and Ford agreed to pay them for the day.

The next day they were fired; but Ford gave them the option of returning to their jobs if they gave up all seniority and benefits. No one took the bait, and the strike continued for over two months. PEBCO played a leading role in organizing solidarity strikes at other factories, and boycotts of white-owned business and state liquor stores. A general strike was threatened, and on January 9, 1980, Ford gave in and reinstated all the workers with back pay and full seniority. Due to the solidarity of the Black community Ford was unable to recruit enough scabs to run the plant.

However, the South African state picked up where Ford left off. Botha and other strike leaders were arrested and detained on January 10, and forbidden to work at Ford. After his seven month detention, Botha was placed under house arrest, but managed to escape and has toured in the US and Europe to describe the struggle.

Despite the arrests, the Ford strike was a major step forward in the struggle of South African workers against apartheid. Virtually every tactic used by the Black population of Port Elizabeth was illegal, yet their solidarity, and the government's fear that repression would provoke resistance on an even wider scale led to many concessions. 1980 saw greater strike activity in South Africa than any other year in history.

## LESSONS FOR US WORKERS

As the economic crisis deepens in the US, it is more important than ever for US workers to support the struggles of workers in other countries. South Africa is a capitalists paradise. Backed

(continued on page 5)

# Games Some People Play

by Jim Griffin

Robert Johnson and Ronald Pramshufer make games. Their first entry into the field is called "Public Assistance" or "Why Bother Working For a Living." It sells for \$15.95. 30,000 copies have already been marketed.

"Public Assistance" is not a harmless board game. It is a white supremacist propaganda piece in game form. It is about as subtle as a Klansman's white sheet. The "fun" of playing Public Assistance depends on the repetition of every racist myth and stereotype about welfare recipients and Black people.

To begin with the aim of the game is to acquire as many illegitimate children and as many welfare benefits as possible. You do this by travelling the board which is divided into two rings — the "Able Bodied Welfare Recipients Promenade" and "The Working Person's Rut". On the Promenade you get cards entitled 'welfare benefits'. Some typical entries are "a snowstorm immobilizes police. You loot \$2000 worth of jewelry and color TVs and sell on the black market — collect \$1000.

"While in the welfare office parking lot, you siphon gas from a social worker's Pinto into your Lincoln. Collect \$20 cash equivalent".

"Claim you are destitute at five different welfare offices on your way to Atlantic City."

If you land on the square called "Get a Job" you have to go onto the outer ring — "the Working Person's Rut. Here you also get cards. Some examples: "Your son is beat up by an ethnic gang while being bussed across town to school. Pay hospital bill. \$200." — "Your brother is killed by a rehabilitated murderer. Lose

one turn for mourning." — "You are up for a high paying promotion but government affirmative action rules require that a disadvantaged minority homosexual Buddhist female be promoted over you. Lose \$500."

The message comes through loud and clear. Welfare recipients are able-bodied but too lazy to work. They drive Lincolns and loot and steal. Bussing is bad. Ex-prisoners are murderers and criminals. Affirmative action punishes white men, and so on.

In response to charges that the game was racist, Johnson told *Daily News* columnist Larry McMullen, who wrote a sympathetic column on behalf of their games, that this was true in one sense. The 50 illegitimate children tokens in the game are all white, Johnson said. In other words this game discriminates against whites.

In fact a majority of welfare recipients in the US are white, but because of the impact of racism a disproportionately high number are Black and Hispanic. All the cards and paraphernalia in Johnson's game exploits and reinforces stereotypes not toward poor people in general but toward Black people in particular.

Johnson and Pramshufer have a new one on the market now. It's called "Capital Punishment." The idea is to get criminals into the electric chair. Your opponent can use liberals to get them out. We don't know if the criminals in this game are all white. We do know that the majority of prisoners on death row are Black. We do know that "law and order" is a code word for keeping Black people "in their place." We do know who the revival of the demand for capital punishment is aimed at.



These racist games are dangerous poison. Yet they get exhibited at toy shows, Johnson and Pramshufer go on talk shows to promote them and newspapers like the *Philadelphia Daily News* run columns about them. "Games" like these help create the climate for murdering children in Atlanta, lynching Black people in Mobile and for police brutality in Philadelphia. "Games" like these help justify eliminating free lunch

programs, food stamps, CETA and welfare benefits. Games like these tell white workers that their true friends are their enemies and their true enemies are their friends. Join with the bosses and their political hirelings in attacking the poor, the unemployed and the minority community — that is the message. It is a game the ruling class of our country has been playing a long time. Now they have put it on a board.

# Bobby Sands...

(continued from page 8)

after the seat of its parliament, has been dominated since the 1920's by reactionary "Orange" or Protestant forces who have systematically discriminated against and terrorized the Catholic minority and steadfastly opposed any measure that would undermine Protestant supremacy and union with Britain.

Not all Protestants, either historically or presently, have favored the union with Great Britain. In the end of the 18th

century the "United Irishmen" led a nearly successful rebellion of both Protestant and Catholic against British rule. The movement for equality and full civil rights for Catholics in the 1960s attracted the support of many Protestants particularly students.

Protestant workers, while they are privileged in relation to their Catholic counterparts are still very much exploited by British capital. Their real interest is in unity with the Catholic working class. A united, socialist Ireland would serve both Catholic and Protestant. A partitioned Ireland, torn by sectarian violence, leaves Protestant as well as Catholic workers in a weak position to defend their class interests. Unfortunately the strength of "Orange" supremacists, cultivated by demagogues like Ian Paisley, remains dominant in the Protestant working class. Narrow nationalist sentiment within the Republican movement, which has led to violence aimed randomly at Protestant workers, has only reinforced religious sectarianism and loyalist ideology among Protestants.

The social, economic and political status of the Catholic minority parallels that of Black people in the South prior to the civil rights movement. Bobby Sands' own life symbolizes the condition of the people he represented. Born in a Protestant neighborhood in North Belfast, the Sands family along with other Catholics on the block, were driven out after trash cans were thrown through their windows. In the early 1970's Sands had the rare fortune to find a job as an apprentice at a bus factory. In many of the Catholic ghettos unemployment in all but seasonal jobs runs at 80%. Sands was forced to quit at gunpoint. Paramilitary Protestant groups like the Ulster Defense Association (UDA) function as vigilante defenders of Orange

supremacy. And, like Sands, thousands of Irish Catholic youth have turned to the IRA to defend themselves and win their rights.

## THE MYTH OF BRITISH NEUTRALITY

In the 1960's a powerful civil rights movement grew up in Northern Ireland demanding equality for the Catholic minority. The Stormont government's refusal to address these grievances led to intense repression and eventual direct intervention by the British. For the past 12 years Northern Ireland has been under British military occupation and in a state of permanent emergency where the military enjoys extraordinary powers. Far from functioning as a neutral party, the British army has used its powers to seek to stamp out the Republican movement and functions as an army of occupation in the Catholic ghettos. Given that the policy of the British government, under both Labor and Conservative regimes, has been to maintain the status quo, there can be no other role for the army.

Conditions in British prisons where over 450 Irish nationalists are incarcerated is one gauge of Britain's "human rights" record. A member of the Catholic hierarchy, Cardinal O'Fiach of Armagh, visited Long Kesh prison and described the conditions on H Block: "One would hardly allow an animal to remain in such conditions, let alone a human being. The nearest to it I have seen is the spectacle of hundreds of homeless people living in sewer pipes in the slums of Calcutta. The stench and the filth in some of the cells...was almost unbearable. In two of them I was unable to speak for fear of vomiting."

In 1978 the European Court of Human Rights accused Britain of "inhuman and degrading treatment of its prisoners" in Northern Ireland. Amnesty International the following year was denied entrance to Long Kesh. Under the emergency powers the British Army

and police can detain suspects without due process. Forced confessions and torture are commonplace and the courts routinely hand out long sentences for the most minor offences. Bobby Sands, typically, was sentenced to 14 years for the possession of a firearm.

Contrary to most media reports, the Provisional IRA, both prior to and following Sand's death, has sought to discourage violent confrontations which they believe will only provoke greater repression by the Army, police and Protestant para-military groups. The tactics of the Provisionals favor peaceful protest in the urban areas while carrying out organized military operations against British installations in the rural regions.

The Hunger strike is continuing. The strike is bound to intensify the struggle in Northern Ireland and continue the international exposure of the Thatcher government. Progressive Americans have an important role to play in this struggle. The US government's pro-British position is a powerful prop to Margaret Thatcher. As Bobby Sands lay dying the Justice Department moved to prosecute Irish Northern Aid, an organization that provides relief to the families of those imprisoned or killed by the British, for allegedly falsifying its records. At the same time Ronald Reagan hosted Prince Charles in Washington. While the Prince gaily chatted over filet mignon Bobby Sands shrunk into a coma.

The struggle for a united Ireland, an Ireland ruled by working people instead of multi-national corporations and their lackies, an Ireland where Catholic and Protestant enjoy full equality, is part of the world wide struggle for national liberation. Regardless of the outcome of the present struggle, we can be assured that the Irish people will continue the fight and continue to inspire freedom loving people everywhere. What Frederick Engels wrote over 100 years ago remains true today: "After the most savage suppression, after every attempt to exterminate them, the Irish, following a short respite, stood stronger than ever before."



At April 18 demonstration in support of Irish political prisoners. Militant/Marc Lichtman

# The Philippines:

## Workers Struggle in Investors' Paradise

by Tim McGloin

Eight years ago, Ferdinand Marcos of the Philippines declared martial law and assumed dictatorial powers with military backing, dismantling any vestiges of democracy, shutting down the free press, and arresting by the thousands anyone who resisted his iron-hand rule. Today, it is the Philippine worker whose low wages and unemployment are bleak symptoms of the "investors paradise" that is home for so many runaway corporations.

Marcos has recently announced he will "lift martial law", a transparent ploy whereby he will maintain his dictatorial powers. There will be no free elections, anyone deemed "subversive" will be detained, and Marcos will continue to rule by decree. It will be "business as usual", and the Philippine worker has experienced for the last eight years just exactly what that means. Strikes have been banned in industries defined by Marcos as "important" (nearly all of them) and union leaders have been detained and tortured. The right to organize and engage in collective bargaining is non-existent, and most importantly, the less than \$2.00 per day average wage, the lowest in all of Asia, has meant billions in profits to US and other foreign companies but literally starvation for the children of workers. Nearly 80% of them suffer from some form of malnutrition, according to the Asian Development Bank. Even the government's figures indicate that 68% of Philippine households live below the officially defined level of poverty.

Real wages have steadily eroded at 5-6% annually, or over 30% since 1972 due in part to rampant inflation of over 20% a year. Today, the unskilled worker in the Philippines has only 50% of the purchasing power of the 1972 wage. Unemployment has at times hovered around 30% in many urban parts of the country.

### INVESTOR'S PARADISE

It is not just the last eight years, however, that have led to the current situation for the Philippine worker. The US took control of the Philippines from Spain in 1898. US plans to gain access to vital raw materials in the Philippines were made clearly by Sen. Henry Cabot who said to then President McKinley, "Our home market is not enough for our teeming industries and the great demand of the day is for an outlet for our products." Since then, the 22 US military bases there have kept those markets available and have created some new ones in their role as springboards for intervention to other countries.

With such powerful domination of the country's military and economic system, it is not surprising that one Philippine government after another created investment incentives such as trade agreements, guaranteed poverty wages, repatriation of profits, and massive tax breaks. A brief look at the extent to which US companies control the Philippine economy shows more clearly why the Marcos regime receives such massive economic and military aid from the US and why it is such a "promised land" for multi-national corporations.

For the last 80 years, the Philippines has been literally overrun by multi-national companies. Today, US companies control over 50% of all Philippine manufacturing firms assets. The manufacture of motor vehicles, for example, is controlled by Ford, General Motors, and Chrysler; rubber tires by Goodyear, B.F. Goodrich, and Firestone; food processing by Del Monte, Carnation, and Kraft; soft drinks by Coca Cola and Pepsi Cola; oil refining by Caltex and Shell; electrical machinery by Singer, GE and GTE; chemicals by Dow, Shell



Women working assembly line in the Philippines where the average wage is less than \$2.00 per day.

and Bayer; soap by Procter & Gamble, Colgate, and Palmolive, and the list goes on and on.

The benefits to the companies are staggering: through the 1970's, US corporations earned \$3.58 for every \$1.00 invested and repatriated \$2.00 of that. In third world countries like the Philippines, US firms receive an average of twice the domestic rate of return on stockholders equity, enabling agribusiness giants Dole and Del Monte to establish the two largest plantations in the world in the Philippines. Dole has transferred all of its operations to the Philippines, since Philippine labor costs are only 3.5% of Hawaiian costs. It is time the American worker asks the question why the working people of this country experience such high unemployment and low wages while US corporations make billions in countries like the Philippines.

The Philippine people are paying the price in other ways too. The resulting draining of the country of its material and human resources has caused the Marcos regime to depend heavily on loans to continue the massive mortgaging of the country. The Philippines' external debt now stands at a staggering \$12 billion and continues to rise. The World Bank has already lent Marcos over \$2 billion and has committed another \$3 billion over the next four years, but even they recently issued a report on the "precarious hold" of the Marcos regime. The smooth sailing experienced by multi-nationals in the past may indeed be turning into rough and stormy waters.

### PHILIPPINE LABOR DEMANDS

The Philippines has a long history of resistance to foreign domination, and the labor movement has always been part of that. The Philippines under martial law is no exception. The last eight years have seen demonstrations, marches, demands for improved wages and working conditions, and even strikes, despite the imposed ban. This past fall, a national work stoppage was threatened by an alliance of labor organizations and trade unions, the Kilusang Mayo Uno (KMU) or "May 1st Movement". The KMU organized a demonstration of 30,000

workers in Manila on May 1, 1980, and issued demands now popularized all over the country, calling for a minimum wage to meet basic needs, restore the right to strike, collective bargaining and union organizing, end martial law and restore civil liberties. Earlier in 1980, workers at the two biggest integrated circuit assembly subcontractors in the country, Stanford Microsystems and Dynetics, staged strikes to protest wages and work conditions.

Marcos has tried to pacify the growing militancy of the labor movement by announcing recent minimum wage increases for industrial workers to \$3.00 per day, hardly enough for the minimum daily needs of the average Philippine family. There are so many exemptions even to that decree, such as several export industries, that it promises to affect only some workers. The more consistent tactic, however, has been brutal oppression such as the September 3 arrest of KMU General Secretary, lawyer Ernesto Arellano, who according to labor and church sources, is being tortured. Since this past October, over 100 activists have been arrested, 13 of them key labor leaders. Priests and nuns who work in the labor struggle and actively support labor, urban, peasant, and squatter groups, have had orders issued for their arrests and are being hunted by Philippine constabulary.

Increasingly, however, opposition groups are uniting in their efforts to bring down martial law government. Since the summer of 1980, rallies of students, workers, and squatters have occurred continuously, including one on July 4

which shut down the US embassy. Despite all the efforts at pacification and outright repression, Marcos has been unsuccessful in his attempts to stop the growing unity of workers, students, farmers, and urban poor.

### US LABOR RESPONDS: MORE SUPPORT NEEDED

The plight of the Philippine worker has not been ignored by many workers here in the US, such as the United Auto Workers, the Service Employees International Union, and the Hawaii local of the International Longshoremen & Warehousemen's Union, all of whom have either taken public stands against martial law and the exploitation of Philippine workers. It is becoming increasingly clear to US workers that justice for them is inextricably tied to justice for the Philippine worker, that the same multi-nationals that require policies that cause unemployment, high prices, low wages, and depletion of resources in the Philippines are the runaway corporations that flee unionization and the just demands of American workers.

Today, money that could help workers here is being used to curtail freedom of Philippine workers with massive US military aid that has increased nearly 200% over 1979 levels (Marcos now gets \$100 million a year). US military bases in that country serve a strategic and vital role for US business, helping to keep the environment "stable" for business and as an essential part of any US plans for intervention in the Middle East. The 7th Fleet which has entered the Persian Gulf several times in the past year, is served by Subic Naval Base.

There is so much more support needed now at such a critical time for both US and Philippine workers; Philippine labor leaders are taking the brunt of the Marcos crackdown on the resistance to his rule. Strikes are still banned, labor activists languish in jails, some tortured, others disappear. Workers and unions in this country can help by taking any of the following actions:

1. Pass resolutions supporting the Philippine workers demands.
2. Write letters demanding the release of detained labor leaders and an end to all forms of harassment. (Write to: Juan Ponce Enrile, Defense Minister, Camp Aguinaldo, Manila, Philippines.)
3. Protest US military and economic aid to the Marcos government. Money that could help workers here is used to suppress the freedom and rights of Philippine workers.
4. Inform union membership of Philippine workers struggle through union publications.

For more information on the Philippine workers struggle, contact the Friends of Filipino People (FFP), 110 Maryland Ave., NE, Washington, D.C. 20002.

(Note: Tim McGloin is the national coordinator of FFP.)



# Post Office Stonewalls Workers

by Keith Forsyth

When the bargaining committee of the National Association of Letter Carriers (NALC) and the American Postal Workers Union (APWU) walked into the Washington hotel where contract negotiations with the Postal Service were scheduled to begin, they found an empty room. Postmaster General William Bolger and his negotiating team refused to attend the April 22 sessions. A few weeks before, Bolger had filed a petition with the National Labor Relations Board asking that contract negotiations be postponed, on the grounds that bargaining with several separate unions at once was "too complicated" and could lead to "chaos". The Regional Labor Board denied Bolger's petition, but the Postal Service is appealing, and refuses to negotiate in the meantime.

US Representative and member of the House Committee on the Postal Service Mickey Leland of Texas described Bolger's actions this way: "The only real motive for this move seems very clear. If you can weaken the unions representing postal workers, they will not be able to represent the needs and interests of postal workers at the bargaining table as well as they otherwise would be able to do, and the bottom line for the Postal Service is less money expended on employees. . . Was this why you were on Capitol Hill just weeks ago indicating to this subcommittee and other bodies of Congress that the proposed cuts in postal subsidies would not affect services without being able to tell us how this was possible?"

"Was it because you were planning all along to make up the difference by taking it out of the pockets of postal employees, and not expending the funds necessary to improve their notoriously unsafe working conditions, and the reprehensible record of discrimination based on race, sex, and handicap? It certainly appears that way."

## MAIN ISSUES

Besides the question of which union or unions will represent postal workers, there are three main issues in the contract dispute. First is Postmaster Bolger's demand for a cap on the cost-of-living raises, which he claims are "inflationary". This May 16, postal workers belonging to APWU got a COLA increase of 33 cents an hour, their first increase in six months. However, the Consumer Price Index went up so much during that six months that postal workers are still 17 cents an hour short, in real wages, of what they would need just to stay even with inflation.

The second major issue is the clause that allows workers with less than six years seniority to be laid off; Bolger wants to keep it and the unions want layoffs prohibited for all postal union members. Behind this dispute is Bolger's



Inside Chicago's main post office: "an accident rate higher than the steel industry."

PAUL SEQUEIRA

plan to cut costs by combining jobs, cutting some services, and laying off workers in order to make the postal service profitable. Postal workers feel that since the "market" for postal services is constantly growing, there is no reason why they cannot have job security once they're hired.

Safety is the third key issue. The unions want more power for union safety enforcement, which the Postal Service wants more "management prerogatives" and lower job-injury compensation payments. In recent months, one worker was killed and another badly mangled by automated machinery in New York area post offices.

The conflict over which unions will represent postal workers has been brewing for some time. Before 1969, postal workers didn't have the legal right to collective bargaining with management, and the many postal unions had little real power. After collective bargaining was legalized in 1969 (strikes are still illegal), postal unions began to merge in order to be more effective in winning better contracts.

Today there are four major postal unions. The American Postal Workers Union is the largest, resulting from a merger of a number of old unions. Internally it retains something of the old craft union structure, with departments for Mail Handlers, Maintenance, Motor Vehicle, Clerk Craft, and Special Delivery. The next largest is the National Association of Letter Carriers; most NALC members are the carriers who actually deliver the mail to homes and businesses. These two unions, the NALC and the APWU, usually work closely together and are considering a merger after a new contract is signed.

The two other major unions are the Mailhandlers Division of the Laborers International Union, and the National Rural Letter Carriers Association. Most members of the Mailhandlers sort and process mail, and most Rural Letter Carriers are carriers in small towns and cities in the Midwest and South. Both of these unions are far smaller than APWU and NALC.

## TOWARD ONE UNION

But there are more important differences than size. Both APWU and NALC have new officers, who were elected after leading wildcat strikes against a sell-out contract that was voted down by the rank and file in 1978. These new leaders have a much better record of fighting for the interests of the rank and file members than the top officers of either the Rural Carriers or the Mailhandlers.

When President Moe Biller of the APWU threatened a national strike of the Postal Service tried to put a cap on cost-of-living payments, both the Mailhandlers and the Rural Carriers publicly announced that they wouldn't strike no matter what kind of contract they were offered, and would cross APWU and NALC picketlines if there were a strike. The Laborers' Union is notoriously undemocratic, and its top officers are known to do business with organized crime syndicates.

At the last convention of the APWU, the delegates authorized a campaign to unite all postal workers into one union. Since the Mailhandlers Division of the Laborers refused to go along with a merger (two unions, after all, can provide more dues and more jobs for chairwarmers than one), the delegates directed their officers to begin a campaign to replace the Mailhandlers as bargaining agent in the locations where the Mailhandlers had contracts. So far, the APWU does not have enough "request for election" cards signed by rank and file Mailhandlers to be confident of winning a representation election.

This is most likely the reason Postmaster Bolger filed his petition requesting an election. By forcing an election before the APWU is ready, he hopes the more "responsible" Mailhandlers will win. He may also be trying to portray the dispute among the postal unions as a power struggle between "labor bosses", without any real meaning for rank and file postal workers.

When he filed his petition with the Labor Board asking for a delay in negotiations, he sent out a letter to every member of all the postal unions blaming the delay on "chaos" caused by "increasing rivalry and dissension" among the postal unions. If he can sell this view to the union membership and the public, support for the unions' contract demands will be undermined.

The Laborers' Union, meanwhile is trying hard to convince its members not

to vote for the APWU when the election is held. Laborers' officers are spreading the lie that Mailhandlers will be "taken over" by the larger APWU, when in fact the APWU has a much more democratic structure than the Laborers.

Laborers' officials are also saying that Mailhandlers will get bumped and laid off first if the APWU wins the election; actually, APWU contracts provide for seniority by job title, and no mailhandler can be bumped (or bump) a clerk, letter carrier, or other craft. Laborers' Union officials, far from being the innocent victims of bullying by a larger union, have shown their lack of concern for the rank and file of their Mailhandlers Division by refusing to accept the APWU offers of a voluntary merger in the past. Such a merger would clearly strengthen postal workers in their contest with the Postal Service and the federal government.

## "WE'LL STRIKE IF WE HAVE TO"

It seems likely that Postmaster Bolger will take a hard line on the issues of cost-of-living increases and layoffs when negotiations finally get underway. The postal workers, according to one local union official, "don't want to strike. It's illegal and people could get fired. But we'll do what we have to do. I think we'd settle for a COLA formula like the autoworkers or Teamsters got, and maybe for a little less. But there's no way we can accept a cap on COLA payments, not with inflation the way it is now. If it comes down to that, we formed a "contingency committee" in the local if Bolger forces our hand."

During the wildcat strike in 1970 that first won the unrestricted COLA for postal workers, one local official was asked by the press why postal workers deserved more money. He pointed out that a carrier with 21 years of service was making only \$8442 a year, and that seven percent of New York postal workers made so little that they qualified for welfare. Postal workers have had enough of these bad old days. They deserve our support, and will need it, particularly if they are forced to strike.

Other unions cannot afford to let a "pattern" like the one Postmaster Bolger has in mind be set. Everywhere, employers are chipping away at hard-won contract gains, pointing at take aways in other contracts as justification for eroding yours and mine. The first step in this support would be for individuals and unions to send letters and telegrams protesting the Postal Service's stubbornness to Rep. William Ford (D-Michigan), Chairman of the House Commi

Chairman of the House Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, DC. We can't afford to let their plan to play taxpayers off against postal workers succeed.

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# How KYW-TV Fights Welfare Fraud

by Ron Whitehorne

Usually TV editorials are sandwiched between the evening news broadcasts or shown right before the *Star Spangled Banner* in the wee hours. The typical editorial consists of a sombre looking man lecturing us for five minutes on topics like the need to pass a bond issue for sewer construction, why parents should care about their children's education, or the virtues of the Christmas spirit. You get the feeling that if the Federal Communications Commission did not require them, the management of most stations would dispense with them. It's bland programming and it doesn't sell much soap.

But Philadelphia's KYW-TV, Channel 3, the local NBC station owned by Westinghouse, has changed all that. KYW has got the crusading bug. KYW is flashing its editorials at all hours. And instead of the usual format of a face speaking to us from the studio, KYW's editorial is cleverly packaged with lots of action footage.

The subject of this crusade is political corruption and welfare fraud. The target is State Senator Milton Street of North Philadelphia, who achieved political prominence and elected office as a fighter for the city's poor. According to Channel 3's I-team, an investigative reporting unit, a weatherization program administered by Street's staff was rife with abuses and served to reward Street's political associates and supporters rather than improve housing in his district.

Recently KYW has also alleged that Street himself has been guilty of illegally getting public assistance payments and failing to pay taxes when he was a street vendor years back.

Street has long been a target of powerful interests in the city because of his militance. Ironically, the current attack comes at a time when Street has moved away from some of the progressive positions on which he has built a base of grass roots support. Last fall Street jumped to the Republican Party and entered into an unholy alliance with the Republican administration of Richard Thornburgh.

Thornburgh has been seeking to dump able-bodied welfare recipients off the roles, a measure that is being opposed by

both Black elected officials and the labor movement. Street has been absent from this struggle. As a result, he is relatively isolated at the moment from the bulk of progressive and Black forces in the city and thus is more vulnerable to the kind of campaign launched by KYW.

## MEDIA RACISM

KYW's editorials are a prime example of racism in the media. The issue is not the accuracy of the I-team's reports. As Street himself has said if these charges can be proven then all those responsible should be prosecuted. Rather it is the way these charges have been aired and the selective character of KYW's editorial zeal.

KYW's editorials appeal to and reinforce racist stereotypes about Black people. In one version the station manager in a three piece suit stands on the streets of North Philadelphia and tells us that Street's aides collected public assistance in addition to their salaries and did no work. The scene shifts to a lot where half a dozen Black youths are playing basketball. This is what Street's employ-

ees did when they were supposed to be working, we're informed, and all on your tax dollars.

At a time when half the city's Black youth are unable to find work, when those few programs like CETA which provided some job opportunities are being cutback or eliminated, KYW's editorial feeds the view that Blacks are lazy and don't want to work and that social programs which provide jobs are nothing but handouts.

If KYW were really concerned with abuses in the public assistance program they would have started with the plain fact that it is impossible to support and maintain a family on a welfare check. (Could you live on \$171 a month?) They would have pointed out that the overwhelming majority of recipients do not double or triple dip. They would have shown that in most cases recipients are driven to "cheat" as a matter of survival. They would have drawn out the chronic unemployment and lack of opportunity which drives workers onto welfare and maintains whole families on public assistance for generations.

Even if every allegation about "Street's people" is true it is small potatoes compared to the welfare fraud practiced by the monopoly corporations which receive, in direct and indirect subsidies, \$52 billion from the taxpayers a year. But this large scale corporate cheating does not stir the managers of KYW, which is owned by Westinghouse, itself a major welfare recipient.

And if political corruption were KYW's concern, is Milton Street really the most likely target? What about Harry Jannotti, an Abscam defendant who was bought and sold on videotape, a city councilman who administered a housing program in which his cronies received properties free of charge, at the expense of the city's poor? But KYW would rather go after Milton Street who fought for housing for the poor than Harry Jannotti who fought for landlords and real estate speculators.

If this campaign is an example of KYW's brand of civic mindedness, we'd all be better off if they went back to editorial trivia and kept their mouths shut.

## Impact of 2 1/2 ...

(continued from page 6)

The mayor has been able to exploit the unions' failures to defend the interests of all their members. By posing as the champion of fair play, he can divert attention from the struggle to save all members' jobs. By trying to save a few jobs for white workers at the expense of the unity of the whole movement, the unions are playing directly into the Mayor's hands.

Meanwhile, organized racist forces are actively promoting disunity in the movement against 2½. The South Boston Marshalls, for instance, who supported Proposition 2½ during the election, are deploring service cuts in white communities. But instead of calling for tax reform, they are supporting *greater* cuts in busing and welfare. By promoting this kind of racist in-fighting among people hurt by the service cuts, the Marshalls are trying to undermine the entire movement.

The March 28 rally at the State House against Proposition 2½ showed dramatically how the movement is weakened when it fails to fight racism. Out of 20,000 marchers from across the state, less than 100 were Black. The Black community is not indifferent to Proposition 2½ - in fact, the Black neighborhoods in Boston were among the few areas where the measure lost in November. But real unity between Black and white opponents of 2½ can only be built on the basis

of a program to fight racism. There are a few cases where this has happened. The Campaign to Support Public Education is one. AFSCME at Boston City Hospital, which is supporting affirmative action in layoffs, is another. The movement against the cuts needs to build on examples like these to create the unity we need to win.

## OTHER OBSTACLES

While the failure to fight racism has been the main weakness of the movement against Proposition 2½, there have been other obstacles as well. Public employee union officials are being forced by events to start to mobilize rank and file members. But after years of relying on high level bargaining and back room deals with the city administration, many are only taking tentative steps. Boston AFSCME officials originally supported a letter-writing campaign; only rank and file militance forced them to consider a possible strike against patronage. And after years of defining their interests narrowly and trying to rely on influence with the city and the state legislature, many union officials are uneasy about the idea of uniting with community organizations, particularly at the grass roots level.

In the neighborhoods, hundreds of people are fighting to protect particular programs. But too often, a group trying to keep a city pool open will have no connection with a group a few blocks away

fighting MBTA cuts. This narrow focus makes it easy for the city and state to play off one organization against another. And too often, neighborhood organizations have accepted the stereotype of "lazy public workers" as the cause of the problems.

Finally, too much focus has been put on ending patronage in Boston. Patronage is an important issue - it has meant that hundreds of city workers have been laid off to protect the jobs of political hacks. But even if patronage ended tomorrow, Boston could still not afford anywhere near the 70% budget cut Proposition 2½ requires. Cutting government waste is important, but the only long term solution is a statewide tax reform that taxes the rich and the corporations instead of homeowners.

The movement against Proposition 2½ needs to develop a program that can unite all who can be united against the cuts. That program should be based on the idea of "tax reform, not service cuts." Property tax reductions should go to residential property, not business. We should call for specific measures to shift the tax burden from the working class to Big Business, which now escapes most taxes.

Tax reform needs to be linked up with the fight for plant closing legislation which would make it more difficult for companies to just pack up and leave to avoid paying their fair share of taxes. This legislation has been introduced a few

times before, but the unions have not pushed hard for it nor have they been willing to join with community groups which are also hard hit by the threat of runaways.

The movement must also turn its attention to the electoral arena. Boston City Council elections will be held this fall. Already the right wing is mobilizing around its candidates who will increase the attacks on the living standards of working people. It is vital that the coalition endorse and work to elect those candidates who uphold their program.

The broad range of forces now beginning to mobilize against 2½ could also form the basis for a movement for an independent people's candidate to challenge White in 1983. Even without this organized support, Mel King made a respectable showing in the last campaign.

The main problem holding back unity then and now is racism. In order to build a movement capable of stopping the cuts and fighting for programs that will serve the needs of the people of Boston, we must emphasize the importance of labor-community unity to fight for reform. And we must call for a vigorous struggle against racism as the only basis for the unity we need.

A divided movement will not be able to stop Proposition 2½. But if we can unite around a program for real tax reform, we can win.