

SECCION EN
ESPAÑOL

The ORGANIZER

Newspaper of the Philadelphia Workers' Organizing Committee

June - July 1976



Volume 2, Number 3

The 1776 Revolution:



New Yorkers tear down the statue of England's King George III in July, 1776. It was later melted down and made into bullets for the American Army.

The Way It
Really Was

200 Years
Ago Today
pgs. 12, 13

ALSO

RECALL RIZZO
pg. 2

DESEGREGATION
pg. 9

CONTRACT YEAR IN AUTO

RANK & FILERS PREPARE FOR STRUGGLE

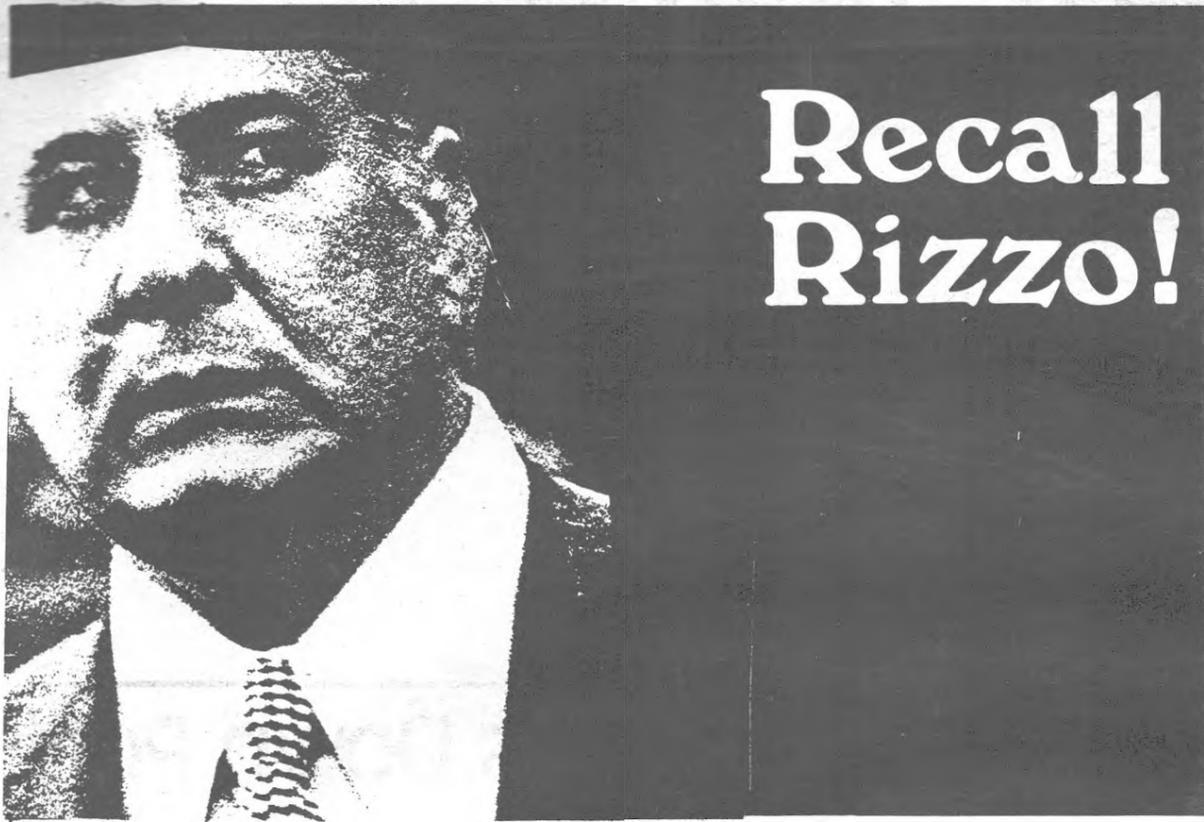
LAYOFFS THREATEN HUNTING PARK

pgs. 4, 5

AN ANALYSIS

CHINA'S FOREIGN POLICY

pgs. 6, 7



Recall Rizzo!

Just a few years after Richard Nixon met his Waterloo, Frank Rizzo may be facing his Waterloo.

Richard Nixon was tripped up by his famous tapes just months after a landslide victory brought him to power for a second term. Rizzo, also a second term victor, is now being faced with a serious campaign to recall him from office just as he is reaching the pinnacle of political power in Philadelphia.

The recall petition campaign has been organized by the Citizens' Committee to Recall Rizzo, a group initiated by Rizzo's traditional "liberal establishment" opposition—former mayor and U.S. senator Joseph Clark; Charles Bowser, head of the independent Philadelphia Party; and Gregory Harvey, who heads up the Americans for Democratic Action (ADA).

SUCCESS DEPENDS ON STREET VOLUNTEERS

But according to Rich Chapman, one of the six staff organizers for the Committee, the group is really a grass-roots organization with more than a thousand volunteers soliciting signatures for the recall petition. "Clark, Harvey and Bowser have been helpful raising funds to support this thing, but they haven't gotten one damn signature. We rise or fall with the people on the streets, and they're nobody you've ever heard of—just people who are angry about what Rizzo has done to this city and want to see the recall succeed."

The people who conducted the door-to-door petition battle against Rizzo were motivated by different reasons—some because of Rizzo's long history of racism and brutality, some because of the real estate and wage tax increases, some because of the mayor's arrogance and deceit and some because of corruption and patronage abuses in city government. Others joined the campaign because their political careers depended upon the defeat of the Rizzo machine.

COMMITTEE'S GOALS LIMITED

The Citizens' Committee was able to unite all of these forces behind a common task—the recall petition campaign. It viewed its role as that of a temporary organization with no real defined ideology or program other than unseating Rizzo. As it closed its doors on June 15, the Citizens' Committee could claim success in organizing a petition campaign, but it had not really consolidated an organization that is capable of taking on Rizzo in a recall vote or in a general election.

Defeating Rizzo is an important task for the people's movement in Philadelphia. Continued Rizzo domination of the political structure of the city will mean that the people of Philadelphia will continue to be divided by racism, that the growth of progressive community movements will be plagued by fear and frustration, and that the conditions of living in Philadelphia will continue to decline.

A good example of Rizzo's impact can be seen in the future desegregation of Philadelphia schools. With Rizzo as mayor, the Black community knows that it cannot count on the city government for the protection of Black children if they are bused to schools in white communities.

This justified fear has made Black parents very cautious about supporting a busing plan to desegregate the Philadelphia school system. The examples of Boston and Detroit show that city officials can play a key role in determining community acceptance of desegregation.

In Boston, City Council member Louise Day Hicks has increased her power and influence by leading the racist anti-busing forces. The result has been bitter and prolonged violence that will kindle the flames of racism for years to come. In Detroit, however, under the administration of Black mayor Coleman Young, the implementation of a busing plan has been fairly successful with little violence.

RIZZO NEEDS AN ISSUE—BUSING?

Should Rizzo survive the recall campaign, he would need an issue to rebuild his political support. It would have to be a dramatic and emotionally charged issue that could make people forget about high and regressive taxes, about high unemployment, about Rizzo's palatial home in Chestnut Hill, about the hundreds of Rizzo drones bleeding us for millions in fat salaries.

That issue is likely to be busing. Frank Rizzo would like nothing better than to polish up the old nightstick and whip up the racist hysteria that brought him to political power in the first place.

Are we going to defeat Rizzo now when his real game is exposed for all to see, when he is at his weakest with a dramatic loss of white working class support? Or will Rizzo survive the recall campaign and try to ride the bus to a third term in office?

Will we have an unprecedented opportunity to build a new political movement in the face of a defeat of the Rizzo forces and with the Democratic Party in disarray? Or will we find ourselves again on the defensive, battling Rizzo-provoked racism that could deliver a serious blow to working class unity both in the communities and the workplaces of Philadelphia?

Some of these questions will be answered in the next weeks and months. It now seems likely that a recall vote will be held. In order for the petition to be successful the petition must contain 145,448 signatures certified as registered voters by the City Commissioners' office. The Recall Committee has announced that they have more than enough signatures. They are aiming for 200,000 signatures as "insurance" to cover those ruled invalid by the City Commissioners. (continued on page 2)

IN THIS ISSUE:

RECALL RIZZO.....p. 2
 LABOR ROUND-UP.....p. 3
 HUNTING PARK LAY-OFFS.....p. 4
 WORKERS VOICES.....p. 4
 UAW RANK AND FILERS SPEAK.....p. 5
 CHINA'S FOREIGN POLICY.....p. 6
 LOCAL 196 ON HEALTH AND SAFETY.....p. 7
 ACWA-TWU MERGER.....p. 8
 FATIGUE (a poem).....p. 8
 SANTIAGO CASE.....p. 8
 QED HOLDS CONFERENCE.....p. 9
 WOMEN'S LIBERATION
 COMMISSION.....p. 10
 JULY 4TH COALITION.....p. 11
 EDITORIAL ON JULY 4TH
 DEMONSTRATION.....p. 11
 BICENTENNIAL HISTORY.....p. 12
 MCHR CONVENTION.....p. 14
 STERILIZATION.....p. 15
 UAW HISTORY.....p. 16
 PALESTINE AND THE PLO.....p. 18
 UNITED FRONT TACTICS.....p. 20
 NUTS AND BOLTS.....p. 22
 PAGINAS DE ESPANOL.....pgs. 23-24

Philadelphia Workers' Organizing Committee

WHO WE ARE



As a communist organization the PWOC sees the root causes of the day to day problems of working people as the capitalist system itself. We are committed to building a revolutionary working class movement that will overthrow the profit system and replace it with socialism. We seek to replace the anarchy of capitalist production with a planned economy based on the needs of working people. We want to end the oppression of national minorities and women, and make equality a reality instead of the hypocritical slogan it has become in the mouths of capitalist politicians. We work toward the replacement of the rule of the few -- the handful of monopolists -- by the rule of the many -- the working people.

The masses of people in the US have always fought back against their exploitation and today the movements in opposition to the monopolists are rapidly growing both in numbers and intensity. What is lacking is the kind of political leadership that can bring these movements together, deepen the consciousness of the masses, and build to-

day's struggles into a decisive and victorious revolutionary assault against Capital. To answer this need we must have a vanguard party of the working class, based on its most conscious and committed partisans, rooted in the mass movements of all sectors of American people and equipped with the political understanding capable of solving the strategic and tactical problems that present themselves on the difficult road to revolution. The PWOC seeks, in conjunction with like-minded organizations and individuals throughout the US, to build such a party -- a genuine Communist Party. The formation of such a party will be an important step forward in the struggle of the working class and all oppressed people to build a new world on the ashes of the old.

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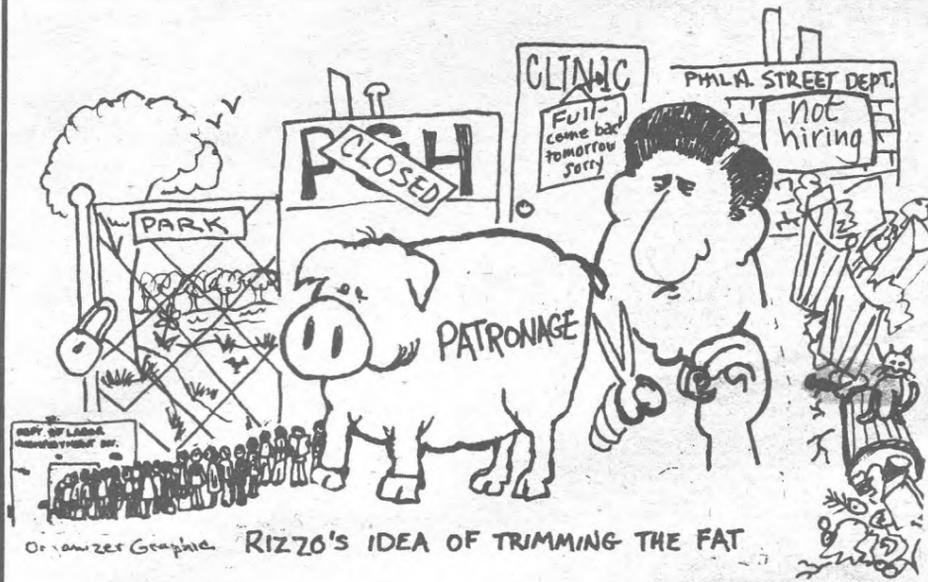
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CITY LAYOFFS HURT US ALL



CITY WORKERS LAID OFF TO PAY FOR RIZZO'S BUDGET FRAUD

Now that Frank "No Tax Increase" Rizzo has the election behind him, he feels free to sponsor massive tax increases (see last issue of the ORGANIZER) and city layoffs. A major part of the Rizzo package, approved by City Council on May 27th, was the elimination of 1,013 city jobs, mostly in the streets, recreation, and health departments.

The total job loss to the city, however, remains 1,013, a huge figure in a city with an official unemployment rate of 8%.

Originally scheduled to go into effect in June, the cutbacks were delayed until July 16th so that most of the jobs could be eliminated through retirements and normal quits. The city claims that this extension will reduce the number of city workers who must be laid off to between 200 and 300.

The annual savings created by this cutback will be about \$11.5 million, less than one-tenth the amount the city paid the banks in interest last year. City workers face layoffs, citizens face filthy streets and locked recreation centers, and the banks walk away with \$118 million! The city's contract with District 33 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Union (AFSCME), expires July 1st: Will the union follow through with its threat of a strike to stop the layoffs?

SEPTA LOW-DOWN

SEPTA LAYOFFS HIT DRIVERS AND PUBLIC

On May 21st, SEPTA laid off 345 employees as part of their "solution" to SEPTA's budget crisis. 291 of these workers are members of Transport Workers Union Local 234, including 55 maintenance workers and 168 drivers. These layoffs resulted in a service cut of 80 trips.

The total cutback of 200 trips affects mainly the working people of Philadelphia who depend on SEPTA for their transportation. The TWU attempted to bring the effects of these layoffs home to the people of Philadelphia by conducting massive safety checks of buses and trolleys on May 26th and 27th. 40 vehicles were stopped from leaving the barns by union inspections, and many rush hour trips were delayed while the buses and trolleys were checked over.

Broken emergency brakes, tires worn down to the chord, faulty engine wiring, bad turn signals, and other defects were caught by the union inspections. Union claims of dangerous conditions were backed up by the results of a Penna. Dept. of Labor inspection of the SEPTA barn at 10th and Luzerne, which found 79 safety violations during a surprise inspection on April 22nd.

SEPTA further compounded the damage done by the layoffs by including a 12% cut in the purchase of spare parts in its budget. Cutbacks in State, Federal, and City funding plus inflation have led to the present budget crisis, and as usual the working people pay the cost while the politicians and businessmen get over.



IWA Shuts Down Port

150 members of the Independent Watchmen's Association shut down the Philadelphia and Camden waterfronts for two days, May 26th and 27th, in a dispute over job security.

leaving the docks.

Their contract with the Philadelphia Marine Trade Association (PMTA) expired January 1st, and the watchmen struck briefly in April and again in May to force PMTA to negotiate seriously. PMTA had wanted to re-introduce the "flywatch" - having one watchman guard more than one pier at a time, as well as checking trucks entering and

A final settlement was reached in the evening of May 27th and the new 3-year contract was ratified by union members on June 1st. During the two-day walkout, about 3500 longshoremen and truckers refused to cross the IWA picketlines. The support of the longshoremen and truck drivers provided the added strength needed to force the PMTA to make concessions. Also included in the contract was a wage increase of \$1.22/hour over three years.

BOSTON MINORITY WORKERS DEMAND JOB EQUALITY

ROAR JOINS ATTACK ON BOSTON MINORITY WORKERS

On May 7th, a goon squad led by James Kelley of Boston's ROAR and Bill Cleary of the Building Trades Council attacked a group of Black, Spanish and Asian workers who were picketing a construction site in Boston's South End.

The workers, members of the Third World Workers Association (TWWA) were demanding an end to racist discrimination in hiring in the construction industry. Blacks and other minorities make up less than 7% of all Boston's construction workers, while they compose 30% of the city's population.

ROAR (Restore Our Alienated Rights) became famous for leading the fight for "neighborhood schools" and against "forced busing" in South Boston - in plain words, for maintaining segregation and inferior education for Black children.

Now this racist outfit, led by Congresswoman Louise Day Hicks, has shown its true

colors even more clearly by joining with the corrupt leaders of Boston's Building Trades Unions to oppose equal hiring for minority workers.

Cleary and his cronies, while labeling TWWA as "out to destroy the union," have refused to organize the growing numbers of non-union construction workers, thus undermining union standards in the industry. These workers, white as well as Black, are kept out of the unions by exorbitant initiation fees, favoritism, and generally exclusionary policies.

Forced to work for less than union wages, non-union workers are used by the contractors to undercut all construction workers' wages and increase unemployment among union members.

TWWA, on the other hand, states that "We have always supported the trade union movement, for we recognize the need for working people to unite and defend their basic interests." They intend to continue the fight until full equality for all workers is won.



contract struggle opens at G.E.

Union contracts with the General Electric and Westinghouse Corporations expire on June 27th and July 11th respectively. Both GE and Westinghouse workers are represented mainly by the United Electrical Workers (UE) and the International Union of Electrical Workers (IUE), the only unions to hold national contracts with the two electrical giants.

The major issues in both negotiations are wages, an improved cost-of-living formula, pensions, and improved Income Extension Aid benefits for laid-off workers.

Because of the inadequate C-O-L formula and the rampant inflation of the last 3 years, both GE and Westinghouse workers have lost about 88 cents per hour over the term of the present agreement. The UE and the IUE conduct coordinated, although separate, bargaining with the two companies.

A Thousand Workers To Be Put Out On The Street At Budd Hunting Park



cpf

Most everyone in Philadelphia has a relative or friend that has worked—or is working—for the Budd Company's stamping plant on Hunting Park Avenue in North Philly. But for 1,000 workers and their families, this situation is going to change very soon.

The Budd Corporation has announced that they plan to close down permanently Unit 5, which houses the Main Press Shop and the A, G, and L Building Assembly operations. According to them, this will affect about 850 jobs—but the real figure is closer to 1,000.

The reasons given by the corporation for the shutdown are that it has too much plant capacity in Stamping and Assembly in the Budd system as a whole, that Unit 5 is an old and inefficient facility, and that safety requirements for the building are too costly.

According to the *Organizer's* investigation, the jobs leaving are the Montego, the Maverick decklids, the Tilt-cab, and some of the Lincoln work. Approximately 200 jobs are going to the Detroit plant, and another 650 to Gary (Indiana) and Kitchener (Ontario, Canada). And, our investigation reveals that these jobs are leaving *this summer*, not by "July 1977" as the Company has claimed.

MORE JOB LOSS FOR PHILADELPHIA

The shutdown comes at the *worst* possible time for the working people of Philadelphia. Despite the optimistic claims of an "economic upturn" in the mass media, we are still hurting badly from unemployment—and while things might be getting "better" for the big corporation, they're getting worse for us! It's as though the bigshots of the city are trying to put us down for the count with a one-two combination—first PGH, now Budd's.

The Budd Company started out in Philadelphia, and they made the money that permitted them to expand into a large, international corporation off the working people right here in Philadelphia. But with the recession putting the squeeze on the entire automotive industry, they have no qualms about throwing away the working people of Philadelphia, like a used-up paper towel.

They don't dare claim that they're losing money at Hunting Park. With the 60 hour weeks they've been scheduling for the last eight months, no one would believe them. It's just that they could make a little more profit running the jobs somewhere else. As for the rights of the workers who more than any other built up the corporation—well, that's just not "good business."

BLACKS HIT HARDEST

The threatened layoffs will hit Black workers particularly hard. Not surprisingly, at a plantation like the Budd Co., the majority of the more dangerous aging press shop jobs are held by Black workers. This is part of an overall pattern in Philadelphia and other cities. As plants move from the increasingly Black inner cities, they leave deepening poverty and increased unemployment in their wake.

It's true that the Unit 5 facility is unsafe; but it's been unsafe for the last fifteen years, and that never bothered the Company before! And besides, there's a great deal of extra-production space at the Hunting Park plant—room for several high-speed lines in the Vim Press Shop, the brand new Steel Storage Building behind Unit 5, and the possibility of running full-production C-shifts. But the Budd Company doesn't have a word to say about this.

To add insult to injury, the Company has been cracking down on discipline in the past six months. The disciplinary procedures have been arbitrarily tightened up, and whereas the Budd Company was once a place where it was relatively difficult to get fired, discharges are now way up.

Workers with "bad records" built up in the "old days" when warnings didn't mean anything are now extremely vulnerable to the new Company offensive. What's really going on is a undercover *permanent layoff* on the part of the Company -- the more jobs

they get rid of through firings the better, because then they don't have to pay compensation, SUB, insurance, pension, etc.

UNION "COOPERATION" SOLVES NOTHING

The Local Union Leadership has pledged to the membership "We will not permit the Company to whittle away at our jobs." But they are starting off from a weak position, because for the past several years, they have gone along with the Company-line that "pleasing the Company," and maintaining "a good relationship" is the way for workers to protect themselves.

The recent shutdown announcement is proof positive that this is completely wrong: no Local in the Budd system has been more "co-operative" than Local 813, and look what it's got them! When it comes to their profits, the only thing corporations respect is our *strength*.

Rather than arrange private meetings with Governor Shapp and Mayor Rizzo -- neither of whom are exactly anti-Big Business! -- Local 813 should organize a *city-wide campaign to save the Hunting Park Facility*: they should take the issue to the masses of people in the city, and make it a test-case for workers' rights versus corporate greed for profits. And they should move immediately to unite all the Budd Locals in the UAW on the basis of "an injury to one is an injury to all."

For too long, the Budd Company has been able to play one Local off against the others and move jobs around to intimidate the workers and prevent them from fighting for their rights. Local 813 has been as guilty as any of pursuing their own narrow interests in getting more work at the expense of other UAW-- Budd brothers and sisters. They should make a clean break with their past mistakes and begin over in the right direction.

Finally, Local 813 must start fighting back against this attack *on the shop floor*, where their real power lies. You don't take on a tiger with boxing gloves, and you don't fight a permanent shutdown with grievances -- what point is there in maintaining a "good relationship" with the Company when it's only "good" for the Company? Here again, the Local leadership must change its way of thinking, and learn to appreciate the ingenuity of the rank and file membership.

RANK AND FILE MUST ORGANIZE

However, no fight back of any kind is possible without the rank and file workers at Hunting Park: left to its own devices, the Local leadership will not be able to mount an effective counter attack. *At stake is not only the 1,000 jobs under attack, but the contract coming up next January. Clearly, the Company's timing is part of a conscious campaign to "soften up" the Local for contract negotiations.*

The rank and file must take the initiative, mobilize and organize itself for real struggle, and build a *fighting* unity in Local 813. Some of the "powers-that-be" in the Local will try and label this rank and file initiative "divisive" and "disruptive," but the truth is that the *real* "disrupters" are those that have lost their will to fight and who seek to lead the workers like sheep to the slaughter.

WORKERS' VOICES

"The Meaning of the 4th of July for Black People"



FREDERICK DOUGLASS

1817-1895

The following is excerpted from a speech given on July 4th, 1852 in Rochester, New York. Douglass rose from slavery to become the most militant and eloquent spokesman for the Afro-American people of his day.

While still a slave Douglass was apprenticed to a shipyard to learn the trade of caulker. He not only learned the trade but learned how to write by studying the lettering on the prows of ships. Earlier he endured daily beatings for having the nerve to attempt successfully to learn how to read.

Douglass gained his freedom via the underground railroad and soon became one of the most active fighters for the abolition of slavery. Douglass's Fourth of July speech was reprinted as a pamphlet and widely read in the period prior to the Civil War.

Today, while slavery is gone, the oppression of the Black people continues and stands in stark contradiction to the high ideals the politicians talk about on this national holiday.

What, to the American slave, is your Fourth of July? I answer: a day that reveals to him, more than all other days in the year, the gross injustice and cruelty to which he is the constant victim.

To him, your celebration is a sham; your boasted liberty an unholy license; your national greatness swelling vanity; your sounds of rejoicing are empty and heartless; your denunciation of tyrants brass-fronted impudence; your shouts of liberty and equality hollow mockery; your prayers and hymns, your sermons and thanksgivings, with all your religious parade and solemnity, are to Him mere bombast, fraud, deception, impiety, and hypocrisy -- a thin veil to cover up crimes which would disgrace a nation of savages.

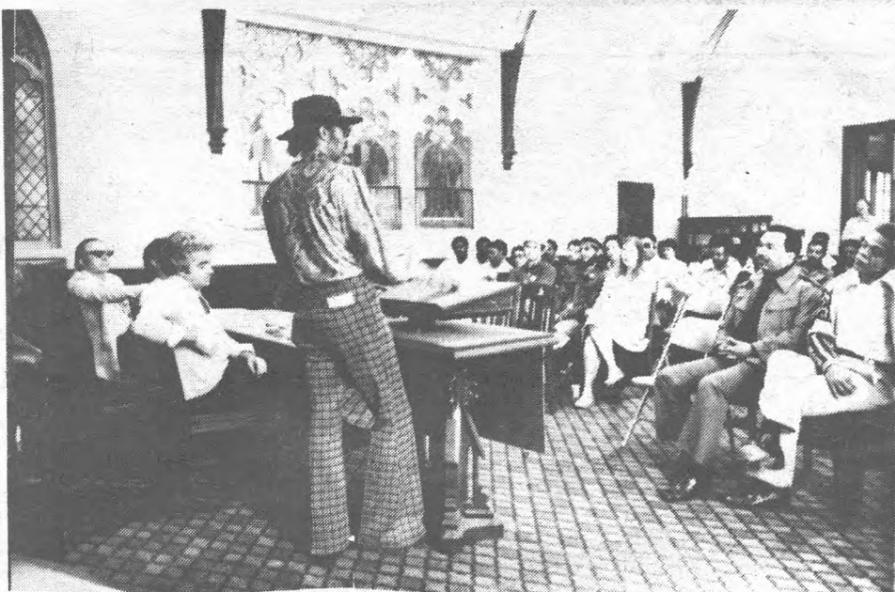
There is not a nation on the earth guilty of practices more shocking and bloody than are the people of the United States at this very hour.

. . . . Fellow citizens, above your national, tumultuous joy I hear the mournful wail of millions, whose chains, heavy and grievous yesterday, are today rendered more intolerable by the jubilee shouts that reach them.

(continued on page 11)

UAW RANK & FILE LEADERS SPEAK HERE

100 Autoworkers Hear About the Fight For a Good Contract in '76



Erwin Baur (left), Pete Kelly (center), and Jordan Sims (at podium) speak to area autoworkers and their families at the Germantown Community Presbyterian Church.

The meeting was packed from wall to wall with autoworkers. The air was filled with all sorts of ideas and differing opinions. The real problems of the workers were on the agenda. The people were deciding the direction that their union would take. The workers controlled the locals. This was the way the UAW worked in the early days. Today things are much different. Today the bureaucrats in regional offices and UAW headquarters control the union.

So spoke Pete Kelly, co-chairperson of the Coalition for a Good Contract, in his opening remarks to 100 autoworkers from Budd's Red Lion and Hunting Park plants, and from ITE, GM and Ford plants in the Region 9 area.

The Blue Ribbon Group, a rank and file organization at the Red Lion plant, UAW local 92, organized this event to kick off the struggle for a good contract in 1976. The BRG invited brothers Pete Kelly, Jordan Sims, and Erwin Baur, all leaders with years of experience in the UAW, to address rank and file workers in the area on the upcoming contract negotiations in the industry.

The brothers from Detroit are attempting to build a national movement of autoworkers to fight for a short work week at full pay, a guaranteed SUB program, a COLA in the pension program, and better protection against the rising cost of living.

KELLY REVIEWS CONTRACT STRUGGLE

After a brief introduction Pete Kelly, a fiery and knowledgeable speaker, took the podium. He reviewed the past three contracts in the industry. In 1967 there was a movement in the skilled trades for a "dollar an hour" wage increase. The International was under great pressure from below. Walter Reuther returned from the bargaining table with 50 cents an hour but the agreement included a 16 cents cap on the COLA.

The leaders of the "dollar an hour" movement went on television in Detroit and urged the workers to reject the agreement. Kelly told how he and others argued that a capped COLA would be a disaster. Reuther went on television and urged acceptance. The agreement was accepted.

The result was disastrous. Each autoworker lost over \$1500 in cost of living benefits during the life of the contract. In 1970 Walter Reuther apologized for his mistake. And that same year autoworkers had to conduct a 10 week strike against GM to regain the uncapped COLA.

In 1973, the United National Caucus, which grew out of the "dollar an hour movement," urged the International to strengthen the SUB program, Kelly continued. They predicted massive unemployment over the next few years. The International said that they were crazy, they didn't know what they were talking about. As we all know, in 1974-75, massive unemployment hit the industry. The SUB program went broke. In 1976 Leonard Woodcock apologized for this mistake.

"ANOTHER SCREWING"

Brother Kelly then asked the question: *What will our international have to apologize for in 1979?* To some, he said, apologizing is very "manly" and "heroic." Yet these apologies, it seems, only serve to "lay the foundation for another screwing." Brother Kelly urged the workers to organize themselves if they want a good contract in 1976.



PETE KELLY

Kelly hit on the hypocritical approach of the UAW leadership to the struggle against racism—marching in Selma, Alabama for equal rights while tolerating racism in their own backyard. For example, only one half of one percent of UAW skilled trades workers are Black.

Jordan Sims, the next speaker, has been a leader in the fight for equality within the UAW. Sims recounted his experience as a Black worker at the Eldon Gear and Axle plant where the dirtiest and most dangerous production jobs are largely Black while the skilled trades remain lily white.

In the 1960's Brother Sims realized that he would have to get involved himself if anything was to get done. He became a chief steward in his plant; he tried to defend his people. He tried to file grievances in their behalf. Many times, however, he was discouraged by UAW leaders from writing grievances. He was told that he should do things "their way," which was to do nothing at all. He became more and more outraged. Finally Brother Sims took on the president of his local, who had led a "dynasty" in power for over twenty years. He won the election.

SIMS VS. THE BUREAUCRACY

Once president of his local, Brother Sims ran head on into the international leadership of the UAW. He wanted to defend his people against the horrible and unsafe working conditions, the speed-up, discrimination and all the other forms of corporate abuse. The International wanted him to play ball with the corporations.

At first they offered him the carrot. They wined and dined him. They offered him a life of ease and comfort if he would only "cooperate." But Sims refused. So the

UAW leaders turned to the stick. They took over his local. They charged him with corruption. These charges required no proof for 18 months. In the UAW a man is considered guilty until proven innocent.

Brother Sims refused to give in. With the support of his membership, he continues as president of local 961 and as a leader of the national movement for a better UAW. He urged his audience to organize. "If we or-

Brother Kelly then asked the question:

What will our international have to apologize for in 1979? To some, he said, apologizing is very "manly" and "heroic." Yet these apologies, it seems, only serve to "lay the foundation for another screwing."

ganize into a national movement we can regain control of the UAW." We can make the UAW once again into the militant defender of the working people. Brother Sims captured the hearts of those in attendance by his obvious compassion, determination and dedication to his fellow workers.

BUDD COUNCIL REP SPEAKS

The final speaker was Erwin Baur, representative to the Budd Council. Brother Baur focused his remarks on the problem of jobs.

He showed that the loss of work, the movement of jobs from one parts plant to another, and the problem of subcontracting was due to the lack of strong organization of the parts supplier workers within the UAW.

Brother Baur insisted that if the 300,000 parts workers were solidly organized under a common agreement, then the parts workers could be as powerful as GM workers and could end the deadly competition between them. Through stronger organization the problems of job security and working conditions could be tackled far more effectively.

COALITION MUST FIGHT RACISM

The Coalition for a Good Contract represents a real and potentially strong challenge to the UAW leadership this year. One serious weakness in the program of the coalition has been its failure to focus sharply on the question of racism and the issue of discrimination on the job and in upgrading.

Brother Bowen of the United Black Workers, a New Jersey based UAW rank and file group, urged the coalition to raise the demand for Martin Luther King's birthday to be a holiday. The coalition spokespeople agreed this would be a good demand and said they would raise it at the next meeting. If the coalition is to realize its promise it must take up the struggle against racism more aggressively.

Rank and filers left the meeting with a new enthusiasm and commitment to the fight for a good contract in 1976. As for Brothers Kelly, Sims and Baur, they will continue their efforts to organize nationally with the knowledge that there are many militants in the Philadelphia-New Jersey area ready to stand with them.

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BLACK LIBERATION TODAY -- AGAINST DOGMATISM ON THE NATIONAL QUESTION. PWOC's position on the Afro-American national question. Includes summary of the general Marxist-Leninist theory; concrete analysis of the Black Belt, historically and today. Plus discussion of the Black people today, and strategy for Liberation. Points out unity of dogmatist and revisionist positions.

CHINA'S FOREIGN POLICY

A CRITICAL ANALYSIS



The contributions of the People's Republic of China have been many. China was the first socialist country to break with Soviet revisionism. Playing a role similar to that of the Bolsheviks in the years 1912-19, our Chinese comrades initiated and led the struggle against the Khrushchevite revisions of Marxism-Leninism.

At first the struggle was correctly held within the bounds of struggling for unity against opportunism in the communist movement. But when it became clear that the Soviets would not return to Marxism, the Communist Party of China brought the struggle against revisionism into the open. The critique of Modern Revisionism put forward by the Chinese in a number of documents in the early sixties remains the starting point of the Marxist-Leninist movement today.

CHINA: MODEL FOR SOCIALISM

Secondly, China has provided the world with a model of socialism. In contrast to the growth of bureaucracy and inequality in Soviet society, the Chinese workers and peasants have built a vibrant and democratic republic. In China, bureaucracy and its individualist philosophy are curbed by the direct involvement of the masses in the decisions that affect their lives. Factories and farms are run by elected bodies of workers and peasants and not by professional managers. The Communist Party maintains close contact with the people and really plays the role of their vanguard. And finally, the masses are politically conscious and consistently strive to strengthen their grasp of Marxism-Leninism.

Thirdly, China in the sixties provides a model of proletarian internationalism. The strongest imperialism in the history of the world was unable to intimidate the Chinese from their political responsibilities. The Chinese fully supported the struggles of the African peoples for national liberation, even when such support meant a real sacrifice for their people. They were a steadfast ally of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in its struggle for reunification of the Korean nation. And there was *no* country in the entire world who sacrificed more to aid the historic struggles of the Vietnamese.

RESPECT OR DEIFICATION?

Because of these (and many other) seminal contributions, the modern Marxist-Leninist movement has tremendous respect for China. China is seen as the main homeland of socialism and Marxism-Leninism in the world. This is as it should be.

However, many Marxist-Leninists have elevated China's richly deserved respect to the point of sycophancy,

denying that China, and by extension the proletariat, can make any significant errors in judgment. This deification leads them to overlook an important error. Today, while Chinese socialism remains as vibrant and electrifying as any in the world, China no longer provides a sterling example of proletarian internationalism. All thinking Marxist-Leninists (as opposed to the modern advocates of flunkysim) have become increasingly concerned as the Chinese Communist Party's international perspective has strayed from the path of Marxism-Leninism.

The CPC, which once provided leadership in the worldwide struggle against imperialism and its revisionist allies, has recently adopted a policy which objectively plays into the hands of imperialism and unwittingly aids revisionism. Nowhere is this incorrect line more clearly advanced than in a recent interview with William Hinton.

In an interview printed in the May 5 *Guardian*, William Hinton, President of the U.S.-China Peoples Friendship Association, made startling revelations. On the basis of what he described as "extensive" discussions held in Peking last fall, he reported the most recent developments in China's world view.

HINTON EXPLAINS "MAIN DANGER"

According to Hinton (and there is no reason to doubt his credibility on this question), China no longer sees U.S. imperialism and so-called Soviet "social-imperialism" as co-equal impediments to the world-wide struggle for national liberation and socialism. The USSR is seen as "the *main danger* confronting the whole world today."

Thus China no longer advocates the "united front against the two superpowers." Today their strategy is in essence a united front against the USSR, which is summed up in Hinton's words as follows: "Mobilize the third world, unite all the forces of the second world willing to struggle, neutralize the United States and strike the main blow at the Soviet Union."

In accordance with this strategy, China sees only "all out struggle" between itself and the Soviet Union, since "no basis for unity on any major issue exists." As a result of the new situation, Hinton said, "China judges world leaders by how well they understand the new relationship of forces. Thus they prefer Heath (the former head of the Conservative Party in Britain) to Wilson (Prime Minister and head of the Labor Party), Strauss (leader of the West German rightist Christian Social Union) to Brandt (former leader of the German Social-Democrats) and Schlesinger to Kissinger."

UNITY WITH U.S.?

However, what is even more incredible about China's present world view is its attitude to the possibility of including U.S. imperialism in the united front against the Soviets. Hinton says, "while a united front of all forces (including the U.S.) is not ruled out in the future, the conditions for it do not exist at present."

Nevertheless "unity [with the U.S.] is possible on certain specific issues and has in fact developed." As examples, Hinton pointed to the maintenance of the U.S.-Japanese military alliance, U.S. troops in the Philippines and NATO strength. Events have shown that China also perceived its interests to lie generally, though not entirely, in concert with the U.S. in Portugal, the Persian Gulf and Angola.

That China is evolving toward a view that would include the U.S. in the united front is clearly exhibited in Hinton's closing remarks. In the context of an appeal for unity between the U.S. and the Chinese peoples, he states, "America's traditional leaders... will find it very difficult to unite with the wide coalition of popular forces necessary to contain the Soviet threat." While he maintains unity with the world's peoples will be "difficult" for the U.S. bourgeoisie, he does not say it will be impossible. In fact, one sentence later he provides a clue as to what would make unity with the U.S. imperialists possible—a willingness on the part of the U.S. to give up its struggle for "American hegemony."

PLAYS TO U.S. IMPERIALISM

The implications of these views for the future of China's role in the world are profound. While opposition to Soviet great power chauvinism and hegemonism is a basic principle of Marxism-Leninism, China's call for a united front against the Soviet Union plays into the hands of U.S. imperialism.

Even the most cursory analysis demonstrates that facts do not support the line that the Soviet Union is the *main danger*. In all the regions of the world where peoples have yet to win their independence, it is not the Soviet Union but the U.S. that presents the biggest obstacle. In Asia, the U.S. is the main backer of the South Korea, Taiwan and Philippine dictatorships. In the Middle East, it is the U.S. which props up racist Israel and supports the reactionary monarchies in Iran and Saudi Arabia. In Latin America, once again it is the U.S. that backs the Chilean and Brazilian fascists.

US AND USSR IN AFRICA

But no place so clearly demonstrates the qualitative differences in the role of the U.S. and the Soviet Union as well as southern Africa. The struggle to liberate Zimbabwe (Rhodesia), Namibia (Southwest Africa) and Azania (South Africa) is presently at center stage of the world-wide struggle against imperialism. And here, once again, it is the U.S. imperialists who are the main force striving to turn back the tide of national liberation, whereas the Soviets are providing material aid to the liberation movements there.

For revolutionaries to focus their main blows on a secondary enemy inevitably aids the main enemy. The recent struggle in Angola provides a salient example. In the legitimate interest of opposing Soviet attempts to boost its revisionist currency in southern Africa, China incorrectly concentrated its main blows against Soviet hegemonism. This stance led China to fail in fulfilling its obligation to support the only legitimate national liberation movement in Angola, the MPLA. China objectively sided with the South African invaders and objectively supported U.S. attempts at establishing a neo-colonial regime.

(continued on next page)



"China in the sixties provides a model of proletarian internationalism. . . . they were a steadfast ally of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in its struggle for reunification of the Korean nation. And there was no country in the entire world who sacrificed more to aid the historic struggles of the Vietnamese."

In addition, the net effect of China's position was not to isolate and defeat the revisionists. Because the Soviets opportunely supported the MPLA while China took a wrong-headed approach, the Soviets were able to camouflage their chauvinist intentions behind a smokescreen of anti-Chinese rhetoric. The Soviets were able to brand the historic leaders of the struggle against revisionism with the label of supporters of South African fascism and U.S. neo-colonialism.

Thus the Soviets were able to gain at the expense of the Chinese in southern Africa. All the most progressive countries in Africa as a whole and southern Africa in particular, which had been historically close to China, felt their relationship with China strained by its Angola stand. Tanzania is, perhaps, the best example. In recent years, Tanzania has maintained the closest relationship with China of any country in Africa. As a result of

China's Angola policy, Tanzanian President Julius Nyerere has moved to strengthen his relations with the Soviet Union.

Since China's Angola policy is entirely consistent with a world view that maintains that the Soviet Union is the main danger, the lessons of Angola provide good indications of what the future holds if China pursues this policy. It will inevitably lead to an isolation of China from the most progressive of the newly independent nations.

CUBA MOVES FURTHER FROM CHINA

But what Angola also showed was that China's incorrect perspective also leads to furthering estrangement between China and revolutionary socialist countries. While

China's relationship with Cuba has been weak since the late nineteen-sixties, it has recently reached new levels of deterioration. China's grossly unjust charge that Cuba's internationalist support of the MPLA amounted to sending

"mercenaries" to fight in Africa, has brought Cuba to the point of an open attack on China—an exaggerated attack which is incorrectly posed in revisionist terms. China's Angola policy has driven the Cubans ever more firmly into the arms of the Soviet Union.

Similarly, operating on a strategy of united front against the Soviet Union can only lead to worsening relations between China and such revolutionary countries as Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia and the Democratic Peoples Republic of Korea. A rift between China and its sister socialist nations can only aid the imperialists and the revisionists.

For Marxist-Leninists to support an international line which 1) undercuts the unity between the working class and the most progressive third world nations; 2) undercuts the unity between the working class and the socialist nations and 3) plays into the hands of both imperialism and revisionism is—to put it mildly—a dangerous line.

It is for these reasons that Marxist-Leninists must part company with China's international perspective and take a different path. Such a break, however, does not mean a break with China itself. Our principled disagreement with China on this important question cannot be allowed to blind us to the overall progressive and revolutionary role of the CPC. Nor can we be blinded to the real threat the Soviet revisionists pose to the sovereignty of China. We will continue to stand in active solidarity with the People's Republic of China in the face of this danger.

Doubtless there will be those who claim to be Marxist-Leninists who will contrive all sorts of sophistry in order to retain agreement with China. But such a course is a disservice to Marxism and to China itself. China as a country which has proven its dedication to Marxism-Leninism deserves to be treated in a Marxist-Leninist fashion, that is, critically. Neither China nor Marxism-Leninism has any need of apish followers.



Photo

"The recent struggle in Angola provides a salient example. In the legitimate interest of opposing Soviet attempts to boost its revisionist currency in Southern Africa, China incorrectly concentrated its main blows against Soviet hegemonism. This stance led China to fail in fulfilling its obligation to support the only legitimate national liberation movement in Angola, the MPLA."



"In our contracts, there is not one page, one paragraph, one sentence, or one word concerning safety conditions. There are no safety committees within the union or in any of our work places."

This shocking statement was made by a member of Local 196's (Amalgamated Food Employees Union—AMC-BW) Rank and File Committee at their May speak-out and educational on health and safety. The event was organized by the Rank and File Committee for the Reform of Local 196 as part of an ongoing effort to educate around the issues of health and safety and prepare members to fight for such concerns in all upcoming contracts. Over 35 union members turned out for the event and actively participated in the discussions.

Local 196 member Mike Todorow spoke about the dangers of polyvinylchloride and the hot wire used to wrap meat and produce in most area supermarkets. This wrapping method has been proven to cause liver cancer and a disease commonly referred to as "meat wrappers' asthma".

Todorow reviewed the steps the Rank and File Committee had taken to get rid of the hot wire. A resolution was submitted and unanimously passed at the January union meeting. The resolution would ban both polyvinylchloride and the hot wire in all future Local 196 contracts. In the meantime, it called on the union officials to try to convince the employers to voluntarily get rid of it and also to conduct an educational campaign among the membership concerning its dangers.

LOCAL 196 MEMBERS SPEAK OUT ON HEALTH AND SAFETY

Todorow stated that the union officials, after four months, had done nothing to implement the resolution. For this reason the Rank and File Committee initiated a petition campaign in the shops concerning the hot wire. Todorow said the effort had begun to pay off as Great Scot Markets switched from the hot wire a few weeks ago. He urged everyone to continue circulating and signing the petitions until the hot wire is removed from all the supermarkets in Local 196.

Ron Ardron, shop steward from Blue Bird Food Products, spoke about the serious health and welfare abuses that led himself and seven other workers to sue the officers of Local 196. The Blue Bird members charged failure to pay benefits rightfully due them, giving out false and misleading information, racial discrimination, and gross negligence in the administration of the fund.

Ardron went through case after case of the union's failure to pay hospital bills for up to two years. He explained how members were hounded by credit agencies and their credit ruined. He told of one case where a man was out for six months and received only \$200.00 in sick benefits.

RACISM CHARGED

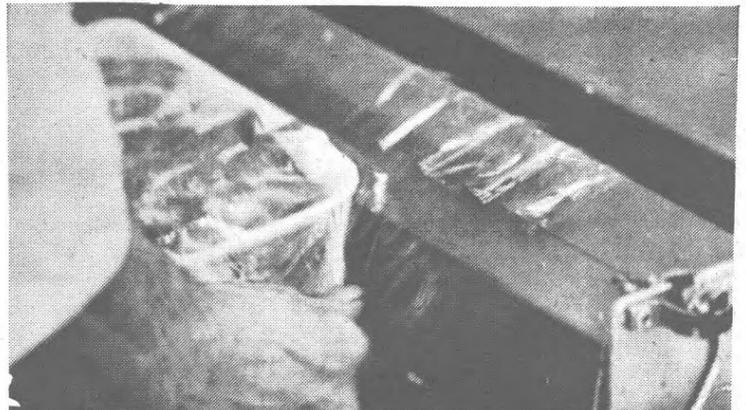
Ardron said that they were charging the union with racial discrimination because the plant is 90% Black and Puerto Rican and to their knowledge, no other workplace within the union has had such serious problems. Ardron ended by saying "We can't do things one finger at a time. We have to make a fist."

A film called "I Never Had An Accident in My . . ." made by a Meat Cutters' local in New York, was also shown. The film focused on the five major causes of accidents in the meat cutting industry: lifting, band saws, hand tools, meat wrapping, and falls. The audience felt that the film had serious

weaknesses. The narrator, a union official, kept blaming the meat cutters and the meat wrappers for the accidents.

He said that the workers took short cuts, didn't clean up their work areas, worked too fast even when tired, etc. He never mentioned the real cause of such behavior—company forced speed-up, not enough workers on the job, too much overtime, often mandatory, threats of dismissal for working too slow, etc. The narrator was very, very care-

Another area of discrimination touched on concerned women workers. It was pointed out that women on maternity leave receive no benefits. The speaker called for maternity to be treated as any other disability, which would mean disability pay for 26 weeks. She also called for maternity leaves for up to one year with full seniority rights. Also, two weeks paid paternity leave should be granted to men so that they could spend time at home to share both the joy and the work the new baby brings with it.



Meat wrapper using dangerous polyvinylchloride wrap and hot wire machine

ful never to step on the company's toes for having anything to do with the very high accident rate in the industry. The message was: "If you weren't so careless, you wouldn't get hurt."

The final Rank and File speaker spoke about the kind of changes needed in the areas of both health and safety within Local 196. She emphasized equalizing benefits between the plants and the supermarkets, between men and women, between full-timers and part-timers. She spoke out strongly against the discrimination of part-time supermarket workers who are predominantly women. She said that the employer is the only one who benefits from this as it is cheaper to hire two part-timers than one full-timer. It was pointed out that this kind of discrimination hurts all workers, not just part-timers.

The speaker said that safety committees should be set up in all the work places and given the power to shut down unsafe jobs. She also said that workers must have a contractual right to walk off a job that is dangerous.

At the end of the evening, members were urged to fill out the health and safety questionnaires that were available. These would then be used to pinpoint the most serious problems within the union. It was pointed out that safe and good working conditions, along with quality health programs, cost money. No companies are going to correct abuses because they are concerned for the welfare of their employees. To get such improvements, the rank and file is going to have to agitate, educate, organize, work and fight for them.

ACWA & TWU Merge

Rank and File Calls for Fighting Union



Faced with declining memberships and the export of jobs to unorganized areas, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America and the Textile Workers' Union held a joint convention in Washington, D.C. to put the finishing touches on merging the two unions.

The union leaderships hope that by combining the resources of two unions in related industries they will be able to stem the decline of both unions and launch a successful organizing drive in the south. J.P. Stevens, the third largest textile manufacturer in the U.S., is going to be the first test of the new union's resolve to break open the southern open shop stronghold.

RANK AND FILE DEMANDS

Organized rank and file forces in the ACWA responded with some skepticism that the merger would be the answer to the problems of either clothing or textile workers. In a statement handed out at the merger convention the ACWA Rank and File Committee, representing rank and filers in Philadelphia, Baltimore, Allentown and the Lehigh Valley, called on delegates and the union membership to work for democratization of the union, an end to the policy of labor-management collaboration and an aggressive attempt to organize the unorganized.

The rank and filers hit the ACWA's anti-imports campaign as a measure that would help the companies and only serve to further divide workers of different nationalities. Instead of opposing imports, they called for the union to fight for measures that would curtail the runaway shop by making it more difficult for multi-national corporations to exploit workers abroad, including an end to U.S. aid to anti-labor dictatorships in Taiwan, South Korea and elsewhere.

CONTRACT STRUGGLE AHEAD

A key to the struggle for a decent contract is winning a democratic ratification by the membership. Currently the ACWA allows local Joint Boards to ratify on behalf of their members. The proposed constitution of the merged union leaves this practice unchanged. The ACWA Rank and File Committee calls for ratification nationwide by the membership according to the principle of one member, one vote.

Clearly if the merger is to realize any of its potential for advancing the interests of textile and clothing workers, the membership is going to have to organize to realize this kind of a program. The coming together of rank and file organizations in several cities and their call for unity with the TWU ranks marks an important step forward in this direction.

The statement called for the national union to commit itself to a fight for a decent contract. (The national contract, covering nearly 100,000 men's clothing workers, expires next June.)

A dollar up front, a one year contract, modification of the piece-rate system to guaran-

tee an average hourly rate, protection against layoffs and automation, an end to discrimination against minorities, immigrants and women, company-funded child care, and the right to strike were some of the demands the Rank and File wants to see on the table next year.

Coalition Demands Justice in Santiago Case

In October of 1975, a clearly racist attack was perpetrated against the Puerto Rican community in Philadelphia. The horrifying result was the loss of five lives: three children, their mother, and a friend who was staying overnight.

Two members of the predominantly white community in which the murders were committed, Ronald Hanley, a Philadelphia committeeman, and Robert Wilkinson admitted to the firebombing of the Radames Santiago family. Yet charges against Mr. Hanley were dropped because of a legal technicality, the delay of the prosecutor's office in formulating charges, and Mr. Wilkinson's confession was suppressed during pre-trial hearings because of his alleged low level of intelligence and inability to understand the Miranda warning before his admission.

COALITION FOR JUSTICE ORGANIZED

The developments in this murder case shocked and outraged the Puerto Rican community. The Puerto Rican Action Committee was organized immediately after the firebombing incident with the assistance of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party in Philadelphia. After the hearings at which the evidence was suppressed, the Puerto Rican Action Committee called regular meetings at a community recreation center.

Spokesperson Juan Ramos chaired the first meeting at which a Coalition for Justice was formed. Sixteen community representatives visited the District Attorney's office April 6, 1976, to express their dissatisfaction with the handling of the case, along with a list of specific contentions against the "criminal justice system" and its apparent deafness to the outcries of the Hispanic community.

A week later, the Coalition held a large news conference and announced the launching of a fund-raising campaign to support an independent investigation of the Santiago murders. The Philadelphia Urban Coalition initiated the fund-raising with a \$1000.00 contribution. When the trial of Robert Wilkinson began, community members regularly attended the sessions.

On April 19 the Coalition held a mass demonstration at JFK Plaza with speakers from the Hispanic community and a mock trial. Undoubtedly in some part because of these actions Wilkinson, unlike Hanley, did not get off scot free. He was convicted.

A letter to the *Daily News* by four Puerto Rican prisoners who were convicted in the much publicized Wolfe murder and rape case in the Art Museum area last year pointed out the contradictions between their case and the handling of the Santiago murders. In the former case, questionable confessions were upheld whereas in the latter case they were disqualified. The Puerto Rican prisoners pointed out this example as typical of a racist double standard in the "justice" system.

The Coalition for Justice plans to continue to fight for justice in the Santiago case. The murderers of the Santiago family must all pay for their crimes. As long as a Ronald Hanley can walk the streets after committing a multiple murder, it is an open invitation to racist vigilantes to carry out terror against minority communities. The Mayor, the D.A. and the rest of the politicians are not going to take action on their own. Only organization and action by groups like the Coalition for Justice can curb racist terror.



Library of Congress

Not much has changed for clothing workers in the past sixty or seventy years. The drawing above is of a sweatshop around the turn of the century. The poem below speaks about the present.

FATIGUE

I'm tired of this machine
Why do I keep having these illusions
that it's mine. . . .
It's this god-damn factory
I've been here too long

It's a game I play with myself
Just to make it through the day
Sitting on my behind
Ten years seem like
a life time

I'm tired of this machine
It ain't mine
My sewing machine
ain't advertised
in the Daily News
and You can't order
it from Klein's

It doesn't feature
twin needles -
or a two speed motor
with pushbutton reverse
With gadgets like that
I wouldn't have these varicose veins
And those horrible pains
in my neck

This machine has one operation
It does one stitch instead of twelve
I'm tired of this machine
And the foreman on my back
Whispering shit in my ear
that even a young woman
wouldn't want to hear

I'm sick of being called "bitch"
And raped in somebody's mind
a hundred times a day.

I think I'll stop this machine
Take a survey on this floor
Find out how many women
Think like me . . . every day
They walk in and out
that door

I'm tired of this machine
I'm not having illusions
anymore

That woman over there!
I've seen her before
She tried to organize
this floor

The foreman got a whiff
And threatened to
lay her off right quick!

Things might have been different
if we had of listen
to her head

Probably
Bertha
and Maria Ruiz
Wouldn't be dead.

R. Mealy-Whitehorne

The Fight For Desegregation Is A Fight For Better Schools



FUTURE TASKS SET

The six tasks the QED set itself were:

- 1) Work for desegregation of the entire Philadelphia school system and, as soon as possible, the suburban school districts as well.
- 2) Work for improved education in the entire public school system. *Equal and quality* education for all!
- 3) Work for parental and student involvement in both the development *and* the implementation of any desegregation plan.
- 4) Work for better school financing: financing which places the burden of taxation on those who can most afford to pay -- the banks, the corporations and the rich.
- 5) Oppose all racism in the schools, whether it takes the form of open violence or discriminatory administrators.
- 6) Work to preserve and extend bilingual and special education programs.

QED CONFERENCE HELD

As racist anti-busing forces throughout the country celebrated the news from Washington that the Justice Department is going to give them a helping hand in stopping the buses, progressive forces here in Philadelphia took a step forward in the battle for desegregation.

Over 100 people attended a conference called by the Committee for Quality Education and Desegregation held on Saturday, May 8, at the Germantown Community Presbyterian Church.

The QED came together several months ago with the purpose of organizing a conference to build toward a broad coalition that could avert a "Boston" here in Philadelphia by uniting Black and white in the fight for a desegregation plan that would simultaneously improve the quality of education.

The conference brought together both Black and white in a broad spectrum: present were rank and file trade unionists, parents, members of home and school associations, students, teachers, representatives from various community organizations, clergy and other religious bodies.

Clay Newlin, co-chairperson of the QED, who also served as the moderator of the conference, outlined why the Committee was needed. Newlin pointed out that with the quality of education deteriorating under the impact of budget cuts and economic crisis, the politicians are trying to divert the struggle of white working people for improvements into a divisive struggle against busing and Black equality.

POOR SCHOOLS OF PHILADELPHIA EXPOSED

While Black people get the worst, the quality of education for white working people in Philadelphia is only a cut better. Newlin hit on the facts of overcrowded class rooms, that 26 schools in the system are admitted fire hazards, that test results show the bulk of Philadelphia's youth in the public schools are scoring well below the national average in reading and math and that the Board of Education has no commitment to drawing up a desegregation plan that would alter any of these things.

In closing, Newlin stressed that only united action by workers, oppressed nationalities, teachers, parents and students -- by all progressive forces -- could win a decent desegregation plan and avert racist violence here in Philadelphia.

The main speaker was Rudolph Pierce, a Black attorney from Boston who worked as the attorney for a coalition of parents who were plaintiffs in the Boston suit.

Pierce gave a historical description of the events which led to the Boston crisis. He focused on the role of the racist Boston school committee and system which had never done anything to improve the quality of education.



Organizer photo

Clay Newlin, QED co-chairman and Boston Attorney Rudolph Pierce.

Pierce emphasized that the Black parents of Boston wanted a plan which would not just re-distribute bodies; they wanted a plan which would address the educational needs of the children.

NEED TO ORGANIZE

He also emphasized the need for people to organize to win the right kind of desegregation, noting that we couldn't rely on the supposed good will of politicians or the courts. Both Black and white community involvement, Pierce said, was essential to get a good plan and avoid violence later on.

Pierce also cautioned the need to involve the Spanish speaking community. In Boston, the desegregation suit had been filed on behalf of Black students and had not included Spanish-speaking students. This allowed the school system to dismantle special bi-lingual programs in the name of desegregation and divided the Spanish community from the Black community.

The next speaker, Sister Frances Vincente, a bi-lingual consultant who works at Casa del Carmen, further developed this point, calling for extension of bi-lingual and bi-cultural programs.

TASK FORCE BOUND TO FAIL

Gail Viali, a parent of school age children and a member of the Parents Union for Quality Education and the School Board's Task Force on Desegregation, told of her experiences with the Task Force. Viali said that the composition of the task force was designed to produce deadlock and frustrate any serious proposal for desegregation.

Another parent Rosemary Mealy-Whitehorne, co-chair of the QED, put the struggle for desegregation of schools in the context of the long and bitter struggle of Black people in this country for equal rights. The fight for school desegregation is part of the "historic struggle of Black people for full democratic rights."

Mealy-Whitehorne reviewed this struggle since the famous *Brown vs. The Board of Education* Supreme Court case in 1954. She called for all those present to work actively to build a strong coalition for desegregation here.

In the afternoon, the conference turned its energy to this task. Four workshops -- community organizing, parents, teacher/students and labor -- endorsed the Steering Committee proposal for ongoing work and brought back additional suggestions, including the setting up of a labor task force to build support for the QED program in the trade unions. The Conference then approved the reports of the workshops.

The QED will meet within a month to begin to implement these goals.

The Conference closed on a note of enthusiasm and commitment. Most left feeling that an important step had been taken in creating a movement for equal and quality education.

Note: The QED produced an excellent packet of educational materials on the issue of desegregation and on the state of the schools here in Philadelphia. The packet can be obtained by writing: The Committee for QED, 3rd and Dauphin Sts., Phila., Pa. 19133.

SCHOOL BOARD HEARINGS HELD Black Speakers Support Busing

Rosemary Mealy-Whitehorne of the QED. . . "Our organization does not view the current plan as an acceptable plan for the Philadelphia community."



Organizer photo

On June 7th and 8th, the Philadelphia Board of Education conducted public hearings on the desegregation plan they are now considering. Rosemary Mealy-Whitehorne, representing the Committee for Quality Education and Desegregation, spoke about the plan: "Voluntary desegregation has failed miserably wherever it's been tried. This voluntary plan will only serve to perpetuate segregated education. The Philadelphia School Board has chosen to champion the cause of segregation and racism. . . . Desegregation and quality education go hand in hand. This plan obviously fails in the area of desegregation. It says nothing about how the elaborate and innovative programs are going to be funded. With the huge deficit, where is the money going to come from? Poor and working class people, both Black and white, are already overburdened by enormous taxes. Any desegregation plan is worthless unless the School Board commits itself to securing government, business, and corporate funds to finance it." Mealy-Whitehorne is a mother of a child in the public school system and active in the Powel Home and School Association.

Ten out of 14 Black and Spanish speakers criticized the voluntary plan as unworkable. They all expressed support for mandatory busing as the only viable means to desegregate Philadelphia schools. Joseph Anderson from the Black Caucus of the Teamsters Union urged the Board to "Go back and submit a comprehensive plan of forced busing. I beg of you to do this." Similar sentiments were expressed by Urban Cleaves, a 1974 graduate of predominantly Black University City High School. Cleaves stated, "We, the people of Philadelphia, must learn to be educated together as equals or remain ignorant of each other as unequals." No white speakers voiced support for busing but some spoke in favor of desegregation. As of this time, the School Board has requested a one month extension in the Court deadline for submitting the Plan.

SOME FACTS ON PHILLY SCHOOLS...

Segregated schools are unequal schools! Look at the facts:

District 8 is in the far Northeast and its student body is 95.9% white. District 8 has the newest school buildings with the average school being 19 years old. Compare this with District 5 which is Black, Spanish and poor white where the average age of the schools is 52 years.

One indication of the quality of education is the number of students enrolled in special or alternative programs. In Philadelphia's public schools 10,000 students are enrolled in about 120 such programs. This is roughly 4% of the school population. In the white suburbs more than 50% of the school population attend such programs.

George Washington High in the Northeast is over 90% white. Thomas Edison High in North Philadelphia is over 90% Black. The average attendance at Edison is 64% compared to 84% at Washington. 29% of Edison's students dropped out last year compared to 5% at Washington. 79% of the students at Edison scored below the 16th percentile in national reading and math tests. 10% of the students at Washington scored below this level.



"Women of the Paris Commune" engraving of the period.

PWOC RESOLUTION on the FORMATION of a WOMEN'S LIBERATION COMMISSION

Women in our society face a special oppression stemming from the practice and ideology of male supremacy. Furthermore, it is clear that the capitalist class benefits directly from sexism -- and these benefits range all the way from the very tangible low wages for women workers to the harder to measure but even more important division created within the working class.

The oppression of women in our society will be ended only when capitalism is replaced by socialism. However, the ongoing struggle against sexism must necessarily be a major part in our general movement to build a working class conscious of its revolutionary tasks.

Communists must play the leading role in developing the struggle against sexism, and we must deal with both the subjective and the objective factors developing from the fact that women have been systematically excluded from socialized production.

Objectively women are discriminated against on the job, in the broad economic and political life of the nation, and in the home. On the subjective level both men and women have been bound by the restrictive conditioning of male supremacist ideology. Each level must be challenged by the growing workers' movement.

At the PWOC Plenum in 1974 the organization criticized itself for the general inadequacy in our struggle against sexism and for the undeveloped nature of our work among women. Since that time, we have made several positive steps. We are much further on the way to developing a position paper on the Woman Question, we have had an excellent educational on our theoretical approach to the Woman Question, and in general our educational work on the question has progressed.

Our work in CLUW was commendable, our recruitment of women has been at a higher ratio, and the struggle against sexism within the organization has been at a higher level. Heightened consciousness within the cells has led to constructive criticism and self-criticism sessions.

The major weakness of our work is that it has remained haphazard and uneven. The work has lacked centralization. Our progress has not been consolidated organizationally and the severe weaknesses which remain have not been given sufficient attention by the leading bodies of our organization.

In order to help the Executive Committee in its task of centralizing and leading the struggle against sexism it is hereby resolved to form a Women's Liberation Commission, to be chaired by a member of the Executive Committee. The Commission will serve the Executive Committee by developing the concrete application of our line on the Woman Question. The Commission will have the special responsibility of overseeing the organization's work among women and the struggle against sexism in the entire organization, making sure that our line is correctly applied within and outside the organization.

The Commission will also have the responsibility of developing programmatic suggestions and initiating projects which will then be carried on by the various organizational bodies. The Commission is authorized to act only on policy already established by the Executive Committee or the PWOC as a whole, and it is responsible to utilize and respect the existing organizational hierarchy. The Commission will at all times be directly accountable to the Executive Committee and will follow its leadership in the development of its work.

The Commission will be appointed by the Executive Committee. As much as possible, the Commission will be drawn from all different parts of the organization in order to be in close touch with the problems developing from all aspects of our work. The Commission will be composed of cadre who are sufficiently advanced to provide leadership to the entire organization and shall include both men and women.

The Women's Liberation Commission is a distinctly communist form, clearly different from the petty-bourgeois "women's caucus." The structure and role of the commission is determined by our understanding of the nature of the oppression of women and of the approach needed to correct it.

The liberation of women and the development of a class strong because of its conscious unity is a priority for the proletariat as a whole, male and female. The struggle cannot be compartmentalized, but rather must be made an integral part of all the work we do. All leading cadre must insure constant progress in this area of work within their domains. The Commission for the Liberation of Women will be a tremendous aid to our cadre in carrying out their responsibility.

The caucus, on the other hand, is a form which necessarily leads to a fragmented and divisive approach to the struggle against sexism. Because it bypasses duly established organizational authority it creates a separate center no longer responsible or responsive to regular channels.

Furthermore, the caucus form separates the struggle against sexism from the ongoing work of the organization. The struggle ceases to be the responsibility of every cadre and becomes the exclusive concern of the women in the organization. The caucus form cannot help but perpetuate the sexual division within the class. The Women's Liberation Commission is aimed at developing the united struggle against the oppression of women.

The Commission will aid the EC in developing the following areas of our work in the struggle against sexism:

- 1) **Theoretical work.** *Developing our position paper on the Woman Question and our program for the struggle against sexism.*
- 2) **Guidance of our work among women in the trade unions.** *Addressing problems of our concentration and work within the shops.*
- 3) **Guidance of our work within the democratic movement for Women's Liberation.**
- 4) **Special attention to national minority women who face the double burden of racism and sexism.**
- 5) **Recruitment of women.** *Attention to the particular aspects of recruitment: workers, housewives, wives of male recruits, etc.*
- 6) **Special attention to the training of women in order to deal with the handicap of having been isolated and kept in a backward position within the society.** *Special attention must be given to the training of women in order to develop leadership among women cadre.*
- 7) **Educational work.** *Education on the Woman Question must be pursued on all levels within the organization and in our outreach work, workers' forums, etc. Our propaganda must reflect our understanding of the importance of the struggle against sexism.*
- 8) **Campaign against sexism.** *There must be a constant struggle against mistaken ideology, prejudices, and habits which maintain an oppressive hold upon women.*

Open Letter To THE JULY 4th COALITION

The PWOC has from the beginning supported the idea of a mass demonstration on July 4th. Such a demonstration could mobilize the masses around their genuine democratic aspirations and effectively expose the irrelevance and hypocrisy of the official activity.

However, we believe that because of an abdication of political leadership on the part of the convenors of the coalition, this opportunity has been lost. Instead of an action that could have mobilized and educated the masses in struggle against their common enemy, monopoly capitalism, we have an action that because of the incoherence of its program fails to identify the common source of our oppression and fails to provide a basis for drawing the masses of workers and oppressed nationalities into struggle.

NO CLEAR PROGRAM FOR STRUGGLE

The program of the July 4th Coalition mirrors the failures of the program for the abortive Hard Times Conference. The three central slogans—"For Jobs and a Decent Standard of Living," "For Full Democracy and Equality" and "For a Bicentennial Without Colonies—Freedom for All Oppressed Nations"—suffer from the absence of targeting the imperialist system as the source of class exploitation and national oppression.

Furthermore, the specific demands raised under these broad slogans represent an incoherent laundry list of grievances rather than a clear program of struggle. Some demands are extremely narrow, for example, "Improve health and safety regulations," while others are so broad as to be meaningless, such as "End the oppression of women."

CONCEDES TO NARROW NATIONALISM

Clearly the coalition leadership took the approach of attempting to satisfy all comers rather than waging a principled struggle for unity around a working class, anti-imperialist program. This is especially evident in the numerous concessions that were made to narrow nationalist forces within the coalition.

Workers' Voices Cont.

If I do forget, if I do not faithfully remember those bleeding children of sorrow this day, "may my right hand forget her cunning, and may my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth!" To forget them, to pass lightly over their wrongs and to chime in with the popular theme would be treason most scandalous and shocking and would make me a reproach before God and the world.

My subject, then, fellow citizens, is American slavery. I shall see this day and its popular characteristics from the slave's point of view. Standing there identified with the American bondman, making his wrongs mine, I do not hesitate to declare, with all my soul, that the character and conduct of this nation never looked blacker to me than on this Fourth of July.

Whether we turn to the declarations of the past or to the professions of the present, the conduct of the nation seems equally hideous and revolting. America is false to the past, false to the present, and solemnly binds herself to be false to the future.

Standing with God and the crushed and bleeding slave on this occasion, I will, in the name of humanity which is outraged, in the name of liberty which is fettered, in the name of the Constitution and the Bible which are disregarded and trampled upon, dare to call in question and to denounce, with all the emphasis I can command, everything that serves to perpetuate slavery -- the great sin and shame of America!

As in the case of the Hard Times Conference, a concrete program of struggle against racism and a perspective of fighting for class unity is sorely lacking. Instead, vague rhetorical and narrow nationalist slogans—that have little appeal to the broad masses of oppressed nationalities—predominate.

For example, under the "Jobs" slogan, seven additional demands are raised speaking to various grievances that workers face. Nowhere is a demand for an end to discrimination in hiring and upgrading, an urgent need of the working class and national minority workers in particular, even raised! Instead there is a demand calling for support of the right of independent organization of Black workers. While we certainly would support the right of Black workers to form their own organizations, the primary issue and major task is to win the whole working class, especially the white workers, over to active struggle against racism. The July 4th program ignores this and, implicitly at least, projects separatism as the correct path of struggle.

DESEGREGATION OR INDEPENDENCE?

To cite another example, the program does not say a word about the struggle for desegregation and quality of education, a central issue across the country and an urgent need of oppressed people. Instead, the coalition calls grandly for independence of colonized Black people in the United States. This demand represents a small, isolated sec-

tion of the Black Liberation movement—a backward section in our opinion. The masses of Black people are engaged in a struggle, not for independence, but for equality and full democratic rights. The whole tendency of the coalition program isolates itself from these struggles and thus from the masses.

We do not expect a perfect program. Our movement is immature and politically backward in many respects and inevitably this backwardness is going to be reflected in the mass struggle. However, Marxist-Leninists, who seek to represent the future of the movement here in the present, must make every effort to raise the level of consciousness of the mass movement and win it to the most advanced program possible. We do not demand purity, for that inevitably leads to sectarian isolation. We do demand struggle for a working class, anti-imperialist line from Marxist-Leninists. This is why we must criticize the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, which provided the central political leadership in building the coalition.

LOWEST COMMON DENOMINATOR

We recognize the important and progressive role the PSP is playing in the Puerto Rican liberation struggle and in the class struggle here in the U.S. Nevertheless, for whatever the reasons, we believe the PSP in its role in the July 4th coalition abdicated its responsibility to lead. Instead the PSP adapted itself to the "lowest common denominator" of unity among the diverse and largely petty bourgeois forces that made up the coalition.

If the PSP had more confidence in the masses and in the political line of Marxism-Leninism, it would have been able to build a much broader, more effective coalition around a principled anti-imperialist line. It would have been able to draw in more working class forces and broader sections of the democratic movements among oppressed nationalities and women. And if it had waged an aggressive political struggle, it could have undoubtedly won over large sections of the unstable petty bourgeois left.

As it is, the coalition is left with only the latter forces, because of its policy of accommodation, and with a program that offers little basis for broadening the coalition.

We know these criticisms are not ours alone. We know also that the coalition itself has drastically scaled down its expectations for a large mass mobilization in Philadelphia on the 4th. We hope that these criticisms will be given serious consideration when the coalition sums up its experience.

For the reasons outlined above, the PWOC cannot actively sponsor the July 4th event. However, we will participate and are urging all our supporters to join our contingent in the march. While we will support the major slogans of the action, we intend to raise our demands in relation to these slogans (see accompanying box). In spite of the serious political weaknesses of the action, it remains the best vehicle for making the Bicentennial a people's event.



DEMONSTRATE!

For Jobs, Equality, Freedom, Independence, Peace

The following is the call of the July 4th Coalition. The PWOC is in the process of organizing a contingent to participate in the march. We will stress the special stake of the working class in the fight against national oppression, racism and economic exploitation. We urge all our supporters to join us. For further details contact *the Organizer*.

We also urge everyone who comes to the demonstration to maintain the highest discipline. The July 4th Coalition is planning a legal, disciplined march and has secured permits from the city. Nevertheless, we must be vigilant against any provocations.

The Rizzo administration, with its call for troops and its prediction of disruption and violence by demonstrators, is trying to divert the people's attention from the city's crisis caused by Rizzo and the bankers and businessmen he represents. Nothing would aid him more than if his prophecies came true.

We should be on guard against any so-called "revolutionaries" who advocate adventurist actions. These people, no matter what their intentions, will play the role of police agents and provocateurs. Demonstrators should follow the instructions of the official marshals who will be guiding the demonstration.

Assemble at noon at 9th and Diamond Sts. March west on Diamond to 33rd, South to Oxford. Rally 33rd and Oxford.

July 4, 1976 Philadelphia



We are under attack because the government sees us as divided and weak. But tens of thousands of us will march in Philadelphia on July 4th to show that we are outgrowing our divisions; that our many struggles are part of a powerful movement for change in this country and the world; and to show that only a unified response can defeat these attacks.

IN PHILADELPHIA PRESIDENT FORD WILL TRY TO USE THE BICENTENNIAL "CELEBRATION" TO RALLY SUPPORT BEHIND THE DESTRUCTIVE POLICIES OF THIS GOVERNMENT AND THE BANKS AND CORPORATIONS IT SERVES.

WHAT BETTER TIME AND PLACE TO MAKE CLEAR THAT THE PEOPLE OF THIS COUNTRY DO NOT SUPPORT THOSE POLICIES? Join us in a massive rally and Parade of the People—to tell the truth about America, and to take a giant step forward in our common struggle for justice and freedom.

**For a Bicentennial without Colonies—
Freedom for all Oppressed Nations
For full Democracy and Equality
For Jobs and a Decent Standard of Living**

THE WORKING CLASS



Everybody knows this is the year of the Bi-Centennial. We could hardly forget. Every chamber of commerce is pushing a freedom train, or a freedom trail or a freedom ride. Shell Oil tells us how it was 200 years ago. Every politician is quick to remind us of our patriotic heritage and every businessman is quick to cash in on this patriotic sentiment by wrapping their products in the red, white, and blue.

But what gets forgotten in this orgy of phor patriotism and commercialism is what actually occurred 200 years ago. Those who hold power and mold opinion are anxious to slur over the fact that the US was created out of a war for national independence and a revolution. At a time when the US government stands against the tide of revolution and national liberation in the world, it is embarrassing to them, to say the least, to be reminded of the origins of the Republic.

But for the rest of us it is important to get at the real meaning of the American Revolution if the Bicentennial is going to be anything more than an overgrown Fourth of July picnic.

ORIGINS OF THE US REVOLUTION

Prior to 1776 what was to become the US consisted of 13 colonies of Great Britain. Similar to colonies today, the relationship imposed on America by Great Britain was designed to divert the wealth produced in the colonies into the pockets of the British merchants, manufacturers and government agents. Imperial policy called for the strict regulation of trade, credit and manufacturing for the benefit of the "mother" country.

For Britain, America was both a source of raw materials and a market for British finished goods. The colonists were forced to sell their goods to British merchants at prices dictated by the British. The colonists were prohibited from manufacturing for the American market and were forced to buy British goods at high prices set by the British.

Naturally the British monopoly of the American market was unpopular in the colonies, particularly among the merchants, planters, and the small but growing class of manufacturers. These "men of property" wanted the right to trade with other foreign powers in order to secure better prices and profits. They wanted to develop the American market for commodities they themselves produced and sold.

For these reasons smuggling and illegal manufacturing were common occurrences. The British were forced to maintain a large administrative and military apparatus in the colonies to enforce their policies. To pay for this, the Crown instituted taxes on sugar, wine molasses and tea, passed the stamp act and forced the colonists to bear the expense of housing British troops. These measures oppressed the whole population by driving up taxes and prices of British imports.

OPPRESSION WORSENS

British policy became more oppressive with each passing year. When the colonists fought back, they were met with ever greater repression. Traditional rights that colonists, along with other English subjects, had enjoyed were increasingly cast aside by a more dictatorial colonial administration. The prerogatives of colonial legislatures were taken over by the Crown and its agents. The military intervened more and more into civil affairs.

June-July '76, page 12

Trial by jury was supplanted by trial before British Admiralty courts. The British Army had informers everywhere; they arbitrarily invaded homes and arrested suspected violators of colonial policy. The Crown sought to establish the Church of England as a state Church, violating the religious and political sentiments of the large numbers of dissenters, many of whom had migrated to America precisely to escape such tyranny.

Thus British economic policy and the political restrictions that inevitably came with it affected the majority of the colonial population. While it was the propertied merchants and planters who stood to gain the most from severing the ties with England, the mass of small farmers and urban townspeople were also oppressed by colonial policy, and were thus ready to unite in a struggle for independence.

CLASS DIVISIONS IN THE REVOLUTION

But at the same time the popular masses had contradictory interests with the merchants and planters. They not only resented British rule, they resented the rule of wealth and property here at home. Colonial society was anything but democratic. In Philadelphia, for example, nine tenths of the adult, white, male population was unable to vote because of property or religious restrictions on the franchise (right to vote).

Imprisonment for debt was common. Women were the victims of feudal custom and law with arranged marriages, virtually no right to obtain a divorce and restricted rights to own property and leave an inheritance. And most significantly, 20% of the population, 550,000 Black people, were chattel slaves with no legal rights while 50,000 other "freedmen" had only very limited rights.

The struggles of the masses for an end to these feudal strictures on American society and for the extension of democracy gave the war for independence a revolutionary social character.

RULING CLASS FEARS MASSES

The wealthy planters and merchants regarded the masses with contradictory feelings: on the one hand they needed their support if the bond with Britain was to be broken. On the other hand, the propertied naturally feared the propertyless. They sought to hold back the democratic, levelling tendencies of the revolutionary masses at every turn.

Some of the colonial bourgeoisie viewed the participation of "ordinary people" in the revolution as more dangerous than British domination. The following letter from Governor Wright of Georgia to his superiors in London demonstrates the attitudes of these Tories:

"In this province we are more unhappily circumstanced than in any other for there are very few men of real abilities, gentlemen, or Men of Property. . . The Parochial Committee are a parcel of the lowest people, chiefly carpenters, shoemakers, blacksmiths, etc., with a Jew at their head; in the General Committee and Council of Safety, there are some better sort of men and some merchants and planters -- but many of the inferior class, and it is really terrible my Lord, that such people should be suffered to overturn the Civil Government."

Within the revolutionary movement, the most conservative planters and merchants viewed the masses with fear and contempt and while fighting Britain kept a nervous eye over their shoulders at their own "less privileged" countrymen. Governor Mooris, one of their most cynical spokesmen, summed up their task in the following way:

"The sheep, simple as they are, cannot be gulled as heretofore. In Short, there is no ruling them; and now. . . how to keep them down is the question."

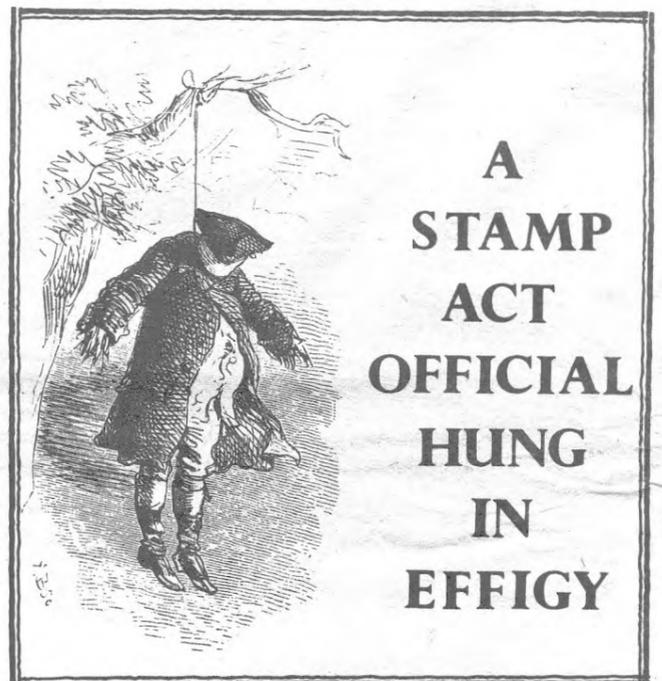
POPULAR CHARACTER

The well-known leaders of the Revolution were for the most part men of property -- Washington the planter, Adams the lawyer, Hancock the merchant. But it was nameless mechanics and farmers who provided the base of the revolution and served as the engine driving it forward.

One of the first revolutionary organizations was the Sons of Neptune, based on the seamen of New York. The better known Sons of Liberty was predominantly made up of urban workers and artisans. The Daughters of Liberty was a militant revolutionary organization of women. These groups, at first secretly and later openly, organized resistance to colonial policy. During the agitation against the Stamp Act they organized militant demonstrations shutting down stamp act offices and driving British agents into hiding.

Workers directly resisted the British with political strikes as in the case of NY maritime workers who refused to unload British ships in 1768 or Boston Building tradesmen who struck against building British fortifications.

Students were active in the revolutionary ferment and took advanced positions on the questions of the day, calling for equality for women and the abolition of slavery. As in the 1960's, college administrators reacted with repression. When President Clap of Yale in 1765 responded to student unrest with fines and expulsions, the students broke the windows in his home and nearly the bones in his body. The following year a student-faculty strike drove him from office.



BLACK PEOPLE AND THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

The main contradiction, the "tragic flaw" of the American Revolution was summed up by Abigail Adams, wife of John Adams and a far more consistent democrat than her husband, after the suppression of a slave plot in Boston:

"It always appeared a most iniquitous scheme to me to fight ourselves for what we are daily robbing and plundering from those who have as good a right to freedom as we have."

Black people during the American Revolution cared first and foremost about whether the Revolution would deliver on its promise of equality as stated in the Declaration of Independence. Over one hundred years of slavery had shaped the mentality of colonial American society along deeply white supremacist lines. The Revolution called into question the system of slavery and the doctrines of racism. A number of left wing spokespeople of the revolution were for abolition.

Tom Paine, in the first pamphlet he wrote for publication, "African Slavery in America," called not only for the end of slavery but for full personal liberty and land for the Black people as well. During the years of the Revolution, anti-slavery sentiment grew among whites and in many northern states slavery was abolished. But in the South slavery remained firmly entrenched and the shackles even tightened in the face of fears of slave rebellion and defection to the British.

The Continental Congress passed a resolution calling for the end to the slave trade, but the alliance with the pro-slavery planters meant the Congress was unwilling to take a position for emancipation. Jefferson's original draft of the Declaration of Independence had an anti-slavery section which was deleted after protests from Southern planters and New England slave traders.

AND THE REVOLUTION



1776



Of course the good Lord's predictions were to be contradicted. Fighting a guerrilla-style campaign, the Americans waged a long, protracted war and defeated the mightiest military force in the world. The British never quite got it through their heads that the Americans might have the ability to defeat them. Lord Germain, like Westmoreland during the Vietnam war, made the following "light at the end of the tunnel" statement right before the final collapse of the British Army with the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown: "So vast is our superiority everywhere, that no resistance on their part is to be apprehended, that can materially obstruct the progress of the King's Army in the speedy suppression of the Rebellion."

Like the Vietnamese and Angolan revolutions, the revolutionary U.S. received important foreign military and diplomatic aid. The British viewed the revolution as the work of a fanatical handful stirred up by foreigners, similar to the view of U.S. authorities toward other revolutions today. The British, like today's talk of "Soviet-backed rebels," grossly exaggerated the importance of French aid to the rebels.

THE ACHIEVEMENT OF THE REVOLUTION

The expulsion of the British and the achievement of independence was to have profound implications. As a sovereign state the U.S. was able to pursue economic policies beneficial to its own national development. The revolution unleashed the forces of capitalist development, although the survival of slavery greatly inhibited this. While today's monopoly capitalism is a bankrupt system whose burial is long overdue, at that time it represented an enormous advance over the stagnant feudal system which preceded it. Capitalism here as in Europe was to expand enormously society's productive forces and wealth.

The Revolution also represented a political advance. It proclaimed the idea of popular sovereignty -- the notion that all power is vested in the people. In spite of the fact that the Republic's practice was never to conform to this idea, the idea itself represented progress from medieval concepts of the divine right of kings and nobles to rule of the masses.

The society that emerged from the revolution was far more democratic than colonial America. The extension of the right to vote, the adoption of the Bill of Rights, the separation of church and state and the realization of any number of anti-feudal democratic reforms (abolition of primogeniture, imprisonment for debt, liberalized divorce laws, etc.) represented gains for democracy.

On the other hand, the democratic thrust of the Revolution was restricted by the planter-merchant alliance. The adoption of the Constitution with its emphasis on the rights of property and its commitment to maintaining slavery was a major defeat for the popular forces and represented a kind of counter-revolution.

THE REVOLUTION TODAY

The democratic agenda of the U.S. Revolution of 1776 remains incomplete: Black people as well as other oppressed nationalities and women some two hundred years later have yet to gain full democratic rights. And today these rights are unobtainable within the framework of bourgeois rule and capitalism. Furthermore, the real democratic gains of '76 have been rendered increasingly meaningless and irrelevant by the development of capitalism and the rule of monopoly. Monopoly capitalism is a block to further social progress. It stands for economic exploitation, instability and war.

Today it is the task of the working class, the oppressed nationalities and all democratic forces to make a new revolution, a socialist revolution. Only a socialist revolution can complete the democratic agenda of '76 and make equality a reality, not just a word. Our revolutionary task today is to sweep aside the now obsolete capitalist system that was the product of the first revolution. This is the true meaning of the Bicentennial.

The Boston Massacre, 1770 - CRISPUS ATTUCKS a Black man, was the first person killed in the struggle.

Given the revolution's failure to commit itself to ending slavery and winning equality, Black people were left between the Devil of the British and the Deep Blue Sea of a "democracy" that refused to recognize their claim to liberty and equality. Many slaves used the opportunities presented by the military situation to strike a blow for their freedom. Some escaped to join maroon colonies in Florida and elsewhere.

Other slaves responded to the British offer of freedom in exchange for rebellion against the planters. These slaves were rewarded more often than not with being killed or sold into slavery in the West Indies by the British.

Still other Black people joined in the revolutionary effort hoping that the revolution would advance the cause of abolition and equality. Over 5,000 Black people served in the Revolutionary army and from all contemporary reports were among the best and bravest soldiers. The portraits of the revolutionary war of course never show Black soldiers starving at Valley Forge or freezing while crossing the Delaware.

The lily-white mentality of our present day super-patriots is demonstrated by their failure to mention the role of Black people in the revolutionary struggle. Even more racist is their failure to see the obvious contradiction and hypocrisy of a revolution that declared that all men were equal while keeping 1 out of 5 of those same men in bondage.

REVOLUTIONARY DEMOCRATIC DICTATORSHIP

Today the U.S. ruling class points to victorious socialist and anti-imperialist revolutions with horror because these communists have jailed or executed traitors and counter-revolutionaries. Yet the U.S. revolution was in no way any different in dealing with its domestic enemies. The Tories, or the pro-British elements in revolutionary America, were a definite minority. They were drawn for the most part from the wealthier sections of colonial society or elements who had been part of the British colonial apparatus.

The Tories' hatred for the patriotic and revolutionary cause knew no bounds. They referred to the patriots as "Beasts of the People, Sons of Darkness, and ungovernable, riotous, high-handed bandits and murderers." Naturally the Tories were eager to collaborate with the British and thus represented a danger to the revolutionary cause.

From the beginning the revolutionary forces dealt ruthlessly and harshly with these enemies. Adams summed up the patriot attitude toward Tories when he described them as "the most despicable animal in the creation; spiders, toads, snakes are their only proper emblem."

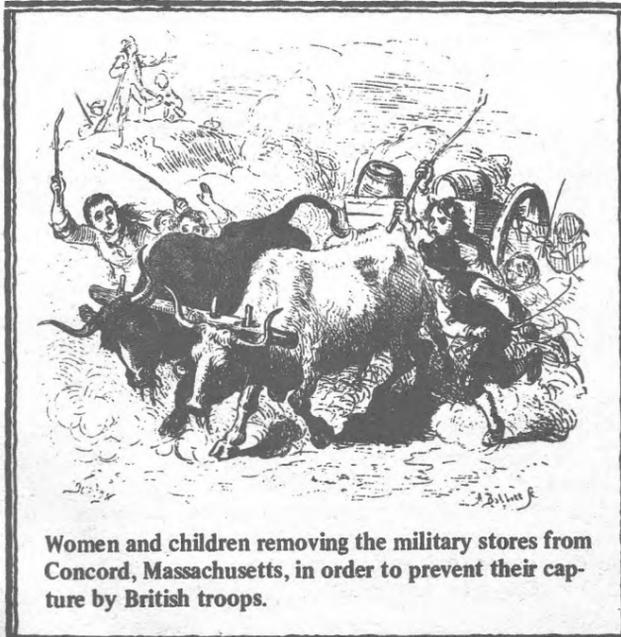
In all states the Tories were expelled from any office they might have held and barred from election. They were forbidden to vote or serve as ministers, teachers, lawyers, and doctors either by law or practice. Prominent Tories were exiled and banished. Tory property was confiscated and sold to raise revenue for the revolutionary cause.

Tories were subject to house arrest, were imprisoned and even sent to forced labor camps as in the Simsbury mines in Connecticut. Tories were denied trial by jury, bail and the right of appeal. Numerous Tories were executed, some legally, many more by state militia and irregular guerilla units. Relatives of Tories were sometimes jailed as hostages to insure neutral behavior.

While excesses were undoubtedly committed (as they undoubtedly were in other more recent revolutions), the basic policy was clearly necessary and successful. That the founding fathers understood this is made clear in a letter from Madison to Jefferson when he noted the extraordinary powers placed in the hands of the Governor of Pennsylvania: "I understand they have invested the Executive with a dictatorial authority from which nothing but the lives of their citizens are exempted. I hope the good resulting from it will be such to compensate for the risk of the precedent." Madison's hopes were borne out; the Tories never succeeded in organizing any significant opposition to the revolutionary effort. Ruthless suppression of counter-revolution is vital to the success of any revolution.

THE MILITARY CONDUCT OF THE REVOLUTION

As the strongest colonial power in the world, Great Britain expected to defeat the rag-tag revolutionary army in a matter of months. Britain had the world's biggest navy -- the revolution had none. The British Army had never been beaten and was considered to have the best trained and equipped troops in the world. Britain had five times the population and many more times the wealth of the colonies. The arrogant sense of superiority of the British was expressed by the First Lord of the British Admiralty right before the war: "These are raw, undisciplined, cowardly men. I wish instead of forty or fifty thousand of these brave fellows, they would produce in the field at least two hundred thousand; the more the better, the easier would be the conquest. Believe me, my Lords, the very sound of cannon would carry them off as fast as their feet would carry them."



Women and children removing the military stores from Concord, Massachusetts, in order to prevent their capture by British troops.

MCHR HOLDS CONVENTION; ULTRA LEFT SET BACK

The 13th National Convention of MCHR, held the first week in May in Cincinnati, Ohio, saw an escalation in the struggle against ultra-leftism in that organization.

After a largely successful struggle against the formerly dominant right forces in MCHR, represented primarily by the CPUSA and elements close to it, the organization in the last year has been threatened by an infantile brand of "leftism," represented by the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP).



A KEY ISSUE: Should MCHR be a narrow organization of health professionals or should it seek to broaden itself by including health workers and consumers?

Ultra-leftism conceals right wing practices by dressing them up in revolutionary sounding clothing. As the case of the RCP illustrates, when we strip away the militant sounding rhetoric and analyse the actual political line, what we have is a policy that at every point weakens the masses in their struggle against monopoly capital.

To use a favorite phrase of the RCP, it is time to "sum up" their work in health.

MCHR CONSTITUENCY

One of the major issues in MCHR historically and at the convention is whom should it attempt to represent and organize.

Under capitalism, almost everyone suffers the effects of a health system based, not on human needs, but on profit. MCHR, if it is to wage successful battles for better health care, must be a broad-based organization that unites health workers, consumers, professionals and students in a common fight.

The RCP, however, believes that MCHR should be an organization of health professionals and students and should emphasize taking up the struggles of these groups. They have opposed MCHR taking up consumer-oriented issues like patients rights, and have opposed reaching out to the broader working class movement around issues of occupational health and safety.

We support joining in the progressive struggles of professionals and students. What we oppose is a narrow perspective that *limits* MCHR to those struggles, and excludes from MCHR health workers and consumers -- groups who have the most to gain from changing the health system, and who have been determined and militant fighters for change in the past.

At the MCHR Convention, increasing numbers of people spoke up against a narrow line on constituency. The issue was put best eloquently by an MCHR consumer activist from Denver who stated that emphasizing MCHR as an organization of professionals only serves to *divide* professionals from consumers when our goal, in every instance, should be to maximize unity. We could not agree more!

REFORMS -- BROADEN THE STRUGGLE

As communists, we understand that capitalism cannot be reformed out of existence; however, as communists we must stand at the head of all the mass struggles of the people. We must simultaneously be exemplary fighters for progressive reforms while we raise the consciousness of the masses as to the limitations of those reforms.

The RCP has put forward the line that MCHR should deal only with local struggles against cutbacks and layoffs and should ignore broader reforms, especially those that might involve legislation. They have thereby driven away from MCHR many honest people who have felt these struggles to be important.

We know that reforms like the right to organize and strike, the 8-hour workday, and laws against racial and sex discrimination have been won, *not* through the benevolence of the ruling class, but through the determined mass action of the people. We know that the ruling class fights for the defeat of all progressive reforms (including legislative ones) and if passed fights to minimize their import.

Yes -- the reform struggle presents us with difficult tasks, but so does making a revolution. Unlike the RCP, however, we do not fear the masses or any of their just struggles.

The line of the RCP serves only to narrow

two AFSCME locals at PGH, a few leftists, and some community people representing neighborhood groups as well as organizations like SCLC, PUSH, and the NAACP.

The reason for remaining aloof from these groups, according to the RCP, is that it is dangerous to enter into coalitions contaminated by trade union bureaucrats and opportunist community leaders.

This stand exposes the essence of ultra-leftism: Save yourself from possible right errors by isolating yourself from the struggles of the people. It also exposes the RCP's white chauvinism in steering clear of mass organizations of Black people, allegedly because their leadership is not communist.

But the RCP has been defeated in the case of PGH. PWOC cadre, the majority of the local Philadelphia MCHR chapter, and the majority at the convention, have enthusiastically supported MCHR's participation in this coalition. Our strategy is to urge a broad coalition to unite behind a progressive pro-

camp as the John Birch Society.

Within MCHR, the result has been that they ignore the struggle against racism and sexism and they take a contemptuous attitude towards those who have pushed MCHR to address these issues.

As communists we obviously agree that the class contradiction is primary; however, we also understand that the struggles for democratic rights are crucial -- not only for minorities and women, but for *all* of us, in order to defeat the racism and sexism which keeps us divided. These struggles are part and parcel of the class struggle, not something alien to it.

While the Convention did not spell out in detail a new strategy in this area, there was the beginnings of self-criticism around the organization's failures. Several people pointed out at least one obvious result of this failure -- that nationally oppressed health workers have for the most part steered clear of MCHR.

PROGRAM

MCHR needs a program -- a clear, comprehensive, written statement covering all major aspects of health care. This was a major demand at the convention. Over and over people spoke about how the lack of a program was hurting their work.

Without a program, it has been difficult to explain what MCHR stands for nationally, and has retarded the ability to educate both ourselves and others about health issues of concern and importance to the broad masses of US people.

A broad program would help to reverse MCHR's drift into narrowness. It would help to attract new members who presently assume that MCHR, as an organization, considers many broader issues unimportant.

Given their dogmatic position on constituency, on reforms, on work in trade unions and coalitions, and on racism and sexism, it is no wonder that the RCP has in the past, consistently opposed the development of a broad program.

In response to the overwhelming sentiment of the convention, however, they did a total flip-flop and joined in the cry for a program. Even with this apparent change of heart, however, it seems clear that their ultra-left positions on the issues will lead them to push for a program that is equally narrow.

THE CONVENTION -- A SUM-UP

While not detracting from the dedication and determination of those present, the declining attendance at MCHR conventions is distressing: attendance at the 1974 convention was 300; in 1975 -- 150; and this year -- only 90. This is a reflection of the problems noted here and at the convention itself -- namely the tendency to narrowness at all levels.

While the convention was generally self-critical around these errors, the special role of the RCP in formulating and perpetuating these errors was definitely recognized. They came under sharp criticism, both for their incorrect line and for their sectarian and divisive methods of work.

While the RCP, understandably, did not criticize themselves for their basic political approach, they were forced, under intense pressure, to finally admit to narrowing MCHR's program, and to a "style" of struggle that was "sometimes unprincipled and subjective." Although these were superficial criticisms at best, it was a significant victory considering their total resistance to any criticism or self-criticism in the past.

(continued on page 17)



THE RCP OPPOSED MCHR'S JOINING THE "SAVE PGH COALITION," on the grounds that it was full of trade union bureaucrats and opportunist community leaders.

the legitimate arena of struggle for MCHR. It keeps MCHR small and weak, and ignores the expressed demand of the working class for reforms in the health system like national health insurance (NHI).

The honest majority at the convention engaged in healthy self-criticism about MCHR's narrow perspective on reforms, especially NHI. There was an overwhelming sentiment that MCHR has a responsibility to critically study the issue of NHI and to take a public stand exposing the currently pending plans and raising a progressive alternative.

WORK IN COALITIONS -- CEMENT THE LEFT-CENTER ALLIANCE

As a mass organization fighting for better health care, MCHR must enter into coalitions with other groups and individuals representing diverse strata: trade union, community groups, civil rights groups, even progressive public officials. To advance the mass movement we must, in these situations, attempt to consolidate the left and middle forces around a progressive program, at the same time isolating and exposing the opportunists.

Because of their consistently ultra-left line, however, the RCP has opposed MCHR joining into such coalitions -- the result, as always, being to narrow the movement and fragment the struggle.

In Philadelphia, the RCP has opposed MCHR joining the SAVE PGH COALITION -- a young group which consists primarily of rank and file PGH workers, officials of the

program; to develop an organizational structure that will maximize united action; and to reach out to rank and file PGH workers and the huge number of community people concerned with the threatened loss of our only public hospital; and even to *win* the fight to keep PGH open!

RACISM AND SEXISM -- SUPPORT THE STRUGGLE FOR DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS

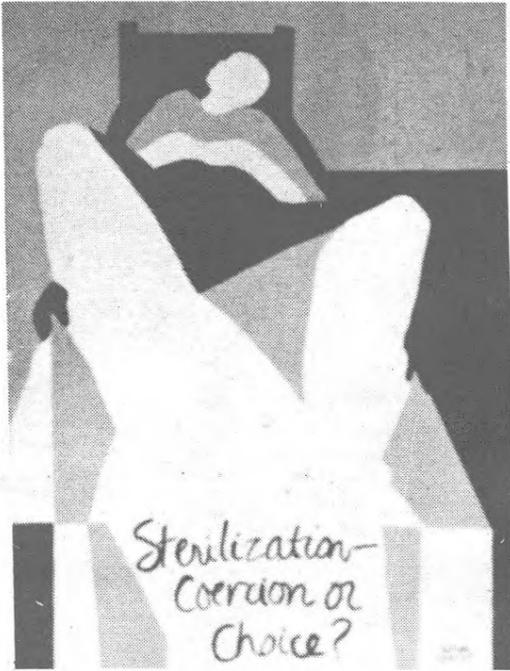
Our health system is thoroughly racist and sexist at every level: the inferior health care delivered in minority communities, the discrimination against women and minorities in health related jobs and schools, and the denial of women's right to control over their bodies around questions like abortion and forced sterilization are only a few examples.

It would seem obvious for MCHR to be in the forefront of the struggles against racism and sexism in the health system, but the RCP denies the validity of taking up these struggles (or for fighting racism and sexism within MCHR) on the grounds that it raises "secondary contradictions" (racism and sexism) to the level of the "primary contradiction" (class).

We have seen, nationally, how this bankrupt and discredited line has led them to liquidate the struggles of women and national minorities for their democratic rights. They have opposed the desegregation of schools through busing, which, in Boston, has put them in the same camp as the Ku Klux Klan and other reactionary, racist elements. Similarly, their opposition to the Equal Rights Amendment has placed them in the same

BENEFIT FOR STERILIZATION VICTIM

Racist Abuse Exposed



Sterilization abuse is on the rise, not just in poor and Third World countries but within the United States itself. This fact was brought home loud and clear at a benefit concert for Norma Jean Serena on May 15th at the 1199 Union Hall.

Norma Jean Serena is a symbol of sterilization abuse. She is a Native American woman from western Pennsylvania who was sterilized without her knowledge and without her consent. This was done by the Pennsylvania Welfare Department for "socio-economic reasons"!

Not only was she sterilized, but her three children were taken away illegally and put up for adoption. It took Norma Jean three years to get them back.

Why was Norma Jean subjected to such abuse? Because she was poor, a Native American, and lived with a Black man. To the welfare department this meant that she was an "unfit mother".

Norma Jean is now suing both the hospital and the welfare department for what was done to her. Her fight is not just for herself but for all poor and minority women who face forced sterilization in the name of "family planning" and loss of children in the name of "child welfare". Speakers at the event pointed out that the overwhelming majority of sterilization victims in the United States are Native American, Black, Mexican-American, and Puerto Rican women.

Putting the peoples' struggles into Song

Women Musicians Perform at Benefit

A May concert benefitting Norma Jean Serena, Native American victim of sterilization abuse, featured two all-women groups, Lucha, and Mary Trevor and Jean Mackey, both from Washington, D.C.

Lucha, which is Spanish for "struggle," is a group of five singer-musicians, playing everything from kazoos and gourds to the electric guitar. All of the women had lived for some time in Latin America and this was reflected in their songs, many of Latin American origin, many sung in Spanish.

True to their name, Lucha's songs were about struggle -- the struggle for people to survive and the struggle for change. What was so striking about their music was the inspiration and spirit that flowed from it. Unlike many political songs, the poetry and quality were not sacrificed for content. And there was no sacrifice of content either!

Lucha sang about Puerto Rican women in prison, a powerful song about grand juries, "I ain't gonna testify, silence is my right," a beautiful and sad song about a Native American woman telling of the genocide of her people, a lively tune recounting the labor organizing of Elizabeth Gurley Flynn and many more.

Jean Mackey and Mary Trevor, both singer-guitarists, also gave an excellent and inspirational performance. Of themselves, they say, "As women who have gained a tremendous amount of support and insight in the women's movement, we want our music to affirm the growth of women, collectively and individually, and to show that

women's struggles cannot succeed unless they are integrally linked with the liberation of all oppressed peoples."

Jean and Mary opened with a rousing and humorous song entitled "Truck Driving Woman" -- a bluegrass number celebrating the fact that women can do jobs that have been traditionally male occupations.

You see me on the highway and you nearly shift your load
You take another look, good buddy,
& you nearly leave the road.
Ain't you never seen a truck drivin' woman
90 pounds of fire in a five foot frame
And you better move on over
Cause I'm right behind you in the left hand lane.

Another song was written specifically about Joanne Little but dedicated to all women in prison. It tells about growing up poor, Black, and female in the south with all the accompanying racist discrimination and abuse. It ends in hope.

I've seen such sorrow, such anger and pain
It's this system that keeps us all in chains
I'm just one woman but I'm not alone
Fighting for my life and freedom
down rainbow road.

One of the most educational songs of the night was "Don't Shoot the Shadow." It was written by a Washington woman, Dorie Ellzey, inspired by a speech of Amilcar Cabral, the slain leader of the liberation struggle of Guinea-Bissau.

This racist form of population control is also widespread in countries where the United States maintains economic and political control. Puerto Rico provides a shocking example. It was stated that over one third of all Puerto Rican women of childbearing age have been sterilized! 80% of the funding for these sterilizations came from the US Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

It should be stressed that most sterilizations have no connection to the health or welfare of women. It is not a problem-free method of birth control, is *not* reversible, and has many serious side effects including bleeding, uterine perforation, abdominal pain and pain during menstruation, etc. There are also serious psychological complications.

STERILIZATION = RACIST POPULATION CONTROL

There is also ample evidence that women are being tricked or forced into sterilizations, are not being told of its irreversibility or side effects, or informed about other methods of birth control. When all the facts are looked at, it becomes clear that sterilization is nothing more than a racist form of population control, the U.S. government's solution for widespread unemployment and political unrest both at home and abroad.

Sterilization abuse must be challenged as Norma Jean Serena is attempting to do. Sterilization, as it is being practiced, is a flagrant violation of women's right to have control over their own bodies and their own lives. To really have freedom of choice con-

cerning child bearing, women must have access to all forms of birth control—including abortion—and access to the basic necessities of life—decent jobs, health care, and day care facilities for their children.

The benefit was very successful—the speakers were informative, the concert was superb, and the bake sale obviously profitable. One very visible weakness was that the audience was overwhelmingly young, white, and female. This should not have been the case, when the issue of sterilization touches on national minority women so heavily, and when the evening's songs were representative of different nationalities and cultures.

The composition of the audience appeared to reflect the composition of the main sponsoring groups, the Women's Health Collective and the Women's Union. The Women's Movement has a reputation for being a white and middle class movement not concerned with the problems of minority and working

class women. Clearly the nature of this event proves that such a reputation is not always justified. However, it is up to the organizers involved to reach out and draw in national minority and working class people. If this has failed, a good hard look should be taken at their organizations, programs and outreach to find out what the problem is.

For more information on sterilization abuse, write to:

CESA
Box 839, Cooper Station
New York, N. Y. 10003



"DON'T SHOOT THE SHADOW"

In the streets of our cities, the people acting like they already lost
They're forced to take from one another, turn against each other,
end up monkeying the crimes of the boss
Wake up, you people in the cities, you know the power is in your hands
You're the ones who keep America's machinery moving, you're the key
to turning over this land. I'm telling you:

Chorus:

Don't shoot the shadow, don't be blinded by the ugly face of a system
that keeps us fighting each other just because of sex or race
Why should we end up competing for survival in this rich and
wealthy land
We do his job by killing off each other instead of together aiming for
the Man.

2. You see the face of oppression and you call it the enemy
But the base of exploitation is the part you fail to see
You see the symptoms of the sickness and you call the demon out by name
But to really root it out and prevent it from coming back,
we've got to be careful where we aim.

(Chorus)

3. And don't forget, we're not alone, now
There's people fighting all over the map
To rid their countries of the arms and the legs of the monster
while we're sitting right here in its lap
You know the third world people are rising, like a rainbow
arching cross the sun
As we link arms in struggle, give the monster double trouble,
we'll know a new world has begun.

(Chorus)

For a tape cassette and booklet of Jean and Mary's songs: Send \$4.25 to:
Jean Mackey and Mary Trevor
1720 Newton St, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20010

REUTHER in the DRIVER'S SEAT



The sad fact is that 30-for-40 was and is winnable by the UAW, if only the leadership were really interested in leading the membership in struggle against the companies.

PLAYING TRICKS ON THE MEMBERS

Another side of the present leadership's view of the auto workers' struggle was revealed by the 1970 GM strike. In September of that year, shortly after the death of Walter Reuther and the succession of Leonard Woodcock to the UAW Presidency, the Union struck the General Motors Corporation for the first time since 1946.

As a result of the compulsory overtime clause in the National contracts with the Big Three, GM had built up an inventory of 600,000 unsold cars by September 15, the strike deadline. This was a two month supply of cars. Woodcock opened the negotiations with militant speeches, mindful of the fact that he was conducting the first negotiation of his term, and that several other officers who wanted his job were watching him closely.

After a strike of 68 days, settlement was reached on terms the union could have gotten without a strike -- partial restoration of the cost-of-living clause which the union had given up in 1967, 50 cents wage increase, and a modified form of 30-and-out.

Emil Mazey, the UAW Secretary-Treasurer, explained the reason behind this seemingly senseless sacrifice: "I think that strikes make ratification easier. Even though the worker may not think so, when he votes on a contract he is reacting to economic pressures. I really believe that if the wife is raising hell and the bills are piling up, he may be more apt to settle than otherwise."

In other words, calling a long strike is a good way to get the membership to vote "yes" on a bad contract! This attitude is miles apart from the outlook that guided the UAW to victory over the open shop in the early days. A member of *top management* in one of the Big Three summed up the Company attitude towards this Reuther/Woodcock philosophy in one short sentence. "Thank God for Walter Reuther!"

UAW: FIGHTING RACISM... EQUALITY OR TOKENISM?

Both Walter Reuther and Leonard Woodcock have a reputation as active fighters for civil rights and equality for Black people. Reuther initiated the "National Coalition of Conscience" at the 1964 convention, with the avowed purpose of fighting for full equality for Black people.

Both Reuther and Woodcock have participated in many civil rights conferences and demonstrations, often bringing delegations of UAW members and staff as they did in Selma, Alabama in 1965. The UAW has endorsed most of the major civil rights bills introduced in Congress, including the Civil Rights Acts of 1957 and 1964.

The International has also acted against the up-front racism of some of its own Locals; in 1960 the Memphis, Tennessee, International Harvester Local was put into receivership for refusing to take down "white" and "colored" signs over drinking fountains in the plant. All of these things were well and good as far as they went.

UAW'S OWN BACK YARD

But when we look beyond resolutions and speeches and examine the last 25 years in the auto industry and the UAW itself, the record isn't quite so bright. Ever since 1943, Black members of the UAW have argued for a

(continued on next page)

UAW CONTRACTS -- SUGAR COATED SELLOUTS

But Reuther supporters are quick to point out the gains made by UAW members under Reuther's and Woodcock's leadership: pensions, Supplementary Unemployment Benefits, Cost-Of-Living wage increases, 30-and-out (retirement at full pension after 30 years service), and wages as high or higher than those in most other industries.

But these gains, while important for auto workers, are really pretty spare, considering the tremendous power of the million-strong UAW and the astronomical profits of the Auto companies.

Automotive Corporations are the most profitable in the US. General Motors, the worlds largest manufacturing corporation, regularly returns a profit of 20% to its stockholders, nearly *double* the average.

Its profits in 1969 alone were 25 billion dollars. GM can well afford to pay for *any* demand the UAW might make. And the tremendous strength of the UAW rank and file can be seen by looking at the GM sitdown strikes of 1936-37. This strike, begun only a year after the founding of the union, broke the back of the open shop in US industry, fighting both the General Motors Corporation and the US Government, and winning!

But under the leadership of Reuther and Woodcock, the UAW has come to rely less and less on the strength, unity, and will to fight of the rank and file, and more and more on "collective bargaining" between the Corporations and the top officers of the union. The 1958 negotiations provide a good example.

REUTHER BLOCKS THE SHORT WORK WEEK

The 1957 convention had established the short work week (30 hours work for 40 hours pay) as the key demand to be fought for in the 1958 negotiations. This demand, a response to unemployment produced by automation and plant closings, was first won by the International Fur Workers Union during the depths of depression unemployment in 1933.

Walter Reuther had endorsed this demand himself in 1947 as the answer to post-war unemployment. Then in 1953, Reuther changed his mind, favoring Supplementary Unemployment Benefits (S.U.B.) instead of the short work week. When rank and file leaders continued to advocate 30-for-40, Reuther sponsored a Convention resolution that called the 30-for-40 demand (that he had once endorsed), "a politically inspired maneuver and a service to the totalitarian aggressors in the Kremlin." Supporters of the short work week were called "demagogues, opportunists, and Communists."

But by the 1957 convention, realizing the widespread support for the 30-for-40 demand among the rank and file auto workers, Reuther switched sides again. The short work week was endorsed overwhelmingly by the convention as the key demand in the 1958 negotiations.

But as the 1958 recession deepened and the contract expiration date drew close, Reuther again began to back-pedal. Instead of fighting for this important demand, Reuther switched his bargaining goals to a profit-sharing plan and some improvements in fringe benefits, claiming that the recession made the short work week "temporarily" unwinnable.

If this demand was really "unwinnable" and "Pie-in-the-sky" as Reuther claimed, how did the Fur Workers Union manage to win it in the middle of the worst depression in American history?

Meanwhile, the Auto companies were busy combining jobs, speeding up the lines, and laying off thousands of workers, many of whom *never* got their jobs back. In 1961, the short work week got a paper endorsement at the Convention, but since then it has basically been dropped by the International.

To hear the bigwigs of the UAW talk today you would think that the union descended from the skies, a gift bestowed upon we chosen workers. You would think that the union is the property of Leonard Woodcock and friends, existing apart from the dues paying membership. "We gave you this and we gave you that and you ought to be grateful for it" -- this is the message we get from the international down to its local lieutenants.

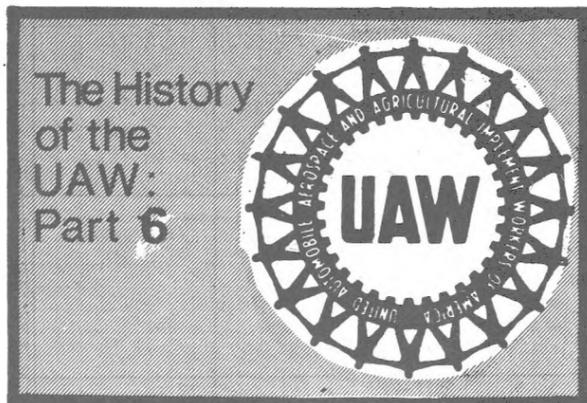
The real history of the UAW teaches us otherwise. The UAW was born out of the struggles of the auto workers themselves and the gains it has brought them have been paid in full with the sacrifices made by thousands of rank and file workers.

Beginning with this article, the ORGANIZER is going to retell that story. It is an important story not only to auto workers but to all workers. The history of the UAW has been the history of two different philosophies of unionism that have contended for control of our unions throughout the history of the labor movement.

One outlook, class struggle unionism, bases itself on the idea that "the working class and the owning class have nothing in common," that the workers can only gain at the expense of the employers and vice-versa.

The other school of thought, which is the dominant one today and in most periods in the past, contends that the workers and the bosses must cooperate to advance their "mutual interests."

The UAW, perhaps better than any other union, illustrates in its history what both these philosophies mean in practice. It is our hope that this look at the past will help the rank and file movement to understand where and how our unions have gone wrong and point towards what kind of measures are necessary to transform them into genuine fighting organizations for the whole working class.



At the 1947 Convention, Walter Reuther won an easy victory over two local union presidents for the UAW presidency, and members of his caucus swept the other offices and 18 out of 22 seats on the International Executive Board. This was the first time in the 12-year history of the UAW that a single faction had gained complete control of the International Union, and for that reason the 1947 Convention was to be a turning point in the history of the UAW.

From that time down to today, the Reuther caucus was to dominate the entire union from top to bottom. Leonard Woodcock, who became the current UAW International President after Reuther's death in 1970, has been a member of the Reuther caucus since WWII. The union's Secretary-Treasurer Emil Mazey, and vice-presidents Doug Fraseer, Ken Bannon (also Ford Dept. head) and Pat Greathouse (head of the Agricultural Implements Dept.) are also long-time Reuther caucus members.

Both Reuther and his Secretary-Treasurer Emil Mazey ran at every convention from 1950 until 1970, when a rank and file group called the United National Caucus ran an opposition slate for the first time in 20 years. Not that the rank and file was silent all these years -- far from it -- but there was no doubt that the UAW ranks were gradually losing control over their union as the Reuther caucus tightened its grip.

Black member on the International Executive Board, the 22-person governing body of the UAW between conventions. Even though Black workers made up a large portion of the UAW membership and were subject to vicious discrimination in hiring and upgrading by the auto and aircraft companies, Reuther called the demand for Black representation on the IEB "racism in reverse" and a demand for "special privileges."

He led the opposition to this proposal at the 1943 convention, and the motion was defeated. The same debate with the same results was repeated at convention after convention. Not until after the organization of several caucuses of Black unionists and the Black rebellions of the 1960's did the Reuther caucus support a Black candidate for the Executive Board -- Nelson Jack Edwards.

Early in 1951, the Detroit Negro Labor Council, led by William R. Hood of Ford Local 600, launched a petition drive in Detroit for a local Fair Employment Practices Ordinance. Reuther responded by issuing a directive to all locals in the Detroit area, calling on all UAW members who had signed the petitions to withdraw their names.

The directive offered this lame justification: "this irresponsible Communist-inspired approach to secure FEPC by referendum" had been started without the prior OK of the "UAW-CIO. . . or other sincere advocates of FEPC in this community."

REUTHER'S PRACTICE AROUND RACISM

In response to the problems of hiring and upgrading discrimination in the auto and aircraft industries, the UAW had gone on record in its early years in favor of FEPC clauses in all UAW contracts. Reuther had included a demand for such a clause in the 1946 negotiations with GM, but quietly dropped it during the course of that strike.

During Reuther's campaign for UAW president at the subsequent 1946 convention, he spoke to a Black caucus about his stand for equal rights. During Reuther's presentation, the head of the UAW Fair Practices Office, George Crockett, Jr., rose and criticized Reuther for dropping the demand for a FEPC clause in the GM contract. After his victory in the presidential race, Reuther sent Crockett a letter suggesting that he quit the UAW staff.

In short, it's one thing to make a speech about segregation in Alabama, and quite another thing to fight racism in your own back yard. Unfortunately for the union, neither Reuther nor Woodcock measured up when it came to that.

Racism and discrimination remain rampant in the industry and the union, especially in the area of upgrading, and the unity of the UAW has been badly weakened as a result.

THE RANK AND FILE VOICE

But the UAW rank and file hasn't been asleep all these years. Wildcat strikes have increased, as the International signed no-strike clauses tying the union to binding arbitration, and limiting the right of locals to call strikes on their own authority. And every 2 years (now every 3 years since the 1974 convention) when local union officers face election, over 50% of them are voted out by the angry rank and file membership. But most important and effective in achieving real change have been the many organized efforts to reform the union and bring it back under the control of the membership.

Throughout the 50's, 60's, and into the 70's, the rank and file has continued to organize and fight for a democratic militant union. The rank and file forces have fought on many issues -- they fought extension of terms of office from one to two to three years; the 1958 sell-out of the short work week; the 1973 sell-out on voluntary overtime; the elimination of the right to strike. They fought for the demand for referendum vote for UAW International President and officers, and an end to racial discrimination.

Some of these fights, such as the fight against the 3-year term of office, have been partial victories for the rank and file. Opposition at the 1974 Convention forced the International to allow a compromise resolution on the 3-year term, which allowed local unions to retain the 2-year term for stewards and committeemen. Many locals then voted to retain the 2-year term against the wishes of the bureaucrats.

CAUCUSES FIGHT FOR BETTER UAW

There have been several organized, national caucuses in the UAW since 1950, whose main objectives have been to return democracy to the union, fight racism and discrimination and demand a militant fight against the Corporations. The Committee for A Democratic UAW, formed in the early 50's by President Carl Sfellato of

Local 600, and the National Committee for Democratic Action in the UAW, formed at the 1959 Convention in order to fight for referendum election of officers and against a dues increase. Now both defunct, they played an important role in organizing and leading rank and file workers in their fight to strengthen the UAW.

The National Negro Labor Council, the Negro American Labor Council, and the League of Revolutionary Black Workers have all served at one time or another as the focal point and organizing centers in the fight for full equality of Black UAW members. The NNLC and the League were also leaders in the fight for a more democratic and militant union generally, and by playing that role set an example for all auto workers, white as well as Black.

The center of organized opposition in the UAW today is the United National Caucus, formed in 1967 to fight for a \$1/hour wage increase and against the surrender of the Cost-Of-Living clause in the 1967 contracts.

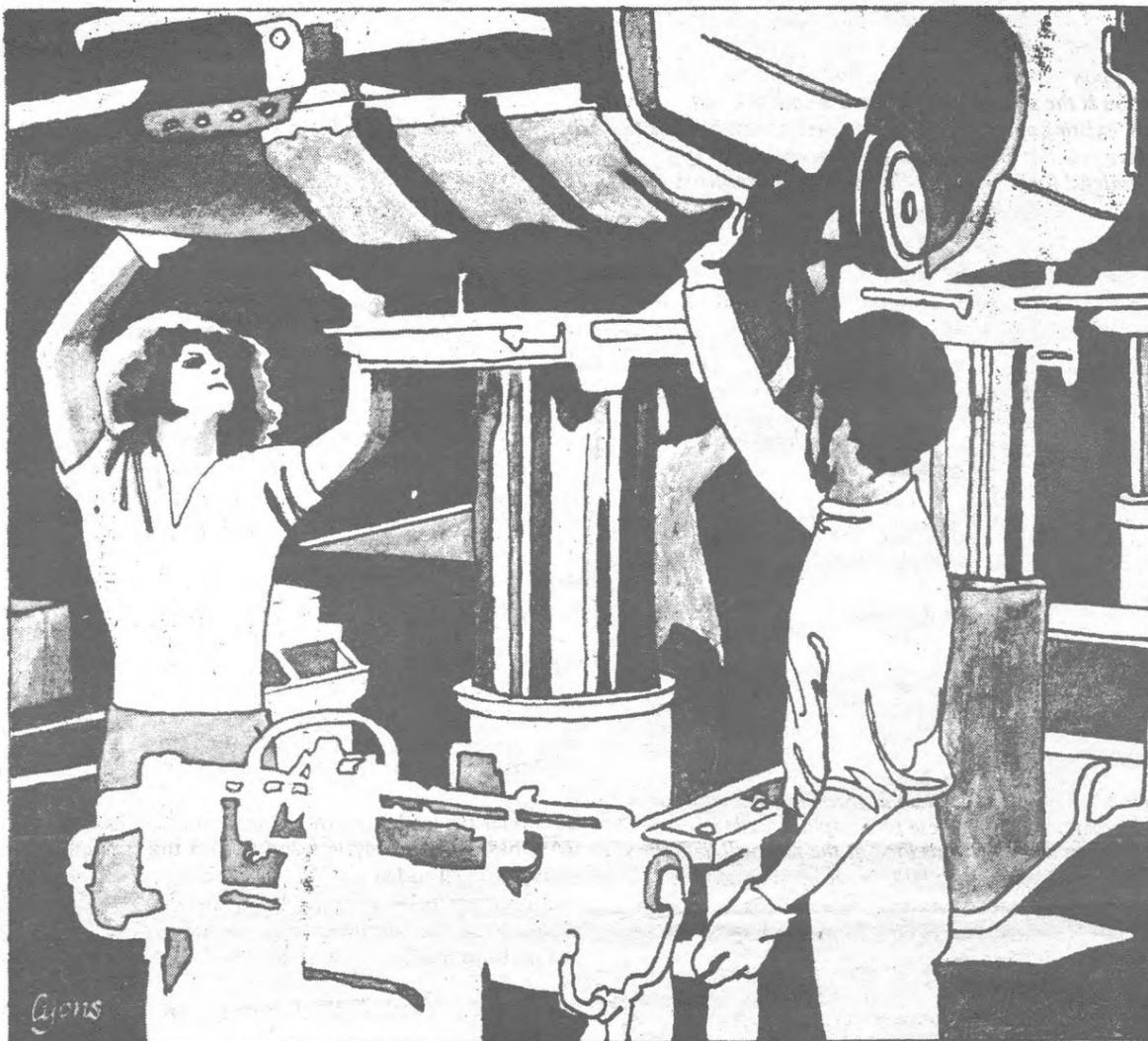
Since that time, the UNC has taken up the fight for

membership referendum election of International Officers, the short work week, the right to strike, and for a decent contract in 1967, 70, 73, and 76.

LOCAL RANK AND FILERS ORGANIZE

In addition to these national movements, there have been hundreds of local rank and file caucuses in the UAW over the past 25 years. These local groups have taken up the struggle for the right to strike, against speed-up, against the retiree vote in local in-plant elections, for real health and safety protection, for equal hiring and upgrading of Black and women workers, and for a better union in every way.

It is to this movement, organized and still unorganized, local and national, that auto workers must look when we search for a better future for the UAW. Our union has a rich history, full of heroism, struggle, and unity as well as betrayal and division -- it's up to us to use the lessons of that history to build the kind of union we need for the battles that lie ahead.



ULTRA LEFT SET BACK IN M.C.H.R.

(continued from page 14)

The isolation of the RCP forces was seen in the election of national officers where their candidates won only the two positions which were uncontested. The other three national officerships were won by independents from Boston, Denver, and Philadelphia.

The general mood of the convention was also reflected in the resolutions passed on the final day. The first resolution directed the national officers and the National Executive Committee (chapter representatives) to

develop an MCHR program that is to be broad in scope and include positions around such issues as racism, sexism and NHI.

Another resolution stated that any state ments at the national level are to define MCHR's constituency as "people who are concerned with fighting for better health care," rather than the RCP's formulation "professionals and students."

Finally, the convention defeated a resolution, proposed by an RCP cadre, that MCHR go on record as supporting the July 4th RCP Rich Off Our Backs demonstration in Philadelphia.

In conclusion, this 13th national convention must overall, be considered a victory for those who want to build MCHR as a broad based mass organization.

However, the narrowness the RCP seeks has to a large degree already been achieved, as indicated by the size and scope of the convention. Holding key offices such as national chairperson and a majority on the NEC, it retains its stranglehold on MCHR.

Unless independent forces are able to rebuild the organization -- vigorously broadening our organizing and struggling sharply against sectarianism -- MCHR, along with the RCP, is doomed to oblivion -- the ultimate fate of all dogmatist and sectarian organizations.

THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE & THE P.L.O.



THE STRUGGLE FOR A LOST HOMELAND

Over the last few months, resistance to Israeli occupation in the West Bank has intensified greatly, with almost daily demonstrations and strikes. Almost a million Arabs live under Israeli military rule in the West Bank. The Israeli forces have imposed the Emergency Defense Laws which deny the Arabs freedom of speech, press, assembly, trial or freedom to form political parties. Peaceful demonstrations, strikes or simply handing out leaflets are crimes punishable by up to five years in prison.

Many Arabs are not even given the luxury of a trial or even being charged with a crime. There are currently 14,000 Palestinian political prisoners being held without charge or trial by the Zionists. The Arabs of the occupied lands are subject to land confiscation, property demolition, collective punishment, and deportation. They suffer high inflation, unemployment, and rising taxes.

The Israeli government has recently given its support to the Gush Emunim, a right-wing fanatical religious Zionist group dedicated to expanding Israel to its ancient "natural" borders, which would include the West Bank. They have been building new settlements on the West Bank and the Israeli Defense Minister, Shimon Peres, has declared these settlements will not be abandoned as part of any peace settlement.

PALESTINIAN GENERAL STRIKE

In response to these new settlements and other Zionist injustices, a general strike was effectively held by the Palestinian Arabs on March 30th of this year. The Zionist forces reacted to the strike and accompanying demonstrations by killing six Palestinians and wounding many others. Two weeks later, elections were held on the West Bank which resulted in overwhelming mass support being given to pro-PLO candidates.

More pro-PLO demonstrations and strikes have taken place since the elections and at this writing, a total of ten Arabs have been killed by Israeli forces including a six-year-old boy. Curfews have been imposed on many West Bank towns and iron gates were installed in the streets of Nablus, the largest West Bank town, to contain demonstrators.

What lies behind these uprisings? Who are the Palestinians and what do they want? Who is the PLO and what are their objectives?

In the previous issue's article, "Zionism and Racism," we showed how the Zionist movement, supported by British, and later, US imperialism, took Palestine and forcefully expelled the majority of Palestinian Arabs whose families had lived there for generations.

The Zionists took their land, homes, shops, crops, animals -- everything. Most Palestinians managed to hold onto only a few personal possessions in their forced flight.

FORCED EVACUATION

Forced? But, weren't the Palestinians *told* to leave by their own Arab leaders? And weren't they forced to leave by the Arab army invasion? These arguments are routinely used by the Zionists here and abroad to rationalize the oppression of the Palestinian people.

The truth is the Zionists planned from the beginning to occupy not part but *all* of Palestine, once the British pulled out. They also decided to make this enlarged Zionist area more Jewish by clearing as many Arabs as possible from the land before it was incorporated into the new Zionist state. This is exactly what they did in late 1947 and early 1948.

Following the 1947 U.N. resolution partitioning Palestine into separate Zionist and Arab states, the British troops began to pull out of the area. Moving immediately into the evacuated regions and seizing the crucial positions were the Haganah, the military arm of the Jewish Agency, and self-appointed militia organizations.

The treatment of the indigenous Arab population by these groups was not exactly gentle. In March, 1948, the Irgun broadcasted over the radio in Arabic that typhus, cholera and similar diseases would soon break out in urban areas unless they left immediately.

DEIR YASSIN MASSACRE

In April, 1948, the Irgun attacked the peaceful village of Deir Yassin killing and mutilating the entire village population -- 250 men, women, and children. After the Deir Yassin massacre, the Haganah travelled through Palestinian villages with loudspeakers telling the Palestinians the same would happen to them if they did not get out at once.

As for possible Arab broadcasts or propaganda urging the Palestinians to leave their land, studies of both BBC and US monitoring unit records show that there were no such broadcasts by any Arab radio stations. On the contrary, the records show a number of broadcasts were made urging the Palestinian people to stay put. Another study of Arab printed materials published during that period also fails to document Israel's claim. In fact, the Israeli government has not been able to provide documented proof of such broadcasts. As can be seen, it was the Zionists, not the Arab leaders who "convinced" many of the Palestinians to leave.

The notion that the "Arab invasion" caused the refugee problem is just as false. Most Palestinian refugees fled *before* the war started on May 15, 1948. In fact, a major reason for the Arab army attack was the forced evacua-

tion of the Palestinians and the entrance of the Haganah into the UN partitioned Arab area.

This forward thrust by the Zionists was a clear attempt to expand the Zionist territory. A quote from the writings of Israeli Foreign Minister Yigal Allon confirms this fact:

This stage of the war, which was made possible by the gradual British evacuation... gave Haganah valuable victories. Thanks to the local offensive war, the continuity of Jewish territories was accomplished and also the penetration of our forces into Arab... If it wasn't for the Arab invasion, there would have been no stop to the expansion of the forces of the Haganah, who could have, with the same drive, reached the natural borders of Western Israel...

THE REFUGEES

All together nearly a million Palestinian Arabs were forced to flee their land and homes. With the end of the war in 1947, some Arabs naively thought they could, simply walk home across the frontier. Despite being unarmed, they were shot dead as "infiltrators" by Israeli military patrols.

The exiled Palestinians lost much as a result of their flight. Approximately 80% of Palestine belonged to Arabs who had been forced to leave. Over half of the citrus fruit holdings and a quarter of all building in Palestine were owned by the now exiled Arabs. More than 10,000 Arab shops, stores, and firms were taken by the Zionists.

Having been driven out of Palestine the Palestinians have been forced into a more or less permanent existence as refugees, living in miserable tent cities like the Gaza strip on an allotment of 7 cents per day. The Palestinians received no compensations for their lost property nor were any allowed to return. Those Palestinians who continued to live in the Zionist state have been subjected to systematic discrimination. (See article in last issue of *Organizer*.)

As if the living conditions for the Palestinians were not bad enough, there developed a pattern following the 1948 War of denying the actual existence of the Palestinian nation and people. The debates over occupation never included the Palestinians. They were neither asked about their feelings nor consulted about their desires concerning their home. It was part of the Zionist strategy to totally ignore the Palestinians, to pretend they were not there. Golda Meir once cried irritably after being asked about the Palestinians: "*The Palestinians? Who are they? They don't exist!*"

THE PALESTINIANS AND THE ARAB STATES

But the Palestinians do exist and during the 1950's and early 60's they rested their hopes of liberation and the return of their land on the combined forces of their Arab neighbors. They believed that Arab national unity would be the force which would defeat and dismantle the Zionist state.

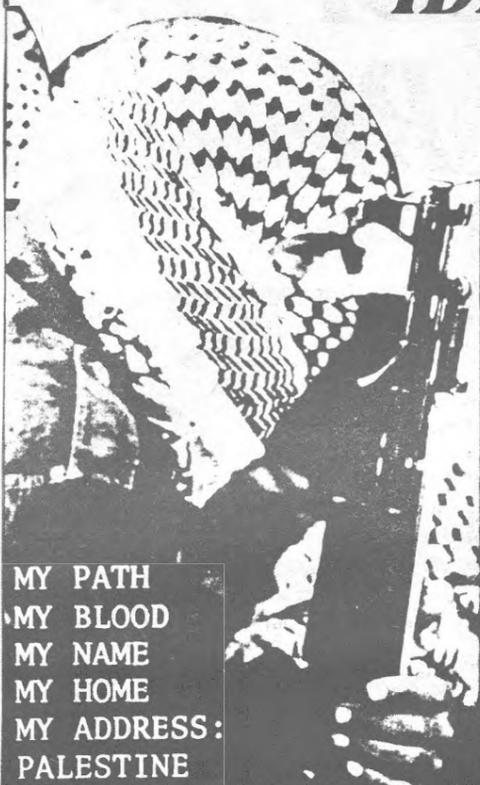
But they were betrayed by the opportunist Arab leaders who used their plight and their legitimate aspirations to cynically further their own personal goals. In the words of the Palestinian author, Fawaz Turki: "*Like puppets on a string, the Palestinians and their cause were con-*



UPI Israeli troops drag away an Arab demonstrator during a general strike March 30.

IDENTITY CARD

-- by Mahmoud Darweesh



MY PATH
MY BLOOD
MY NAME
MY HOME
MY ADDRESS:
PALESTINE

Record!
I am an Arab
and my Identity Card
is number fifty thousand
I have eight children
and the ninth
is coming in midsummer
Will you be angry?

Record!
I am an Arab
employed with fellow workers
at a quarry
I have eight children
to get them bread
garments
and books

from the rocks --
I do not supplicate charity
at your doors
Nor do I belittle myself
at the footsteps of your chamber
So will you be angry?

Record!
I am an Arab
without a name -- without title
patient in a country
with people enraged
My roots --
were entrenched before the birth of time,
and before the opening of the eras
before the olive trees, the pines, and grass

My father --
descends from the family of the plow
not from a privileged class
And my grandfather --
was a farmer
neither well-bred, nor well-born

And my house --
is like a watchman's hut
made of branches and cane

This is my status
Does it satisfy you?
I have a name but no title.

Record!
I am an Arab
The color of hair -- is black
The color of eyes -- is brown
And my distinctive features:
The head-dress is *hatta wi'gal*
And the hand is solid like a rock
My favorite meal
is olive oil and *zatar*
And my address:
A village -- isolated and deserted
where the streets have no names
and the men -- work in the fields and
They like socialism quarries
Will you be angry?

Record!
I am an Arab
You have stolen the orchards
of my ancestors
and the land
which I cultivated
Along with my children
And you left us with those rocks
So will the State take them
as it has been said?

Therefore!
Record on top of the first page:
I do not hate man
Nor do I encroach
But if I become hungry
The usurper's flesh will be my food
Beware -- beware -- of my hunger
and my anger!

stantly used whenever masters of ceremony took to the stage to amuse the masses, to hear themselves speak, to gain prestige."

As part of this dynamic, certain of the more reactionary Arab leaders made anti-Jewish threats about "pushing the Jews into the sea." Such statements gave unwitting aid to Zionist propaganda and diverted attention from the Palestinian cause, which is to return to their homes and enjoy equal rights with Jews in Palestine.

As time passed, the Palestinians began to realize that if they were to have their land and their rights again, they would have to unite themselves to win them back through organized resistance and struggle against Zionism and its supporters. There had been Palestinian resistance in the past but it was led by the Arab traditional and religious leaders. Over the years, their ineffectiveness against the Zionist presence lost them credibility among the masses of Palestinian Arabs and the resistance died down.

AL-FATEH FOUNDED

However, in 1954 a group was formed in Gaza whose goal was the mobilization of the Palestinian masses for a people's struggle to liberate their land. The group became known as the Front for the Liberation of Palestine -- Al-Fateh. The founders of the group realized at an early stage that a mass-based national liberation movement had to be built if the Palestinian people were to realize their aspirations. This struggle was to be both political and military.

Al-Fateh looked with much respect on both the Vietnamese and Algerian liberation struggles and they developed strong ties with the FLN in Algeria. Many of Fateh's recruits were trained in Algeria.

The first operations were carried out by Fateh in 1959. However, Fateh had to remain underground for fear of reprisals from reactionary Arab governments which looked on Fateh as a threat to the Arab leaders' control over the Palestinian masses. In spite of harassment from Arab governments and attacks by Zionist military forces, Fateh continued to strike deep into Israel and to organize the Palestinian masses. These "fedayeen" -- ("those who sacrifice") -- were growing stronger.

Meanwhile the Arab League decided to form an official Palestinian resistance organization. In 1964, the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) was founded with Ahmad Shuqairy elected as its head.

The PLO charter establishes the right of the Palestinian Arabs to their homeland Palestine, and their right to determine their own destiny. It defines Palestinians as all Arabs who normally lived in Palestine regardless of whether they were evicted in 1947 or stayed. Jews who lived in Palestine before the Zionist invasion are also defined as Palestinian. The PLO declares its unalterable opposition to Zionism, *not* to Jews.

It rejects all solutions which are substitutes for the total liberation of Palestine. The goals of the PLO are probably best summed up in the statement of Yasser Arafat, current chairman: "Our political vision for a free Palestine is a democratic secular, non-racial state where all Palestinians -- Christians, Jews, and Muslims -- will have equal rights."

From the start, the PLO was criticized and assailed by other Palestinians for not being militant enough and for being too closely linked to the Arab regimes. In the

June, 1967 war, the PLO's army, the PLA, fought under the direction of other Arab armies and suffered the same humiliating defeat as did the Arab armies.

PLO AND AL-FATEH UNITE

Increased pressure forced Shuqairy to resign as head of the PLO in December, 1967. Al-Fateh and several other smaller fedayeen groups (PFLP, PDFLP, and others) had been steadily building their base among the people and they merged with the PLO in March, 1968.

On March 21, 1968, Fateh was attacked in force by the Israeli army at Karameh on the River Jordan. The fedayeen, in a change of tactics, decided to stay put and fight it out. The battle lasted twelve hours at the end of which the Israelis retreated with heavy losses. Respect and support among the Palestinian community rose sharply for the fedayeen and they quickly became the leading force in the PLO. In 1969, Yasser Arafat, head of Al-Fateh, was elected chairman of the National Council of the PLO.

The fortunes, however, of the Palestinian resistance movement changed in September, 1970 when King Hussein of Jordan decided the PLO presented too great a threat to his power in Jordan and he sent his army to annihilate the PLO in Jordan. As a result of this and a follow-up operation in the Spring, 1971, the PLO was seriously damaged and forced to move its base area to southern Lebanon.

As a response to the frustrations of almost 30 years of intense suffering in Arab lands and constant persecution and harassment by the Zionists, a small part of the Palestinian movement fell prey to petty-bourgeois influences. Shortly following Hussein's attempted annihilation of the PLO, a secret group of commandos was formed, completely independent of the PLO.

BLACK SEPTEMBER

This new group called itself "Black September" and has been confused in many people's minds with the PLO. This group (or groups) hoped to sidestep the difficult work of the political organization of the masses, and in its place relied on individual acts of terror -- using much the same logic as the Symbionese Liberation Army in the US.

Its leadership is unknown and it strikes at Zionist or pro-Zionist targets anywhere in the world, thereby intending to serve notice to the Zionists and their backers that no peace can be had without settling the Palestinian question. Black September performed various terrorist actions, of which the most famous was the Munich Olympic games operation.

These senseless and individualistic acts were immediately condemned by the PLO and all the true leadership of the Palestinian people. The actions could do nothing but discredit the Palestinian movement, help buttress the scaffold of lies put out by the Israeli government about PLO terrorism, and finally, divert attention from the real and massive terror and persecution inflicted on the Palestinian people by Zionist forces.

Meanwhile, the PLO was gradually rebuilding its ranks and developing greater support among the Palestinian masses. Guerrilla operations into occupied territory increased and the Arab masses in the occupied territories escalated resistance to Zionist rule through more strikes and demonstrations.



PLO ON THE OFFENSIVE AGAIN

When the October, 1973 War broke out, the PLO played a leading role by conducting more than two hundred raids against Israeli targets and behind Israeli army lines. The PLA also played an important part, most notably in the Golan Heights region. The October War succeeded in shattering the myth of Israeli invincibility and once more put the Palestinian question at the core of the Middle East conflict.

Since the October War, developments have occurred rapidly. The PLO was formerly recognized as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, first by the Arab world at the Rabat Conference, and then by most of the world at the U.N. in 1974. The U.N. Resolution recognizing the PLO also supported the right of the Palestinians to self-determination, national independence and the right to return to their homeland.

Even in Israel, itself, resistance to Zionism is growing. In mid-May, several thousand Israelis demonstrated in Tel Aviv against new settlements in the West Bank.

The support for the PLO continues to expand among the Palestinian people. At the same time, the Zionist state of Israel is becoming more and more isolated in the international community.

What does the future hold for the Palestinians? The PLO and the Palestinian people will settle for nothing short of total liberation of their homeland. They may or may not accept a "mini-state" of Palestine on the West Bank and in Gaza, but the struggle will continue until a democratic, non-religious, non-sectarian state encompassing all of Palestine can be set up, where Arabs and Jews can live together with equal rights.

UNITED FRONT TACTICS IN THE TRADE UNIONS

UNITE THE MANY

We in the PWOC have been struggling for several years now for the understanding that communists must show to the masses through their *practice* that the science of Marxism-Leninism can in fact guide the way. The present recession not only intensifies the need for leadership in general, but specifically for a leadership which can forge the broadest possible unity among all honest trade unionists to challenge the deathgrip of class collaborationism. Only such a broad unity, organized around the principles of class struggle trade unionism, can begin to turn the tide of reaction which is strangling the working class. That is why we are focusing on the strategy and tactics of the united front.

The concept of the united front is basically a very simple one. It is the conscious coming together of workers from all political persuasions in order to accomplish specific, well-defined, partial goals.

The united front does not demand unity of political belief, nor does it necessarily demand unity of motives. It is a principled agreement to *act* together to accomplish a specific goal—a goal dictated by the urgent needs of the majority of workers. The emphasis is clearly on action because we recognize that the mass of workers learns the lessons of the class struggle from their own experience.

CONDITIONS FOR UNITY

What kind of conditions should we place on our united front formation? What kind of program best speaks to the needs of this particular period? Our conditions will of course change according to the concrete period in which we work. The only requirement must be that our program must move the struggle forward, must speak to the most pressing needs of the majority of workers.

At present we must attempt to draw the broadest possible forces around a basic program for class struggle unionism, including: 1) the militant defense of our standard of living, the struggle against the employers; 2) the fight for trade union democracy; and 3) an aggressive opposition to all forms of racial, sexual, political and religious discrimination and a conscious approach to working class unity.

Once we have agreed on our immediate goals, how do we know whom to approach, and whom can we expect to join with us? The first distinction we must make is between die-hard bureaucrats and well-meaning but misguided officials. The bureaucrats are those who are cut off completely from the rank and file both by their high salaries and because they are not elected and therefore not directly accountable to the membership. We can't expect these traitors to join with us because if they did they would destroy their own privileged positions.

(continued on next page)

Meanwhile, what has happened to the rank and file movement? Where is the conscious expression of the massive anger and disgust spreading within the working class? Why has rank and file organization remained undeveloped, its expression isolated and often spontaneous and short-lived? What is missing from the rank and file movement, preventing it from developing the force necessary to transform our unions into class struggle organizations?

PWOC SUMS UP TRADE UNION WORK

These are the questions on which the PWOC focused as it prepared for its annual organization-wide trade union review. Our work of the past year was analyzed and criticized and we established new guidelines for ourselves for the coming period. And the more we looked at our own mistakes and at the overall situation in the rank and file movement, the more we realized that the root of our errors and of the errors of the broader communist movement was a weak understanding of the tactics of united front work. The leadership of the rank and file movement has not been able to bring together workers of all different political beliefs into a single movement united in its determination to fight for better conditions.

The crucial element missing from the rank and file movement is class conscious leadership—communist leadership. The influence of the communist movement, of class conscious workers, has not grown to meet the needs of the spontaneous rank and file rebellion. Why? Because the communist trend within the workers' movement has been guilty of one central error—sectarianism. It is the sectarianism of the left which has fed the mistrust and anti-communism of the broad masses of workers, separating them from their true leadership and pushing them into the waiting arms of the labor bureaucracy.

How does this sectarianism manifest itself? One of the most serious mistakes of the dogmatist trend within the movement has been its inability to distinguish between middle and right forces in the working class, and between entrenched bureaucrats and honest but conservative officials. Such an error leads them to label, in fact to attack, all but the most foaming-at-the-mouth "revolutionaries" as sell-outs, thereby seriously offending the bulk of sincere trade unionists who are not only allies but will form the backbone of the new rank and file movement.

Secondly, many self-proclaimed "communist" leaders lack any understanding of the relationship between the reform struggle and the revolutionary movement, and are characteristically attracted to adventurist behavior, their proposals often spelling clear disaster to the masses. Finally, the dogmatists have forgotten the fact that the people learn from their experiences. They have failed to root themselves firmly in the working class movement.



Labor Bureaucrats:
AFL-CIO's Meany, UAW's
Woodcock, USWA's Abel

To Defeat The Few

By the end of this year over 4.5 million workers will have faced new contract negotiations. Real income has dropped an average of 9% since the last wave of contractual agreements, while 13.6% of white workers and 25.5% of Black workers remain unemployed.

The spokesmen for big business speak in glowing terms of an economic recovery while the labor bureaucrats promise "self-discipline" to the bosses and spread depression-time scare stories to the membership. There is no doubt in any worker's mind today that the crisis is far from over. Rather it is intensifying as the monopolists try to save their empire at the expense of the entire working class and particularly through the increased exploitation of minority and women workers.

Unite The Many



On the other hand, many local officials are forced into a much closer cooperation with the membership because they are elected. They depend on the support of the rank and file for their jobs. A rank and file challenge will have a dual effect: either mass pressure will force the officials to join our ranks, or if we have developed the issues clearly his or her refusal to join with us will expose the official to the masses as the collaborationist he or she really is.

Finally, we must learn to analyze the broad rank and file so that we will be clear whom we are addressing ourselves to. What we are trying to do when we build the united front is to unite the left with the center forces in order to develop our greatest strength to fight back against the manufacturers. How do we recognize left and center forces?

LEFT-CENTER ALLIANCE

The left, or progressive workers, are all those who desire to organize their fellow workers because they understand that their strength lies in numbers and unity. They are the self-motivated leadership of the workers' movement, having learned from their experience that we need to develop a systematic approach to our problems. They are enthusiastic about caucus-building and about developing links with workers in other industries, city-wide and nationally. They understand the need to find political solutions to our problems, and though they may not be all that sympathetic to communism, they are open to the development of a class analysis of our situation.

Workers who make up the middle strata, the vast majority, have a much narrower understanding of their own potential or of the tasks ahead. They are issue-oriented and can be drawn into struggle which will benefit their immediate situation. They are not initiators, and have little or no understanding of the class struggle and the need for a consistent, programmatic approach to their situation. Left to themselves without strong left leadership, the center will tend to fall under the influence of the opportunism and defeatism of the most backward forces and of the sell-out leadership.

There is a very strong tendency both among communists and among the most advanced non-communist workers to become impatient with the center forces and to write them off as hopeless—and when they do this they may as well write off the trade union movement as hopeless. This impatience is aggravated by the fact that the majority of advanced workers are from national minorities, while the consciousness of many white workers has been stunted by racism. So quite often the rank and file left feels isolated from the middle because of racial mistrust and discrimination as well as general political differences. This situation often leads the best fighters to give up in disgust.

Communists have the responsibility to provide the glue which will hold the alliance between the left and the center together. This glue comes in the form of a correct program—one that will simultaneously speak to the needs of the broad rank and file while serving to isolate the labor bureaucrats and careerist or opportunist elements within the rank and file movement. This is the essence of the united front in the trade unions.

DANGER OF TAILISM

The greatest single problem confronting communists who seriously attempt to apply united front tactics is the danger of tailism—sacrificing the real long range needs of the working class in the pursuit of a short term and necessarily superficial unity. If communists do not fight for an advanced program, they end up tailing along behind the center and with it the labor bureaucracy that currently holds sway over the mass of workers.

The pressure to accommodate oneself to politically backward trends in the workers' movement in the interests of maintaining unity is very real. Often it is difficult to distinguish between a correct tactical compromise that furthers unity and a right error which will retard the development of the movement. Abstract formulas are of little use here. Only a concrete analysis of the state of the movement can provide the basis for such an evaluation.

For the ultra-leftists there is no such problem. They hardly need to worry about tailing behind anyone, cut off as they are from the rank and file movement. But while they bask in the glory of their sectarian isolation and purity, we should not allow them the illusion that they are "leading" anyone except themselves.

Finally, we must not give up just because we are not immediately successful or because the leadership continues to insist on red-baiting or radical-baiting. If our program really does speak to the needs of the majority of workers and if our tactics and approach are truly geared to include the majority of workers, then time is on our side, and if we continue to work steadily then our ideas will win.

RIZZO RECALL

(continued from page 2)



If the required number of signatures are certified as valid, a "yes-no" vote will be taken in the city as to whether Frank Rizzo should be recalled from office. In a mid-May poll by the *Bulletin*, 57% of Philadelphia voters said they favored the recall, but since the recall procedure is so unusual it is difficult for anyone to predict what will actually happen in a recall vote.

Recall forces will have the advantage of the publicity generated by the campaign, a higher degree of motivation to vote by people who have already signed the petition, and the advantage that a "yes" vote is a vote for recall.

RIZZO CONTROLS PARTY MACHINE

The Rizzo forces, however, have the advantage of a Democratic Party machine which is firmly in Rizzo's grip, and the fear and intimidation that Rizzo has so effectively used in the past. In the end, the success of the recall movement will be a contest of organization—the Democratic Party bosses versus the popular forces which make up the recall campaign.

In the event that the majority of those voting cast their ballots for Rizzo to be recalled, the mayor must leave office and the president of City Council takes over until another general election is held. Rizzo, having been recalled, *cannot run* in that election.

Of the groups active in the recall campaign, the one most likely to reap the benefits of a successful recall petition is the independent Philadelphia Party headed by Charles Bowser. The Philadelphia Party was born in the recent mayoral election and has steadily been growing in influence through the recall campaign.

A split-off of mostly Black and middle class liberal elements from the Democratic Party, the Philadelphia Party is still young and relatively small. It needs to broaden its base to be a real threat to the Rizzo machine. The question is how will it do this?

It could take in the defeated Camiel-allied forces of the Democratic Party and try to rebuild the historically unsuccessful Black community-Center City liberal alliance. This path would be the easiest and most predictable one for the Philadelphia Party, which has yet to demonstrate any real programmatic differences with the liberal wing of the Democratic Party. But it is not the path to victory over Rizzo nor is it a path to a new kind of government for Philadelphia.

PHILADELPHIA NEEDS AN INDEPENDENT PARTY

For the Philadelphia Party to succeed, it must become a truly independent party capable of speaking to, unifying and mobilizing the broad sectors of working class of

Philadelphia. Given the present leadership it is not at all clear that this is the direction the Philadelphia Party will take.

A successful people's political movement cannot rely on anti-Rizzo sentiment alone. It must unify most of the forces involved in the recall petition and organize among groups that have leaned toward Rizzo in the past.

POSITIVE PROGRAM NEEDED

It must develop active support in the rank and file labor movement and from progressive labor leaders. To do this it must develop a concrete program that would address the real problems facing working, unemployed and national minority people—health care, education, housing, unemployment, taxation and crime.

In the past election, Bowser failed to tackle the tough political questions facing Philadelphia. He tried to appeal to white votes by skirting the issue of racism; he failed to give real leadership to the movement for quality education and desegregation. Charles Bowser never offered a program or raised an issue that his friend John Bunting, president of the First Pennsylvania Bank, could disagree with.

What the people of Philadelphia need and want is not what John Bunting or any other banker or corporation executive wants. What we need now is an entirely different kind of political party, an alliance of the most active and progressive community and labor organizations committed to:

- 1) keeping PGH open, expanding and improving public health care;
- 2) creating a uniform standard of high quality education throughout a desegregated school system;
- 3) renovating abandoned housing, building new housing where needed at reasonable cost, effective rent control;
- 4) stopping the flow of jobs out of the city, putting pressure on the federal government to implement a full employment program;
- 5) running organized crime out of the city and ridding our communities of dangerous drugs;
- 6) establishing civilian control of the police department and going after police brutality and corruption; and
- 7) reforming the local tax structure so that the burden is placed on those who can afford it—the corporations and the wealthy.

A successful recall election would be a great victory for the people of Philadelphia, and the time for building a city-wide coalition to support an independent party has never been as ripe as the present.



NUTS & BOLTS

Nuts and Bolts will be a regular feature in the Organizer. Its purpose will be to arm rank and file organizers with information and analysis that can be of practical value in the struggle on the shop floor and in the unions. Basic labor law, parliamentary procedure, and health and safety information are some of the technical areas we will cover

in future columns. Also, we want to deal with problems in building rank and file caucuses, starting an organizing drive and other practical concerns that face workers in their struggles with the employers. If you have a problem or a question that we can help answer, write Nuts and Bolts, c/o The Organizer.

Helpful Hints on Producing a Leaflet

The printed word: it can carry a lot of impact, spread a lot of ideas to a lot of people.

The time will come—if it hasn't already—that the grapevine in your workplace just isn't enough. You have to speak to a lot of people all at the same time, clearly and forthrightly. It's time to put out a leaflet, or a whole series of leaflets.

In this *NUTS & BOLTS* we will explain how to put out a professional-looking, inexpensive leaflet—even if you have no experience doing this kind of thing before. This is the kind of skill that's easy to acquire and use often in your organizing efforts.

WRITING THE LEAFLET

We can't really go into this aspect, as it is a whole subject in itself, but here are a few hints:

1) Make it short. It's the unusual person who will read on and on. 500 words is really enough for a two-sided leaflet (8 1/2 by 11).

2) Don't write long rambling sentences. Make your sentences short and clear. Use plenty of colons, dashes, sentence fragments, lists, rather than go on and on in one sentence.

3) Write how you talk. Because it's being printed is no reason to attempt flowery prose and 500 dollar words. Write it as if you were rapping to a fellow worker. Be natural.

THE HEADLINES

24 pt.
36 pt.
48 PT.

You need one catchy main headline at the top of your leaflet. Pick up on what people are likely to be thinking. If you are leafletting a ratification meeting, you might put "VOTE NO" right up top. If you're announcing a fund-raising event for your caucus, you could put "WHY SUPPORT THE RANK AND FILE ACTION GROUP?" If the grapevine has it that massive layoffs are coming up, it might be "UNITE TO SAVE OUR JOBS: Attend the union meeting Sunday!"

As you continue down the page, you need a few more headlines (or "subheads") to introduce the ideas presented and break up the text. Questions often make good subheads; for example, "What can we do about the layoffs?" So do exclamations or slogans, such as "We've had enough!" or "An injury to one is an injury to all!"

PRODUCING THE LEAFLET

There are basically three methods we're going to cover. The first and most simple, cheapest, and quickest in emergency situa-

A Typical Leaflet Format:



1. Headline
2. Text
3. Graphic
4. Text
5. Subhead
6. Text
7. Signature

Organizer Graphic

tions is typing on a stencil and mimeographing. The more elaborate and by far more attractive (because you can use big headlines and all kinds of graphics and photos) is mimeographing by use of an electrostencil. The third method is offset printing. It is considerably more expensive but very neat and professional-looking. The methods for layout are the same for electrostencil and offset.

THE TYPED STENCIL

Of course, the first problem is to locate a mimeograph machine you can use. Many community organizations and churches have mimeographs and it's a good idea to find one you can make arrangements to use from time to time. If you have an office or are a pretty stable organization, you can buy a second-hand one for a few hundred dollars.

To prepare a typed stencil (stencils cost about 50 cents each), you simply insert it into a typewriter. Electric is best because it distributes pressure evenly, but not essential. Switch the ribbon control onto stencil or clear (halfway between red and black) and type as you would on paper. A clear plastic typing plate between the stencil and backing sheet makes for cleaner copy. Correct errors using blue liquid correction fluid according to instructions.

We've found it very difficult to draw clear-looking headlines onto a stencil. Although smaller, it looks better to type in caps across the top with a space between every letter and underline, such as:

END DISCRIMINATION IN HIRING !!

A stencil can be prepared in a few minutes and 1000 copies run off in another 20 to 30 minutes. White mimeograph paper costs about \$5 per 500, but for a dollar more you can use colors. This brightens up a typed stencil which is void of pictures. Try green, orange, blue or yellow.

LAYING OUT A LEAFLET

An electrostenciled or printed leaflet requires more time, but the end result is worth it. First of all, you have to go to an art supply store and buy a few supplies:

blue-line graph paper pad
a blue pencil or two
a fine felt tip (or ink) black pen
rubber cement
see-through rulers are good
a cutting blade (disposable ones are available from 29 cents on up)

Also you have to buy the print for your headlines. This can be a confusing process, so get a catalog from the store first and pick a few sizes and thicknesses of the same type or a couple of types. For example, bold, medium, light refer to how heavy the lettering is; extended means it's spread out; condensed means squeezed together; italics means slanted; and so on. The sizes come according to "point" and you probably want a sampling of 24, 36, 48 point sizes to start out. This stuff is expensive (2 to 5 dollars a sheet, depending on brand) but it lasts for quite a few headlines!

You can lay out a leaflet on your kitchen table.



Organizer Graphic

Get your supplies spread out on a flat table (your kitchen works just fine), and place the various components of your leaflet—text typed on clean paper in black; headlines pressed onto graph paper; drawings, photos and cartoons—on a piece of graph paper the size of the finished page you will be using. Use a different page for each side. Then apply rubber cement and paste them down. You can rub off excess rubber cement with your (clean) fingers. Blue pencil lines and the blue lines of the graph paper will not be picked up by electrostencil or offset press; so use your pencil as a guide.

Electrostencils can be done commercially (e.g., at Gestetner's, 3333 W. Hunting Park, for \$4 each). Just take in your layout; they make the stencil, then you run it off.

MAKING IT LOOK NICE—A FEW HINTS

Use nice big headlines, leave plenty of wide margins around the edges and between paragraphs, headlines and pictures. Use a picture or graphic on every page. You can "box" things in to set them off using tape (like a roll of thin black masking tape) from your art supply store, then just stick it on your graph paper. Look at magazine ads, newspapers, etc., to get new ideas on how to place things on the page. Most important—just don't clutter. Got three great ideas? Pick the greatest and save the other two. Too much on a page just confuses and looks messy.

A WORD ON GRAPHICS

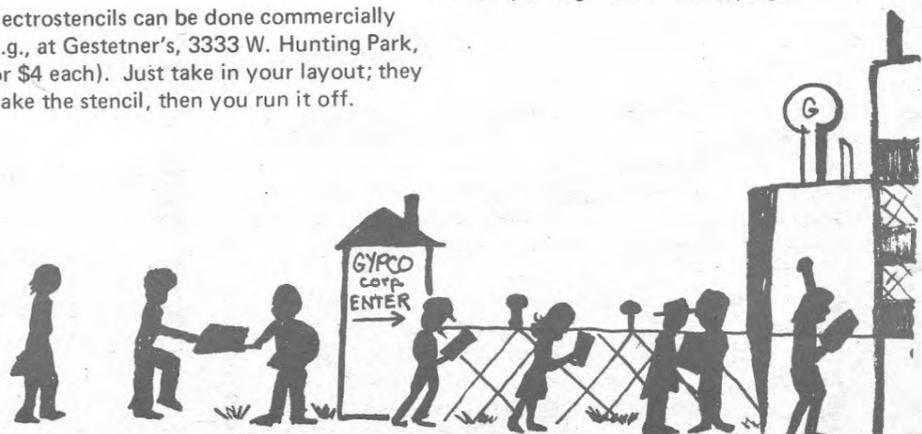
Once you've been doing this for a while, you'll get in the habit of cutting out an appropriate chart or cartoon or photo from the papers you read. A great source of cartoons is Fred Wright's book, available from UE. Original cartoons don't have to be done by dynamite artists—the originality and the familiarity of the subject make up for any lack of professionalism (your personnel manager drawn as a stick-man and labeled can make a real impact). Black and white drawings and newspaper pictures can be picked up by electrostencil. Your offset printer will have to screen glossy prints and blow-up or reduce the size of your graphics.

SIGNING OFF

Be sure to sign who put the leaflet out, even if it's an embryonic caucus called "Some Concerned Members of Local 3." Give an address and if possible a telephone number. You may want a "tear-off" where people can write for more information, subscribe (if it's a newsletter type of thing), send a donation, etc. If your work was done by yourself and other hard-working but unpaid labor, be sure to print "Labor Donated" at the end. This shows you did not use a scab print shop. If you do use a printer, be sure it's union, and have the "bug" put on. In Philadelphia an inexpensive union print shop is Resistance, 1116 Spring Garden Street. This exists as a service to folks like us and is relatively inexpensive because it's a cooperative and nobody makes a profit.

So now you're set to do that mailing, or hand out your leaflet at the plant gate or door of the union meeting along with your fellow workers. Or hand them out in your departments or lunchroom (not on company time—unless you want to risk getting fired).

Spread the word! The more you do it, the better you'll get at leaflet-writing.



Organizer Graphic