

The ORGANIZER

Newspaper of the Philadelphia Workers' Organizing Committee

AUGUST-SEPT. 1976

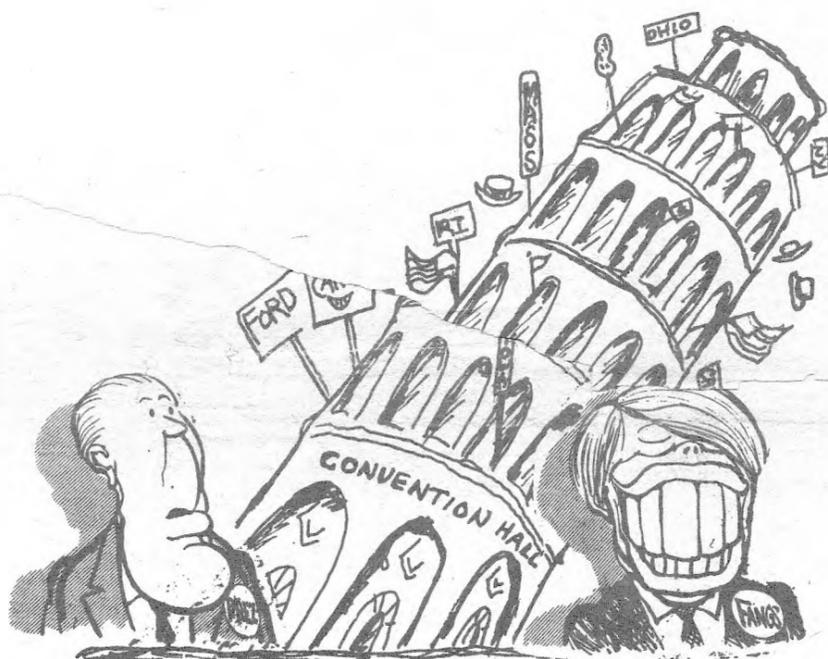
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Volume 2, Number 4

Carter & Ford Nominated:

Two Parties Move to the Right

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sanitation slowdown: CITY WORKERS GET TRASHED

p.7



ALSO:
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for peanuts p.8
dogmatism p.12

Struggle Grows in SOUTH AFRICA

p.4

Support the Vendors!

The Chamber of Commerce, as the spokesmen for the department stores and the big downtown merchants, wants the vendors off the streets. It's "unfair competition" they say. The vendors charge lower prices and that's hurting the merchants.

These hypocritical businessmen, who are always talking about how they don't want the state to interfere in the "free" market, are asking the City Council to help them maintain their high prices by kicking the vendors off the street.

A few years ago, the only vendors you'd see downtown were the newsstand operators and a few pretzel carts. But recently, the vending population has exploded, and the commercial blocks downtown offer jewelry, clothing, and many hand-crafted items as well as eats and produce.

It's not hard to figure out why there are so many vendors. High unemployment is the answer. Unemployment is especially high (around 50%) among Black youth, so it is not surprising that so many of the new vendors are young and Black.

FREE ENTERPRISE?

Supposedly the "Free Enterprise" system thrives on competition and encourages young people to get into business for themselves. The Chamber of Commerce even runs programs helping little kids set up little businesses in order to learn how great capitalism is. But that same Chamber of Commerce changes its tune when it comes to the street vendors.

And the Council, for its part, as a persistent friend of business, has passed a law that, by forcing the vendors to operate so many feet apart, as well as numerous other restrictions, has the effect of reducing the number of vendors who can operate in the prime center city area.

The Vendors have fought back. Led by the Black Vendors Association, they have staged militant protests in the chambers of City Council to prevent passage of the restrictive law. Since its passage, they have challenged its enforcement by refusing to observe it. The Vendors want 11th street turned into a free area for a vending mall.

The *Organizer* fully supports the vendors. At a time of high unemployment when the city should be doing everything it can to provide more jobs, it is criminally racist for the city to suppress the vendors. If the big merchants don't like it, let them lower their prices to compete with the vendors. That's what "free enterprise" is supposedly about, right?

RUBBER WORKERS SETTLE AFTER LONG 110 DAY STRIKE

After more than 110 days on strike, the United Rubber Workers have won a 35% wage increase over the next three years. The Cost-of-Living formula agreed to by the union, however, will only cover two-thirds of the inflation increase in the next three years.

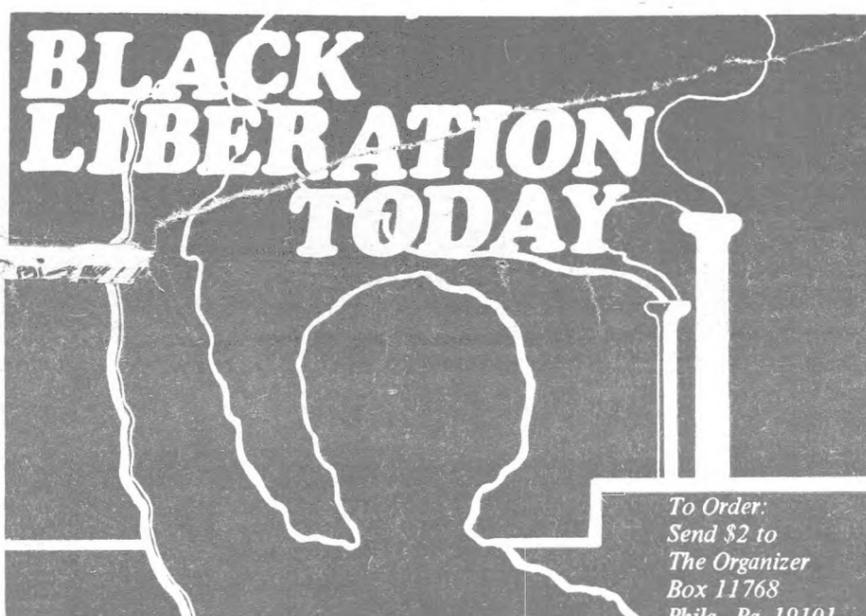
Nevertheless, it is the highest increase in a major contract this year, and the morale of the rubber strikers showed that they were willing to fight, and wouldn't settle for a sell-out like the one they received in 1973. The last contract allowed only a 6% raise in three years.

The strike had to go on as long as it did because the rubber manufacturers and auto manufacturers had stockpiled far more than the union expected. Also, more than one-third of the workers of the Big Four rubber companies, especially in non-rubber subsidiaries, remain unorganized. And thirdly, all of the firms are multi-national, with foreign investments accounting for up to 40% of their total income, in the case of Firestone.

This provided a substantial cushion to the strike at the tire plants, and once again taught us the lesson that organizing the unorganized and international solidarity are key to protecting the gains unions have won.



BLACK LIBERATION TODAY



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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.

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(The *Organizer* regrets that we were unable to publish "Seccion en Espagnol" this issue. "El Organizador" will return next issue, after summer vacation.)

Philadelphia Workers' Organizing Committee

WHO WE ARE



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

We seek to replace the anarchy of capitalist production with a planned economy based on the needs of working people. We want to end the oppression of national minorities and women, and make equality a reality instead of the hypocritical slogan it has become in the mouths of capitalist politicians. We work toward the replacement of the rule of the few -- the handful of monopolists -- by the rule of the many -- the working people.

The masses of people in the US have always fought back against their exploitation and today the movement in opposition to the monopolists are rapidly growing both

in numbers and intensity. What is lacking is the kind of political leadership that can bring these movements together, deepen the consciousness of the masses, and build today's struggles into a decisive and victorious revolutionary assault against Capital.

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

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SAFETY and the RIGHT to STRIKE

COAL MINERS WALK OUT ...

The second major wildcat strike by United Mine Workers coal miners in the past two years saw 10,000 miners shut down hundreds of mines, for four weeks, in July and August.

The strike was a protest against:

- 1) Unsafe conditions in the mines.
- 2) Manipulation of the courts by the coal companies.
- 3) The lack of the right to strike in the UMW contract.

Mining continues to be one of the most dangerous jobs in the country, with over 70 deaths this year in "accidents," most of which could have been avoided by proper safety techniques, which companies refuse to implement.

The incident that sparked this strike is clear evidence that the courts are under control of the coal companies, and that the right to strike is the only way workers have of enforcing their demands. At Cedar Coal Co., near Charleston, W. Va., UMW Local 1759 demanded a full-time attendant at a surface telephone to receive calls from miners re-

questing aid in emergency conditions. The company refused.

After four months in the grievance procedure, an arbitrator ruled in favor of the union. The company refused to implement the decision. The union took the company to court, but the judge wouldn't hear it. When the Local walked out, however, the same judge immediately issued a back-to-work order and imposed a \$25,000 per day fine!

The International leadership of the UMW opposed the strike, and worked hard to get the men back to work, threatening to expel strikers from the union. President Arnold Miller, rather than building on a tremendous demonstration of solidarity to wage a real struggle for improvement of the working conditions of miners, gave in to coal company pressure to act as their policeman.

What Miller doesn't understand, but which many rank and filers clearly do, is that the right to strike is the best weapon the working class has against a system which defines legal as "whatever is in the best interests of big business."



SUN SHIP WORKERS WALK OUT

At Sun Ship Co., Monday, July 27th, a worker was fired for refusing to work an unsafe job. A combination boring mill and lathe had been operated by two men for several years since a worker had been killed working alone. On July 27th, Sun Ship Co. decided that it was time to go back to one man.

The 3000 workers at the company, members of the IBB Local 802, decided it was time to tell Sun Ship that they had had enough, and in solidarity with the fired machinist walked out.

They went back after a five-day strike, under threats of individual fines as well as fines against the union, but they won the demand that sparked the strike. They undoubtedly also caused Sun Ship to think twice about their entire campaign of speed-up, unsafe shortcuts and general harassment, which according to union members has been the rule since the last contract was approved in January. That contract, approved by only 51% of the membership after a two-week

strike, was considered a sell-out by many.

The leadership of Local 802 opposed the strike and seriously weakened it. Concerned with following the contract, even though according to a leaflet by the strikers "For months, the company has blatantly violated the contract and has literally thumbed their noses at us," they urged the men back to work, and said they would pursue the grievance procedure.

The workers rejected this argument with good reason. The last step of the grievance procedure is compulsory arbitration, and there are 80 grievances waiting to be arbitrated, some dating back to January!

If Local 802 had the right to strike over grievances in the contract, the mere threat of a strike would probably have forced the company to restore the second man. And if a walk-out had been called, it would have been legal, and there could not have been fines against the Union and individual members.

JERSEY FARMWORKERS LIVE IN CHICKEN COOPS



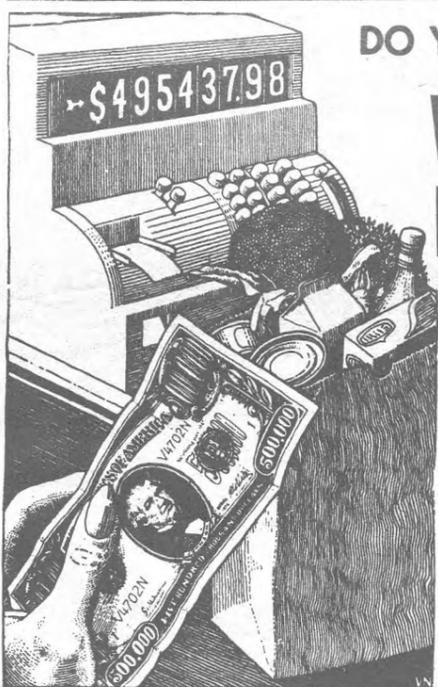
If you thought farmworkers only had problems in California, think again. New Jersey is still an important agricultural state, and thousands of farmworkers there live under conditions most of us would find hard to believe.

Because they are mostly migrants, many on contract from Puerto Rico (even farm labor appears good to many Puerto Ricans seeking to escape the 40% unemployment of their country!) they are denied most civil rights, and social services, are ineligible for welfare or unemployment, and are not covered by the National Labor Relations Act, which guarantees the right of most of us to form unions.

In the latest expose of farm conditions, two chicken farms were accused of a number of

abuses, including housing the workers in chicken coops. Housing without indoor plumbing is the rule for migrants, and many locations are still without electricity. Last year, two New Jersey farmers were charged with slavery, and a New Jersey Congressman was assaulted while trying to visit a farm labor camp on their property.

Recently, the United Farmworkers, which under Cesar Chavez has led many successful organizing drives in California and Florida, as well as the national boycott of non-union grapes, lettuce, and Gallo wine, merged with the Association de Trabajadores Agricolas (ATA), a predominantly Puerto Rican union of New Jersey farmworkers. Their organizing drives deserve our attention and support, because farmworkers, although vital to our economy, still have not won rights and conditions most of us take for granted.

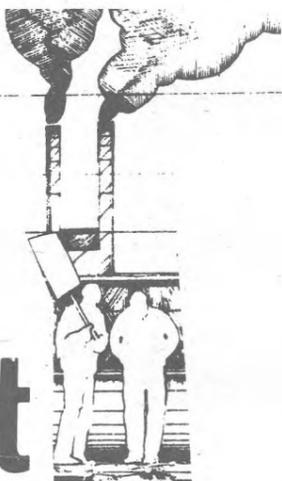


DO YOU FEEL LIKE YOU'RE Working Harder For Less Pay..?

You're probably right. Although industrial production has fully recovered from the slump of 1975, several hundred thousand workers were never called back, their jobs eliminated by automation, job combination, and plain old high-pressure speed-up. . . the results:

Corporate profits up 33% over last year, productivity (that is the amount produced by each worker) up 15%, and wages up only 8.2% on the average. Accounting for inflation, wages have increased only 1.3%, while profits have gone up 27%.

Exide workers resist wage-cut



The 12-week strike by members of Local 113, IUE, against Exide Battery on Rising Sun Ave., ended with a moderate victory for the strikers.

Pleading poverty, the multi-national battery company wanted the workers to take a \$1 wage cut as the price for keeping their jobs. Refusing to accept this company blackmail, Local 113 demanded that Exide open its books and prove their losses, and then went on strike.

The new contract won 30 cents or more each year for the next 3 years, which is certainly not enough without a cost-of-living

allowance to keep up with inflation, but it was a firm rejection of the company line. The contract also provides that if the work is moved within 125 miles, present workers will be guaranteed jobs. This is really only a token measure since Exide has shops in many states and countries, and 125 miles is no barrier to them.

The principle of not allowing plants to move without union consent, and the guarantee of full rights to transfer with the job, are points that must be strengthened in future contracts in almost all industries, not just electrical workers.

FREEDOM STRUGGLE GROWS IN SOUTH AFRICA

"Wherever there is oppression there is resistance" -- No people in the world are more oppressed than the African people in the Republic of South Africa, but as the recent uprisings in Soweto and other African townships show, the desire for freedom and the courage to fight for it cannot be destroyed.

Beginning June 16, secondary school students in the African township of Soweto, near Johannesburg, took to the streets to protest further downgrading of the already poor education provided for them. The demonstrations were not "race riots," as the media portrayed them, but militant political actions.

They raised the demands of the students for quality education. The demonstrators even had the support of some South African whites, as white college students demonstrated in support of the African student's demands. The protests became bloody massacres when the racist government of South Africa responded the only way it knows how to African demands for justice -- with guns, this time turned upon school children, aged five to sixteen.

REBELLION SPREADS, CASUALTIES MOUNT

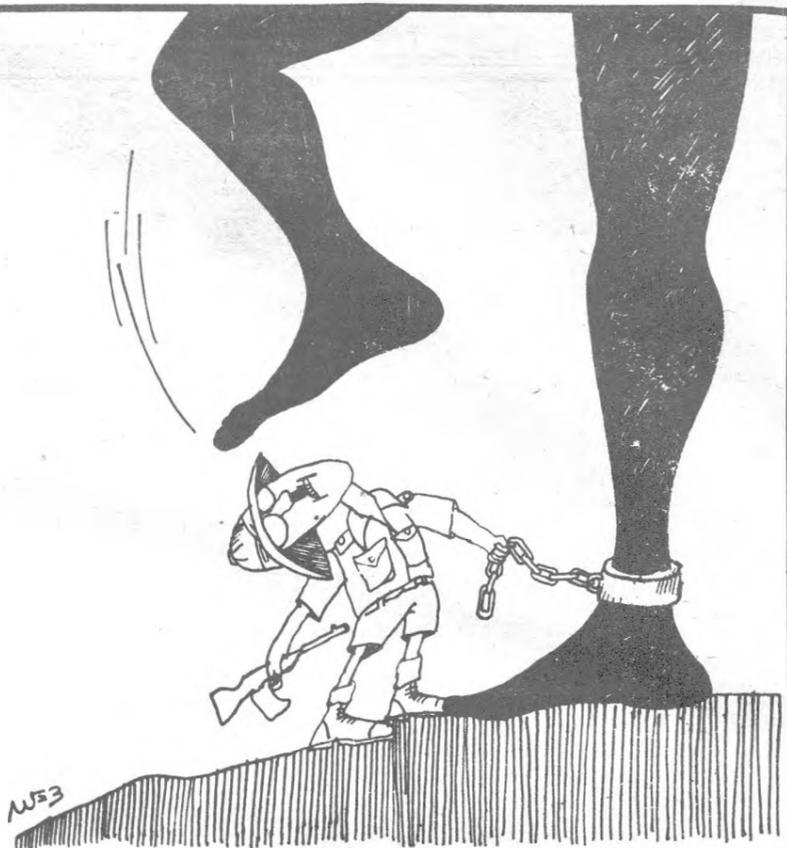
Within ten days, the rebellion spread to a dozen of South Africa's segregated African residential "locations," and drew in tens of thousands of people. Once again the African people's hatred of apartheid and anger against the racist government broke through the police repression, and through the web of public relations lies about how well the "system" of racial separation works in South Africa.

In reports smuggled out of the country, liberation movement representatives report that the true casualty figure was at least 1000 killed. The government has sealed off the townships to reporters and visitors, and censors all news leaving the country.

QUALITY EDUCATION AN ISSUE FOR AFRICANS

The specific issue the students were protesting was a new regulation requiring that they be taught academic subjects only in the Afrikaans language. Afrikaans, the language of the white settlers of Dutch descent, is spoken nowhere else in the world. Along with English, it is an official language in South Africa. Most Africans who learn a European language in the home learn English, and the new regulation was seen by the students as an attempt to isolate them from the outside world, and to make their schooling more difficult than it already is.

For whites in South Africa, education through high school is free and compulsory, and the government spends \$600 per student per year. For Africans, who have to pay for their education (and many cannot afford it) the government spends only \$60 per student, and never provides sufficient books, classrooms, or teachers.



Shortly after the first round of demonstrations had been crushed, toward the end of June, the government announced that it may reconsider the new regulation. Even the repeal of the legislations, however, will not wash the blood of 1000 children off the hands of white racist South Africa.

AFRICAN "SUBURBS"?

Soweto, Alexandria, and the other townships where the uprisings occurred are the ghettos where Africans are forced to live by the government. Built many miles from the cities where Africans work, these towns are filled with one and two room shacks, built by the government and rented to Africans. Most do not have electricity or running water. In the aftermath of the rebellion, the government promised to provide electricity to Soweto.

Although "whites only" cities like Johannesburg, among the most modern and wealthiest in the world, would be ghost towns without Black workers in their factories, stores, and service industries, official government policy forbids Blacks to live in the cities. The word "township" is misleading, for Soweto houses one million people.

MOZAMBIQUE, ANGOLA INSPIRE AFRICANS

The growing militance of the people of Soweto is something the South African government has both feared and expected. Despite the censorship within the country, it is impossible to conceal the tremendous victories of the people of Mozambique and Angola, and the growing revolutionary war in Rhodesia, the African name for which is Zimbabwe. The lessons of these countries are clear to the Africans in the Republic --

- 1) A united African people, who have overcome tribal divisions and have united behind a revolutionary political program, are capable of defeating militarily the forces of colonialism and imperialism.
- 2) The colonial powers who have exploited and oppressed Africans, and stolen their land and its mineral wealth for so long, will never give up their privileges at the bargaining table.
- 3) The people's government of the newly independent nations have been capable of bringing almost overnight more economic security, education, and health care than

has ever been provided by the racist regimes over hundreds of years. These governments are based on involving ordinary people in making the political decisions which affect their lives.

4) They have an important ally in the working people of other countries, even the imperialist powers. This was demonstrated best by the coup of April 25, 1974 in Portugal, when the masses of Portuguese people rose up against fascism, making one of their key demands independence for the African colonies.

On a very practical level, the liberation of Mozambique and Angola brings the struggle geographically closer to South Africa. Mozambique is enforcing the total trade embargo on Rhodesia, and is also providing military training and political leadership to Zimbabwean guerrillas in training camps along the 650 mile border between the two countries.

STRUGGLE IN ZIMBABWE GROWS

Although the Rhodesian government speaks as arrogantly as ever about "wiping out the terrorists," many of the settlers themselves have seen the writing on the wall, and are fleeing the country. In fact, when an additional draft for military service was announced this spring, over 2000 people left the country, mostly men who would have been called and their families. That would be the equivalent of 2 million people in this country, since the population of white Rhodesia is only a quarter million. The world-wide recruitment of mercenaries is not even able to fill the gap left by emigration. In their desperate attempts to discourage people from leaving, the government has decreed that people can take only a few hundred dollars and no property out of the country, but this has not stemmed the tide.

The people of Soweto, Alexandria, and all the prison-like townships and desolate reservations of South Africa are drawing their inspiration and renewed will to fight from these victories and struggles throughout southern Africa.

The uprising in Soweto was so huge, spread so quickly to other townships, and was so perfectly timed to expose the talks between Henry Kissinger and Prime Minister Vorster that the question has been raised, was it planned in advance, centrally organized?

POLITICAL ORGANIZATIONS REPRESSED

We can't be sure about advanced planning, but certainly the political organizations of Black people in South Africa moved quickly to support the demonstrations once they began. Because South Africa is a police state, all political opposition must be strictly secret and underground. The "Suppression of Communism Act" and the "Terrorism Act" are the laws which allow the complete suppression of African political activity.

The first allows for the banning of any organization which makes statements which "might endanger the public security" or "promote ill-feeling between racial groups." Being a member of a banned organization is punishable by five or more years in jail. Any individual arrested under the Terrorism Act may be held in jail indefinitely, without being allowed any communication, and without ever being brought to trial. Of course, under these vague provisions, anyone the government doesn't like can be arrested and detained indefinitely.

These two acts are administered by an FBI-like organization called the Bureau of State Security, and many people

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ple have disappeared and never been heard from again after BOSS raids. Many have reportedly committed suicide in jail, including a student leader picked up July 15th, and reported to have hung himself Aug. 7th.

Because of these laws, political education and organizing among Africans must go on in strict secrecy. New organizations are constantly being formed, and constantly banned. Some of the more important ones are the African National Congress, formed in 1912, which is the largest, and along with the PanAfrican Congress, is recognized by the U.N. as the legitimate spokesman for the African people.

The Pan African Congress was formed in the late '50's. The leaders of both these organizations have been imprisoned since the early 60's, but they maintain representatives abroad, and a clandestine organization within the country, receiving financial assistance from the Organization of African Unity.

In the US, demonstrations and rallies in support of the African students occurred in New York, Boston, San Francisco, Chicago and other cities. Many in the US clearly understand that the South Africans are struggling against the same forces that are responsible for attacks on working people here at home, and are therefore working here to support our South African brothers and sisters.

International solidarity, solidarity with the African people on the part of US workers, is not just an abstract gesture of goodwill. Multi-national corporations do their best to play off workers in different countries against each other just as they do workers of different nationalities in the US. Every peoples' struggle -- whether in Soweto, Boston, or Philadelphia -- aims at an arm of the same corporate octopus.

The protests in South Africa and the response of the government should end any illusions we may have had about "negotiating for majority rule." It is clear that the African people have only one strategy open to them to gain their freedom -- revolution. The demonstrations have also shown that the people are more ready than ever to do just that.

The Black People's Convention, and the South African Student's Organization took the lead in organizing public protests against apartheid during the 70's, but now both of these organizations have also been banned, although they continue to work underground. Certainly, all of the organizations played a role in the recent uprisings, if not in calling them directly, in educating and training the African people for their long and hard struggle for freedom.

It is important to distinguish genuine popular, democratic groups such as the ANC, PAC, BPC, and SASO from the government appointed African leaders. These leaders are heads of the bantustans, or reservations, and actively collaborate with the government plan to divide Africans along tribal lines and confine them to desolate undeveloped reserves. Although they sometimes criticize the government, their harshest criticism is reserved for the revolutionary leaders of the African people. These puppets will be used to confuse the issues in South Africa during the massive public relations campaign now beginning in the US for the racist regime.

WORLD CONDEMNS SOUTH AFRICAN RACISM. . .

Each year, international criticism of South Africa increases, and more and more countries reduce their con-



US Demonstrators -- Black and white -- show solidarity with the South African people in their struggle against the apartheid system.

tacts with the racist regime. Because of this, the US role as chief supporter of South Africa becomes clearer and clearer.

The U.N. has denied South Africa its seat in the General Assembly for the past two years, because of its violation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. It has not participated in the last several Olympics. Popular protests in many countries including Holland, Great Britain, and Australia have forced the removal of South African produce from grocers shelves, and prevented sports tours by South Africa's "whites only" teams. Most African countries, all the socialist countries, and the progressive developing nations all over the world observe the stricter and stricter boycotts of trade passed by the U.N. Security Council.

The US, on the other hand, has recently discussed methods of stimulating investment in South Africa, and in a recent Security Council vote condemning South Africa for an air raid on a village in Zambia, the US was the only nation not to support the resolution -- it abstained. Even France and Britain, whose hands are almost as bloody as the US in their support of South Africa, were forced by international and domestic public opinion to support the resolution.

The vicious actions of the South African government in Soweto were condemned internationally and at the U.N., but the US was silent. The United Nations has called for military, cultural, and economic boycotts of South Africa, in support of majority rule, all of which the US has ignored.

While South Africa troops were taking target practice on African children, Henry Kissinger was talking with South African Prime Minister John Vorster, reassuring him of continued US support diplomatically, economically, and militarily. The rebellions, however, made it impossible for Kissinger to polish up South Africa's international image, as he had hoped to do as part of the talks.

US support for South Africa should come as no surprise to working people of this country. US corporations now have well over \$1 billion invested in South Africa, and make a greater rate of profit there than anywhere else in the world.

Their tremendous profits are possible only because of

the system of "apartheid" -- the official racism of South Africa. Apartheid denies Africans all political, civil, and economic rights outside the reservations. In the 87% of South Africa reserved for the 20% of the population which is white, Africans cannot own land, vote, publicly criticize the government, form unions, or strike. Apartheid guarantees that Africans will be available to work for slave wages in South African and American-owned factories.

The role of the US government in southern Africa is consistent with its real attitude toward racism in this country. In South Africa, Kissinger pays lip service to majority rule, while in fact doing everything he can to guarantee the survival of white supremacy. In this country, official opposition to discrimination is accompanied by increasing attacks on the democratic rights of Black people, and intensified discrimination in employment, education, and social services. In both countries, the interests of corporate profits are being served, at the expense of working people.

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Operator: 'WOMEN CATCH HELL AT BELL!'

For some strange reason people assume that if you work for Bell Telephone Company, you must be living on "easy street." This is so far from the truth, we wonder how this myth ever started.

Most Bell workers are underpaid, work irregular shifts and are allowed no excused absences. Black and women workers suffer unnecessary harassment and are discriminated against both in hiring and upgrading. Bell workers are divided into several different unions, none of which have been able to win even the basic demand for strict seniority.

With so many women working at Bell, it is pathetic that we don't have maternity leave protection. Bell allows us *one month* in which to have a baby, recover, and get back

to work. After that one month, with no sick pay, they start deducting our seniority. If you're a normal person and need at least six months to have a baby, you would lose five months seniority. In the operator's job, where the majority of women are, a loss of five months seniority could knock you back to working split shifts and lousy hours.

What makes this even worse is that our unions have agreed to this injustice. They have signed contracts with the company that don't even guarantee us a job when we return from maternity leave.

CHILDBIRTH NOT "MEDICAL"?

Bell does have a medical benefits plan, but they do not consider pregnancy a medical leave. If you happen to break your leg you would be eligible for medical benefits for up to a year with no loss in seniority. Your job would be waiting until you were well enough to return. Not treating pregnancy as a medical leave clearly discriminates against women.

Even though it is women and Black people who suffer most noticeably at the hands of this arrogant monopoly, working at Bell is no picnic for anyone. White men suffer the same lousy conditions we face. They too cannot miss work for any reason, are con-

stantly being spied on and fired for flimsy reasons and are driven to produce more and more with no increase in pay.

It takes all of us working together to create those millions of dollars of profits for Bell each year. It is only right that in return we all get to share in some of that money. For women at Bell, getting a maternity program with sick pay, no loss in seniority, and a guarantee of our jobs would certainly go a long way in making our lives more bearable. Together we must demand that our unions fight for a maternity leave program.

Also we can go to the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission (EEOC). Although you'd never guess it from the way things are at Bell, discrimination against women is against the law! Legal action through the EEOC can be effective if it's accompanied by organization and action by the workers themselves. Other workers in other industries are presently challenging practices that deny decent maternity benefits to women workers.

Since we are all being exploited by Bell it makes sense for us to join together to end that exploitation. By taking up each others demands we could face Bell from a position of strength as a united force of telephone workers, and for a change, win.

the job scene: NO 'RECOVERY' FOR YOUTH

"Things are real bad in the job market right now. There's not even jobs for younger workers."

52 year old machine worker at Simond Abrasive Division of Wallace Murray Corporation after the plant closed in De-ber, 1975

MANY JOBS ARE LOST AND FEW ARE CREATED

According to a study done by the Institute for Civic Values, the availability of jobs in Philadelphia has been steadily declining for a long time. Every year since 1969, the city has been losing jobs in manufacture and industry such as clothing, textile, electrical, printing and publishing, metals, and food processing. The total number of jobs lost is 93,000 since 1969, and the number of jobs gained is only 36,000!

More specifically, in the three year period between 1972 and 1974, 190 businesses stopped operations in Philadelphia. Major businesses, like Philco-Ford, which left the city in 1973-74, and Botany-Daroff, which left the same year, lost thousands of jobs for Philadelphia.

Plants are closing, laying off workers, or leaving the city, and very little is being done to counteract the losses. While it is important to recognize that job opportunities are fewer, it is more important to note that few, if any, new jobs are being created. For example, during the period from 1972 to 1974, a grand total of 25 new businesses moved into the city, employing all of 3,436 workers—hardly enough to meet the employment needs of Philadelphia.

The situation in other large metropolitan areas is much the same as it is here. New York City, for example, which is the country's wealthiest metropolitan center, has laid off thousands of city workers, hospital workers, child care and other social service workers, thereby increasing the unemployment rolls. Detroit, the hub of automobile production in the United States, produces cars with far fewer workers than it used to—the Big Three have laid off 175,000 workers since 1973. And nowhere is there substantial increase in new jobs. As a matter of fact, there have been only 6.8 million jobs created in the whole country in the past five years!

THE "WORK FORCE" AND WHO'S IN IT

The statistics put out by the government every month might make you think that the jobs situation isn't so bad, despite the fact that so many jobs are being lost each year. The official figure (July, 1976) of 7.8 per cent unemployed represents only 7.4 million people who are out of work. Government figures, however, have to be taken with a grain of salt.

The official government estimates of unemployment are gotten by a monthly survey of sample families across the country. Field investigators question a representative of each family about the employment status of family members sixteen years and over. Those who are counted in the labor force are those who are actually employed or those who are actively seeking work. Those who are outside of those two categories—those who have given up looking, or women who don't have access to day care facilities and therefore cannot work, or those unemployed workers who have run out of benefits and are collecting welfare—are *not* in the "labor force"!

Looking deeper into the limitations of current data we can see how inadequate the government survey really is. For example, the first quarter of 1975, the official unemployment figure was shown to be 8.2 million. Of the people labelled "not in the labor force," 5.3 million were asked: "Do you want a regular, full or part-time job now?" And 5.3 million people answered yes! If the two figures were added together—the official number of 8.2 million and the number of those who want to work, or 5.3 million—we see the true figure for unemployment for the first quarter of 1975 is 13.5 million.

The official government figures are designed to hide the real extent of unemployment and thus eliminate millions of workers from the "work-force." This "hidden unemployment index" is a particularly racist and dangerous device. The official unemployment rate for Black workers declined in July from 13.3 per cent to 12.9 per cent, but Black joblessness remains far in excess of that of white workers. The National Urban League, which follows the actual situation in the Black community much more precisely, shows that Black unemployment is still "... at the same high level of 25.4 per cent reached during the peak of the 1974-1975 recession." While tampering with the true extent of unemployment is harmful to all workers, it practically ignores the existence and the critical state of joblessness among Black workers.

HOW ARE YOUNG PEOPLE AFFECTED?

If the unemployment picture in general looks bleak without prospects of improvement, then that is especially so for young people, and particularly the Black and other national minority youth. The official number of unemployed white youth in June, 1976 was 16.1 per cent. The official statistics for Black and Third World youth was 40.3 per cent!

The impact of the loss of thousands of jobs is compounded by lack of jobs created, but at the same time, we must consider that the numbers of people in the job market population is steadily increasing. And as the population of employable youth increases, their chances of getting employment decrease. The competition among young people for jobs, as a matter of fact, has been on the rise since about 1962 when the products of the war "baby boom" became part of the labor force.

In 1965, for example, a young person between the ages of eighteen and twenty-one was competing against 12.2 million other youngsters his or her age. Ten years later, the number of competitors in that same age group had increased to 16.5 million. And the teenager who is four-

If the unemployment picture in general looks bleak, without prospects of improvement, then that is especially so for young people, and particularly the Black and other national minority youth. The official number of unemployed white youth in June, 1976 was 16.1%. The official statistics for Black and Third World youth was 40.3% !!

teen through eighteen years of age now can look forward to 17.1 million other young people besides him/her looking for work in 1980.

Even Vice-President Rockefeller recognizes the seriousness of the situation. His estimate is that "... we need from 1.6 to 2 million jobs every year to accommodate the young people entering the work force." He also realizes that the large portion of unemployment among the youth, as in the larger population, is among the Black and national minority community. In a study done by the Philadelphia Urban League, it was shown that if Black young people don't find jobs *now*, in a few years there will be thousands of youths aged twenty-one to twenty-five who have never held a job. The same holds true for other youth, but it is especially true in the Black community.

The myth is that young people don't want to work—"They just want to hang on the street corner and make trouble." The truth is that there aren't enough jobs to go around anymore, much less for younger workers. Youth suffers unemployment for the same reasons as the rest of the population except that many young people have the added problems of not having job experience and few skills, so that the job opportunities that do exist are not open to them. Most employers don't hire employees that they have got to train, too.

The pervasiveness of the problem is serious and everywhere young people are hurting. "We need a chance," insists a twenty year old Black woman from the Bronx who has never held a job. "I had no idea it could come to this," complains a twenty-one year old whose unemployment benefits have run out and is presently applying for welfare.

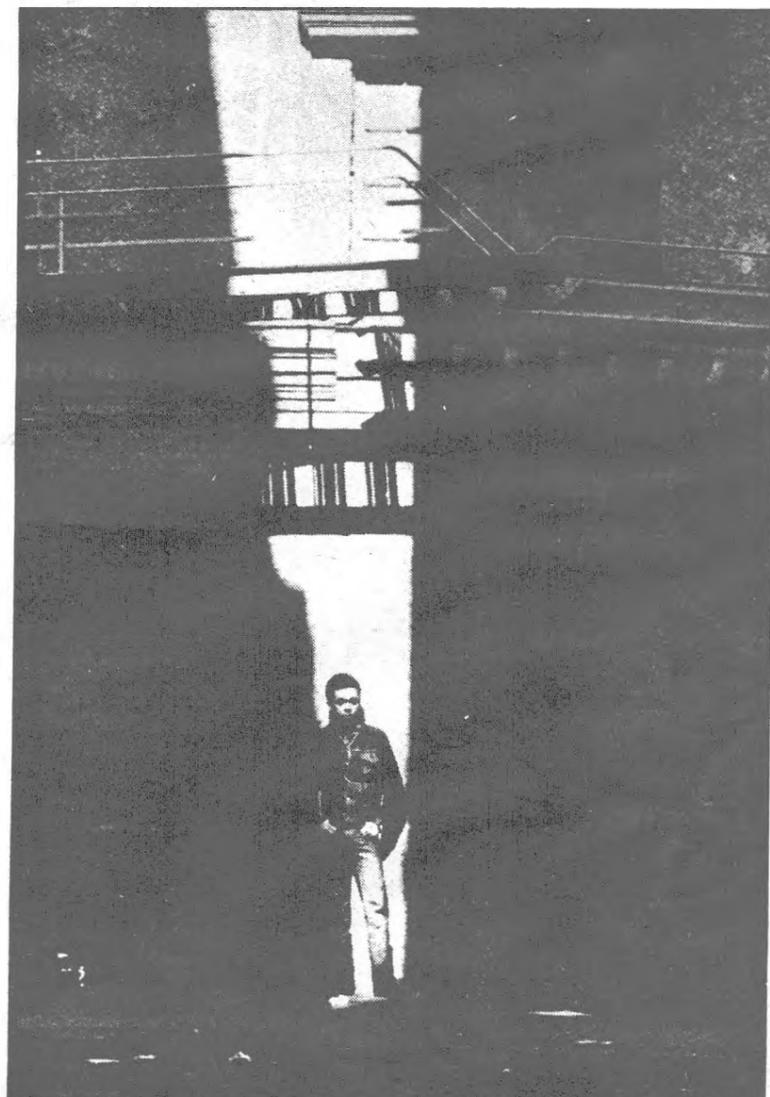
Even the summer jobs teenagers used to get are rapidly disappearing. In Detroit last year, for instance, there were 100,000 applicants for 25,000 federally funded summer jobs. In Atlanta, one in ten teenagers was able to get a federally funded job last year; in Phoenix, one in twenty. Imagine the job situation this year, with the same number or fewer available jobs, but with several thousand more young people in need of work.

Clearly, the federally funded summer job programs do not meet the existing needs. In Philadelphia alone, there were an estimated 30,000 young people between the ages of fourteen and twenty-one who wanted to work this summer. In order to qualify, the young person's family income must be in the poverty range—for a family of six, the maximum income could be up to \$7,300.

Once the financial eligibility was determined, some young people counted themselves lucky to have successfully beaten out the competition. "It kept me off the street corners," quipped one eighteen year old. Unfortunately, of the 14,000 to 17,000 jobs promised in April, only 8,500 jobs were created.

Because the need far exceeded the number placed, the Leadership Committee of the Philadelphia Urban Coal-

continued on next page



City Workers Get Trashed

Rizzo collects his debts in contract settlement

It was one of the biggest productions in Philadelphia's Bicentennial summer featuring a cast of thousands and untold tons of garbage. It ran for over a month before closing on August 7th to mixed reviews. If the first weeks didn't smell too good, the last performance really stunk.

We are talking of course about the struggle for living wages and better working conditions for the members of the city employee unions. Under the direction of Earl Stout, president of AFSCME District Council 33 representing 24,000 nonuniformed city workers and Jay Kogan, head of District Council 47 representing 1700 white collar and supervisory workers, the contract negotiations degenerated into a farce.

STOUT'S PERFORMANCE "JUST AN ACT"

The play was elaborately staged by Stout, and Rizzo's sidekick, Hillel Levinson, in a City Hall negotiating room. To the uninformed bystander, it had all the appearances of a real bargaining session. Snorting, pounding on the tables, and walking out of negotiations, Stout put on one of his usual fine performances. Too bad for city workers that it was all an act.

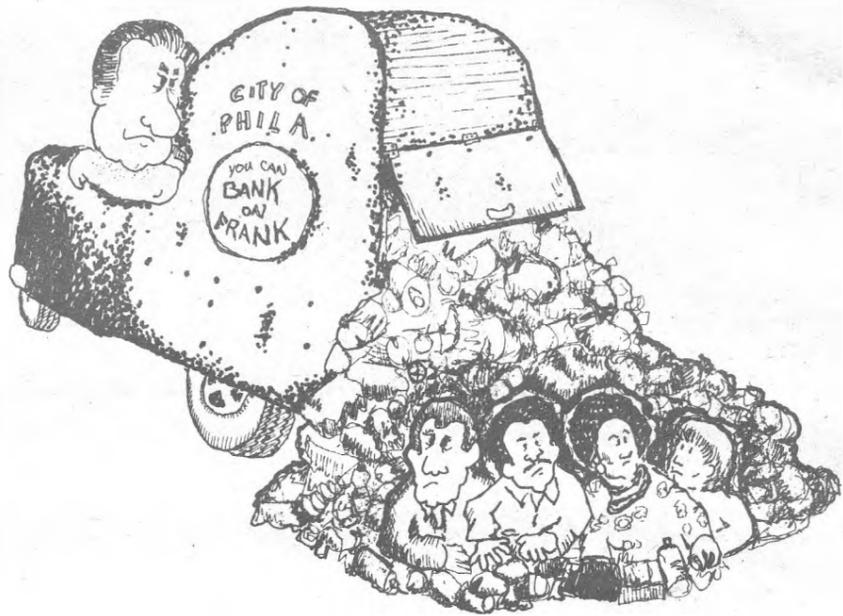
The script for this particular play was written over a year ago when Rizzo and Stout made a deal. Rizzo agreed to give Stout's union a 12.8% one year increase if Stout would support Rizzo's reelection bid. Stout, who was facing reelection himself, jumped on the Rizzo bandwagon like a long lost brother.

If anyone thought that Stout's blatant opportunism didn't have its price, this contract has proven them wrong. Rizzo got reelected, Stout got reelected and city workers got trashed.

After a month of negotiations, Stout emerged from the bargaining table with a settlement he could have gotten in the first week. The two year contract provides no pay increase in the first year, a 7% increase in the second year, and a one-year cost-of-living clause that would pay 75% of the cost-of-living increase of the current year in the second year of the contract.

WAGE INCREASE OR WAGE CUT?

The economic package amounts to a wage cut for city workers. If the cost-of-living in the current year is 6%, city workers will get 4.5% increase in the second year, a loss of 1.5%. The second year increase of 7% (and no cost-of-living allowance) may not cover the rate of inflation for that year since economic signs indicate that inflation is heating up again. It is quite possible that the



real wages of city workers might decline some 3% to 5% over the next two years. What the city gave up a year ago is being taken back in this contract!

The settlement also calls for a no lay-off guarantee. Originally, the city planned to lay off over a thousand city workers in order to save \$11.5 million. Instead, the city now plans to maintain a hiring freeze and to make up their savings through attrition (retirees, quits and firings), a figure they estimate to be about 300 a year.

Although this represents a gain in safeguarding job security, the union did nothing to fight against the elimination of jobs. It remains to be seen how well it will protect the rights of workers who will probably face increased harassment and disciplinary measures aimed at bolstering "attrition" through firings.

While this settlement is a real set-back for city workers, it is not that much worse than the weak proposal union officials originally brought to the negotiating table. It called for a 4.5% increase in the first year without a cost-of-living allowance -- a demand that still would have represented a cut in real wages.

STRIKE VERSUS SLOWDOWN

The fact that the union was not prepared for a fight was evident from the very beginning. A strike that would have paralyzed the city just as preparations got underway for the Bicentennial extravaganza would have been a powerful weapon in the union's arsenal. The threat of such a strike, if it were seriously made, might have been sufficient to win some real victories for municipal employees.

Instead, Stout called for a slowdown and refusal of overtime as the main tactics of the struggle. In the best of circumstances, these two tactics are difficult to pull off effectively, and these were not the best of circumstances. It was obvious that the city could live with the slowdown and that it could use the accumulating piles of

garbage as their most potent propaganda weapon against the city workers. Stout knew that the militancy of his rank and file demanded some sort of action, so he chose actions which were doomed to end in defeat and frustration while putting on a show of militancy. After a month of slowdown Stout could emerge with a poor contract and still save his face as a militant union leader.

Is it true, as Stout claims, that the city was trying to provoke a strike in order to save millions of dollars in wages lost to city workers? Stout could point to the last teacher's strike as a good example of this type of provocation on the part of the city. At that time, the Rizzo administration was determined to smash the teacher's union, but the fight that ensued was more difficult than the one Rizzo had bargained for. When the dust had settled, the teachers had not won a clear victory but their union had survived and was actually strengthened by the strike experience. In addition they taught Rizzo a few lessons about the political costs of provoking a strike.

The teachers' strike also exposed Rizzo for what he is -- an anti-working-class, union-busting politician. The strike drew the broad support of other unions and quite nearly provoked a one-day general strike. This struggle badly damaged Rizzo's relationship with some sectors of the labor movement for quite some time.

Could Rizzo afford to have a strike of municipal employees in the midst of the Bicentennial summer? Could Rizzo afford, in the midst of a recall campaign, a strike that would have gone into the communities of the city to spread the knowledge that it is the bankers and rulers of this city who are the cause of higher taxes, not the majority of city workers? Could Rizzo afford a strike that would have unified the labor movement as the teachers' strike began to do? No, he could not.

The fact is, that although they faced difficult odds, the municipal workers could have won with a well-planned and militant strike. Such a strike would have only been possible with an entirely different philosophy of trade unionism than the one practiced by Kogan and Stout.

First of all, the union would have to educate its members about the situation they faced in the strike. It would have solicited its contract demands from the rank and file and it would have organized its members for the militant defense of the union during the strike. The union would have to wage a massive campaign to counter the negative propaganda daily oozing from the anti-labor press and other media. And it would have to seek support in the city's communities -- from all working and unemployed people -- and from the other union locals in the city. None of these measures were undertaken and probably were not even considered.

The newspapers like to blather about how this is a union town, how the municipal workers unions run city hall. The truth is the opposite. This contract has shown more dramatically than any other in recent history just how much Earl Stout has lost for his membership by relying on back room wheeling and dealing and sell-out political alliances with the likes of Rizzo.

Rizzo and the powers that be in the city have a long-term strategy to muzzle and then smother the labor movement in this city. With this contract Earl Stout sacrificed his membership as Rizzo's first victims and laid the foundations for the defeat of the teacher's union in the fall.

NO JOBS

continued from last page

tion hit the streets in protest. They were able to mobilize 1,000 youngsters who blockaded several street intersections. The city's response was to manufacture a token 8,000 more jobs--too little, too late.

WHAT'S AHEAD?

Unemployment is a problem that everyone faces at some time or other. Some are lucky and get other jobs, or get called back, but the problem is not going away. Unemployment has been with us as long as the capitalist system itself has. A "reserve army" of unemployed labor is built into capitalism, because this is necessary in order to maximize profits. Usually, the jobless rate is bad--the U.S. government defines "full employment" as about 4 million out of work. And during a crisis, it's worse, as the bosses "cut costs" (lay off workers and speed up production) to maintain profits.

The present crisis and high unemployment is the worst in many years. And it is certain that unemployment is not going to go down, either, especially since there has been little done to make a significant dent in the numbers of workers without jobs. Even the President's Man-

power Report of 1975 admits that point. In the period between 1965 and 1975, the report indicates that 16.6 million jobs were actually created--only a drop in the bucket. And the government estimates are that for every percentage point lopped off the unemployment figures in the next four years, six million jobs must be created. What that means is that to get everyone working by 1980, no fewer than 78 million jobs must be created! We've got a ways to go.

The cry "WE NEED JOBS!" is not just an empty slogan. What with the present rate of unemployment--which includes everyone who wants to work--coupled with the rate of population increase every year, we are presented with a joblessness problem that will be with us for a long time.

While it would take socialism to do away with unemployment once and for all, working people today--employed and unemployed alike--can unite to struggle for improving the situation, as the Unemployed Councils of the 1930's did. Together we can fight for the shorter work week at full pay, and an end to race and sex discrimination in training and hiring. We must demand reform of the compensation system too, so that all laid-off workers receive 100% of their pay until they're working again--and so that women and youth entering the workforce are "eligible." United and organized, we can win these vital reforms.

UAW FIGHTS FOR PEANUTS

Amid much fanfare, handshaking, and friendly smiles UAW leaders began negotiations with the Big Three in mid-July. During that first week of bargaining, the contract program of the union came into sharper focus, having been submerged for months among hundreds of resolutions passed at bargaining conventions and conferences.

The UAW is pushing a three-point program this fall. First, the "shorter work time" demand will be translated into some variation of the "banking scheme," which grants workers one-half hour bonus on their vacation time for every week of perfect attendance without lateness. Second, under any and all circumstances, the union intends to avoid a strike. Finally, the UAW wants to elect Jimmy Carter as President of the US.

IGNORES WORKERS' NEEDS

The program of the UAW is tailored, more than at any other time, to meet the needs of the leadership rather than the membership of the union. After all, this is an industry where workers have been ravaged by unemployment. Yet the shorter work time demand does more to curb absenteeism than job insecurity.

This is an industry currently experiencing an intensive speed-up campaign; an industry where grievances are rendered ineffective by the no-strike clause, and where national minorities and women daily suffer the abuses of discrimination. Yet the union's program says nothing about speed-up, the right to strike, or putting an end to discrimination.

Woodcock accepts an appointment in January and resigns as President of the UAW. The International Executive Board appoints a successor to finish out a six-month term. Woodcock's successor enters the 1977 convention as an incumbent with the support of the entire UAW leadership. The delegates will then be compelled to rubber stamp the appointment without any dissent.

Carter, a wealthy peanut-grower capitalist, Governor of an anti-labor, open-shop state will become President; the rank and file will get a banking plan and some other cosmetic changes in the contract; a new UAW President will be appointed without opposition and the auto companies will get away with bloody murder. The marriage of Leonard Woodcock and Jimmy Carter will, indeed, mean *nothing but peanuts* for autoworkers this fall!

THE STATE OF THE RANK AND FILE MOVEMENT

Do auto workers like peanuts? Yes, but they would much rather have a short work week at full pay (32 for 40), a guaranteed SUB program, the right to strike, and an end to discrimination. Back in December a Coalition for a Good Contract (CGC) was organized to lead the fight for a rank and file program in auto this fall.

The CGC is the only national organization within the UAW that has genuine ties to the workers and the support of many progressive local leaders. At the core of the Coalition is



Henry Ford (right) blesses the Woodcock-Carter alliance. Stay tuned and see how: Jimmy gets the presidency, Lenny gets a cabinet post, Henry and the other companies get away with murder and the workers get peanuts.

tation on the part of the Coalition's leadership to raise the struggle against racism as a central concern to the rank and file movement.

STRUGGLE AGAINST RACISM CENTRAL

The leaders of the Coalition fear that to raise this issue would isolate them from their skilled trades base and thereby cripple their organization. However, nothing could be further from the truth. The fact is that the Coalition is being weakened as a fighting force precisely *because it has neglected to take up the struggle against racism.*

The Coalition, and the UNC before it, have never been able to win significant numbers of Black auto workers into their organization. Being unable to unite with Black workers, who make up the majority of production workers in Detroit's auto plants, leaves the Coalition incapable of building a powerful *fighting organization* in auto.

It is the absence of any programmatic thrust around racism and not, as some in the Coalition believe, because production workers are more passive, that has cut the CGC off from the mass of Black auto workers. In Philadelphia, where the rank and file movement has taken up the struggle against racism, it is the Black production workers that give the movement both its leadership and its fighting power.

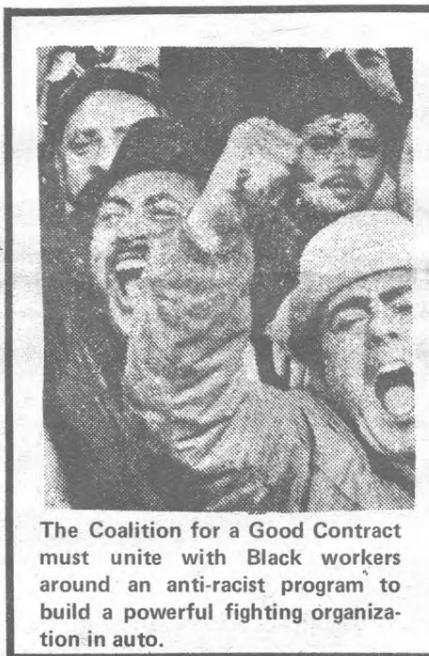
So long as Black auto workers are left outside the Coalition, its entire program—the short work week, the right to strike, a COLA in the pension plan, etc.—will remain only pie-in-the-sky dreams of Coalition members. The experience of the CGC should be teaching the skilled workers involved that their own interests are intimately bound up with the struggle against national oppression. Unfortunately, these lessons have yet to be drawn within this potentially powerful auto workers' organization.

RANK AND FILE FORCES SCATTERED

So, aren't there other forces in auto conscious of the Coalition's shortcomings and capable of mounting an alternative in the 1976 contract struggle? No, not really, because these forces are scattered and unorganized. And herein lies another serious error holding us back in auto: the problem of sectarianism.



During the past ten years, caucuses have sprung up in numerous auto plants. At some factories, two or three caucuses would often develop side by side. Yet throughout this period rarely, if ever, have many of these caucuses been able to unite. The problem in auto is that the leadership of too many caucuses has fallen into the hands of those who



The Coalition for a Good Contract must unite with Black workers around an anti-racist program to build a powerful fighting organization in auto.

are bound to a "super-revolutionary" brand of politics. This kind of leadership has made it impossible for different forces to work together and in a principled fashion work out programmatic differences which may exist.

Auto workers in the PWOC were guilty of this error for a time, when we refused to work within the UNC because it did not conform to all of our expectations of a national organization. We have learned, however, that a sectarian approach only creates a self-imposed isolation and reduces each separate caucus to insignificance.

AUTO WORKERS UNITE!

The disunity among activists naturally spills over and affects our ability to work with the broad masses of workers. The "super-revolutionary" leaders of many a caucus are only interested in working with a handful of other "super-revolutionary" workers. This narrow approach, which by the way has nothing in common with building a real revolution, has repulsed many an honest and progressive worker and led to all sorts of adventurist actions that have been easily crushed by the companies.

If the genuine class struggle forces within auto do not take steps soon to defeat the twin evils of racism and sectarianism, then the prospects for 1976 and beyond will be limited to Woodcock's demand for "peanuts up front."



CONTRACT TIME IN AUTO

The fact is that the UAW leadership is downplaying the importance of contract bargaining altogether and instead trying to focus attention on the ballot box this November. Why? The President of the UAW, Leonard Woodcock, is due to retire next May. The burning question facing the UAW hierarchy is: who will replace him? And the question of succession is inseparably bound up with the presidential elections in November. For the key to a change of leadership *free from* internal struggle and *rank and file influence* is whether or not Woodcock can secure a cabinet appointment in January. Here's the plan:

WOODCOCK-CARTER ALLIANCE

The UAW comes out for Carter in the critical Michigan primary and Carter wins. The UAW organizes at the convention behind Carter and Carter wins the nomination. The UAW reaches a quick settlement without a strike and turns all of its resources over to the Carter campaign. Carter wins in November. Woodcock is rewarded with a cabinet appointment.

the United National Caucus, which grew out of the struggles of militant skilled tradesmen for a "dollar an hour" in 1967. The UNC has been active in organizing local caucuses, and in trying to galvanize a national movement in auto around contract struggles and UAW conventions. However, despite some fine work, the UNC and the Coalition are plagued by serious programmatic weaknesses.

The problem with the Coalition is its unwillingness to take up the struggle against racism as part and parcel of its program for class struggle unionism. In December, at its founding conference, there was only superficial discussion of the question. In its program *not a single demand* was included to address the dual oppression suffered by Black auto workers. In an industry where more than 95% of all skilled workers are white, one can hardly argue that the Coalition is unaware of how national oppression manifests itself in auto.

The base and leadership of the CGC is predominantly skilled workers. This is why there has been so much reluctance and hesi-

INTERVIEW WITH BUDD WORKER:

"SO YOU'RE HITTING THE STREET"



(Interviewee: young production worker, white, from Kensington, certain to be laid-off, perhaps permanently, very soon. . . . about two years seniority.)

ORGANIZER: WHY DO YOU THINK THE BUDD CO. IS SHUTTING DOWN UNIT FIVE?

BUDD WORKER: It's sure as hell not because they don't want to see anybody hurt, because the building is unsafe, because the building has been unsafe for twenty years. And it's not because they're losing money either -- I think it's because they can make a few pennies more if they move the jobs to a more modern plant.

ORG: HOW WILL YOU MAKE OUT ON THE STREET? WHAT ARE YOUR BENEFITS?

B: Well, I'm probably going to have to get another job right away because of my family, we can't really live on just my compensation and I'm not going to see too many SUB (supplemental unemployment benefits) checks anyway since I don't have much

seniority.

ORG: THE SUB PLAN DOESN'T SEEM TO BENEFIT YOUNGER WORKERS VERY MUCH.

B: Naw, they make a big deal about it but it's never there when you need it--if there's a big lay-off, either you don't have enough seniority credits to collect it more than a couple weeks, or the fund goes under the limit and nobody collects. That's what happened in '74 and '75 during the big lay-offs.

ORG: HAS YOUR UNION FOUGHT THIS SHUT-DOWN?

B: Oh, yeah, sure they have, just like they fight the company about everything! Oh, yeah, they went and talked to Shapp and Rizzo, and that was real great I bet.

ORG: WHAT DO YOU THINK THE UNION SHOULD HAVE DONE?

B: They should have told the company, "No, you're not moving these jobs." They

should have told us to stop working any overtime instead of letting the company lay us off that much sooner by working 60 hours a week so that they could move the jobs. And they should have had a big demonstration like they did for PGH, and had a march on City Hall and asked the people for help. Everybody else has demonstrations, why can't we? And then we should have gone on strike if the company wouldn't listen. . . . except that we don't have the right to strike, which is a perfect example of what I'm talking about, right?

In fact, I'm not sure I want to come back here even if I do get called back, because they're really tightening the screws behind this shut-down. It used to be that it was pretty hard to get fired at this place, but no more--now you've got to be a good little worker or you're out on your butt, period. And, oh yeah, the union people went along with that one too. The only way I'm coming back is if these people trying to organize the rank and file members of the union get going and change things around some!

ORG: DO YOU THINK THE SHUTDOWN IS RACIST?

B: What do you mean?

ORG: DO YOU THINK THAT BLACK WORKERS GET HURT MORE BY THIS SHUTDOWN?

B: Well, I think both the Black workers and the white workers are getting hurt pretty bad.

ORG: WHAT ABOUT IN TERMS OF FINDING ANOTHER JOB?

B: Well, yeah, that's true--most of the skilled workers are white and they're the only ones that'll maybe find another job the way things are now. . . . so there is a point there.



"So long, partner!"

ORG: WOULD YOU BE INTERESTED IN JOINING AN UNEMPLOYMENT COUNCIL WHEN YOU HIT THE STREET AND ORGANIZING FOR MORE JOBS AND BENEFITS?

B: You're damn right I would!

LONG HOT SUMMER: NO COOLING OUT AT BUDD RED LION

It's been a long, hot spring and summer, but it isn't going to cool off for the workers at the Budd Company's Red Lion plant. Besides the heat of the sun, 1976 has brought tremendous heat and pressure from the corporate bigwigs.



In the early spring, the Company called the Union to the bargaining table and told them that the plant was losing money and threatened to shut the plant down. All of this, however, was actually just laying the basis for a super-productivity drive.

The Company singled out the predominantly Black automotive division workers as "the problem" and attempted to make them carry the burden of the so-called financial difficulties. The Company's solution was to remove all "caps" on production. The "caps" had been instituted by the union as a self-defense ceiling on incentive earnings in the 60's.

ATTACK BLACK WORKERS

This proposal was an attack on the Black workers. It was these workers who already

worked the hardest, most dirty and dangerous jobs. Once again, the capitalists were trying to put the burden of their problems onto the backs of the Black workers.

And once again, the Company, with the aid of certain union officials, used the spreading of rumors among the white workers that the Black workers "will be costing them their jobs if the proposal is not ratified." This and other racist rumors that were spread in the plant provides a good example of how the bosses instigate and perpetuate racism within the working class.

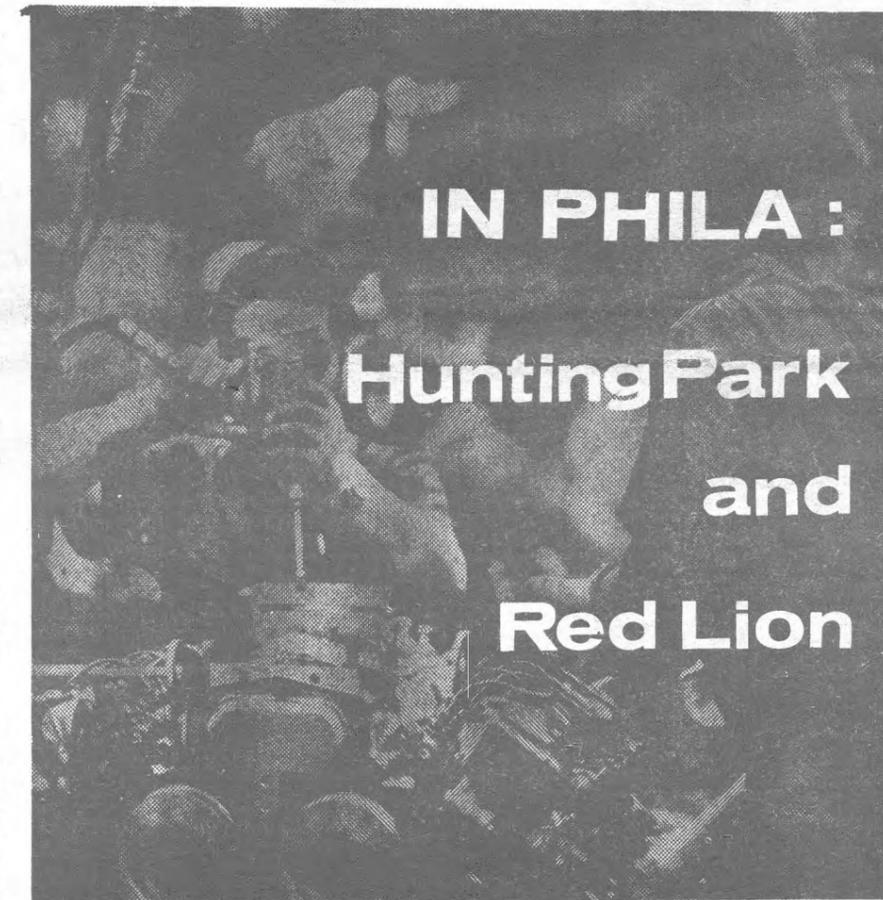
RANK AND FILE FIGHTS BACK

The union leadership and the UAW bureaucracy surrendered to this racist assault, but many rank and file members fought the company's offensive. Under the demands "Open the Books" and "Keep the CAP,"



Black and white automotive workers and the Blue Ribbon Group, a rank and file caucus, led the fight back.

Many workers were won to the struggle and the vote was very close. But, while the com-



pany won the first battle, the war was far from over.

Next, the Company, in response to a massive slowdown in production throughout automotive, began a campaign of intimidation and harassment.

Three weeks after the vote, in a conscious effort to break the slowdown, a Black shop steward, who was the only steward to fight against removing the CAP and who is a leader of the rank and file movement, was fired and then suspended for 30 days.

The rank and file acted quickly, threatening a wildcat strike that brought International leaders into the plant. Then, a plant gate rally was organized of about 100 workers, over 500 people signed petitions demanding the steward's immediate reinstatement, and finally, a couple of hundred dollars was raised for his aid.

The Company's strategy had failed. Instead of breaking the slowdown, the suspension gave fuel to the flames of discontent and anger. The slowdown continues to this day.

STRENGTH IN UNITY

The question now facing the rank and file is

whether the lessons of this long, hot summer will be learned and carried over into the contract struggle. It is one thing to be angry, and another to wage a programmatic fight. Essential to this is that the struggle against racism be carried forward within the ranks of the white workers in the skilled and rail-car divisions.

The example of Black and white automotive workers who united in the struggle around the CAP and the steward shows that this can be a successful campaign and one which must be waged if the rank and file is to progress in this year's contract struggle.



AT THE CONVENTIONS

Neither the Democratic Convention in New York City in July nor the Republican affair in Kansas City in August held many surprises. Jimmy Carter, the ex-Governor of Georgia who made his money in peanuts (and cheap, non-union labor to process them), was enthusiastically nominated by a "united" Democratic Party for whom the smell of victory in November was powerful indeed. And Gerald Ford, a petty reactionary Michigan Representative who ended up President of the United States through no fault of his own, narrowly squeaked past southern California's answer to George Wallace, Ronald Reagan. What is there of significance, from a working class point of view, behind all the ballyhoo of the two conventions?

TWO PARTIES MOVE TO THE RIGHT

The most outstanding development is clearly the marked *rightward drift* of both parties, formalized by their respective conventions. Focusing on the Democrats, since they are the party most able to manipulate and deceive the working people of the U.S. (and are also the party most likely to occupy the White House come November), we come up against a platform that promises little, to say the least.

There are the standard planks calling for a federal jobs program, for national health insurance, for a guaranteed annual income to replace the welfare system, for tax reform—but they have all been "Carterized." That is, they have all been subjected to Jimmy Carter's specialty: talking out of both sides of his mouth, on any given issue, and then rapidly smothering it to death with "trust me" toothy grins and "hallelujahs" to his own (alleged) "honesty, integrity, and sincerity"—accompanied by an unmistakable odor of holiness.

BOTH PARTIES TILT

Jimmy Carter "supports" the Humphrey-Hawkins Full Employment Bill, he says; but he also says (especially to business audiences) that he opposes the government becoming the "employer of last resort"—which is an integral part of the Humphrey-Hawkins Bill. Jimmy Carter is for tax reform, because the rich get away with murder, and the present system is "an insult to the human race"; but his chief economic advisor, Larry Klein of the University of Pennsylvania, recently stated in the local papers that "tax reform" means *less taxes on corporations*, not on consumers.

.....
 "Many Wall Streeters find it reassuring that Carter's chief economic advisor is Lawrence Klein, president-elect of the American Economic Association. Carter's choice of Klein, they reason, suggests that there are probably no vital differences between Carter and Ford or Reagan about inflation and interest-rates. Robert Baylis, senior vice-president of the First Boston Corp., a leading investment banking firm, concludes: 'Within a year, the election may well not make much difference to the market.'"

.....
 ("How financial pros rate the candidates," MONEY, August, 1976, page 35.)

Jimmy Carter is *for* more government spending, for national health insurance, welfare reform, federal housing programs; but he is also *against* government spending and the Washington bureaucracy it finances. Carter is *for* the Black people, but also *for* "ethnic purity"; and so on.

In fact, the only thing Jimmy Carter is 100%, clearly and definitely *for* is Jimmy Carter. . . and, of course,

"restoring people's faith in government," "restoring morality in government," etc. This is real nice, but it doesn't exactly speak to the needs of the laid-off clothing worker, to the single mother with four small children, to the retired worker whose pension just got ripped-off, to the miner who risks cave-ins and explosions every day.

CARTER COWERS BEFORE CONTROVERSY

What's more, the Democrats behaved in a *cowardly* fashion on the "emotional" issues that are the stock-in-trade of right-wing demagogues like Wallace and Reagan. Carter, and the entire convention, ran as fast as they could away from busing, abortion, and amnesty.

While the Democratic platform pays lip service to busing as a last resort measure and holds to the status quo on abortion, these positions represent reluctantly-granted concessions to organized Black and women elements within the party, rather than any commitment to defending democratic rights. Certainly Carter, who personally disapproves of abortion and maintains a discreet silence on busing, is unlikely to take even these minimal planks to the voters in an aggressive fashion. What will happen is that the Democrats will try to minimize their differences with the Republicans on these questions.

WILL OF THE PEOPLE?

What is the meaning of Carter's sweep of the primaries and the unification of the Democratic Party under his leadership? Carter would have it that his performance reflects "the will of the people," that people this year are not interested in issues (he calls them formulas) but in "basic moral values."



PART 1 History of independent political action **POLITICS of the FARMER-LABOR PARTY**

FAR-FETCHED IDEA?

Well, the fact is that a third party which would represent working, poor and oppressed people in this country is not such a far-fetched idea. In fact, such parties have existed in our own history, and despite tremendous harassment by the ruling class, treachery by the labor bureaucracy, and despite real inexperience and mistakes, these parties have not only influenced the course of the two major parties, but have won significant victories of their own.

Attempts to form independent political parties date all the way back to 1828. As we start to think seriously about forming a people's party today, we need to take a look at some of those parties, both to gain inspiration and to learn from their mistakes. We'll focus on the attempts in this century -- taking a look at the Farmer-Labor movement of the 20's this issue.

In 1924 Robert LaFollette and his running mate Wheeler polled 5 million out of the total of 30 million votes cast, running independent of both the Republican and Democratic parties. This was the strongest independent movement up until that time, one which was not to be matched again until the 1940's.

ANTI-MONOPOLY POPULISM

The LaFollette movement didn't have a clearly defined program beyond a kind of vague populist demand that the power of the monopolies be curbed. While the platform called for breaking "the combined power of the private monopoly system over the political and economic life of the American people," this was translated into few concrete demands. It did call for public ownership of two industries, water power and railroads, and the reform of the court and tax systems.

As Hillman, then head of the ACWA said, however, the campaign consisted of "a few slogans and a dominant personality." The votes came from the workers and farmers, from the oppressed of the nation, but the leadership of the movement was firmly in the hands of middle class liberals and the labor bureaucracy -- neither

of which had any intention of letting the movement grow into the militant organization which would really represent the masses of voters. These petty-bourgeois interests were concentrated in three political organizations:

- 1) The Non-Partisan League, a left-wing formation within the GOP, concentrated in the midwest and northeast, which adopted the tactics of attempting to bore from within the two major political parties;
- 2) the Committee of '48, a nationwide grouping of liberals, mostly intellectuals, fighting for liberal reform of the system and the powerful defense of civil liberties;
- and 3) the Plumb Plan movement, organized in 1919 by the Locomotive Engineers and Machinists Unions and calling for government ownership and democratic operation of railroads.

None of these groupings had a clear and consistent commitment to the development of a third party which would maintain strict independence from the interests of big business. They focused their energies on the reform struggle, often reducing their activity to that of more traditional pressure groups.

FARMER-LABOR PARTIES

Clearly the most progressive trend within the LaFollette movement grew out of the farmer-labor parties which sprang up locally and even on state-wide levels all over the country from 1918 on. These parties had met with some significant successes in state and local elections. For example, in Minnesota, the Farmer-Labor party elected two members to Congress, a senator and later a Governor.

The leadership of this movement came from the Chicago Federation of Labor, whose head, Fitzpatrick, had developed a close relationship with the many leftists and communists who provided the backbone to the major organizing campaigns of the period. Together the CFL and the Workers' Party (the Communist Party) founded the National Labor Party in 1919, which was expanded to the Farmer-Labor Party in 1920. In its Declaration of Principles the National Labor Party explains:

Each time we go through another round of primaries, local or national, Democratic or Republican, we hear a whole new string of promises and testimonials about how everybody is for the working person. And as one representative of big business follows another onto the political stage, as we prepare to choose between a Carter or a Reagan or a Ford or a Schweiker who's now trying to convince us that he wasn't all that much for the working people after all, more and more of us are making and are hearing comments about how much we need a political party that really is for the working class -- a political party that doesn't belong lock stock and barrel to the major monopolies.

But just as often as we'll hear such comments, we get the old "you'll never see it -- there's no party that can challenge the big two. You need too much money and pull to get into politics. Forget it, it's a dirty game anyway."

TO

THE
RIGHT



In fact, Carter's popular appeal would seem to be rooted in disenchantment with politicians and their habit of freely promising everything to everybody and then forgetting all these promises (except to big business) once the polls are closed.

Carter benefited from his unfamiliarity. Since most people had never heard of him, it was easier to believe his anti-establishment rhetoric. In other words, Carter was the beneficiary of an anti-politician, post-Watergate vote in the primaries.

While Carter portrays himself as independent of the old line Democratic Party establishment and the various party factions, this is more public relations than fact. While the business elements and the labor bureaucracy would have preferred a time-tested servant like Jackson or Humphrey, it was clear early on that they could settle for Carter.

Political regulars like Chicago's Mayor Daley came out early for Carter. And the party's reform wing, the old McGovernites, proved ready to swallow him in exchange for a few largely meaningless phrases in the party rules and platform.

LABOR LEADERS' ROLE

The role of labor here deserves special attention. The AFL-CIO, still irked at the Democrats' delegate-selection procedures, tended to "sit out" the early primaries. At the same time, a "progressive coalition" of three AFL-CIO unions—the IAM, CWA, and AFSCME—joined with the UAW and the UMW (along with the National Education Association) in an effort to secure strong delegate representation at the convention, and threw their lot in with Carter. They reasoned that in spite of his anti-labor record (Georgia is a bastion of "right to work" laws, cheap labor, and racist discrimination), it was better to be "in" than "out."

Leonard Woodcock, president of the UAW, took the lead here, and announced UAW support for Carter without consulting his own Executive Board (who leaned toward Humphrey). Since then, the rumor has been circulating that Woodcock is Carter's first choice for Secretary of HEW after he retires at the end of '76. At the

same time, the UAW is negotiating to rejoin the AFL-CIO once Meany steps down—and "their own man" in the White House would certainly put them in a position of strength.

CARTER AND THE PARTY

In point of fact, no one receives the Democratic Party nomination and retains "independence." The party is dominated by the liberal wing of the capitalist class, and only those willing to do its bidding have the prize bestowed upon them. While we do not yet know all the details, we can be sure that Carter, on his road to secure the nomination, has borrowed heavily for financial support and political backing from the "special interests." We can rest assured that these debts will be collected come November.

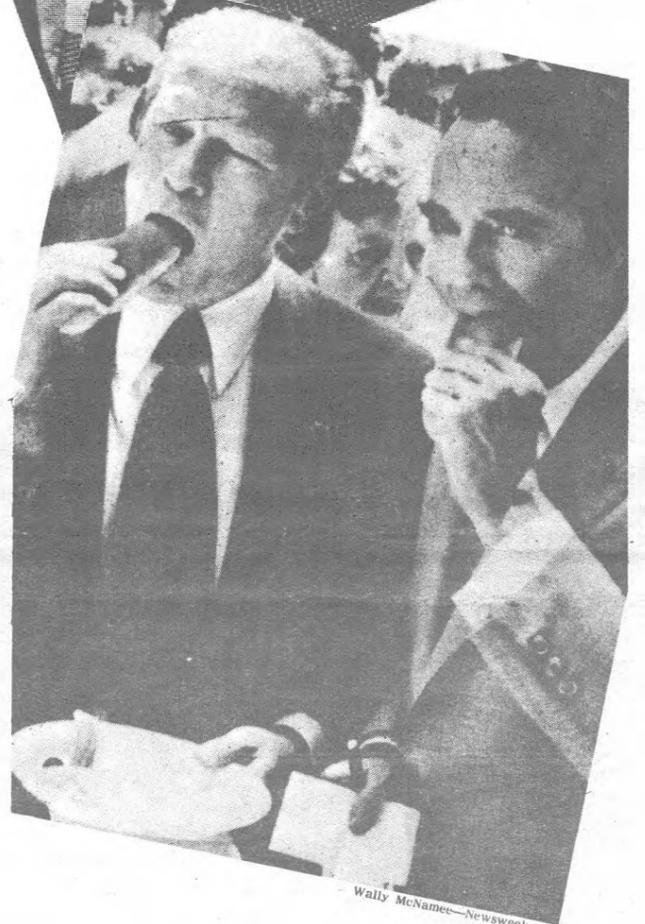
The triumph of Carter cannot be taken as a sign that the electorate, the masses of working people who make up the Democratic Party rank and file voters, are demanding a more "conservative" program. The extreme reaction peddled by Wallace and the more sophisticated brand Henry Jackson was selling were both solidly rejected at the polls. What is true is that voters have lost confidence in the New Deal style corporate liberalism, represented by the likes of Udall, Shriver, etc., and Carter benefited from this.

It is the bourgeoisie and not the working people who are demanding a more conservative program. Faced with a severe economic crisis and a weakened position internationally, the capitalists want to "tighten up." The rightward shift of the Democratic Party is first and foremost a product of the needs and mood of the monopolists. Carter was in the right place at the right time to serve that purpose.

REPUBLICANS "TIGHTEN UP"

These pressures on the capitalists to "tighten up" are also revealed in the recent Republican Convention. The super-profits from capitalist investments in the develop-

continued on page 19



WORKERS' VOICES



William Z. Foster

joined the Communist Party and became the Party's chairman. A skilled labor organizer and mass leader, Foster was instrumental in leading the packing house organizing drive during World War I and was a key figure in the 1919 steel strike. The following selection is from Pages From a Worker's Life, an autobiographical work.

A TAMMANY ELECTION

It is an old story that Tammany Hall in New York City, similarly to corrupt political machines in scores of other American cities and states, has falsified innumerable elections by wholesale buying of votes, stuffing of ballot boxes, failing to tally opposition ballots and by various other crooked devices. The following episode points its own moral.

A Socialist speaker, a prominent figure locally in the New York Socialist Party, was delivering a speech at a street corner on the lower East Side, during the 1912 elections.

At that time most of the garment workers still lived in this congested slum area, and the Socialist Party had a strong following among them. There was a large crowd, and the speaker made an effective speech. On the edge of the gathering stood the Tammany Hall precinct leader, much interested.

When the speaker had concluded and climbed down from his portable platform, the Tammany heeler sidled over to him and said:

"That was a fine speech you made, me boy. I think you'll poll sixteen votes for it on election day."

This made the Socialist a bit wroth and he replied:

"What do you mean, sixteen? This precinct is one of our Party's strongholds. We'll get many times that; we'll carry the precinct."

By now the Tammany man was also hot under the collar and he shouted:

"I told you sixteen votes, didn't I? Well, that settles it. Not a single one more will you get!"

Now, indeed, the Socialist speaker was angry. He reported the matter to the city committee and it was decided to make an extra effort to carry this particular precinct. Accordingly, additional speakers were sent in, many meetings were held and special house-to-house work was done. The workers responded well and as the election took place the Party local leaders were positive they had won the precinct.

But when the detailed election returns were made public, there, sure enough, the Party in the precinct was credited with the famous sixteen votes. And so the thing stood. Nor could all the Party's protests and demands for a recount change matters.

August-September '76, page 11

on capitalist elections

William Z. Foster was born in South Philadelphia in 1881. He went to work at the age of ten, laboring in the lumber, farm, construction, chemical and transport industries. When unable to work Foster hoboed, seeing much of the U. S. As a sailor he traveled around the world. Facing harsh exploitation as a worker, Foster turned to the labor movement. He joined the Industrial Workers of the World, and later founded the Syndicalist League of North America, a revolutionary trade unionists' group. Foster later

the sickness on the left

DOGMATISM and the



* A group of Black workers at a plant with a long history of racism are discussing filing an EEOC suit against the company. Our "Marxist-Leninist" steps forward to provide leadership. The workers are treated to a lengthy presentation on the class nature of the state --The state, you see, is in the hands of the bourgeoisie, so filing a suit would be playing right into their hands, Get it?

* Some leftists and workers are meeting to plan support action for a hospital strike. Our "Marxist-Leninist" takes the floor and inquires if they all realize that their projected support activities are "mere trade union struggle" and "economist" to boot. The leftists sigh. . . everyone else looks confused and embarrassed.

* A rank and file caucus is meeting. A protest is being planned at the union hall after the union leadership has collaborated with the companies in cutting back fringe benefits. Our "Marxist-Leninist" rises to the occasion and delivers a fine summation of Lenin's Left Wing Communism and our solemn obligation to work in the trade unions. We should not be attacking the union but the bosses, he explains. The workers assume the young man is new to the industry and patiently try to explain to him the facts of class collaboration. He leaves the meeting looking puzzled.

* The workers at a particular shop have been hit with wage cuts. Working conditions have deteriorated, leading to spontaneous protests and work stoppages. Our "Marxist-Leninist" leaflets the shop. The leaflet has a paragraph outlining the specific problems in the shop tacked on to a two page single spaced manifesto that identifies the main contradictions in the world today, calls for concerted action against the two superpowers, and ends with a stirring proclamation calling for the creation of a Marxist-Leninist vanguard party. The janitor has to work overtime to clean up all the crumpled leaflets on the shop floor.

GRIP OF DOGMATISM

For all too many workers this is the face of Marxism-Leninism that they encounter in the shops and in the day-to-day struggle in the unions. These incidents are all examples of the grip of dogmatism on the Communist movement today.

What is dogmatism? For some it equals any serious attempt to study revolutionary theory as it was developed by Marx, Engels, Lenin and so forth. These revolutionaries worship "practice," by which they mean their own experience, their own narrow political activity. They refuse to see that practice in its broader historical sense is exactly what Marx and the August-September '76, page 12

other great theorists sought to understand and sum up. This sort of opposition to dogmatism is nothing but a fig leaf to hide contempt for theory.

A popular understanding of dogmatism is that it consists of the parroting of what the Soviets said in an earlier period or what the Chinese say today. Certainly this is one of the earmarks of dogmatism. The slavish devotion of many in our movement to the line of the Chinese Communist Party has been underlined by recent events in Angola, where any attempt at an independent analysis showed that the Chinese party had made some serious errors.

The uncritical acceptance of the line of the Communist International of 1928 on the Afro-American national question (namely that Black people in the Black Belt South constitute a nation) in spite of profound social and economic changes since that time is another example of the same mentality. But this aspect of dogmatism does not get at its essence.

GUIDE TO ACTION

Lenin summed up the underlying error in all the incidents we cited at the beginning when he said: "Our theory is not a dogma, but a guide to action, Marx and Engels always said, rightly ridiculing the mere memorizing and repetition of formulas that at best are capable only of marking out general tasks, which are necessarily modifiable by the concrete economic and political conditions of each particular period of the historical process."

Our dogmatists have undoubtedly memorized this quotation along with all the others, but as the examples we cited show this did not prevent them substituting the "repetition of formulas" for the concrete application of Marxist principles to the particular situation. Our dogmatists are quite vocal when it comes to our "general tasks" -- they will wax eloquent on the need for a vanguard party, the dictatorship of the proletariat, and proletarian internationalism.

But they have very little to say that is useful when it comes to posing a concrete strategical and tactical path of action to actualize these concepts. A Marxism that remains on the plane of our general tasks is next

to useless because it cannot be a guide to action. It cannot address the real and immediate problems that are posed by the concrete situation.

A theory that is rooted in dogmatism cannot possibly generate an effective practice. The result is that our most extreme dogmatists do not even try. They belittle mass work and avoid the class struggle like a plague. They reduce Communist work to "memorization and repetition of formulas." The formulas are conscientiously learned in study groups and duly repeated in endless polemics which are only of interest to other dogmatists and in leaflets at the factory gate which are read by virtually no one.

This, for the most part, is the practice of the ultra-dogmatist "revolutionary wing," a sorry collection of groups that appear to be united principally around an understanding that the work of building a party consists of pure and simple study and propaganda and should not be contaminated by any involvement in the impure mass movements.

Others, and here we would include the October League and the Revolutionary Communist Party, do seriously attempt to provide leadership in the class struggle. They understand to some degree at least that this is the key test for Marxist-Leninists. But the influence of dogmatism here also makes itself felt and has the end result of either furthering the isolation of Communists from the masses or misleading sections of the mass movement.

DOGMATISM AND SECTARIANISM

Dogmatism, when carried over from the realm of theory into the world of actual events, produces sectarianism. The dogmatist, guided by a set of abstract and timeless truths, cannot modify and tailor our general tasks to the concrete situation. The result is a policy that is no policy at all because of its abstractness or worse yet a policy that because of its failure to take into account the particulars of the situation, is plain wrong.

Sectarianism is the politics of revolutionary phrasemaking. . . "the repetition of revolutionary slogans irrespective of objective circumstances. . ." As Lenin continued on next page

'Revolutionary Phrase'

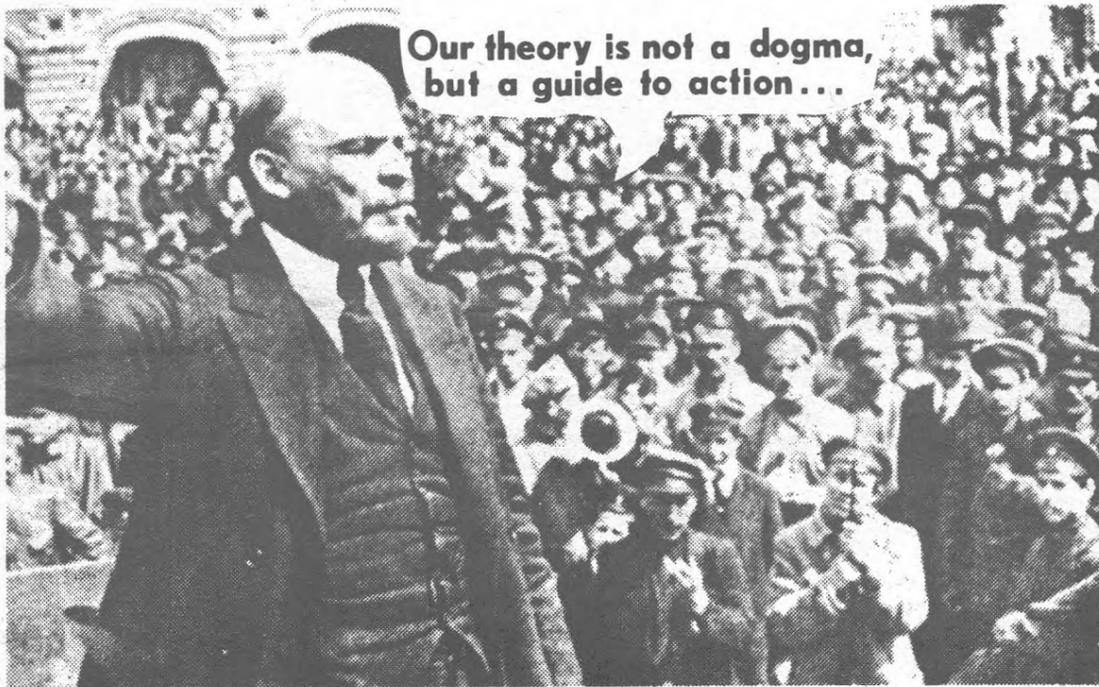
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put it: "... the slogans are superb, alluring, intoxicating, but there are no grounds for them." The OL's slogan "No unity of action with Revisionism" is an example of revolutionary phrasemongering in the guise of a policy. It sounds very revolutionary, with its uncompromising and strongly stated opposition to revisionism. But when analysed in terms of the actual state of our movement and the tasks that face us its emptiness becomes readily apparent.

The plain facts of the matter are that the revisionists are a larger factor in the mass movements than we are. To refuse to join in activities in which the revisionists play a major role is to cut ourselves off from the broad masses who unite with this activity. It is to leave them at the mercy of the revisionists. Objectively it narrows the field of influence of anti-revisionism and strengthens the influence of revisionism. The posture of being "more revolutionary than thou" cannot hide the bankruptcy of this position.

SECTARIANISM LEADS TO ISOLATION

Sectarianism, when it does not consist of empty phrases, is almost always guilty of being too many steps ahead of the mass movement to be able to lead. Sectarianism poses a program that may be very fine in the abstract, but that fails to make connection with the real state of development of the mass movement. The result is inevitably isolation of the Communists.



Sometimes a sectarian policy may succeed in capturing sections of the advanced workers. Then the result is to split off these workers along with the Communists from the broad center, and thus further divide and weaken the movement.

The practice of both the Revolutionary Communist Party and the October League in the trade unions reflects this sectarian approach. Instead of working to build a broad left-center alliance that unites Communists with the mass of workers, our ultra-leftists draw a handful of advanced workers into forms based on a program that fairly bristles with revolutionary-sounding phrases and politically advanced demands, but cannot possibly serve as a rallying point for struggle for the broader ranks.

Why does dogmatism have such strength in our movement today? Much of it has to do with our historical development as a reaction to both the anti-intellectualism of the New Left and the pathetic reformism of the CPUSA.

The New Left, which dominated the political landscape of the 1960's, at best underestimated the importance of theory and was woefully ignorant of Marxism. At its worst it advocated a mindless politics of "doing your own thing" which was hostile to even thinking very much let alone developing a systematic theory. Much of our movement developed out of the civil rights, anti-war, and student struggles of the sixties. The failures of these movements underlined the need for theory and organization.

The most serious survivors of the New Left took up Marxism-Leninism as an antidote to spontaneity. This of course was a necessary and positive development. But at least among significant sections of the new Communist movement, there was an overreaction that tended towards book worship and a profound distrust of the mass movement.

REACTION TO REVISIONISM

The attempt to recreate a revolutionary Marxist trend in the US has occurred against the backdrop of the triumph of revisionism in the CPUSA and the degeneration of that once proud party. Lenin remarked that the strength of ultra-leftism in his time was the price the working class movement pays for the sins of opportunism. So it is with us today.

Since the 1950's all the efforts to build a new Marxist-Leninist party have been swamped by ultra-leftism. The RCP, the OL, and the Revolutionary Wing are all travelling a well-worn path, first blazed by the Provisional Organizing Committee and the Progressive Labor Party. The anti-revisionist movement, while full of good intentions and revolutionary spirit, has failed to meet its theoretical tasks. It has for the most part been unable to counter revisionism with anything more than revolutionary phrases and sectarian practice. It has been unable to grasp revisionism dialectically, and has instead fallen into a

knee-jerk emotionalism, which often as not, rejects not only reformism but the reform struggle as well.

Many in the Marxist-Leninist movement have identified this theoretical poverty as the historical Achilles heel of the revolutionary labor movement in the US. They have correctly seen that the tradition of pragmatism or a generalized indifference to the development of revolutionary theory must be overcome if we are to succeed where past generations have failed.

Unfortunately, our dogmatists, in their eagerness to bury this legacy, have dug themselves into a hole. The dogmatists of today call to mind the German immigrant Marxists whom Engels never tired of lambasting for their preoccupation with abstract theory, their ignorance of the American conditions and their hostility to the "impure" workers' movement in the US.

STRENGTH OF INTELLECTUALISM

Finally, the strength of dogmatism is to some degree a reflection of the class composition of our movement. . . the continuing preponderance of students and petty-bourgeois intellectuals over proletarian elements. Finished abstract systems have a certain appeal to the petty-bourgeois intellectual. The test of practice always endangers such systems and is thus naturally to be avoided. Such people are satisfied to cultivate their purity in isolation from the nasty complexities of the class struggle.

Ultra-leftism has a definite material basis in the isolation from socialized production that is characteristic of the petty-bourgeoisie as a class. The revolutionary minded petty-bourgeoisie characteristically lacks discipline and staying power and this impatience often finds its way into the movement in the form of super-revolutionary sounding programs, a tendency to skip over important steps and stages, and the habit of jumping the gun.

These highs of revolutionary frenzy are often followed by lows of utter demoralization and acceptance of the bourgeois order. The careers of New Left leaders Rennie Davis and Jerry Rubin, who in a matter of a short time made the transition from super-revolutionaries to public relations men for religious cults which preach passivity to capitalist oppression, illustrate this point.

DEEPER INTO THE WORKERS' MOVEMENT

While the class composition of our movement inevitably produces these tendencies, their dominance is by no means inevitable. By studying Marxism-Leninism and creatively applying it to the conditions of our society, by sinking deep roots in the working class and by working to provide leadership in the class struggle, our movement can proletarianize itself, both by transforming the outlook of its cadre drawn from the student and intellectual strata and by winning over substantial numbers of advanced workers.

Today we are in the period of laying the groundwork for the construction of a genuine Communist Party. One of our most critical tasks is the exposure of opportunism as part of the process of forging unity around a correct political line. Today it is left opportunism, in the form of dogmatism and sectarianism, which is holding back our movement.

It is this mistaken line which is diverting sections of the party-building movement away from the difficult but absolutely necessary task of building a Communist current in the workers' movement. It is this line which is preventing the Communist forces from broadening their influence among the democratic movements of women and the oppressed nationalities. It is this line which is driving a wedge between the revolutionary working class here in the US and the national liberation movements in the oppressed countries.

This article begins a series devoted to the exposure of dogmatism. In the next issue we will examine the approach of the dogmatist trend to the question of party building.

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If you call up the Bicentennial Visitors Center and ask for information on the Labor History Exhibit, don't be surprised if they sound like they never heard of it. Located at the ILGWU building at 8th and Arch, the Exhibit attracts only an average of about 30 visitors a day.

Considering the rich history of the workers' movement in the US, the struggles and triumphs of the working people of all nationalities, and the simple fact that it was the working people who built this country with their hands and sweat and lives -- this certainly had the potential of being an exciting exhibit that could give some real meaning to the empty red-white-and-blueism of the Bicentennial celebration.

However, the Labor History Exhibit, sponsored by the AFL-CIO, is very disappointing.

In school, we are taught very little about our own history -- the struggles of working people, men and women, Black and white. Unfortunately, this exhibit is little better than a replay of a high school text book. It is full of facts and dates and quotes and data, but void of any content as to what the workers' movement was and is fighting for -- the future of our class.

PHOTOS REFLECT OUR HISTORY

Most telling are not the recorded narrations, but the photographs themselves, which tell in the face of their subjects of the oppression, the hope, and the struggle of working people in this country.

When you enter, you may be encouraged to view the "outdoor exhibit" first. This is not a bad idea, as it is indeed the poorest part of the display. Industry by industry, union by union, the history is presented in pictures and text on large display boards.

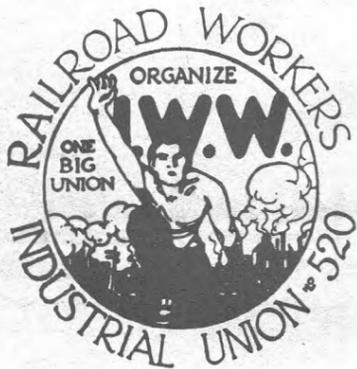


Elizabeth Gurley Flynn of the IWW during silk workers' strike in Paterson, N.J., 1913.

The outdoor industry exhibits stress the early history of the particular trade -- much of which was carried on household by household by families in colonial pre-industrial times. The industrialization of these "cottage industries" such as textile brought with it miserable wages and working conditions. Next, we see how "labor" encouraged and won the passage of laws which protected women and children, established minimum wages, the 8-hour day, and so on.

HOW DID WE WIN THESE VICTORIES?

However, there is simply no explanation as to how the unions came to be and how some of the limited victories we have achieved



were won. It is as if all of a sudden the US government and its Big Business Backers from time to time bestowed these gracious gifts of legislation upon us.

"States passed minimum wage laws..." says the textile exhibit. The steel display says, "Labor urged FDR" to enact the Fair Employment Practices Committee.

What of the long and bitter battles, the marches, the strikes which nearly led to starvation, the fighting spirit and solidarity of those mass movements which in fact forced the US government to hear the voice of the working people, and concede in law that which had been won in fact on the picket line, at the sit-down strike? This is not really part of the labor history our present labor "leadership" wants us to know.

MAIN EXHIBIT -- WHO ARE THE IMMIGRANTS?

The main exhibit is much more attractively presented and professionally run than the outdoor portion, but the political content is essentially the same. As we enter, we look over the shoulders of an immigrant family on shipdeck as the ship enters New York Harbor during the late 1800's. On the opposite wall are beautiful photographs of immigrant workers, detailed closeups of their faces. But all the immigrant workers did not come from Europe -- not by a long shot. Although we will see one drawing of a slave ship later in the exhibit, nowhere will we see the Chinese who built the railroads or the Mexicans who planted and harvested the vast western farms. The early history of the labor movement from colonial times to the civil war is briefly and dryly presented in photos and drawings. The lost role of workers and artisans during the 1776 revolution is brought out.

Here appears one of the two mentions of Black people in the entire exhibit. The striking racism of the entire display is made evident by this section, where an engraving of life aboard a slave cargo ship is hung beneath a text saying that indentured servants were worse off than chattel slaves. "The Lot of labor was hard, indeed! Bound and free!"

The remainder of the drawings continue to depict the labor of the slaves as if it were no different from the free wage labor of the white American workers. The rebellions and resistance of the slaves is unaccounted for, and all of a sudden, Abraham Lincoln appears and the emancipation proclamation is given.

RACISM AND THE AFL-CIO

This version of our early history is common in backward history books, but one would hope that the AFL-CIO would not ignore altogether the fact that the wealth of this country was built ON THE BACKS of Black chattel slaves. But from our experience in unions where the leadership pretends racism and discrimination simply do not exist, it was hardly surprising.

The history of the labor movement continues now, with superficial coverage of the Knights of Labor, the Haymarket martyrs. A very good photo exhibit of child laborers mentions that child labor still exists on the large farms, but neglects to depict the struggles of the United Farm Workers against the brutal conditions of child labor. It is as if to say, "child labor was a horrible practice, but as long as it's only Chicano children who labor in the fields today, we can consider the struggle just about over." Such racism is obvious in each and every display.

MINER'S STORY

Perhaps the most attractive and interesting part is about the miners. Here, you enter into a dark tunnel, lighted on the sides with pictures of the miners and their families in company towns and at work. Old mining tools are enclosed in lighted cases. And the songs of the miners' struggles "ring out" from the little microphone -- "Miners' Life-guard," "Which Side Are You On," and others.

However, the narrative attributes the spirit of the miners not to their solidarity in struggle against conditions in the mines, but to the fact that people who face death every day develop a kind of "rich humor." While it is in the mining exhibit more than anywhere else that we almost begin to feel the fighting determination of the workers' movement come alive, it is an insult indeed, for that spirit to be attributed to imminent death rather than recognizing it is born of the struggle to abolish such dangerous conditions.

Next we come to a special display on the role of women in the labor movement -- we see photographs of the Lowell "mill girls" of 1880 and of "Rosie the Riveter" of 1943 (again, the Black cotton picker and household worker are conspicuously absent)

and read how women have had to overcome their second class status. "Today women are coming into their own especially as public employees and service employees become organized." Again, everything in the *passive* tense! These industries didn't just somehow miraculously "become organized!" Why the fear to call the "second-class status" what it is: sex discrimination? And why ignore the still-rampant sexism that exists not only on the part of the companies and their policies, but also within the labor movement?

Frustrated, let's move on to the 20th century of the labor movement. We learn of the building of the AFL, see photos of Eugene Debs, and look at reproductions of IWW posters and cartoons. "Posters, cartoons, plays, and songs and rhetoric were the hallmarks of the Wobblies," the text says. But the so-called rhetoric of the militant Wobblies who called for "one Big Union" is never actually compared to the sell-out policies of Sam Gompers so we can judge for ourselves just who was being "rhetorical" in their calls to improve the conditions of working people.

HISTORY OF THE CIO

Not surprisingly, the history of the CIO -- one of the proudest chapters in our struggle -- is tamed and prettified. Of course, photographs of police and strikers fighting, of



workers being dragged away from picket lines by Pinkerton men are impressive to look at. They ought to make us realize the kind of fights our parents and grandparents went through to organize the unions we belong to today.

But the leadership of those unions would have us believe that "Out of depression and violence of the '30s the CIO was born." "Was born" -- again a passive description of what was really an active fight. To read the texts and listen to the recordings, you'd think that John L. Lewis formed the CIO singlehandedly, after some "successful experiment."

ROLE OF THE LEFT IGNORED

In fact, of course, the CIO and the struggle for industrial unionism was hard won through the sit-down strikes in the auto industry, where thousands of workers, under the leadership of communists, lived in the factories of the midwest under siege from the National Guard, until union recognition was won. Caught up in this militant wave which swept the large factories of the US, Lewis endorsed the cause of industrial unionism. It was not Lewis, but the Communist Party of the USA which provided the

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ABORTION: Every Woman's Right

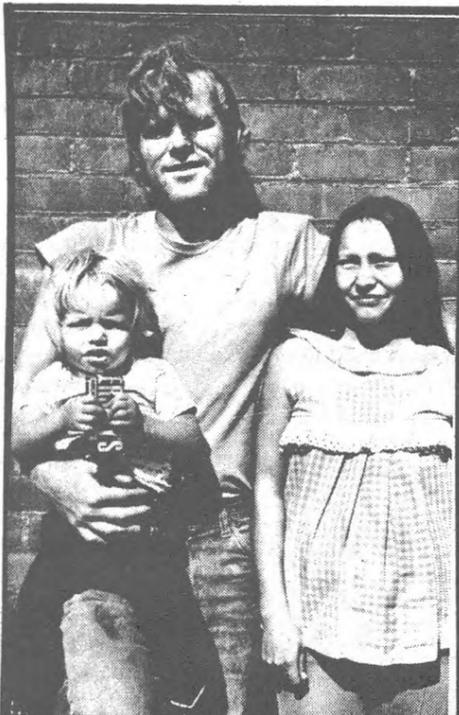
During the past several years, as a result of the economic crisis, there has been an increasing drive on the part of reactionary forces to deny the working class many of the gains which were made over the past decade of struggle. One of the major focuses of these attacks has been on the right of women to obtain a legal abortion, which was granted as a result of a Supreme Court ruling in January of 1973.

THE ANTI-ABORTION MOVEMENT

Since the time of this landmark decision that ruled that women had the right to decide whether or not to terminate a pregnancy, a small but powerful and outspoken anti-abortion movement has developed, mainly with the heavy financial backing of the Catholic Church. The largest organization representing this movement, the National Right-To-Life Committee, has conducted a well-organized, well-financed campaign opposing all abortion reform. It uses such tactics as deluging government representatives with letters stating their anti-abortion views, extensive lobbying and demonstrating, high-powered advertising campaigns to influence the public, and use of Church pulpits to expound their views to their Church membership (nonetheless, the majority of Catholics still support the right of a woman in consultation with her physician to make her own decision, according to Gallup Polls).

While approximately 85% of this organization's membership is Catholic, it maintains a strong alliance with other reactionary forces as well. A clear example of this is in Boston, where ROAR (Restore Our Alienated Rights), famous for its violent opposition to school desegregation, is one of the main forces in a strong local anti-abortion movement. These forces played a major role in the prosecution of Dr. Kenneth Edelin, a Black M. D., who was convicted of manslaughter for legally aborting a late-term fetus from a Black teenager.

This decision, which was a direct attack on the rights of women and national minorities, was made by an all-white jury including 10 Catholics and only 3 women out of twelve members. Although it is being appealed, the



It must be the democratic right of every woman to choose when and if to have children.

effects of this decision have been felt throughout the country. The case of the "guilty" verdict is used as a means of intimidating other physicians and hospitals with the threat of similar legal actions.

'76 CAMPAIGN ISSUE

On the national level, these forces have forced the issue of abortion into a highlight of the presidential campaign and are pushing

for a constitutional amendment to be passed through Congress, the only type of measure which would overrule the Supreme Court decision.

One proposed bill, a "states rights" amendment, supported by Ford, would return responsibility for abortion legality back to the generally more reactionary level of state control. Another type of bill, supported by Reagan, would declare the fetus to be a person from the moment of conception and would thus make abortion not only illegal --but would make it murder!

The other form of anti-abortion activity, supported by Carter, is the introduction of various restrictive measures on both state and national levels which limit the accessibility of abortion.

MYTH AND FACT

In the midst of this raging controversy, much confusion exists on the part of most people concerning issues surrounding abortion. In spite of this confusion, the overwhelming majority (64%) of the population supports the Supreme Court decision. What is myth and what is fact?

MYTH: If available on demand, abortion will become a substitute for contraceptives as a method of birth control.

FACT: Abortion is not a desirable method of birth control, and is not seen as such by the vast majority of those who advocate abortion rights. It is, in fact, only a stop-gap measure of last resort, which is necessary only because of the lack of accessibility, effectiveness, and medical safety of present-day contraceptives. No contraceptive method has been developed that is safe, convenient, inexpensive, and 100% effective even if properly used. In fact, one out of every three couples practicing birth control will have an unplanned pregnancy within five years.

Furthermore, accessibility to contraceptive education and service is still extremely limited, particularly for working class, national minority and teenaged women. In fact, restrictive contraceptive laws still exist in many states!

NEED EXPANDED BIRTH CONTROL PROGRAM

In order to eliminate the need for abortion, positive measures requiring money, personnel, facilities and publicity for easily accessible, low cost birth control services, as well as new research into better techniques is needed. The People's Republic of China is an example of where the right to free abortion on demand is coupled with a positive program of dissemination of contraceptive information and devices. If a woman has an abortion, she then participates in an intensive birth control education program designed to insure that she will not need to return for another abortion.

MYTH: Restrictive abortion laws help to curb excessive use of abortions.

FACT: An estimated one million abortions were performed annually even before legalization. Statistics show that women who need abortions will get them by whatever means necessary -- the question is whether they will be safe, legal abortions performed by qualified personnel or illegal, dangerous ones performed by incompetent butchers, or by crude self-induced methods such as coat hangers.

In fact, botched abortions were the leading cause of death associated with pregnancy before legalization of abortion. Furthermore, during a three-year period 79% of New York City's abortion deaths occurred among national minority women. The abortion death rate was 4.7 times as high for Puerto Rican

women, and eight times as high for Black women as for white women.

MINORITY WOMEN SUFFER

Meanwhile, 90% of the years' legal abortions were given to white women. Clearly where abortion was restricted or illegal, rich white women had access to safe abortions, while working class and national minority women had almost no access to information about legal or safe illegal abortion sources, nor to the money to pay the exorbitant charges involved.

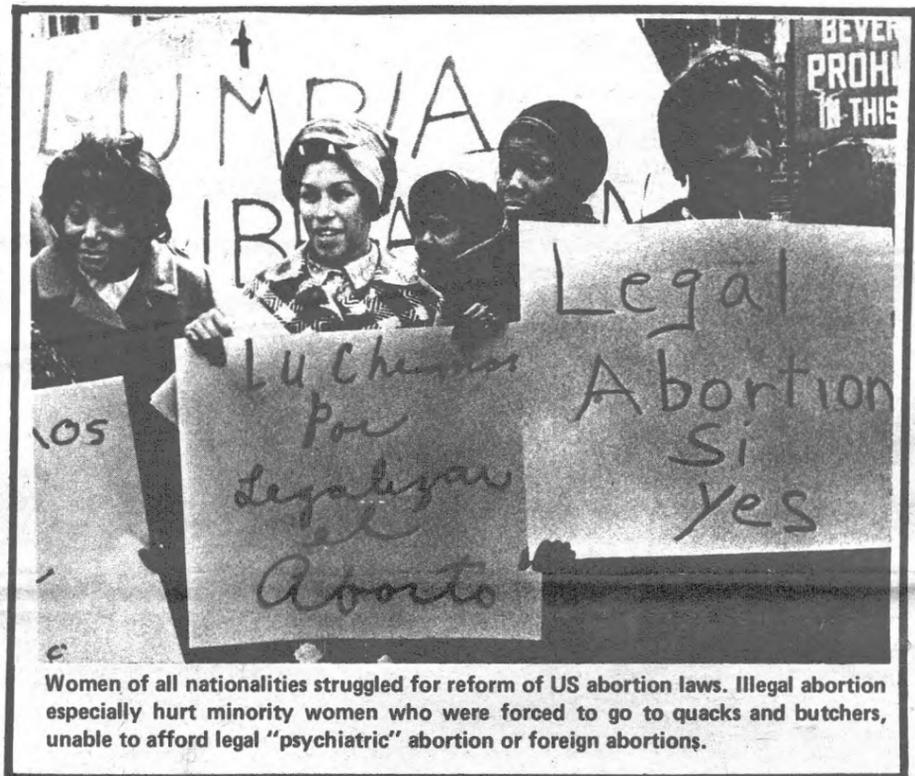
However, even with the limited access to abortion existing now, striking changes have already occurred since legalization of abortion. During 1973, the first year that abortion was legal nationwide, there was a 40% drop in maternal mortality from abortions.

the still often exorbitant cost of abortion and the reactionary atmosphere of intimidation, combine to make abortion practically unavailable to the majority of women in need of abortion.

MYTH: National minorities should oppose legalization of abortion as a form of genocide.

RACISM AND BIRTH CONTROL POLICIES

FACT: It is true that the US government is attempting to use certain forms of birth control as its answer to dealing with problems of poverty and unemployment, as well as problems of rebellion and revolution both in the US and abroad. Various forms of racist



Women of all nationalities struggled for reform of US abortion laws. Illegal abortion especially hurt minority women who were forced to go to quacks and butchers, unable to afford legal "psychiatric" abortion or foreign abortions.

During the first two years of New York's liberal statute, deaths from illegal abortions in New York City declined from an average of 23 to seven per year, while admissions to city hospitals for infected abortions declined drastically.

Furthermore, 70% of legal abortions have proven to be replacements of illegal ones, rather than abortions that would not otherwise have occurred.

MYTH: Abortion is now accessible to anyone as a result of the 1973 Supreme Court decision.

FACT: A 1974 survey showed that a full year after legalization, only 30-50% of women who needed abortions were able to obtain them. Only 15% of public hospitals reported even one abortion, while non-hospital clinics provided more than half of all abortions. Of the estimated 400-900,000 women unable to obtain abortions, about half were poor, reflecting the failure of public hospitals to provide abortion services to working class and national minority women.

RESTRICTIONS AFFECT THE POOR

This is mainly due to the various "restrictive measures" involved in abortion: "performance requirements" specifying when and where abortions are to take place, "consent laws" requiring parental or spousal consent, "conscience clauses" permitting hospitals to refuse the use of facilities for abortions; rules challenging whether Medicaid will pay for abortions; laws prohibiting Legal Services from handling abortion related cases.

All of these restrict access to abortion, especially for working class and national minority women, and will involve major court decisions to overrule. These, combined with

propaganda, concerning population control and "decreasing the welfare rolls" are part of this policy.

The most vicious method presently being used against national minority women is that of forced sterilization as a condition for welfare benefits. The use of national minority women for experimental "guinea pigs" for new techniques (e.g. the pill) is likewise a racist policy in the use of birth control.

The working class movement must vehemently oppose all forms of coercion in birth control methods used by the US government against national minorities.

However, these facts cannot be confused and result in a denial of the right of national minority women to the use of contraceptives and voluntary legal safe abortion, in order that they can freely determine when to have or not to have children. It is only by access to these measures that the viciously discriminatory abuses sighted earlier in this article will be eliminated.

WORKING CLASS STAKE IN WOMEN'S RIGHT TO ABORTION

In view of these facts, what should be the approach of the working class movement towards the issue of abortion?

As is the policy in all socialist countries, we should fight for the right to free or low-cost abortion on demand, combined with a positive program for education on and development of contraceptive methods, accessible at low cost to all women. This is the only method by which we can guarantee the right of every woman to determine the size of her family and the role which she will play in society as a whole.

Q.E.D. HITS PLAN

"Window Dressing... Not Desegregation"

On July 26, the Philadelphia School Board presented to the Pennsylvania Human Relations Commission another one of its "racist in disguise" desegregation plans.

The "voluntary phase" of a two-part plan was initially drawn up by the Board-appointed task force last spring.

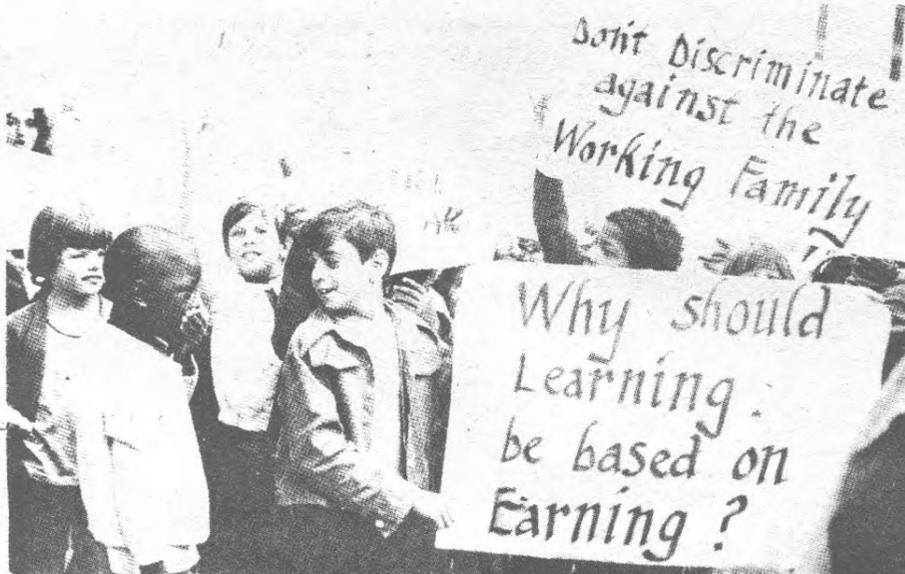
According to the Board, this part of the plan would have impact on 60,000 pupils who would voluntarily be desegregated. It is a known fact that in all of the cities where there has been court-ordered desegregation, and where the voluntary method was applied, such an approach has failed.

Voluntary desegregation means no desegregation. Voluntary sounds very democratic until we think about it. How many workers would be for "voluntary" observance of their union contract by the company? Just as Black workers rightfully reject "voluntary" plan to end company discrimination and demand real teeth in any plan, so Black parents and school children, along with all progressive whites, will reject "voluntary" desegregation.

The Committee for Quality Education and Desegregation summed up the plan as follows:

1. Little more than window dressing—one more phase in the Rizzo School Board's big stall;
2. A racist plan, in that it does not speak to the vital educational needs of nearly 80% of the Black pupils;
3. Has no provisions whatsoever for parent-community involvement and thus is an insult to the people of Philadelphia;
4. Does not even begin to speak to the question of raising the quality of education in the Philadelphia school system.

It is unlikely that the Human Relations Commission will accept the current plan and once again it becomes increasingly obvious that the School Board has no intention of moving toward meaningful desegregation in the Philadelphia schools.



What this means is that it remains for progressive forces in this city to organize the kind of movement that can force the school board to move toward desegregating the city's schools while upgrading the quality of education.

The projected teachers' strike in September is an opportunity to build this movement. The PFT leadership is unlikely to address seriously the question of desegregation, but progressive rank and filers within the PFT could make this an issue in the strike. In the recent Boston school strike, the School Committee attempted to defeat the teachers by arguing that the costs of busing prohi-

bited any new expenditures for higher wages for teachers. In the present Philadelphia negotiations, the Board is arguing that the costs of maintaining the already pathetically poor educational program make it impossible to raise salaries.

The way to defeat the Board and the Rizzo gang is for the teachers to link up their struggle to maintain their standard of living with the fight for quality, desegregated education. The PFT should diffuse the attempt to pit the public against the teachers by calling for *no new taxes on working people and funding for better wages for teachers and better education for children by taxing profits.*

FOOD WORKERS' RANK & FILE GEAR UP FOR UNION ELECTIONS...

The following article was submitted by a member of the Rank and File Committee for the Reform of Local 196.

It's been almost two years now since a handful of us got together and formed the Rank and File Committee for Reform of Local 196 (Amalgamated Food Employees Union -- AMC-BW). We were all pretty naive then. We thought the fight would be over in a matter of months.

We thought it would take a few grievances to the International, a couple complaints to the Labor Board, maybe a threatening letter or two from our lawyer and our problems would be solved! We'd rid our union of corruption, get some real democracy, reform some of our officers, and kick out those unwilling to shape up.

STRENGTH IN WORKER'S ORGANIZATION

Experience has made us a lot wiser. We've learned that the struggle to build a fighting and democratic union run by the members takes years of work. It also takes organization. In the beginning, everyone was against having rules, officers, dues and such because we were going to quickly clean up the union and disband. Now we know that to fight an organization you must be even better organized -- or at least try to be. We now have a structure and rules, membership responsibilities, a steering committee, and monthly dues.

This organization should prove invaluable to us during the election campaign coming up in November. It's hard to believe, but in Local 196 there has never been an opposition. For decades, those in power have never been challenged. So, even if we lose, we'll set an important precedent! Now, we are going to try very hard to win some positions but don't think winning is the only purpose to elections.

Election time provides a real opportunity to educate the membership about what our union could and should be like, to let every-

one know what we stand for and hope to accomplish. So, even if we're defeated, a real possibility at this stage of the game, we'll still achieve a lot.

We intend to do this educational work around our election platform. Instead of running on personalities or looks or empty

slogans like "Vote for Me for Better Representation" we are developing a platform that clearly states what we believe in. So far, it is to include these general areas: union democracy, equality, fighting unionism, improved working conditions, safety, and labor solidarity.

RANK AND FILE CANDIDATES

Only after we get the platform together will we begin thinking about candidates. That's because anyone running on the Rank and File ticket will have to agree with the platform -- fully support it, not just give lip service to it. We're taking this whole candidate thing pretty seriously. We don't intend to back someone because they're against the present leadership and say they dig the Rank and File.

A lot of people know how to say the right things when its election time. What we want to know is whether the person regularly attends union meetings, is responsible, stands up for the rights of fellow workers, has been a good shop steward, etc.

Right now, we are putting most of our energy into getting fair and democratic elections. We could have the best candidates and the best platform but still lose if the whole show is rigged. We did get the following resolution unanimously passed at our June membership meeting:

Because union elections are coming up this fall and are of such importance to all of us, we propose the following measures to help guarantee the democratic process:

1) That nominations and elections be held at separate meetings.

"winning isn't everything"

2) That voting take place at one mass meeting of the entire membership.

3) That every candidate be given ample time to express his or her views to the membership at the election meeting.

4) That the vote be counted immediately and be overseen by a neutral group such as the American Arbitration Association.

5) That the nomination and election meetings be held at a time determined by the membership as most convenient.

We will probably succeed in getting some of these things but will most likely not get one big meeting. The union officials are pushing the idea of a mail ballot. This is because they can't get their supporters out to union meetings. We're strongly opposed to this because it unfairly favors incumbent salaried officers who can get around to all the many workplaces and campaign. Rank and file workers just don't have this luxury. It will also be impossible to supervise for fairness.

To finish up, we intend to make the best of it and will put up a good fight. With the right perspective on the election, we'll move forward and get stronger no matter what the outcome.



while fat cats celebrate,

The PWOC's major initiative on July 4th was organizing the Crispus Attucks Contingent to march in the July 4th Coalition mass demonstration. The Contingent sought in its slogans and demands to target the imperialist system as the source of oppression and project a working class approach to the struggle against it (See box). This was in contrast to the politics of the coalition whose program was distorted by the dominance of petty-bourgeois radicalism.

In general, we think the Crispus Attucks Contingent achieved this aim. We also think our analysis of the political character of the coalition was born out by the activity itself. At the same time, there were weaknesses in the Contingent and in our general approach to the Coalition. A number of criticisms of the Contingent have been raised both by forces friendly and hostile to it.

QUESTION OF SECTARIANISM

Forces within the July 4th Coalition locally, particularly YAWF and the New American Movement, have argued our behavior in calling for the contingent was sectarian. This echoes criticisms made of the *Guardian* by the Puerto Rican Socialist Party. These forces argue that criticism should have been kept within the coalition. The PSP went so far as to argue that public criticism should have been withheld until after the demonstration. The PWOC was faulted for not having fought for its perspective inside the coalition and then organizing an independent contingent.

It is true that the PWOC did not play any major role in the coalition and what role we did play did not reflect the substance of our criticism. This was an error. We underestimated the importance of the event. We should have gone to the conference and united with other anti-imperialists to fight for a working class program. To this extent we are self-critical.

However, we reject the implied principle that only if one struggles from *within* a coalition does public criticism or independent activity become legitimate. The practice of anti-imperialist forces during the anti-war movement of participating in National Peace Action Coalition events by building independent contingents was not sectarian, but was the correct approach to those actions.

The only principled basis on which any organization can participate in a coalition is by maintaining their independence. . . that is, the right to publicly communicate the basis of their participation, what they agree and disagree with in the coalition program. A coalition is not a democratic centralist organization that can require an end to discussion once a decision is reached. *It can demand that all adherents support the limited points of unity* it has reached, but beyond that it must expect that the diverse forces that compose it will express their dif-



Juan Mari Bras, General Secretary of the PSP (above), called for independence for Puerto Rico. Other speakers included Elaine Brown, Black Panther Party; Karen DeCrow, NOW; Dave Dellinger, peace activist; Milton Street, Black Vendors Association; Harry Amana, *Philadelphia Tribune*.

ferences.

For us to have uncritically built the July 4th action and held our disagreements until after the fact would have been the grossest opportunism. It would have meant that we mobilized people on the basis of the coalition program pure and simple. It would have amounted to capitulation to the petty-bourgeois politics of the coalition. This we would not have done.

CONTINGENT BUILT JULY 4TH DEMO

While our critics in the coalition insist that we were sectarian in organizing the contingent, we think it is clear that the contingent actually served to build the action. Not only did it strengthen it politically, but it brought forces to it that otherwise would have stayed home, who *only* would have participated if there had been a political vehicle like the contingent.

Criticism of the contingent from forces who were generally in agreement with our critique were of two kinds. Many participants raised criticisms of its organization -- the march slogans were inadequate and poorly communicated, there was no attempt to have contingent speakers address the group prior to the march and the participation of oppressed nationalities in the contingent was weak. We are in agreement with these criticisms.

The first two were problems of amateurism in preparation. The composition of the contingent was its most serious weakness. To a certain degree, this is simply an expression of a more generalized weakness of our movement, that is, its low level of multi-national unity. There were factors specific to the demonstration however. The bulk of participants from outside the city were anti-imperialists who read about the contingent in the *Guardian*, whose readership is predominantly white.

LIMITED MOBILIZATION

With the exception of the PWOC, there were no multi-national working-class based organizations which built for the contingent. And the PWOC, for its part, did not fully mobilize its base in the city. The primary problem in terms of making the contingent a more fully proletarian and multi-national grouping was the lateness with which it was organized.

This precluded efforts to gain widespread organizational endorsement, conduct agitation and really mobilized for the march. This, of course, was not simply an organizational problem, but a reflection of the political error we cited earlier -- the underestimation of the importance of the event in the first place.

The second criticism was that while the program of the contingent was sound, it was sectarian to conceive the Crispus Attucks Contingent as a Marxist-Leninist contingent. This criticism is simply a misunderstanding. We saw the contingent as being led and organized by Marxist-Leninists, but saw its programmatic content as *broadly anti-imperialist*.

It was certainly not our intent to limit the contingent to only Marxist-Leninists but to bring in all the individuals and organizations we could who united with the program. We think this misunderstanding grew out of our call to other Marxist-Leninists to join with us in the task of organizing a contingent. In retrospect, we should have been more explicit on this point to avoid confusion.

On balance, we think the Crispus Attucks Contingent not only made a positive contribution to the July 4th action, but also marked a beginning step towards unity of action by Marxist-Leninists within the mass movement. It will be important to approach future events with adequate time and preparation so as to build this role.



THOUSANDS PROTEST



Over 25,000 demonstrated in Philly on July 4th for 1) Bicentennial without Colonies, 2) Jobs and a Decent Standard of Living, 3) Democracy and Equality. The spirited march -- led by American Indian Movement and Puerto Rican Socialist Party contingents -- was greeted with applause and cheers by members of the Black community as it passed through the streets of North Philly.



The Crispus Attucks Contingent united around the central slogans of the July 4th Coalition, plus the following specific demands, which serve to focus on the most urgent and immediate issues and broader questions that face the masses:

JOB AND A DECENT STANDARD OF LIVING FOR ALL -- MAKE THE MONOPOLIES PAY

- 1) The 30-hour Week with No Cut in Pay.
- 2) Guaranteed Minimum Annual Income of 7,800 for a Family of Four.
- 3) Expand Social Services.
- 4) End Discrimination in Hiring and Upgrading for Oppressed Nationalities and Women.
- 5) Tax Corporate Profits.

DEMOCRACY AND EQUALITY -- END THE RACIST ATTACKS:

- 1) Equal and Quality Education -- End Segregation Now.
- 2) Stop the Repression against Oppressed Nationalities -- Outlaw the Nazis and the KKK.
- 3) Equal Rights for Women -- Pass the ERA, Defend the Right to Abortion, and End Forced Sterilization.
- 4) Defend Democratic Rights -- Defeat the S-1 Bill.

FOR A BICENTENNIAL WITHOUT COLONIES -- STOP IMPERIALIST AGGRESSION

- 1) Independence for Puerto Rico.
- 2) US Out of Southern Africa.
- 3) No Support for Zionist Aggression in the Middle East.
- 4) Reparations for Vietnam.
- 5) Cutback Military Spending -- No Aid to Fascist Dictatorships like South Korea, Taiwan, Israel, South Africa and Chile.
- 6) Abolish the CIA.

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.

WHAT TO DO ABOUT A JOB-RELATED DISABILITY:

YOUR RIGHTS TO WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION

Workmen's Compensation is a state-run system whereby a worker receives compensation in place of salary loss and medical bills for job-related injury or occupational disease. The Workmen's Compensation laws in each state are different, but in all states compensation is granted according to a low, fixed schedule.

In Pennsylvania, like all states, Workmen's Compensation is a highly complex system. Therefore, in this short article we will highlight only the most important points about Workmen's Compensation.

For more detailed information regarding Workmen's Compensation you should:

- 1) Contact your union.
- 2) Call the State-provided toll free number -- (800)-832-0580.
- 3) Obtain the free *Workmen's Compensation Handbook* by calling the Workmen's Compensation Referee's Office in Philadelphia -- 238-6934.
- 4) Write the *Organizer*.
- 5) Contact Philadelphia Area Project on Occupational Safety and Health.

WHAT TO DO IF YOU ARE INJURED ON THE JOB

- 1) Report the injury or suspicion of occupational disease immediately to management.
- 2) Report immediately to your Union representative or call the toll-free number above if you are not in a Union.
- 3) If you need medical attention ask for it immediately from your supervisor or any representative of management.

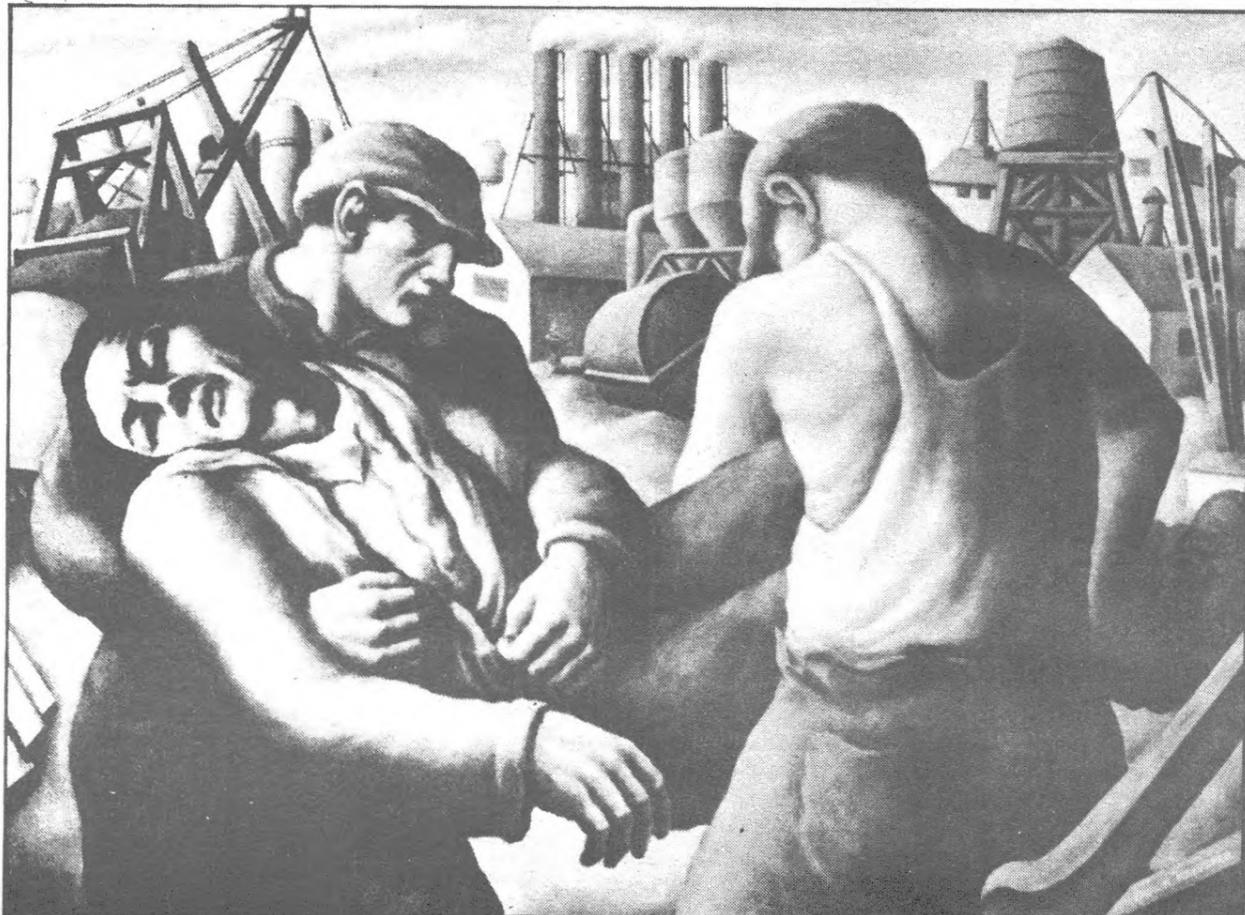
WHAT NOT TO DO

- 1) Do not sign any blank papers.
- 2) Do not sign any papers or statements unless you thoroughly understand and fully agree with them. Have a witness and demand an exact copy for yourself.
- 3) If you are physically able, *do not* go home following an injury until you are sure that it has been reported to management by you, your Union representative or a co-worker.

WHAT IS COVERED BY WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION

The law applies to all injuries or occupational disease occurring in Pa., regardless of where you were hired. The law applies to all employers and employees, except domestic and casual workers. You cannot sign (or be forced to sign) an agreement releasing your employer from compensation liability before the fact.

Workmen's Compensation is a "no-fault" law and therefore, you do not have to prove your employer was negligent to collect. BUT REMEMBER, that in return for this, you give up, by law, rights to collect from your



Paul Meltzer

employer in any other legal action. However, "third party suits" -- such as against the manufacturer of an unsafe machine or toxic substance -- are legal.

PROCEDURE

You have three years to file a claim for injury. In a case of occupational disease you must file your claim within six years from the date of last exposure and within three years after disability begins. After you know your disability was work-related, you have 120 days to notify your employer in person or by certified mail that you are filing a claim, or else no compensation is allowed.

In case of death within 300 weeks after an injury has occurred, your dependents have three years to file a claim.

Claims must be filed in writing on special claim petition forms which may be obtained from the District Office of the Compensation Bureau where the accident occurred, from your Union representative, or by calling 800-932-0580. These forms must be sent to:

Bureau of Occupational Injury and Disease Compensation
Labor and Industry Building
Harrisburg, Pa. 17120

After your petition is filed, the Bureau of Occupational Injury and Disease Compensation assigns the petition to a District Referee for a hearing and determination of awards. If you or your boss disagrees with the decision of the District Referee, there is an appeal process that goes to the Workmen's Compensation Appeal Board; decisions of this Board may be further appealed to the Commonwealth Court.

SCOPE OF COVERAGE

Compensation begins with your eighth day of disability. If your disability lasts fourteen days or more, you will receive compensation for the first seven days. If at any time you or your employer believes that the compensation agreement does not represent present

conditions, either party can agree voluntarily to a change; or petitions can be filed to review, modify, reinstate, suspend, terminate, or set aside the agreement.

TOTAL DISABILITY PAYMENTS

If you are totally disabled, you will receive two-thirds of your weekly wage up to a maximum of \$187.00 per week (for 1976.) So, if you were disabled after January 1, 1976, the most you can receive through Workmen's Compensation is \$187.00, regardless of what your pay was before you were disabled.

Even though the state-wide average weekly wage changes every year, your maximum compensation is determined by the rate effective at the time of your disability and does not change thereafter regardless of rises in the cost-of-living or pay increases in your industry. This is true of partial disability payments also. Total disability payments continue for as long as you are totally disabled, even for life.

PARTIAL DISABILITY PAYMENTS

If you are disabled you receive, for a maximum of 500 weeks, two-thirds of the difference between your wages prior to your injury and your present wages with a maximum Workmen's Compensation payment of \$187 per week.

The minimum weekly compensation for both total and partial disability is 50% of the \$187 state-wide average weekly wage. If, at the time of the disability you were receiving wages equal to or less than 50% of the state-wide average weekly wage, you will receive 90% of your average weekly wage, but no less than one-third of the state-wide average weekly wage.

If total disability is followed by partial disability, you still have the right to the full 500 week maximum for partial disability regardless of how long you were totally disabled.

If you die within 300 weeks after a work-related injury or occupational disease,

compensation is paid your dependent widow or widower for the time they remain unmarried. Dependent children receive death benefits to age 23 if they are full-time students. All death benefits are based on the state-wide average weekly wage at the time of injury and do not change thereafter.

MEDICAL EXPENSES

All services, medicines, and supplies necessary for medical, surgical and hospital care are allowed. There are no restrictions on the length of time or the amount -- so long as the charges are not above the prevailing rates. Also included are costs for artificial limbs or an eye and the training necessary for their use.

OCCUPATIONAL DISEASES

Workmen's Compensation covers two categories of occupational disease: first is a list of specific diseases; second is a broad "catch-all" provision. Included among many in the first category are chronic lung disease and cancer from asbestos, carbon monoxide poisoning, black lung, and hazards of health workers like radiation sickness (secondary to X-rays), tuberculosis, and hepatitis.

The "catch-all" provision covers all other diseases (1) to which you are exposed on the job, (2) which are causally related to your occupation, and (3) the incidence of which is substantially greater in that occupation than in the general population.

Benefits for occupational diseases are identical to all other work-related injuries.

BENEFITS IN ADDITION TO WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION

Workmen's compensation benefits are almost always less than your former wages. If eligible, you can collect *in addition* to Workmen's Compensation: Unemployment Compensation, Social Security, Welfare, Food Stamps, or Medicaid.

consciousness and leadership which led the workers' movement to many victories in this period of the '30's.

After the war, labor misleaders fought to tear the militant heart out of the CIO. In the midst of vicious red-baiting, the strong leadership -- communist and non-communist alike -- was expelled, and the CIO submerged into the more conservative AFL. This defeat is treated in the exhibit as a step forward, a "merger to realize further gains."

OUR FUTURE TASKS?

In a recording at the finish of the exhibit "labor's unfinished agenda" is shown. This is basically a list of impending Federal legisla-

tion which the AFL-CIO supports: the Humphrey-Hawkins bill on unemployment; education and childcare; safety and environmental protection; national health insurance; and taxation of companies which move overseas. This is all well and good. . .

But the economic crisis, our declining living conditions, the blatant facts of racism and sexism which keep Blacks and women in the worst and lowest paid jobs, racist reaction in the struggle for school desegregation, sexist reaction against the Equal Rights Amendment, not to mention the fact that still only 30% of the labor force in this country is unionized! These are never mentioned!

The Labor History Exhibit is worth visiting

to see the photographs which do not lie, which depict our proud history -- if only partially. But the texts and the recordings will not give a true story of our past, and even less so of our present situation and our future tasks.

It's a reflection of the sorry state of the trade union movement today that the labor history exhibit fails utterly to live up to the spirit of the song in the final display:

Freedom doesn't come
like a bird on the wing;
Doesn't come with the summer rain;
You've got to work for it --
Fight for it --
Day and night for it:
And each generation's got to win it again!

PARTIES GO RIGHT

continued from page 11



ing continents of Asia, Africa, and Latin America are under attack from the awakened peoples of those continents. Japan, West Germany, and the rest of the capitalist world are ever-stronger competitors for the world market; the post-World War II "security" of US monopoly capitalism is gone forever. The fight between Ronald Reagan and Jerry Ford is one of the results.

Both men are arch-conservatives, anti-labor, racist, militarist, and ferociously anti-communist. But Ford, as President, has been forced to be realistic—he must represent the interests of his masters, the monopolists, as a whole. This means detente with the socialist countries and the gradual increase of exploitation at home (which requires gradually-introduced restrictions on our democratic rights).

The ruling class of the U.S. recognizes that this is the policy with the best chance of success in preserving its rule; but its most reactionary section, the oil, defense, and agribusiness industries of the "sun belt," is less patient. They are fond of warmongering internationally and fascist legislation at home, like the S.1 bill.

Their program for the economic crisis amounts to "Make the workers pay!"—tax breaks for big business, continued high rates of unemployment, radical cutbacks in social services—accompanied by direct attacks on the democratic gains of national minorities and women in the recent period, and vicious anti-labor measures.

This political trend must not be underestimated by the working class or progressive forces generally; Goldwater, Wallace, Reagan and other right-wing demagogues (like Louise Day Hicks in Boston and Frank Rizzo in Philadelphia) continue to demonstrate considerable appeal to substantial sections of big business in the U.S., and considerable ability to manipulate broad numbers of the middle classes and backward sections of the working class. After all, in order for Ford to beat Reagan for the nomination, he was forced to accept a thoroughly Reagan platform. . . .

NEED FOR INDEPENDENT POLITICAL ACTION

The rightward drift of the two major capitalist political parties underscores the need for a real mass alternative on the Left: a national anti-capitalist people's party, based on the "twin pillars" of labor and the democratic movements of oppressed nationalities in the U.S. Such a party would be presented in the '76 election with unprecedented opportunities to expose the farce of "democracy" in our political life before the masses of working people.

Such a party is also an urgent necessity as a response to the right-wing extremists, who grow increasingly bold as ever-greater numbers of the electorate move away from the two established parties. In the absence of a Left alternative, right-wing demagoguery—"we're for the little guy, we're against big business and its friends in Washington!"—stands to make considerable gains among the disenchanted and "forgotten" masses.

So our main concern—in the new communist movement, in the trade unions and other mass organizations of the working class, in the Black Liberation Movement, Women's Movement, and other democratic struggles—in the upcoming election must be the need for a new people's party.

We must begin to forge the alliances that will be its foundation, and to develop a broad program of struggle against the monopolies that will guide us, right now, in the fight to expose the bankruptcy of the Democrats and Republicans, and to beat back the right-wing extremists. The "bull" is less baffling every day!

FARMER-LABOR PARTY cont. from pg 10

"The labor party was organized to assemble into a new majority the men and women who work, but who have been scattered as helpless minorities in the old parties under the leadership of the confidence men of big business. These confidence men, by exploitation, rob the workers of the product of their activities and use the huge profits thus gained to finance the old political parties, by which they gain and keep control of the government. They withhold money from the worker and use it to make him pay for his own defeat."

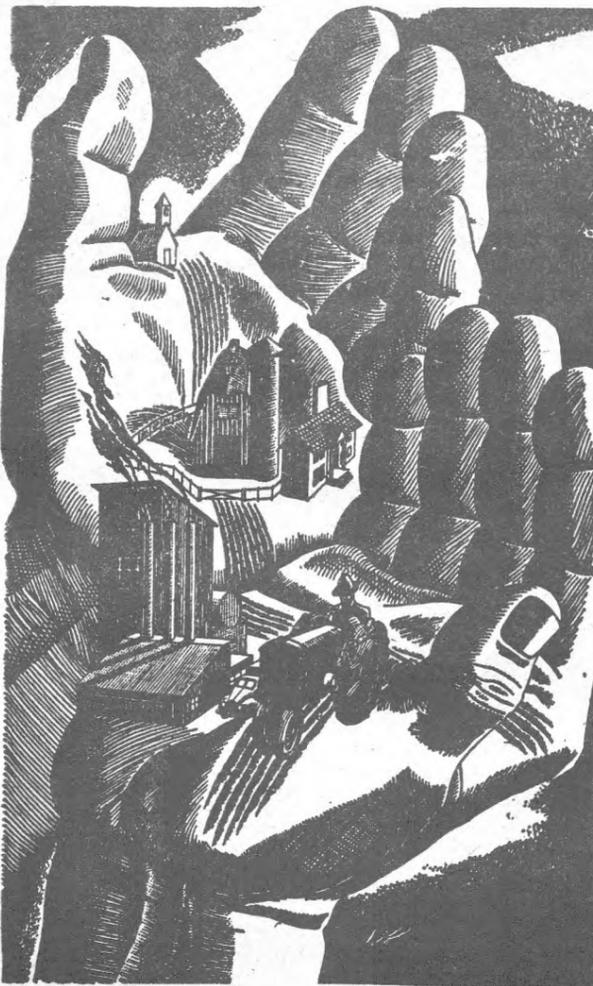
The convention of 1919 consisted mostly of rank and file workers and local trade union officials. Although the AFL international leadership, following Gompers' lead, were opposed to the independent initiative, delegates were present from local and state units of over half of the AFL International unions. The tremendous response to the convention call showed a clear rejection on the part of the rank and file of Gompers' policy of "non-partisan" politics.

In 1920, the Farmer-Labor Party, now including many state farmer parties and the Committee of 48, refused to nominate LaFollette because of his generally weak platform and because of his unwillingness to take a militant stand for the rights of Black people. At this point, the movement was still growing rapidly, focusing around 1) increasing the share for labor in management of industry, 2) the democratic management in the operation of publicly owned utilities and natural resources, and 3) Black equality.

In 1922, at the Conference for Progressive Political Action, organized by the Railway Unions' Plumb Plan, the NFLP was voted down on its resolution for the formation of a national independent party by only 12 votes. Clearly the rank and file call for a third party could no longer be ignored as the pipe dream of a few crazy radicals.

SPLIT IN THE FLP

Yet the following year the movement went into a rapid decline. The FLP's convention of 1923 showed a drop off in participation. But most importantly it was the scene of the split between Fitzpatrick's Chicago Federa-



tion of Labor and the left and communist representatives. This split was disastrous not only because it ushered in a long period of isolation of the left from the mass workers' movement, but in so doing it significantly weakened the whole workers' movement because of lack of clear leadership. This split made it possible for the initiative to be seized by the reform forces behind LaFollette -- the same forces who were with great relief to bury the whole idea of an independent party the year after LaFollette's defeat.

Fitzpatrick's hesitations of 1923 and his final withdrawal stem from several causes: 1) 1923 was a year of temporary economic stability which allowed the right wing trade union leadership to consolidate its hold on the locals; 2) the AFL leadership used its influence to threaten Fitzpatrick -- the Chicago Federation of Labor's per capita subsidy from the AFL was cut off; 3) the failure of the Socialist Party, which was strong in the rank and file movement, to support the project and 4) finally, the serious errors made by the Workers' Party, which refused to compromise its plans and program even in the face of the CFL doubts. The sectarianism of the Workers' Party during this period resulted in the total alienation of their most trusted allies within the CFL.

LEFT IS ISOLATED

The result of the split between Fitzpatrick and the left was that the bulk of Farmer-Labor forces absorbed into the LaFollette Progressive Party. Without left leadership these forces were unable to challenge the petty-bourgeois populist program of the Progressive Party. They ended up being a tale on LaFollette's kite. A small remnant of the Farmer-Labor Party, primarily the Communists, went it alone with meagre results in the '24 election. In short, the split strengthened the hand of the reformists over the Farmer-Labor movement and isolated the left.

There can be no doubt that even in its disintegration, the Farmer-Labor movement had a significant impact on the political climate of the nation. The work of these groupings laid the groundwork for the mass LaFollette movement, and forced even the AFL leadership to take what was for them practically a revolutionary step: in 1924, the AFL big-wigs backed LaFollette, an independent candidate for president.

However, there can also be no doubt that the failure of the communist forces to maintain a solid united front with the progressive leadership of the Chicago Federation of Labor made it possible for the same AFL bureaucrats to take the guts out of the movement in the presidential campaign and then to unceremoniously bury it. (To be continued.)

POLITICS & the 76 OLYMPICS

For two weeks in July the eyes of the world were on Montreal and the 21st Olympic games. And it was not just sports events that the peoples of the world focused on. The press and the high chieftains of "amateur athletics" in the US were very upset that "politics" continue to intervene in the Olympic games.

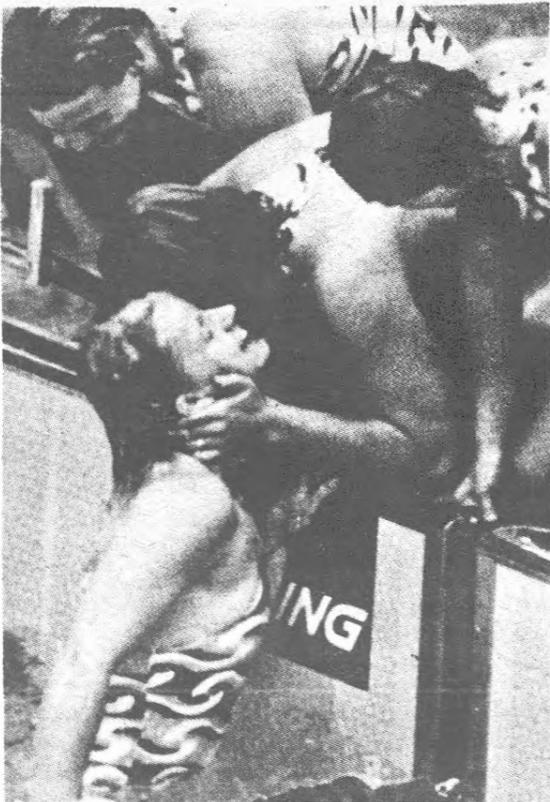
Of course in the past, when the US was top dog in the Olympics, there was nothing wrong with a little politics. The same people who now complain about politics then pointed to the Olympics as an example of the superiority of capitalism and the US "way of life." They used the Olympics to promote chauvinistic ideas of national superiority and anti-communism.

But now, when the socialist countries dominate Olympic play and the oppressed Third World nations carry the struggle against racism and colonialism into the "sacred" Olympics the American sports establishment moans about politics.

In fact, Olympics are political and always have been. From victorious Black athletes rubbing the myth of "Aryan superiority" in the dirt in Berlin, 1936, to the upraised fists of Afro-American athletes Tommy Smith and John Carlos in Mexico City, 1968, politics were in the Olympics. The Olympics is inevitably just one more arena of struggle between the haves and the have-nots, between Imperialism, represented first and foremost by the US and its client regimes, and the socialist and oppressed nations.

Sports are not above the class struggle. We see that here in the US where both amateur and professional athletes have increasingly organized themselves to protect their interests from the greedy big business interests that run sports in this country. The Olympics are no different.

In the present period, the balance of power in the world is shifting. Formerly, it was the imperialists who had the upper hand. While they remain powerful, they are increasingly isolated as the struggle for genuine national independence gains new victories around the world.



East Germany's Kornelia Ender

CANADA BARS TAIWAN

The events at this year's Olympics were simply one more illustration of this new reality. First there was the refusal of Canada to allow the athletes from Taiwan to enter Canada and participate in the games. For almost thirty years Taiwan has been going around the world masquerading as the representative of 800 million Chinese people. But the world is changing and Taiwan has had its mask ripped off.

Canada, like most countries in the world today, recognizes the People's Republic of China as the legitimate representative of the Chinese people. The Taiwan regime is completely discredited in the eyes of the Chinese people. It has only survived at all because of the massive backing of the US in the form of military and economic aid and corporate investment. The People's Republic of China has applied for membership on the International Olympic Committee, but only on the condition that recognition of Taiwan be withdrawn. This was the background to Canada's decision.

"WHAT CAN WE WIN

MORE THAN OUR DIGNITY"

As soon as this drama began to unfold, the capitalist newspapers began howling and screaming with self-righteous indignation about violating Taiwan's "rights." Gerald Ford said Canada made a "bad decision" and began to exert pressure on Canada to reverse its decision. But Canada held firm.

Ford and Co. are worried about the precedent Canada's decision will set. If a favorite puppet regime like Taiwan can be excluded, what about other dictatorships that are propped up by the US? What about S. Korea, and Chile, for example, both regimes which were installed and kept in power by the US, both regimes which are hated around the world for their suppression of democratic rights.

AFRICANS BOYCOTT

The shock waves over the Taiwan issue had barely subsided when a number of African and Arab nations announced that they would not participate unless New Zealand immediately recalled its rugby team from a three-month tour of South Africa.

The US press and athletic establishment reacted with an orgy of racist paternalism. One report said "most of the boycotting nations are not democracies and don't understand that the New Zealand government does not control the nation's sports. Or as Douglas Roby, US member of the IOC said, "A comparison would be African nations boycotting because of major US corporations who do business with South Africa. It would be just as illogical. Our Olympic Committee couldn't tell the American Corporations what to do. The New Zealand Olympic Committee can't tell a rugby team what to do. It's not an Olympic sport."

What is completely "illogical" to Mr. Roby is that governments and their athletic teams would be concerned that at the moment he was speaking, South African riot police were shooting down Black school children in the streets of Soweto. As Jean-Claude Ganga of the People's Republic of the Congo (Brazzaville) put it, "We begged New Zealand not to send a team to South Africa after the race riots, but they did and we are sorry for Canada. We must leave. What can we win more than our dignity?"

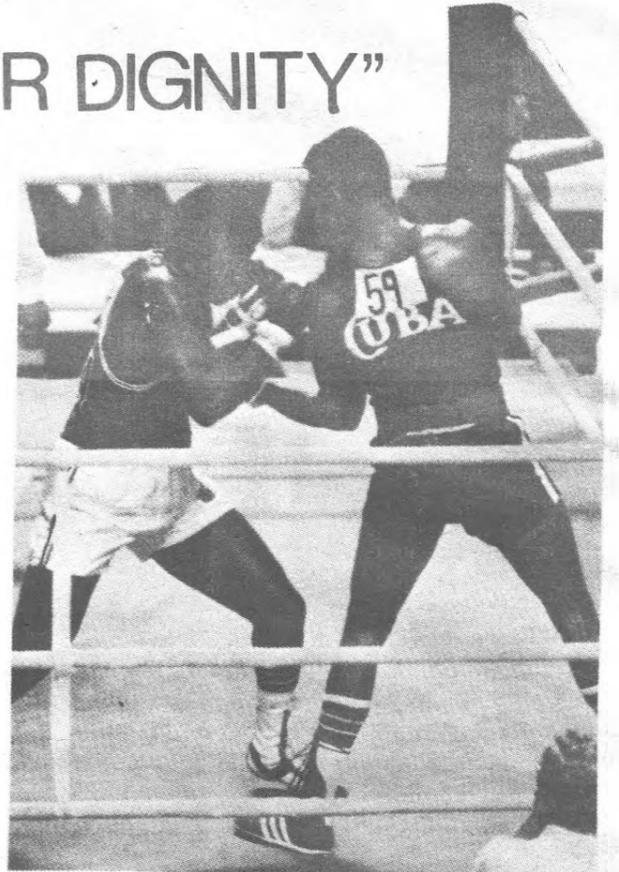
But to the US and its allies the boycott is "petty" and "unsportsmanlike." West Germany's Willi Daume, IOC vice-president, said "This brings no sympathy to the African cause."

BOYCOTT OF SOUTH AFRICA SPREADS

The US critics of the Africans act as if this action was unprecedented and occurred in a vacuum. In fact, there has been for years a growing attempt to boycott everything South African including its sports events and teams. A spokesperson for Tanzania, which last year cancelled a track meet with New Zealand because of South African participation in a world championship softball tournament, put the issue squarely in line with reality:

"Tanzania has always maintained that political, commercial and sporting links with the South African apartheid regime strengthens and gives respectability to the fascist state. New Zealand's participation in sporting events in South Africa at a time when the whole world was mourning and condemning the barbaric incidents in the apartheid state was an open approval by New Zealand of the murderous acts."

New Zealand supposedly has gone on record opposing apartheid in South Africa, but the facts do not support this. Numerous groups in New Zealand have been exposing their government's two-faced approach to this question. The Labor Party of New Zealand and progressive and church organizations have waged a struggle against the official hypocrisy of their government and have provided information to African nations on New Zealand's cooperation with apartheid in athletics.



Cuba's Teofilo Stevenson: "I don't want to be merchandise. I get what I need in Cuba."

The excuse of New Zealand's Olympic Committee and its defenders that say it can do nothing about the behavior of a New Zealand Rugby team begs the issue. An Olympic team represents its nation at the games, and inevitably the attitude toward the team will reflect the attitude toward the government of that nation.

The New Zealand government unquestionably could have done something about the situation (like refusing to grant visas for travel to South Africa, for example.) It did not do anything and thus showed its racist contempt for the just struggle of the African people. The African nations' response made it impossible for the peoples of the world to overlook what was going on in South Africa and the collaboration of Western governments and the athletic establishment in the propping up of apartheid.

SOCIALIST COUNTRIES PROMOTE SUPERIOR SPORTS

The final matter that sticks in the craw of the US Olympic Committee is the superiority of the teams from the socialist countries. This is explained away by pointing to the supposed "professionalism" of these teams. But in fact, the athletes of the socialist countries, even in those under the control of revisionist Communist parties, are not professionals like the big superstars of US sports. Socialist dominance in the Olympics reflects the priority the socialist countries give to physical fitness and sports activity.

The German Democratic Republic, about one-tenth the size of the US, finished with just four less medals than the US and won more gold medals.

In the German Democratic Republic, for example, sports facilities are open for all to use and sports equipment is free and readily available, as are the sports centers. And in Cuba, the same is true, because under socialism, it is the welfare of the working class that comes first and the emphasis is on physical development for the good of the people instead of the good of the money makers like here in the US.

"SPORTS FOR THE PEOPLE!"

Sports for the people not for profit is the slogan under socialism, and this is why someone like sportscaster Howard Cosell can't understand why Cuban heavyweight boxer and twice gold medal winner Teofilo Stevenson can turn down millions of dollars to defect and turn professional and instead choose to cut sugarcane to aid in his country's development. But Teofilo put it to the flesh-peddlers sweetly when he said, "There used to be professional boxers in Cuba before the Revolution. They were exploited. They were nothing but merchandise and I don't want to be merchandise. I don't want millions. I get what I need in Cuba."