

The ORGANIZER

Racism Wins Cradle Case Police Get the Green Light

by RON WHITEHORNE

"It was not the criminals that were on trial, but the victim. . ."

—Victoria Brownworth
Witness in Cradle case

Its hard to get a conviction against a cop. So hard that it almost never happens. But US attorney David Marston thought he had an almost sure fire thing in the William Cradle case. After all, he had nine eye witnesses who would testify that William Cradle, a Black instrument calibrator, was beaten by police without cause. But it didn't turn out that way. On November 21st, it took an all white jury little more than two hours to acquit the three police officers.

CASE FOR THE PROSECUTION

Around 12:30 on April 29th Cradle's '71 Mercury was pulled over by police at 3rd and Pine Sts. Cradle got scared when the police officer began using abusive, racist language, and drove away from the scene with the patrol car in pursuit. At 5th and Pine the cops stopped Cradle, pulled a gun, and threatened "to blow his head off." Cradle was then dragged from his car and beaten with nightsticks. He offered no resistance other than crying out for help and trying to cover his head and body with his hands.

Nine witnesses including two Center City businessmen, a social worker and several Temple students corroborated this account in all its essentials. Two doctors testified that Cradle had sustained injuries consistent with such a beating including facial and body bruises, cuts, and broken ribs.

CASE FOR THE DEFENSE

Defense lawyer, A. Charles Peruto, tried to shake this testimony in lengthy and often abusive cross-examination. But all he could establish were minor inconsis-

tencies. The prosecution witnesses differed on details like exactly how many minutes Cradle had been beaten and whether or not the entire beating had occurred on the driver's side of the car. But as to the fact that Cradle had been beaten and had neither provoked nor struck the police there was no disagreement.

Peruto then put the three defendants and the other officers present on the stand, who all gave a very different account of the incident. They claimed Cradle "acted crazy" and insulted them. They denied beating him with nightsticks and claimed they had only used such force as was necessary to remove Cradle from his car and handcuff him. While the prosecution witnesses all testified that a nightstick had literally been broken over Cradle, the police claimed the nightstick had been shattered when an officer struck the car with it. Significantly, the defense could not produce a single civilian witness to verify this version of the incident.

There was then a parade of character witnesses for the defendants. Not surprisingly a series of higher ups in the police department testified that the accused were upright citizens. Since according to prosecution witnesses the officers had repeatedly called Cradle a Black MF, the racial attitudes of the defendants were at issue. Peruto's response to the charge of racism was to put the defendant's wives on the stand. For example, Mrs. Roy Land, wife of accused officer Roy Land, was asked: "Have you ever known your husband to be racially prejudiced, brutal, or untruthful?" Mrs. Land dutifully answered: "No". Peruto also pointed out that one of the defendants had had his Black partner over to dinner.

SUMMING IT UP

But Peruto really pulled out all the stops



William Cradle the day after Philadelphia cops splintered nightsticks in beating him last spring.

in his summary argument to the jury. First US Attorney Mitchell Cohen summed up the prosecution case. Cohen said it came down to a question of "credibility". Who do you believe? Nine civilian witnesses who have no common interest in lying or eight police witnesses who by their own testimony "act as a team" and have every interest in covering up the actions of their fellow officers. According to Cohen the police version "defies the truth, defies your common sense, and it defies justice."

Then Peruto, unable to build a case on the basis of the evidence, resorted to the rawest appeal to racism in order to sway the jury. He called Cradle "the wild man of Borneo" and "an uncontrollable animal". He claimed Cradle deliberately created a scene to get an audience, comparing him with demonstrators at the Democratic Convention in Chicago in 1968.

He made fun of Cradle's job skills, arguing that anyone who could set their bathroom scale at zero could be an instrument calibrator. He made much of the fact that Cradle had been unemployed for five months. Obviously none of this had any bearing on the case — but it did play on white racist stereotypes of Blacks as dangerous militants, as lazy, uppity and undeserving.

THE JURY

And it worked. "Cradle was screaming, ranting, raving and wild and the police had to use whatever force was necessary" said one juror after the acquittal. "We all agreed there was no more to it than what the police said", another added. The jurors found the prosecution's version of the beating "exaggerated". What about Cradle's broken ribs? Probably due to "jostling" replied one juror.

The jury, drawn from voter lists in a ten county area and largely from the Lancaster and Allentown regions, clearly had little grasp of the reality of police brutality in the inner city. It was tailor-made for Peruto's racist law and order pitch.

Meanwhile, in a related case, charges against police officers in the beating of Edgardo Ortiz were at least temporarily dropped, after Ortiz was convicted of assaulting the officers in spite of eyewitness testimony.

Simultaneously, the FOP announced its plans to sue anyone who "falsely" accuses police. Since the FOP categorically denies the existence of police brutality this means anyone who brings charges against an officer. All in all it was a disastrous week for the effort to obtain justice through the courts. Right now the police have a green light to terrorize innocent citizens. Only mass organization and mobilization by and of the people can check them.

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Letters To The Editor...

Women's Health Collective writes

The following letter from the Women's Health Collective concerns an article in the October issue of the *Organizer*:

To the *Organizer*,

We in the Health Collective are very disturbed about the way you chose to respond to our letter concerning the PWOC's International Women's Day Event, March 1977. We wrote a long letter sharing our thoughts about the event in an effort to promote an exchange. We included specifics about the March 8th event in the context of our beliefs in socialist-feminism.

By taking three paragraphs of our three page letter out of context, you made a conscious decision not to engage in a comradely exchange of ideas, but rather to use our letter as a spring board for your own analysis of feminism. In this way, not only have you distorted the politics of the Health Collective, but you also decided to cut-off what was hoped would be a fruitful give and take.

Furthermore, we never agreed to having only part of our letter printed and we would not have agreed to the way you took parts of our letter out of context. We feel that it is certainly legitimate for your organization to respond to our letter (or any other letters to the Editor) as you see fit. It is not, however, principled to print our letter out of context without even showing us ahead of time what you intended to print!

We hope that you will print our entire letter of May 1977 as well as this response. In addition, we hope that in the future if you plan to cut letters to the editor you will make sure that you accurately represent the points of view expressed.

In struggle,

The Women's Health Collective

The *Organizer* responds: We have already criticised ourselves for our failure to consult with the WHC in regard to our treatment of their letter (see open letter, pg. 2 of Nov. *Organizer*). We do not agree, however, that our excerpts of this letter misrepresented the position of the WHC.

For reasons of space and relevance we chose the parts of the letter that we thought expressed the essential political outlook of the WHC and where our disagreement was most fundamental.

The WHC letter raises several criticisms that we did not reprint or respond to because we think they are based on a misunderstanding of our perspective (We do not hold that "the production line is the work site" or that women's oppression can be "defined narrowly as a denial of democratic rights", at least as WHC understands the term) Thus a discussion of these points in the pages of the *Organizer* did not appear fruitful to us.

At the request of the WHC we are printing their entire May 1st letter.

Dear Sisters and Brothers of PWOC:

We are writing, at this late date, to share our perceptions of the celebration of International Women's Day that was presented by PWOC on March 12; we apologize for being so late in formulating this response.

We are socialists and feminists, firmly committed to political struggle and work to create a non-sexist, non-racist society which is organized and controlled by the people. We heard your repeated calls for unity on March 12 and came to the event, as did many feminists, in that spirit of unity.

We believe that all of us on the left, whether we work in the women's movement, in community organizations, the trade union movement or part of any progressive movement, have a common commitment to the same struggle, and a need for each other's perspective and understanding of what must be done to reach our goals. We believe that we are united with PWOC around certain aspects of your program, and therefore in the interest of our common goals, we felt we must share our criticisms with you.

The event was very exciting — it was great to see so many people turn out for a movement event, and to see a multiracial both working and middle-class group of people join to celebrate International Women's Day. It was obvious that preparation for the event was thoughtful — childcare was excellent, the program was carefully planned and balanced between music, speeches and theater.

It was good that you had a bar and that there was time for people to meet one another and talk in a relaxed way. We felt that this planning had resulted in the kind of event in which people were comfortable and receptive to political ideas.

Our criticisms center on some of the content of the speeches. First, we felt that all the speakers defined the working class in this country too narrowly, thereby ignoring the real working conditions and problems of most women. By assuming the production line to be the work site, you overlook the fact that the majority of US workers labor in clerical, service, and sales jobs.

Subsequently, there was little mention of the role that unpaid housewife labor plays in a capitalist economy. Only if you broaden the concept of a working class in our society, will it be possible to speak relevantly about areas of work where women are to be found.

Secondly, women's oppression was also defined narrowly as a denial of democratic rights. This analysis cannot account for the forces which lead to (a) violence — even within the family — directed primarily against women and female children (e.g., rape, molestation, abuse); (b) sexual objectification of women and young girls (as in now popular child pornography); (c) societal definition of women which on the one hand glorifies and mystifies them, and on the other hand weakens and demeans them by viewing them as secondary to men. Demands such as equal pay for equal work while important are a limited and inadequate res-

ponse to the nature of the problem.

We know we disagree about the basic causes of women's oppression. We believe that patriarchy has a force and life of its own, predating and outside of the capitalist economy. Because of this, we think an autonomous women's liberation movement will always be a necessary part of the struggle to overthrow the present order.

Our most overriding criticism lies in the manner in which the women's movement and feminism were portrayed. For example, we found it ironic that feminism was denounced at a gathering celebrating International Women's Day — feminism was casually described as a "false alternative" by the speaker from New York. This event would not even have taken place had not an autonomous women's liberation movement begun in the late 60's, and had that movement not revived the holiday originally created by working women.

The women's movement (or the "democratic women's movement") was repeatedly defined as a monolithic movement without a left and right wing, and without ideological struggle. If you were describing the new communist movement, you would make a much more precise delineation between different political tendencies and would project an understanding of the importance of struggle between reformist and revolutionary tendencies. On the other hand, your description of women's liberation could have been found in the mass media. It is not well thought out for a left group to assume the media's view of any political movement.

Your description — "a movement concerned only with providing increased upward mobility for already middle-class women, and which defines men as the enemy" — confuses the bourgeois wing of the movement (MS magazine, CLUW, Women's Political Caucus, etc.) with the socialist and separatist wings of the movement. This confusion indicates a failure to understand the complexity of the discussion now going on within the women's liberation movement about our future goals and directions.

For example, it is many lesbian-separatists, coming themselves from a working

(continued on page 13)

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 the capitalist politicians. We work toward the replacement of the rule of the few — the

handful of monopolists — by the rule of the many — the working people.

The masses of people in the US have always fought back against 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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Labor Round-up

Gould-ITE threatens to leave town

Gould-ITE workers in Philadelphia may soon join the thousands of unemployed local workers whose plants have hung out the now-familiar sign: "Gone South for Cheaper Labor".

Last September, at a meeting of UAW Local 1612, which represents workers at five Gould plants in the Philadelphia area, the union announced that it had done some detective work. The company was preparing to expand operations in North Carolina, although company officials wouldn't give a straight answer to the question.

A phone call by a rank and file member of 1612 to the Philadelphia Industrial Development Corporation, a semi-public agency with the job of bringing industry to Philadelphia, wouldn't confirm directly that ITE was moving, but wouldn't

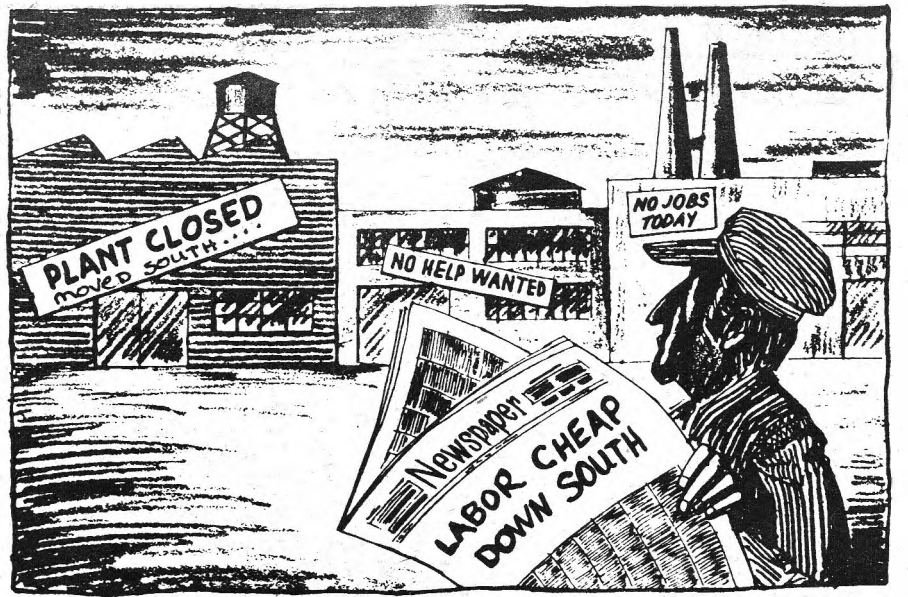
deny it either.

Gould has a history of being a very anti-union company. It's operations are centered in the South: many plants are unorganized; the plants it took over from ITE here in Philadelphia are the highest paid in the system, so management has a clear incentive to transfer operations.

While the local leadership has now gone to the courts to try to get information on the company's plans, and has urged members to write letters to their Congressmen, the union has done little to educate its members on the real issues, or to mobilize them in effective action against runaway shops.

The South is a cheap labor heaven for one reason. It is unorganized. And it is unorganized for basically one reason: racism.

Southern Struggle/cpf



Racist employers have kept wages for Black workers at starvation level, and given white workers only a few pennies more, plus a lot of wind about how they are better off than the Blacks. To the white workers, unions have been pictured as "Black-dominated" or "communist". To the Black workers, unions have been pictured as racist organizations which will ignore their needs as they seek higher wages for whites.

Unfortunately, many unions in the north, including the UAW, have failed to struggle against the racism of northern

employers, and there is evidence to back up the claim that Black union members are ignored. For instance, UAW skilled tradesmen are 95% white, while the union as a whole is almost 50% Black.

Rather than complaining to Congress, the UAW (and other unions) have to get busy organizing the South, devoting much more than two percent of their budgets to this task. And to make that organizing a success, they *must* fight racism, both to win Black support, and to show white Southern workers that unity is the only road to victory.

Sun Ship safety violations continue: worker injured

On Thursday, November 3, a young stage-builder fell over 50 feet at Sun Shipbuilding and Dry Dock Co. and is now in critical condition. This accident came just four and one half months after a woman welder fell to her death. The day after the accident, the company posted a report stating the accident was entirely the worker's fault; that he made a mistake which caused his fall.

The following Monday, "Sun Ship Workers for a Fighting Union", a committee of workers that came together this summer to organize for safe working conditions in the yard, distributed a leaflet entitled "Sun Ship is Responsible." The leaflet pointed out that the injured worker had only worked at the yard for six weeks and that the only formal training he and the other stage-builders hired at that time had was a 30-minute slide show.

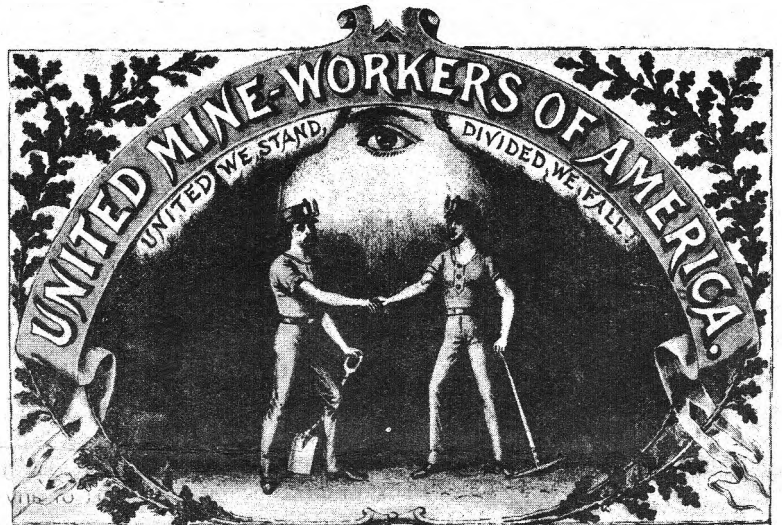
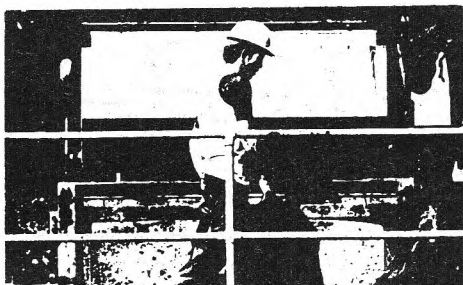
He was on the job with another worker with little experience. He was on probation and under pressure to work regardless of the safety of the job. The whole area surrounding the job was unsafe.

The leaflet said that after the fall "electricians were sent in to provide proper

lighting, a staging crew to fix the staging, and a cleaning crew to remove all debris so that the company could take pictures of a now safe job."

Finally, the leaflet pointed to rank and file organization as the key to winning safe conditions in the yard. "We have to stop working under unsafe conditions that cause accidents. Only if we stand together and do this in an organized and consistent way will we see real change."

And proving that rank and file organization does pay off, a welder that was fired the week before when he was injured and refused to return to his job without being properly treated, got his job back as a result of the support of hundreds of co-workers who signed a petition circulated by the rank and file committee.



For the first time in the history of the United Mine Workers, a woman was elected as a Local President. Mary Maynard, 39, who drives a 48-ton truck for the Pittston Coal Co. was elected president of Local 1971 in West Virginia. She has been active in the recent wildcat strikes protesting cutbacks in miners' health benefits, both on the picketlines and in DC where she traveled with the protest delegation and gave a speech on the Capitol steps.

1199 strike at nursing home

Workers at Thoroughgood Nursing Home at 400 S. 40th Street in West Philadelphia are on strike for union recognition, and better wages and working conditions.

Workers at the home, mostly women and national minority workers, voted to join Hospital and Nursing Home Workers Union Local 1199C in October, and after the owner of the home refused to bargain with the union, workers went out on strike in mid-November. Workers have

been getting minimum wage, no benefits, no sick days, no overtime pay, no unemployment compensation, and because of understaffing are overworked and are called in on days off.

There has been picketing round the clock since the strike began, but the owner has been driving scabs through the picketline and keeping the home running. Picketers welcome support on the picketline from labor and the community.

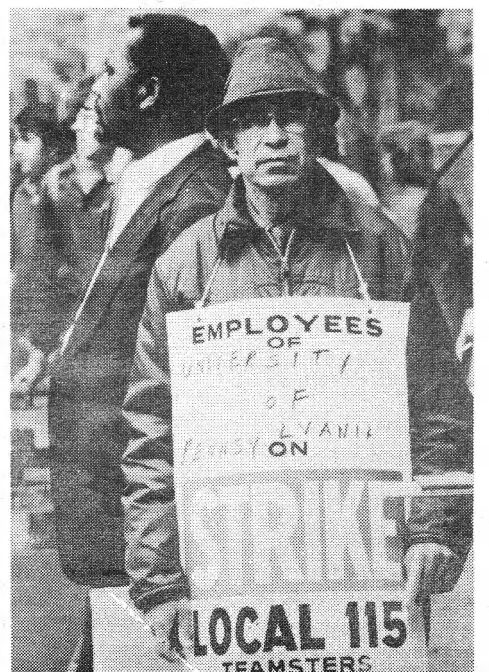
Free The Four



FREE THE FOUR! The demand for the release of Puerto Rican prisoners gains support. This multi-national demonstration in Washington recently, sponsored by the Puerto Rican Solidarity Committee (PRSC), was part of a growing nationwide campaign. A broad group is petitioning Jimmy "Human Rights" Carter for a Christmas pardon for the four patriots who have been in prison since 1954.

U of P guilty of unfair labor practice

The NLRB has authorized a complaint against the University of Pennsylvania for unfair labor practices. The regional director of the NLRB, Hirsch, said that the University fired the 343 housekeeping and maintenance workers as a result of their voting Teamsters Local 115 to represent them. Hirsch said he would make an effort to settle first, but if unsuccessful would file formal charges. John Morris, President of Local 115 said, "The big thing we won is the possibility these workers will win reinstatement and full back pay."





The Job Drain -

Is your job here today?

It may be gone tomorrow

by DUANE CALHOUN

It seems like every week you read about another industrial plant closing down or moving out of Philly. Just in the last couple years, Philco-Ford, Midvale Steel, Daroff Clothes, Nicholson File, Alan Wood Steel, and dozens of smaller shops have shut their doors for good. Philadelphia has lost 131,000 jobs in the last seven years, most of them in manufacturing.

It is these jobs which provide the bulk of employment to the city's semi-skilled and unskilled workers. The industries hardest hit, like clothing, have also been the largest employers of Black and Spanish-speaking minorities. So it's not surprising that last year unemployment among Blacks in Philadelphia was 18.1%, the highest of any city in the nation. (By way of comparison, the Black unemployment rate in 1970 was 7.3% and was lower than the national average). For Black youth the situation is even worse. 48.3%, or almost half, of the Black teenagers who are looking for jobs can't find them.

WHERE HAVE THE JOBS GONE?

The economy has yet to recover from the wave of layoffs that struck with the 1974 recession. But the causes of high unemployment go beyond the built-in ups and downs of the capitalist business cycle.

Industry began running away from the industrialized Northeast back in the 1920's and has been running faster ever since. The first to go were light industries like textile and clothing. Being less mechanized, it was easier to just pick up and go. These industries ran away to escape unionization. They went in search of cheap labor, low taxes and government subsidies and found what they wanted in the South, the US colony of Puerto Rico, and in the anti-labor dictatorships of South Korea, Taiwan, and South Africa.

By the 1960's heavy industry too had joined the exodus out of the Northeast. The plants and machinery in the Eastern inner cities was old and fast becoming obsolete. When it came time to invest in new plant and equipment, the corporate bosses naturally decided to relocate in the South or abroad, lured by the same advantages that had prompted light industry earlier.

The result has been that over the last 15 years, the number of factory jobs grew by almost one-half in the South while growing by only 3% in the midwestern Great Lakes states and falling 10% in the Northeast. At the same time, spending by US corporations on foreign plants has

jumped from \$1 billion in 1970 to over \$2 billion in 1975.

THE FEDERAL GRAVY TRAIN

The federal government, the loyal servant of the monopoly corporations, has aided and abetted the job drain. Southern "right to work" laws, a powerful anti-union instrument, are part of the gift package the Congress handed big business when it passed the Taft-Hartley Act.

The federal government maintains a low minimum wage and refuses to pass any legislation that would restrict foreign investment and the export of capital. Finally, the government distributes its revenues in a way that favors the so-called "Sun Belt" (South and Southwest) at the expense of the industrial Northeast and Midwest. The city of New York pays out more in taxes than it receives in services, while for most of the Sun Belt the reverse is true.

Of course, it is not the working people of the South who benefit from this arrangement. Their wages and social services are worse than in the North. It is the corporations that have relocated in the Sun Belt who reap this advantage.

The power of Southern Congressmen and Southern interests in the Pentagon has led to a concentration of military spending and facilities in the South at the expense of the Northeast. We all remember 'Fritz' Mondale's election promise to keep the Frankford Arsenal in Philadelphia. Well, once the ballots were counted, the promise was quickly forgotten.

Now it seems that the Carter administration has not only closed the Arsenal, but plans to phase out the Philadelphia Navy Yard as well.

The Navy Dept.'s "Tidewater Strategy" leaked to Congressman Joshua Eilberg, calls for the concentration of all fleet support activities in seven areas, three southern ports and four Pacific ports. The Navy Yard here would be closed just as the Boston and Brooklyn yards already have been.

In the face of the job drain, local and state governments have tried to keep

existing industry or to attract new industry by competing with the Southern states in giving away our tax dollars to Big Business.

Gov. Milton Shapp did everything short of providing slave labor to lure Volkswagen to build a plant in western Pennsylvania. While the state can't afford any more for education for Philadelphia's schoolchildren, it can afford to give Volkswagen tax incentives, lucrative loans, and a highway and railway spur — compliments of the taxpayers of Pennsylvania.

In Philadelphia, the Rizzo administration follows the same game plan. The now departed Al Gaudiosi has been busy arranging loans to keep businesses here or attract new ones. City real estate is practically given away to any company willing to locate here.

One of the Rizzo administration's first acts was to eliminate the city corporate income tax. Tax assessments on industrial and commercial property are notoriously low, while they are correspondingly high for small property owners.

NEW LOWER PAYING JOBS

To the extent that these policies have made any difference, they have attracted some commercial and service jobs — new hotels, corporate offices and the like. These jobs are either highly paid white collar positions beyond the reach of the industrial labor force or else low paying clerical or unskilled manual jobs employing women at starvation wages. The attempt to develop Philadelphia as a commercial and financial center may be fine for the downtown business interests, but it will do nothing to provide jobs at decent wages for the growing number of unemployed.

Northeastern politicians have also begun to band together to lobby for more federal money for the area. While the northeastern states clearly should be getting

(continued on next page)

Henry Ford Loves S. Korea

"In South Korea, Taiwan, and Indonesia, we see an attractive supply of cheap labor," Henry Ford 2nd says. Henry's not kidding. In Korea, as of 1972, Ford was paying Korean workers ten dollars a week. Roughly half of the Ford Motor Company's employees are now outside the US.

Henry Ford gets plenty of help keeping the workers down in South Korea. The Park Chung Hee dictatorship keeps unions and strikes illegal. And Park, like dictator Syngman Rhee before him, gets his guns and butter from the US government.

From 1950 to 1972, the US government has supported the South Korean dictatorship to the tune of over \$5 billion, 3.4 of it for military hardware. And nobody should get the idea the remaining \$1.9 billion has gone to feed hungry kids or war refugees. The bulk of this money has been spent on developing an industrial infrastructure (highways, electric plants, port facilities, etc.) to better allow US corporations to exploit the country, while a good part has simply been siphoned off by the corrupt bureaucracy.

Park Chung Hee and Henry Ford have a good thing going. And it's had the blessing of every President down to Jimmy "Human Rights" Carter who, when it comes to repression and torture in South Korea, just looks the other way and keeps the aid flowing. Meanwhile, both U. S. and Korean workers suffer.

Why Big Business is whistling Dixie

WAGES ARE LOW: When General Motors moved its headlight plant from Anderson, Indiana, to Monroe, Louisiana, wages were cut by \$2.00 per hour. The average wage in manufacturing in the state of Michigan in 1972 was \$4.94 per hour. In Mississippi the figure was \$2.77 per hour.

UNIONS ARE SCARCE: Nine southern states have "Right to work" laws which outlaw the closed union shop. In Pennsylvania, 37.2% of workers in non-agricultural jobs are unionized. In North Carolina the figure is 7.8%.

RACISM IS RAMPANT: Segregation and inequality, while no means peculiar to the South, is especially intense. Recently the J. P. Stevens Co. circulated pictures of the white murder victims in the San Francisco "zebra" case along with photos of the Black suspects at one of its mainly white plants. The caption read: "Would you want this to happen here?" This is how Stevens fights unionization.

"FRIENDLY" STATE GOVERNMENTS: While southern state governments keep out unions and spend less on social services than other states, they help out business with subsidies and low taxes. In Pennsylvania, the corporate income tax accounts for 12.4% of state revenues. In Florida, the figure is 1.4%. In Texas, corporations pay no tax!

Gaudiosi Resigns

Rat leaves Rizzo's sinking ship

by JOE LEWANDOWSKI

Albert Gaudiosi, the man most responsible for bringing Frank Rizzo to power and keeping him there, has pulled the plug on his monster.

Since 1972, when Rizzo moved into City Hall, the citizens of Philadelphia have marvelled at his ability to sustain political life even though his public statements repeatedly showed no sign of brain activity. City Hall insiders, however, knew all along that Rizzo would have trouble tying his shoes if it were not for his behind-the-scenes "advisor" Al Gaudiosi.

"Advisor" is the polite newspaper term for Gaudiosi's role, but it would be far more accurate to say that in these past six years Gaudiosi has been the real mayor of Philadelphia.

RIZZO PUBLICIST IN BULLETIN

Gaudiosi's relationship with Rizzo goes back years before Rizzo's rise to political office. As a *Bulletin* reporter, Gaudiosi was one of the corps of newspaper reporters who created the "Cisco Kid". Before the newspapers latched on to him, Frank Rizzo was just another boot-licking career opportunist in the police department, maybe a little bigger and meaner than some others.

But he was colorful, he flaunted his racism, he knew the right people. Racism, sex and crime sell papers, so Rizzo was a reporter's dream. This was the sickest kind of collaboration between a tyrant and the media, the kind of collaboration that parlays people's deepest fears and prejudices into easy bucks for the newspaper magnates.

Throughout the sixties the newspapers followed his every move as the Cisco Kid raided coffee houses to protect Philadelphians from interracial couples which, Rizzo claimed, abounded in such places.

They silently watched him beat Black high school students during the Board of Education demonstration ten years ago. They hung on his every word as he raved about Black terrorists on every rooftop;

and they recorded every blood-curdling story of how the radicals and "ultra-liberals" were going to poison the water supply and attack any number of sacred institutions.

GAUDIOSI'S STYLE OF JOURNALISM

Gaudiosi loved these McCarthyite theatrics and occasionally supplied a little hysteria of his own. In 1969 Gaudiosi authored a series which appeared in the *Bulletin* called "The New Revolutionaries". This series went on at great length about the people who published the *Philadelphia Free Press*, a radical newspaper which was published for a short time in the late sixties and early seventies.

The *Free Press* was no different from the hundreds of other underground publications of that era, but Gaudiosi inflated the story to make it seem as if he had discovered "the most dangerous band of Reds this side of China". Although none of his subjects were either accused or convicted of any kind of criminal activity, the series included mug shots, full addresses, and the places of employment of the principal writers in the *Free Press* collective — information obviously supplied from police "intelligence" files.

In 1971, Gaudiosi emerged as Rizzo's

campaign manager and quit his job as a reporter. From the start, Gaudiosi displayed two outstanding strengths. First, as a former reporter he knew how to manipulate the media, and second, he was one of the few people — maybe the only one — who could get Frank to shut his mouth.

During Rizzo's first term in office, Gaudiosi kept Frank pretty well gagged by forbidding press conferences, issuing only carefully worded press releases, and only occasionally letting the Mayor banter with select reporters.

THE LIE DETECTOR SLIP-UP

There was one big slip-up during this period — Rizzo's famous lie detector test. While Gaudiosi was on vacation, a *Daily News* reporter baited Rizzo into taking a lie detector test which he, or course, flunked with flying colors. When Gaudiosi learned of it, he was enraged and kept Frank under tight wraps for the remainder of the term.

In Rizzo's second term, Gaudiosi's game plan began to become a little clearer. Realizing that Rizzo was reaching the end of his political rope, Gaudiosi emerged from the shadows to play a more visible role in the Rizzo administration. He had

Frank appoint him to the joint post of City Representative and Director of Commerce, a position which would give him direct access to the city's powerful ruling class.

A new Albert Gaudiosi began to take form. The hard-drinking, horse-playing, garbage-mouthed political street-fighter became suddenly the urbane and charming buddy of the superslick bankers and corporation execs.

If Rizzo had an ounce of political sense, he could have seen it coming months ago: for Gaudiosi, Frank had outlived his usefulness and it was time to go straight to the source of power and build a new base.

Albert Gaudiosi wants to be mayor, and if you want to be mayor you play your cards very carefully with the Big Boys. You slip the newspapers stories about the great job you are doing bringing business back to Philadelphia. You let rumors leak out about how Rizzo's advisors are telling him that he shouldn't attempt a city charter change that would allow him to run for a third term. And, of course, there should be more rumors about how Albert Gaudiosi might just run for mayor. All this Gaudiosi did, and Rizzo still didn't see it coming.

EXIT FRANK, ENTER AL

And then, one day after an election which put two of Rizzo's foes into powerful positions in his administration, Gaudiosi, in a showdown with Rizzo about seeking a third term, announced his resignation. It was a scene straight out of a South Philly version of *Julius Caesar*, with Al Gaudiosi, longtime friend of Frank Rizzo, driving home the knife that will surely put an end to Frank Rizzo's political career.

There are a couple of lessons to be drawn from this soap opera that passes for Philadelphia politics. The first is that Frank Rizzo is and always has been a paper tiger. Dangerous, yes, but not as dangerous as the Al Gaudiosis, the John Galleries, the Lennox Moaks and the John Buntings — the real shapers of Philadelphia city policies.

The second is that politics in this system has nothing whatsoever to do with democracy. It has to do with selling a slick product, and fanning the flames of fear and racism. It has to do with graft and corruption and screwing your buddy.

But stay tuned, more lessons will follow. Will Al Gaudiosi achieve his ambition? Will Frank Rizzo finally wrap his tongue around his head? Will Barnum and Bailey put the whole show on the road?

Or will the people of Philadelphia begin to put together their own independent political party? Stay tuned to *As the Tide Turns*.

December 1977 page 5



The Job Drain

(continued from previous page)

more federal money, this sort of regionalism is a dead end. It glosses over the contradictory interests of Big Business and working people, and makes it appear as if the struggle is the Northeast vs. the South or "Sun Belt". It is just another form of the "what's good for business, is good for everybody" logic that is the stock-in-trade of the bosses and their politicians.

WHAT'S THE SOLUTION?

As workers in any factory, industry, or country make gains in wages and benefits, the capitalists try all kinds of ways to undercut these gains and take more for themselves. The job drain from the northeastern states is simply a way to play one group of workers off against another, holding the threat of job loss over workers in Philly, while luring workers in Mississippi or Taiwan with the promise of work. With the constant, built-in unemployment of a capitalist economy, the threat of closing down can be used to blackmail us — forcing us to accept the company's terms, or else.

The only way-out of this predicament is for workers everywhere to band together, to fight for their interests as a class against those of monopoly capital. Concretely, this means that all workers in

the US fight to organize the South and oppose the efforts of US corporations and the US government to maintain control of other nations.

We need to aggressively support organizing drives already in progress in the South, like the ACTWU drive to organize J. P. Stevens. We need to push our individual unions and the AFL-CIO to commit themselves fully to a real assault on the unorganized South. We have to fight to repeal Taft-Hartley.

RANK AND FILE ACTION

The AFL-CIO and the rest of the unions support all these measures on paper. But with few exceptions, the trade union leadership is content to pass a few nice-sounding resolutions and then just sit on their thumbs. They fear real action, because it threatens their cozy relations with management. The initiative is going to have to come from the rank and file.

Similarly, we have to oppose US support for the fascist dictatorships in Korea, Taiwan, South Africa, Chile, and elsewhere. We have to oppose US colonialism in Puerto Rico. These governments maintain their countries as havens for US investment at the expense of both foreign and US workers. And they are only able to do it with US military and economic assistance.

Most union leaderships loyally support the monopolists. Supporting US foreign policy is one way the labor bureaucrats uphold their end of the bargain they have struck with the monopolists. But the interest of US workers is in building solidarity with workers and movements of national liberation throughout the world.

REFORM AND REVOLUTION

Important as they are, these efforts in and of themselves will not put an end to the exploitation of the working class. No reform or set of reforms will do that. Only when the working class puts an end to capitalist rule, only when we replace the jungle law of capitalism with a planned socialist economy geared to human needs, will we put an end to this exploitation.

We have to pursue the fight against the runaway shop and the job drain in this light. We have to build the fighting strength and unity of the workers, drawing out the antagonism between the working class and the monopoly capitalists and educate the masses in a revolutionary spirit. If we do this, there will come a time when the capitalists will run away all right, but they won't be taking our jobs with them because the mines, mills, factories and offices will be in our hands.

"Neighborhoods United" takes on City Hall

by HENRY MENUFARGIS

On November 2nd, 80 angry Black, white, and Puerto Rican people paid a visit to Housing and Urban Development (HUD) Director Don Morrow. They came representing *Neighborhoods United*, a coalition of six community organizations in Kensington, North Philadelphia, and Hunting Park. They were mad because for two years HUD and the city of Philadelphia have been giving them the runaround.

At issue is some \$57.4 million in Community Development (CD) block grant funds. The neighborhood people charged that the city was violating its agreement with HUD on how to spend the CD money, and they wanted HUD to get out in the streets and investigate.

FESTERING SCANDAL

Neighborhood frustration with the city's handling of the CD program has been brewing for a long time. In the first two years of the program the city received \$120 million in CD funds. According to federal law this money is to be used to meet the housing needs of low and moderate income people. It's supposed to be made available to poor and working class people in the form of low interest loans to fix up their houses, to rehabilitate vacant properties, and make other improvements in the community.

But the City spent most of the money on high salaries for administrators, grants to police and streets departments, and jobs for contractors friendly to the Rizzo administration and downtown business interests.

People in the community put the pressure on HUD and HUD was forced to withdraw the city's CD money. The City was forced to take some action to pump the money into the neighborhoods. In 1977 the City came up with a new plan — six scattered neighborhoods in eastern North Philadelphia were targeted for the housing money.

A TRAIL OF BROKEN PROMISES

Rizzo's housing Czar, John Gallery, promised that the people would be involved in deciding how the money got used. The people took him seriously, holding scores

of neighborhood meetings, conducting housing surveys, and drawing up their own plans.

But when the community representatives presented their plans to the city they found out that Gallery and Co. had already made all the decisions. Moreover, it came to light that only eight million of the 57.4 million grant was going directly to the communities for housing. Once again the battle was on.

BLACK, WHITE AND PUERTO RICAN UNITE

As the struggle moved from one stormy neighborhood meeting to another the residents of the different neighborhoods began to get together as they began to realize that the same problems existed in all the affected communities. They disco-

vered that the city was not following its own application to HUD, which called for entire neighborhoods to receive treatment. Instead, the city was targeting some small areas while leaving others untouched.

It was this that prompted the demonstration at the HUD office. After attempts to keep the people out with federal police failed, the residents forced their way into the HUD elevators and finally forced HUD director Morrow to meet with them, demanding that Morrow visit each neighborhood to see if the city was sticking to its violation. Morrow had no choice but to agree.

OPENING SHOTS IN BIG BATTLE

The next battleground appears to be City

Council where the Rizzo administration is attempting to transfer some \$20.7 million of the CD money, the largest part slated for the police and streets department. Meanwhile, the housing in the neighborhoods that are supposed to get the money continues to crumble.

The city and federal bureaucrats greatest weapon is racism. They play the game of divide and conquer, pitting Black, white, and Puerto Rican neighborhoods against each other, fighting for crumbs. But this time around it doesn't seem to be working. The people of Kensington, North Philadelphia, and Hunting Park are seeing what unity can do. They have won some important victories today and if they stick together and fight for the interests of all the communities, they will win even bigger battles tomorrow.



Bulletin Photo by Jack Tinney

Representatives from Kensington, North Philadelphia, and Hunting Park confront HUD Director Don Morrow about the City's handling of community development funds.

Steward elections at Sun Ship

by a Worker Correspondent

At the January union meeting Sun Ship workers will nominate candidates for the February steward elections in Local 802 International Brotherhood of Boilermakers.

Steward elections are important in any shop, but at Sun where two workers have died this year because of unsafe conditions and where contract violations are the rule rather than the exception, they are especially important.

When your life or your job may depend on the result, you don't want an election that's just a personality contest or the usual hot air about throwing the bums out. With this kind of election you're likely to get stuck with a steward who turns out to be more popular with the company than the people he's supposed to defend. Like W. Oprousiek, 2nd shift, (welding-burning), 59-60 Dept. steward.

Oprousiek never leaves the shop and avoids the shipways like the plague, even when called on a complaint. He seems to think that he represents the company rather than the workers at grievance hearings. And while he does a lousy job representing everybody, he manages to do

an even worse job representing Black workers.

CLEAR STAND ON ISSUES NEEDED

Proven fighters for the interests of the rank and file have to be encouraged to run. To know where each candidate stands, it's important that they run on a definite platform, a clear and concrete stand on the issues.

A platform that meets the needs of the rank and file must be based on a militant defense of the workers interests. At Sun this means: 1) A strong stand on safety . . . consistent investigation and correction of inadequate staging, ventilation and other unsafe conditions, and the shutting down of all unsafe jobs. 2) Strict enforcement of workers rights in the contract.

Fighting forced job combinations, especially with the threat of layoffs, is a big part of this. 3) The fight against racism, from harassment by bigoted supervisors to discrimination in job placement, upgrading and health care, is a must. If we are to be strong and united, we can't let the bosses get away with any discrimination — whether it be against Black, Puerto Rican or women workers — all of whom are singled out by management.

Finally, the specific needs or problems of each particular department must be raised — whether it be day rate for piece workers, lost time, or getting dirty pay.

INVOLVING THE RANK AND FILE

Even the process of choosing candidates should not be taken lightly. An example was set in the choosing of an additional steward for 59-60 Depts., second shift, that could be followed in the future.

After receiving a petition calling for W. Oprousiek's removal, the union leadership held a poorly attended and unannounced meeting in the Central yard to say that they were keeping Oprousiek but that a second steward could be chosen since the contract allowed for another. Following this, lunchroom announcements were made by workers pointing out the importance of getting a good steward on the shipways and calling for meetings in the union hall.

Based on these meetings two candidates were put forward one of which was appointed steward by the union leadership. Much the same process should be followed with meetings called at the union hall or during lunch and the candidates for each steward position putting

forward a program so that the rank and file can make an educated choice at nomination and election time.

Involving and mobilizing the rank and file from the start is of the greatest importance. In the final analysis, only if a steward has a united and aroused rank and file to work with can that steward get any real changes made.

Sun Ship Workers for a Fighting Union ((SSWFFU), the rank and file committee that has been organizing in the yard, has a big role to play in the elections. The committee needs to put forward a strong program that unites all rank and file candidates who are really committed to moving the union forward. Willingness to actively back such a program can then be the means through which the workers separate the genuine rank and file candidates from the phoney who hide behind vague promises and empty talk.

By making the elections a real contest and by actively drawing the masses of workers into the election struggle, SSWFFU can not only get better stewards in office but take an important step forward toward their goal of a fighting union.

Portuguese Worker Speaks Out

Among the Organizer's subscribers are workers born outside the United States. Most of these workers have come here for one simple reason — there are no jobs at home. Many of these people bring with them different attitudes about politics, trade unions, and other issues important to working people. The Organizer believes we can learn from the experiences of other countries, and that we should know more about what workers are doing to oppose the economic crisis in other countries.

For these reasons, the Organizer interviewed a Portuguese subscriber about his recent visit home. Our friend has lived in the U. S. six years.

Organizer. When did you visit Portugal?

Portuguese Worker: I was there for two weeks this past summer.

When was your last visit before that?

In the summer of 1975.

What are the most important things the Portuguese people gained from the revolution of April 25, 1974?

The most important thing, I would have to say was the overthrow of the fascist regime which also brought the ending of the war by giving independence to the colonies.

Before April 25, Portugal was a poor country depending on capitalist countries, where a ferocious fascist regime oppressed the people, mainly the working class, and also sustained a colonial war which never served the interest of a majority.

Three years have gone by. Portugal is still a poor country dependent on capitalist countries. Nevertheless it gave several good things to the workers, the substitution of a fascist regime by a more or less liberal government that gave freedom of speech, the right to strike, partial nationalization of industry, and land reform. But fascism is not exactly dead. During these three years, fascism, with help coming from the exterior is reorganizing and endangering these goals. Another important thing the people gained, and never shall return, was the end of the colonial war, by giving independence to the colonies. Today Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea-Bissau are independent countries which are building socialism.

What are the differences between trade unions in Portugal and in the U. S.?

In Portugal they are better organized. Trade unions in Portugal are organizations which fight for their members with a principal objective which is defending the workers economic, political, and social interests against capitalism.

What is the relationship between the unions and the political parties?

First you have to understand that in Portugal the CGTP-INTERSINDICAL, the confederation, includes 220 unions with 1,700,000 members, the majority of productive workers in Portugal.

As I said before, the trade unions in Portugal are not only interested in defending the workers economic side, but also the political and social side as well,



Portugal l'An 1

"Free Union of Railroad Workers" — one of many rebuilt by workers after the overthrow of fascism. Trade unions in Portugal militantly defend the workers' economic and political interests.

so it is very natural that the trade unions should support a political party with the same ideology on these three aspects, and other issues. Intersindical and other unions support the Portuguese Communist Party, because this is the party that really fights in the interests of the great majority of workers and poor farmers. (Note: Because Portugal is a poor country there are still a great many very poor farmers and tenant farmers on the great agricultural estates in Portugal. The land reform turned some of these estates over to the tenants and sharecroppers who worked on them— the Editor)

Are there many Africans living in Portugal? In there racist discrimination there as there is here?

Yes, there are Africans living in Portugal. There's not as much racism, although there is some discrimination provoked by the fascists to divide workers, which the present government is doing nothing about.

I can't compare the racial discrimination in Portugal with the one existing in the U. S. Portugal is poor and a small country. Portuguese people are going through a phase which the American people are not experiencing. Unemployment has increased a lot since April 25. In fact, there are 500,000 unemployed.

Many African people fled the

horrors of the Angolan Civil War, as well as the former colonists who joined those from Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique in seeking refuge in Portugal. The Portuguese settlers were usually supporters of fascism, and now are an important support for the right. Some however, have gone back to their countries because they have seen that MPLA, FRELIMO, and PAIGC (Note: the liberation movements which led Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea-Bissau in their armed struggles for liberation from Portuguese colonialism — Editor) are not against white people, only the former exploiters and colonialists. The others are welcome to help build a new country. This is especially important because before independence most doctors and skilled people were Portuguese. Many of these are now going back to Africa.

What do Portuguese working people think about the new governments of Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea-Bissau?

The Portuguese people organize themselves into acts of solidarity with the governments of these three young nations. Without fear, since April 25, Portuguese workers have learned and come to realise the reasons driving more and more workers of all nations to fight oppression, and that's another thing they gained from April 25 after being oppressed for 48

years. The acts of solidarity for these three new African countries show the approval the Portuguese have for these governments.

Is the present government helping working people?

No. Not at all. This present government has given many liberties to the various reactionary groups and parties, therefore threatening the rights we have gained.

The trade unions and some political parties organize huge mass demonstrations and nationwide strikes so thousands of workers unite themselves to protest the various attempts made by the government to take away their rights.

How do the Portuguese people view the United States?

They see the American *government*, but not the American *people*, as a big support of international reaction. Most American-owned factories shut down after April 25th for a while, arm in arm with European capital, to try to destroy the economy and bring back the fascists, and the people know this. Its important to Portuguese people that workers in the U. S. know what has happened in my country, and how U. S. business has worked against the people.

Thank you.

At J.H. Cohen Rich get richer, the poor get poorer



Joan Sydlow—Business Week

Rapid-American Owner Meshulam Riklis

For several years now, the management at J. H. Cohen's (Botany 500) has sung the same tune — "times are tough; we've got to make sacrifices to keep the company going."

Amidst constant rumors of plant closings, workers fearful for their jobs have seen working conditions deteriorate and widespread cutting of piece-rates, usually under the guise of consolidating or changing operations. Right now the cutters, the best paid workers, are being forced to work under a new incentive system that threatens their job security.

Lighting is poor at Cohen's and in the summer workers have to fight to get the air conditioning turned on in the aging and poorly ventilated shop at Broad and Lehigh. All this "corner cutting" has made it harder and harder to make a decent living in a tailor shop. Constant harassment and poor working conditions make life miserable for the more than 2000 workers at J. H. Cohen's.

Meanwhile, lets look at the "sacrifices" top management is making "for the good of all". J. H. Cohen's is owned by Rapid American, a conglomerate that owns Schenley whiskey distilleries and the

McCrory and Lerner retail stores among other operations. Rapid American is owned by Meshulam Riklis, a man who seems to make money even while his company loses it. In 1975 Rapid American lost money, but Meshulam Riklis sure didn't. The company Board of Directors, which he controls, paid him \$915,000 including a \$550,000 bonus.

Now Riklis has pulled an even bigger financial manœuvre. He is selling his controlling interest in Rapid Ammerican for \$16.5 million cash over the next several years. But Riklis isn't giving anything up. The buyer is the Kenton Corporation which is owned by guess who — Meshulam Riklis! While Rapid American stock is selling on the open market for \$5.75 a share, Kenton is paying at least \$7.50 and possibly as much as \$15.00 per share, according to *Newsweek* magazine.

Rapid American is so heavily in debt and in such shaky financial straits that its banks won't let the company pay dividends. As a big time Wall Street broker put it "Mr. Riklis makes a lot of money for himself, but not necessarily for anyone else." No worker at J. H. Cohen's would disagree with that statement!



by VINCE AMONICA

After 13 years of false starts, maneuvering and deadlock, the US and Panama have finally agreed on a draft for a new Panama Canal treaty. On Oct. 23 a record number of Panamanian voters went to the polls to accept the treaty by a margin of better than two to one. In the US, however, where a two-thirds majority vote by the Senate is necessary to ratify the treaty, a fierce debate has been raging and is sure to continue well into 1978.

The treaty opposition, led by right-wing politicians like Ronald Reagan and backed by sections of Big Business and the military, argues: "We bought it, we built it, and we should keep it." It attacks the treaty as a "give-away" and a dangerous retreat by the US from one of its international strongholds. The history of the US role in this small country of 1.7 million people exposes the "we got it fair and square" argument. And an analysis of the actual treaty raises real questions about what exactly the US is "giving away".

U.S. CARRIES BIG STICK IN PANAMA
The US presence in Panama goes back well before the signing of the original canal treaty in 1903. Following the successful wars of liberation from Spanish and Portuguese colonialism in Latin America, Panama was absorbed into a larger territory then known as Gran Colombia.

The Panama Canal: Unc

How it was stolen and why the Panamanians want it back

Throughout the last half of the 1800's Panama fought unsuccessfully for its own independence as Colombia tightened its grip on the isthmus. Time and again US troops intervened to crush the pro-independence rebellions and protect the US-owned Panama railway built during the California gold rush.

By the turn of the century US monopolies were roaming the hemisphere in search of raw materials and new markets. This expansionist drive prompted the US to go to war with Spain in 1898. As a result, the US seized Puerto Rico, Cuba, and the Philippines. These colonialist ambitions convinced the US rulers of the strategic necessity of building the canal to support the growth of US trade and to give the US navy the mobility needed to suit its new imperial role.

When bribery and coercion failed to convince Colombia to allow the US to construct a canal across the isthmus, the US turned to the Panamanian independence movement. With the assurance that US troops and battleships were standing by to thwart any Colombian counterattack, Panama became independent in a bloodless revolution in November, 1903.

The newly created nation found itself locked into a treaty even more unjust than the one proposed to Colombia just a few months earlier. The treaty was not even negotiated by Panamanians. By the time the Panamanian negotiating team arrived in Washington, it was all signed, sealed, and delivered. The treaty granted the US all power and authority "as if it were sovereign" in the Canal Zone, a 553 square mile strip of territory — and this in perpetuity!

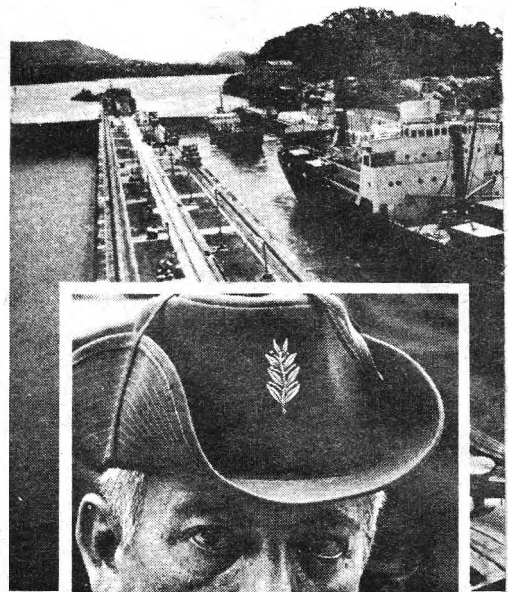
The fledgling Panamanian cabinet was blackmailed into signing this blatant violation of their national sovereignty. The US warned that if Panama refused, all US troops would be removed and the US would stand idly by if Colombia moved to regain the territory.

WHO REALLY BUILT AND PAID FOR CANAL?

The canal was not completed until 1914. This so-called miracle in engineering and medicine cost the lives of over 20,000 workers, mainly Panamanians and West Indians, imported as a source of cheap English-speaking labor. This great human sacrifice has reaped almost nothing for Panama, while yielding much to the US. The US has held a monopoly over Panama's chief natural resource, its geographic position and the international trade function it serves, and has profited enormously as a result.

Since 70% of the canal's traffic either originates in or is bound for the US, the toll rates have been kept ridiculously low. According to a UN study this disguised subsidy amounts to a saving of some 600 to 700 million dollars a year for US shipping and commercial interests. Meanwhile, of the 100 million dollars actually collected in tolls, Panama receives less than two million, and the US pockets the rest. Until recently, Panama got no share of the toll revenue.

Within the ten-mile-wide Canal Zone, which cuts Panama in half, the US established a colonial stronghold, a state within a state. Administered by the Panama Canal Co., the 40,000 American residents enjoy a per capita income that is the highest in the world, which the Panamanians endure a squalid poverty.



Don Goode

The reality of colonialism is symbolized by the ten-foot-high barbed wire barrier which separates the manicured lawns and tennis clubs of the Zone from the slums of Panama City and Colon.

CANAL ZONE: BASE FOR COUNTERREVOLUTION
The 1903 treaty gave the US the right to maintain military forces sufficient for the defense of the canal. From the start the US has ignored this provision and developed the Zone for offensive military purposes — its key southern outpost for insuring its political domination and economic control throughout Central and South America.

The Pentagon has turned 68% of the Zone's territory into a virtual military

Crackdown in South Africa: U.S. takes

by S. BUNTING

On October 19th, South Africa removed the last small bit of political freedom which the Black majority had to protest the increasing oppression of the racist regime. All remaining Black newspapers, and political and community organizations not directly sponsored by the government were banned. John Vorster has given his last small apologies for the massacres of school children, as he works double-time to preserve the privileges of white South Africans and the profits of multi-national corporations.

The crackdown came because the people of South Africa stepped up their resistance to apartheid after the murder of Steven Biko. Their resistance, of course, will continue to grow, and *must* now turn for leadership to the underground liberation movements. The African National Congress and the Pan African Congress, the armed liberation movements, were banned in 1961, but are now becoming stronger than ever as more and more South Africans recognize them as the only route to liberation. These organizations are recognized by the United Nations as the true representatives of Black South Africans.

The level of resistance in Soweto and other Black townships is now so high that South African police are afraid to enter them. Propaganda materials are dropped by helicopter into the townships.

UN Ambassador Andrew Young is shown vetoing a resolution to impose economic sanctions on the apartheid government of South Africa.



AP photos

Most of the world's nations, outraged by South Africa's conduct, have supported the African nations in their call for isolation of the regime. However, the US, in UN Security Council debates, showed once again that it remains a staunch ally of South Africa, and is unwilling to put any serious pressure on the apartheid regime.

"We have forced the Western imperialist countries to unmask themselves," ANC leader Mfanafuthi Makatini said at the UN during the Security Council debate. Four resolutions were introduced to a special session of the Council calling for complete economic boycotts of South Africa, including making mandatory the voluntary arms embargo voted in 1963.

The US, France, and Britain vetoed all resolutions except that calling for an arms embargo, and even this they approved only reluctantly.

U.S. REJECTS PEACEFUL PRESSURE

While the US continues to argue for peaceful change in South Africa, the South African government continues to make it absolutely clear that it will allow no change if it can help it. The only real pressure for peaceful change which could be brought to bear would be an economic blockade of South Africa — a boycott which would deprive South Africa of the means to continue the repression, and of the means to continue profiting from apartheid.

These peaceful means of change are what Andrew Young has rejected, in the name of the US government. He has shown once again the commitment of American big business to allow Vorster to maintain his police state — because it *does* bring in big profits.

ARMS EMBARGO A FRAUD

The US claims that it has honored a voluntary arms embargo on South Africa since 1963 when resolutions for a voluntary embargo were first passed. It's been reported in *New York Times* and *Inquirer* coverage of the recent debates that the US has sold no arms to South Africa since 1963. However, a well-researched article in the August issue of *Southern Africa* magazine revealed the following:

U. S. ARMS IN SERVICE

Item	Approx. No. in S
Lockheed F-104G Starfighter	4
North American F-51D Cavalier	5
Agusta-Bell Iroquois Helicopter	2
Lockheed P-2 Neptune	
Lockheed P-2 Neptune Anti-submarine	
M-47 Patton Tank	
M-41 Walker Bulldog Tank	
M-113A1 Armored Personnel Carrier	
Commando V-150 A. P. C.	
H-7 105mm self-propelled gun	2
M-109 155mm self-propelled gun	
Lockheed Hercules C-130 transport	

(All deliveries after 1963, although s

Panama Canal: Uncle Sam's Big Heist

stolen
 ... want it back

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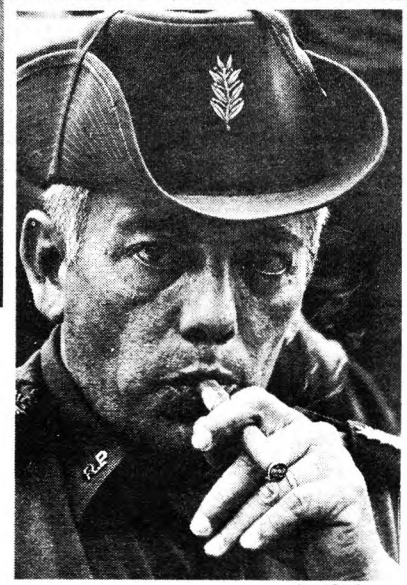
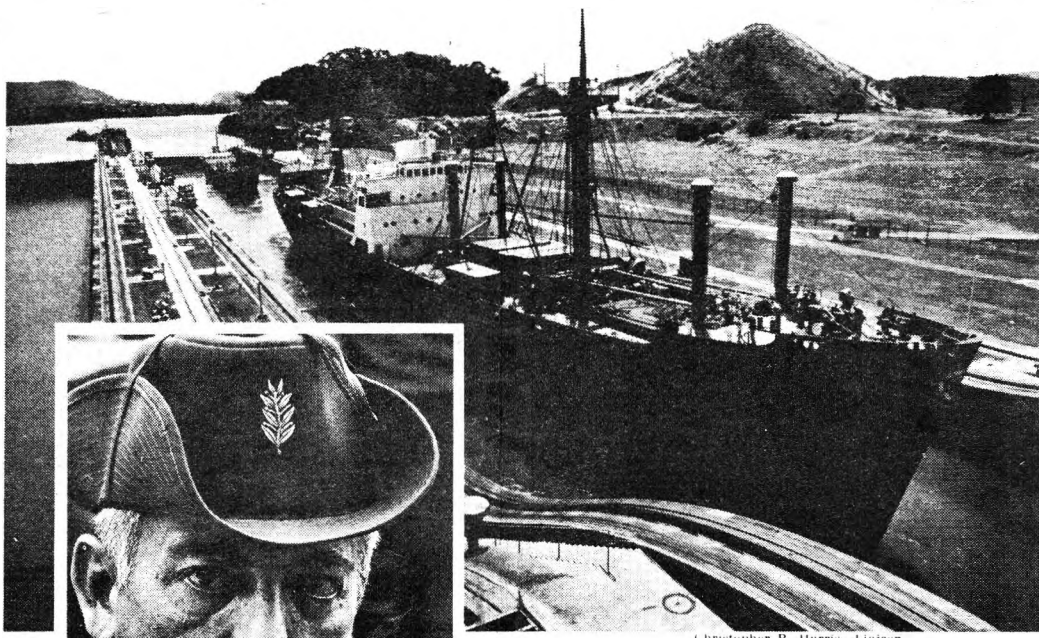
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WHO REALLY BUILT AND PAID FOR CANAL?

The canal was not completed until 1914. This so-called miracle in engineering and medicine cost the lives of over 20,000 workers, mainly Panamanians and West Indians, imported as a source of cheap English-speaking labor. This great human sacrifice has reaped almost nothing for Panama, while yielding much to the US. The US has held a monopoly over Panama's chief natural resource, its geographic position and the international trade function it serves, and has profited enormously as a result.

Since 70% of the canal's traffic either originates in or is bound for the US, the toll rates have been kept ridiculously low. According to a UN study this disguised subsidy amounts to a saving of some 600 to 700 million dollars a year for US shipping and commercial interests. Meanwhile, of the 100 million dollars actually collected in tolls, Panama receives less than two million, and the US pockets the rest. Until recently, Panama got no share of the toll revenue.

Within the ten-mile-wide Canal Zone, which cuts Panama in half, the US established a colonial stronghold, a state within a state. Administered by the Panama Canal Co., the 40,000 American residents enjoy a per capita income that is the highest in the world, which the Panamanians endure a squalid poverty.



General Torrijos, the Panama Canal

garrison. It is home for fourteen Army, Navy, Air Force and Marine bases, over 11,000 US troops, a Green Beret training program and the headquarters of the Southern Command, controlling all US military operations in Latin America.

Since the late 1940's more than 40,000 Latin American military officers and secret police recruits have passed through the School of the Americas where the curriculum ranges from counterinsurgency and torture to "The American Way of Life". The graduates of this Pentagon-run school include the leaders of most of the repressive military dictatorships in Latin America.

Striking workers, students, peasants and progressive intellectuals have been the targets of this training for "defense".

The US has also specialized in organizing direct aggression by US troops from their bases in the Zone. The overthrow of the popularly elected left-leaning Arbenz government of Guatemala in 1954, the occupation of the Dominican Republic

The reality of colonialism is symbolized by the ten-foot-high barbed wire barrier which separates the manicured lawns and tennis clubs of the Zone from the slums of Panama City and Colon.

CANAL ZONE: BASE FOR COUNTERREVOLUTION

The 1903 treaty gave the US the right to maintain military forces sufficient for the defense of the canal. From the start the US has ignored this provision and developed the Zone for offensive military purposes — its key southern outpost for insuring its political domination and economic control throughout Central and South America.

The Pentagon has turned 68% of the Zone's territory into a virtual military

by the Marines in 1965, and several invasions of Panama itself have all originated from the Zone.

Everyday spy missions violate Cuban air space, all flown from Howard AFB in the Zone. During the Vietnam War the Pentagon trained troops for jungle warfare in the zone, complete with mock Indochinese villages.

WHAT DOES U.S. "GIVE AWAY"?

While the aspirations of the Panamanian people are for an end to this massive US military presence, the US clearly intends to ignore their wishes. The new treaty maintains the US bases until the year 2000, although the US must scale down its presence to not more than three bases occupying no more than a third of the Zone territory. Furthermore, the treaty is being interpreted so as to give the US the option to intervene militarily any time after 2000 to insure the canal's "neutrality".

In addition, the US retains the exclusive right to expand or improve the present canal and after the year 2000 if a new sea-level canal is built, as many expect, it will be built by US capital. These provisions effectively perpetuate the



Above: The cost in human life — so many Indians died while constructing it.

South Africa: U.S. takes soft line



These peaceful means of change are what Andrew Young has rejected, in the name of the US government. He has shown once again the commitment of American big business to allow Vorster to maintain his police state — because it *does* bring in big profits.

ARMS EMBARGO A FRAUD

The US claims that it has honored a voluntary arms embargo on South Africa since 1963 when resolutions for a voluntary embargo were first passed. It's been reported in *New York Times* and *Inquirer* coverage of the recent debates that the US has sold no arms to South Africa since 1963. However, a well-researched article in the August issue of *Southern Africa* magazine revealed the following:

Clearly, no formal tightening of resolutions will keep U. S. corporations from such a lucrative business, especially when the State Department continues to ignore this trade, as it ignores the recruitment of mercenaries, and the violations of mandatory sanctions against Rhodesia by US oil monopolies.

US opposition to economic sanctions has little to do with Andrew Young's claim that only by staying involved can we hope to influence the South African regime. The United States' insistence on maintaining economic relations with South Africa in the face of the most open repression of the Oct. 19th crackdown has clearly influenced Vorster: it has strengthened his resolve and his ability to maintain apartheid!

And apartheid means profits — American corporations are not known for putting "human rights" or workers rights above profits, and American withdrawal would surely hurt the profit pictures of many corporations, as the following data shows.

Total US Investment in South Africa:	1.5 Billion Dollars	
Total US Bank Loans to South Africa:	3 Billion Dollars	
Average Profit Rate on US Investment	19.1%	
<i>(compared to a world average of 11%)</i>		
US Trade with South Africa		
Year	Exports to SA	Imports from SA
1975	\$1.13 Billion	\$0.84 Billion
1976	\$1.35 Billion	\$0.93 Billion

The complete end of all US economic and military cooperation with Vorster's regime is the only policy our government could pursue which would help end the world's most brutal racist government.

But while an end to involvement would be in the interest of working people, it is not in the interest of First Pennsylvania Bank, Rohm and Haas, General Motors, or INA. Only a mass movement of working people, under the leadership of groups like Philadelphia's UPCAAR, can force Jimmy Carter and Andrew Young to change their plans for all out support of racism and repression in South Africa.

The US, France, and Britain vetoed all resolutions except that calling for an arms embargo, and even this they approved only reluctantly.

U.S. REJECTS PEACEFUL PRESSURE

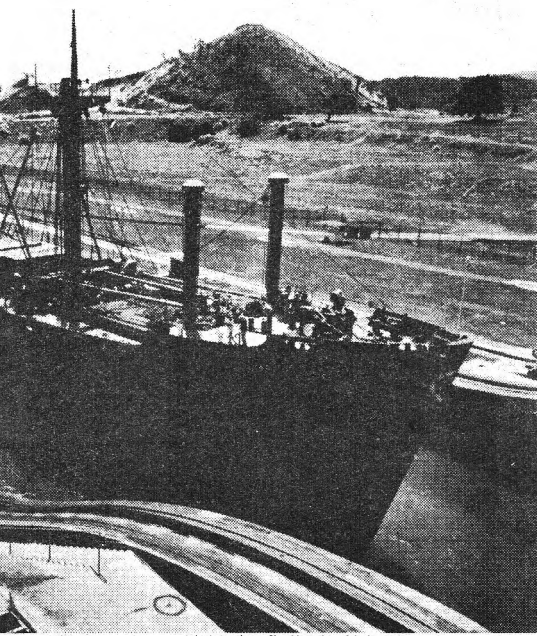
While the US continues to argue for peaceful change in South Africa, the South African government continues to make it absolutely clear that it will allow no change if it can help it. The only real pressure for peaceful change which could be brought to bear would be an economic blockade of South Africa — a boycott which would deprive South Africa of the means to continue the repression, and of the means to continue profiting from apartheid.

U. S. ARMS IN SERVICE IN SOUTH AFRICA

Item	Approx. No. in Service	Date Delivered
Lockheed F-104G Starfighter	40	
North American F-51D Cavalier	50	
Agusta-Bell Iroquois Helicopter	25	
Lockheed P-2 Neptune		
Lockheed P-2 Neptune Anti-submarine patrol	12	
M-47 Patton Tank	100	1971
M-41 Walker Bulldog Tank	100	
M-113A1 Armored Personnel Carrier	400	1973 and later
Commando V-150 A. P. C.	300	1971 and later
H-7 105mm self-propelled gun	200	
M-109 155mm self-propelled gun	50	1973 and later
Lockheed Hercules C-130 transport	1	

(All deliveries after 1963, although specific dates not always available)

le Sam's Big Heist



Christopher R. Harris—Liaison

General Torrijos, the Panama Canal

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In addition, the US retains the exclusive right to expand or improve the present canal and after the year 2000 if a new sea-level canal is built, as many expect, it will be built by US capital. These provisions effectively perpetuate the

economic dependence of Panama on the US. Finally, the privileged status of US citizens now living in the Zone is largely maintained by the treaty.

In return, Panama will gain ownership of the canal and recovery of jurisdiction over the Canal Zone in 2000, the immediate return of the Zone's land area and a bigger share of the canal's toll revenues, estimated at \$50-60 million per year.

So what is the US giving away? As even Barry Goldwater, hardly a soft-headed liberal, admits, "We not only saved face, but we got everything we wanted." Most Pentagon chiefs are happy with the indefinite right to invade Panama. The oil monopolies are reassured knowing the canal can be expanded to get their super-tankers full of Alaskan crude to east coast and Caribbean refineries.

The banking community and the Rockefeller financial interests are pleased that the treaty will guarantee a "stable" Panama, now the fifth largest banking center in the world. It will also provide Panama with the money to repay its massive foreign debt to those same banks.

But the Panamanian people are not happy. The worker and student left opposed the treaty because it failed to satisfy the legitimate national demands of the Panamanian people. And while the treaty was expected to be ratified in Panama by a nine to one margin, in fact almost a third of the voters turned thumbs down. Most of those who voted for it were not satisfied but saw it as the best that could be gained for the moment.

The new treaty makes clear that imperialism is not a policy that can be turned off and of by a new administration as "Human Rights" Carter wants us to believe. US imperialism is adapting to changing conditions, to the growth of the forces of national liberation, and to its own growing weaknesses. Thus the US is trading in its tarnished and aging 1903 colonial model for a spanking new 1977 neo-colonial vehicle. The same big boys remain in the driver's seat and hope to get even better mileage out of oppression of the Panamanian people.

But they ought to remember that a treaty is nothing more than a reflection at a given point of time of the relations of power between two countries and between opposing forces within each country. No law or piece of paper can freeze these relations which must and will change.

For the moment the US imperialists are on top both in this country and in Panama. But the heroic resistance of the Panamanian people to foreign domination will not cease and is bound to give way to a more conscious and determined struggle against US imperialism. Nor will US workers remain confused by "nice guy" imperialists like Jimmy Carter or right-wing demagogues like Ronald Reagan. A class conscious workers' movement will stand by the Panamanian movement for national freedom. The Big Boys should keep in mind that by the year 2000, the world will no longer be their oyster.

In a future issue we plan to run another article detailing the development and present state of the anti-imperialist struggle in Panama.

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UPCAAR Targets Bank Investments in S. Africa



In a spirited rally and demonstration, the United People's Campaign Against Apartheid and Racism and the Student Coalition Against Racism, joined forces to show their solidarity with the oppressed peoples of South Africa. The demonstration, held November 5, focused on the role that U.S. banks play in propping up the racist South African government and specifically three of the larger banks in Philadelphia -- First Pennsylvania, Provident and Philadelphia National Bank. In the coming months UPCAAR will be building a campaign to force those banks to withdraw their financial aid to South Africa.



IN SOUTH AFRICA

Service	Date Delivered
0	
0	
5	
ne patrol 12	
00	1971
00	
400	1973 and later
000	1971 and later
00	
50	1973 and later

Specific dates not always available)

Party-building: PWOC view of the Proletarian Unity League

On theory, unity and fusion

by CLAY NEWLIN
(First in a series)

The Marxist-Leninist movement is in crisis, as the general drift of the party-building forces continues towards opportunism. Fragmented into small organizations, circles and study groups, narrow perspectives hold the upper hand in the great bulk of the movement. Three "vanguard parties" have been proclaimed, each consolidated around a political line which is opportunist in its most fundamental features. Even those forces trying to go against the tide have made little headway; their break with dogmatism is not yet complete.

And yet, the unification of the Marxist-Leninist movement on the basis of scientific socialism, its welding into a single organization, and the establishment of its irrevocable connection with the class struggle of the proletariat becomes more essential with each passing day.

NEED FOR A CONSCIOUS PLAN

Given these dire circumstances, it is incumbent upon all honest Marxist-Leninists to take up the struggle to rectify our movement. If we hope to succeed, we must proceed according to a conscious plan. The development of such a plan demands that we seriously, and, of course, critically study every proposal that is directed towards overcoming the opportunist drift and advancing our movement towards the formation of a viable vanguard party.

In this light, we urge that all revolutionaries make a thorough examination of the views of the Proletarian Unity League (PUL) on the present situation and our main tasks as elaborated in their book, *Two, Three, Many Parties of a New Type?*

Most Marxist-Leninists will recognize many positive features of this book. PUL argues that party-building requires a conscious strategy, and that the lack of such a strategy has been a prime weakness in our movement. Emphasizing that the main opportunist danger comes from the left, PUL maintains that a step forward requires the defeat of the prevailing ultra-leftism. And they end their book with a strong call for the centralization of the ideological struggle in the communist movement.

But in spite of these contributions, PUL's analysis is seriously flawed. In a series of articles we will evaluate PUL's approach to party-building strategy, their outlook on ideological struggle, their critique of the ultra-left line, and their plan for uniting Marxist-Leninists. We have asked PUL to respond to this series in the pages of the *Organizer*. The present article will be the first of two in which we discuss their view of party-building.

VIEW OF FUSION

On the whole, the PUL's discussion of party-building is a healthy corrective to the prevailing views on the question in our movement today. As opposed to the more common characterization of the party as a national organization of Marxist-Leninists, PUL defines the party "as the union of Marxism-Leninism and the workers' movement, a union which expresses itself in the fusion of the politically advanced workers and the Marxist-Leninist organizations." (p. 10; all quotations in this article, unless otherwise noted, come from the book mentioned above.)

Nor is the PUL content just to accept Lenin's definition as if it were merely a general description of a vanguard with no practical significance for the U. S. They argue that "we will have to establish an organic link between Marxism-Leninism and the workers' movement before party-formation heads up the orders of the day." (p. 229)

Moreover, PUL places great emphasis on its critique of the subjectivism which has characterized the previous "Party Congresses" of the CLP, RCP and CP M-L. Instead of arguing that the failure of these parties stems merely from their incorrect attitude to program and strategy for the U.S. revolution, PUL draws out the connection between their ultra-left lines in general and their voluntarist approach to party-building.

Furthermore, PUL counteracts the sectarian view which is rampant in the dogmatist wing of our movement which elevates every question to the level of a "splitting question" no matter what its significance for party-building. This, they argue, has led to an "unprincipled polarization" of our movement. Failing to distinguish between essential and non-essential questions has set back the fight for communist unity.

But in spite of these contributions, PUL manages to repeat some of the critical errors that continue to hold back the Marxist-Leninist movement. First and foremost, they do not grasp the unifying character that the struggle to fuse Marxism-Leninism with the advanced workers provides for the party-building process.

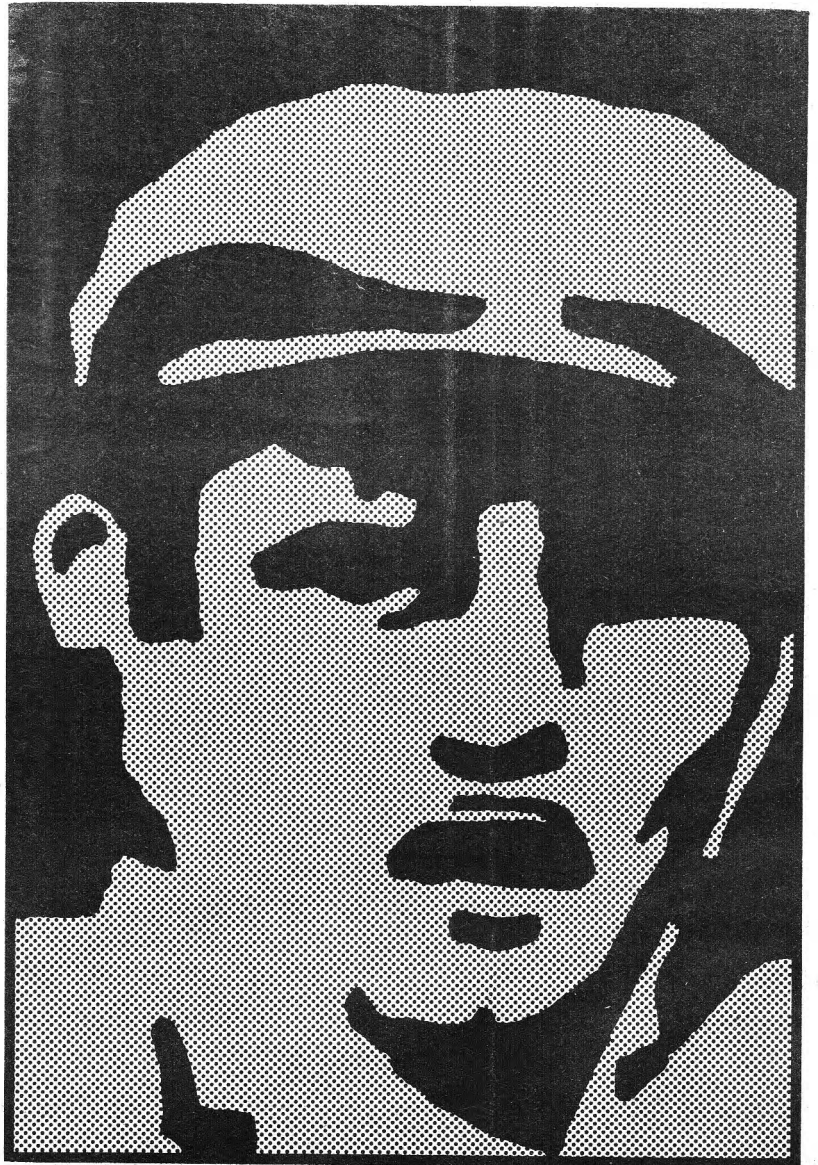
To begin with, PUL repeats the fundamental error of the dogmatist wing of the anti-revisionist movement by accepting in principle the ultra-left division of party-building into two tasks of equal weight: "winning the vanguard to communism" and "uniting Marxist-Leninists". Early in their book they write approvingly: "The U.S. communist movement is relatively united in viewing the general tasks of (party-building) as the uniting of Marxist-Leninists and the winning of the class vanguard to communism." (P. 14)

ROLE OF THEORY

There are several problems with this formulation. In the first place, it underplays both the special importance of our theoretical tasks and the primary emphasis which must be accorded to the theoretical struggle in the party-building period. Theoretical work is essential not only in order to settle accounts with revisionism, but also in order to evolve the necessary elements of program, strategy and tactics, which alone can provide a firm basis for our party.

In fact, theoretical work plays the determinant role in our ability to establish a vanguard. If we are incapable of elaborating an application of the principles of Marxism-Leninism to the concrete practice of the U. S. revolution, we will not succeed in constructing a revolutionary organization — no matter how many Marxist-Leninists we unite or how many workers we win to communism.

Secondly, "winning the vanguard to communism" cannot be, properly speaking, a "general task" of party-building, nor even one of two general tasks. As defined



by Stalin, this task includes efforts to "build up cadres, create a Communist Party, work out the program, [and] the principles of tactics." (*Collected Works*, Vol. 5, pp. 82-3) On the contrary, like the call to "fuse communism to the class struggle of the proletariat", it is a statement of the very *essence* of party-building.

Thirdly, it is wrong to imply, as the above formulation of our "general tasks" does, that "uniting Marxist-Leninists" and "winning the vanguard to communism" are of equal importance to the party-building process. While in any particular period of party-building, efforts to unite Marxist-Leninists or to win over the advanced elements may come to the forefront of our particular agenda, over the entire process clear priority must be accorded to the latter. Our struggles to fuse communism with the advanced workers must predominate over our quest for communist unity; otherwise we will not be serving the U. S. revolution.

"UNITY" AND "FUSION"

This is true for several reasons. First, fusion raises the questions around which we must unite. It is only by solving the problems posed by the actual class struggle that our movement can assume a vanguard character. Unity around correct solutions to these problems will be the unity which aids the development of our vanguard.

Second, fusion allows us to give real weight to our calls for unity. As our movement matures, its theoretical work will be refined and receive increasing verification at the hands of the advanced workers. To the extent that this work proves its vanguard character in practice, we will have the right to demand unity around it.

Finally, fusion allows us to differentiate between principled and unprincipled unity in each phase of party-building. At each level we must distinguish between those whose lines serve to push forward our work of winning the advanced and those whose lines serve to retard it. We must unite with the former, and demarcate with the latter.

Of course, no one would deny that a united communist movement working in a uniform direction could contribute greatly to our ability to win over the advanced elements. On the contrary, we will have to achieve such unity if we are ever to really reach the advanced. Nevertheless, it is clearly not just any Marxist-Leninist unity that will press forward our work among the advanced. The recent history of our movement is filled with examples of efforts for communist unity which served not to advance but to retard this work. The formation of the CLP, the RCP, and the CP M-L have only operated to drive the advanced workers either into the arms of the CPUSA, or, more often, towards anti-communism.

A final problem with this formulation is that it leaves the door open for the very subjectivism that has dominated previous efforts to establish a vanguard. Because the essential (or central) task of party-building is formulated as just one of two "general tasks", and because it is accorded, at best, equal consequence to the task of uniting Marxist-Leninists, the quest for unity becomes, conceptually, one step removed from its necessary connection to the actual class struggle.

Since our movement is composed primarily of a radicalized petty-bourgeois stratum which has a strong tendency to substitute itself for the masses, the struggle for Marxist-Leninist unity inevitably takes on a life of its own. The centrality of winning the vanguard recedes into the background, being seen, primarily, as a task that should be taken up after unity is forged. Thus the subjective urges of the present Marxist-Leninists predominate and party-building becomes an exercise in voluntarism.

The error of the PUL exists not just at the level of formulation of our tasks. Not only does the PUL deny the primacy of fusing Marxism-Leninism with the class struggle, the rough equality it accords this task is more apparent than real. As we shall see in our next article, the whole weight of PUL's view is toward the line that the forging of unity among the Marxist-Leninists precedes the active pursuit of fusion.

Karl Marx: Tyrant? Hippie Bum?

In 1957 J. Edgar Hoover wrote a book called *Masters of Deceit* telling "what the communist bosses are doing now to bring America to its knees." Of course, it has since become clear that Hoover himself had few masters when it came to deceit, but that is another story. His book has become a textbook of anti-communism. It's ideas both mould and reflect popular

attitudes toward communism and communists.

The Organizer wants to debate these ideas with the arch anti-communist Hoover. While J. Edgar has passed on, his ideas have not. And while he no longer is able to speak, his book continues to speak for him.

by JIM GRIFFIN

As everybody knows, the basic ideas of communism are associated with Karl Marx, the founder of scientific socialism. Who was this man and what were his ideas? This is where J. Edgar Hoover starts his story. . . with Karl Marx as the first "master of deceit".

Hoover wastes no time in letting us know that Karl Marx was the kind of guy you'd want to keep away from your kids. ". . . An egotistical, crabby, stubborn man who from student days showed no interest in productive labor to support his family. . . a highly disorderly, cynical person. . . washing himself, combing his hair, changing his underwear and shirts are a rarity with him. . . he is often lazy for days. . . he kept plugging away, writing, reading, denouncing "capitalist" poverty and letting his family starve. . . instead of writing about capital it would have been better if Karl Marx had made some."

Marx emerges from this treatment as a kind of early hippie. . . a dirty, lazy bum who wouldn't get a job and support his family. We can almost hear Marx's father in the background — "Karl, go out and get a job, cut your hair, clean up your act. . . Settle down in business and forget these crazy radical ideas."

MARX — HARDWORKING REVOLUTIONARY
History has not recorded how often Karl Marx changed his underwear, but never the less we know enough about his life to refute Hoover's slanders. Marx was born in Trier, Germany, in 1818, the son of a well-to-do lawyer. He was a brilliant student and after graduation undoubtedly could have had a prosperous career as a lawyer or college professor.

Instead, Marx became a revolutionary. When he was 26 years old, Marx wrote: "The philosophers have only *interpreted* the world; the point, however, is to *change* it." (From *Theses on Feuerbach*, italics in the original.) This was not just youthful idealism on Marx' part. It was to be his life work.

All Marx' study and writing was done with the aim of developing a body of analysis that would provide the working class with the knowledge to transform society. Nor was Marx some ivory tower intellectual far removed from the fields of battle. He was an active leader in the revolutionary democratic and working class movements of two continents.

LIVED IN POVERTY

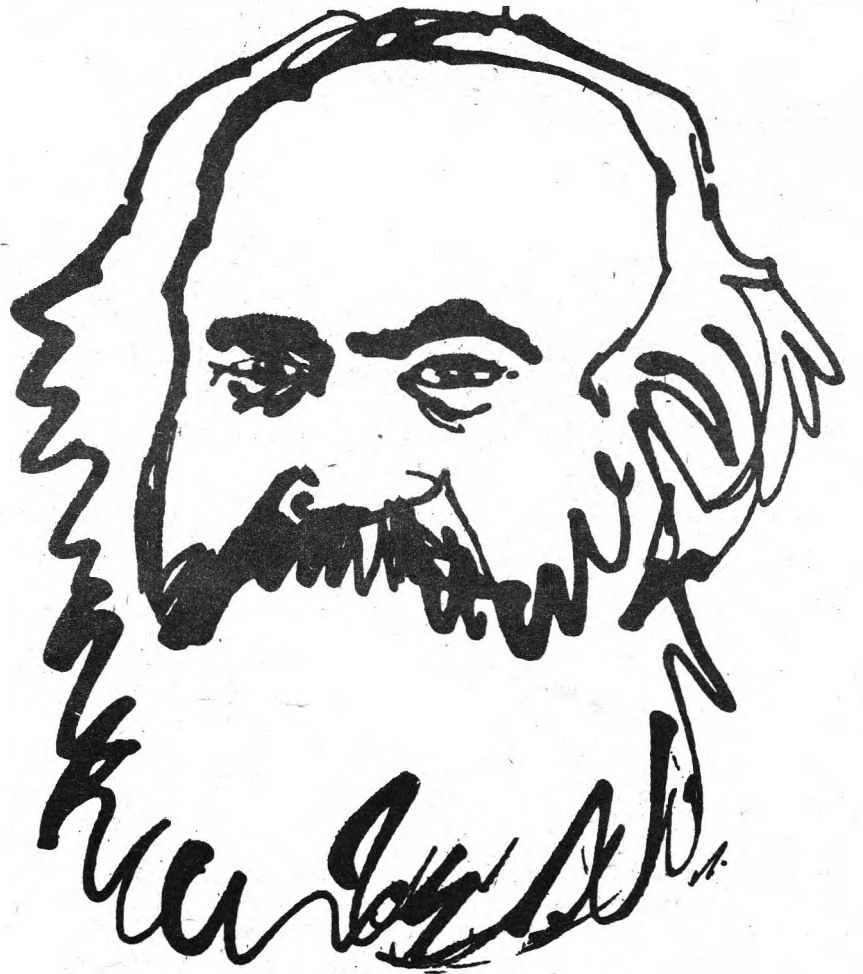
Like most revolutionaries, Marx suffered for his convictions. He was expelled from his native land and spent his whole life in exile. He lived in the worst poverty for most of his days and was barely able to support his family. But this was hardly because Marx was lazy and wouldn't work. Marx made very little money from his theoretical writings. Not surprisingly,

the capitalist publishing houses were not anxious to promote works like *Capital* and the *Communist Manifesto*.

Marx tried to make a living as a journalist, supplying articles on the issues of the day for newspapers like the N. Y. *Herald Tribune* for a few measly dollars. For Hoover, of course, Marx' theoretical work and practical revolutionary activity were not "productive work". Only if Marx had hung out a shingle and spent his life collecting legal fees or opened a business and 'made his living exploiting labor, would he have measured up to J. Edgar's notion of productive labor.

This "lazy" man worked so hard under such poor conditions that he ruined his health. During Marx' most productive period he suffered from boils, migraine headaches, rheumatism, liver ailments and lung problems. In writing to his life-long friend and collaborator, Friedrich Engels, in 1866, Marx says, "Yesterday I was on my back again with a malignant boil which formed in my left groin. If I had money enough for my family and my book were finished I shouldn't care in the least whether I went to the knacker's yard today or tomorrow. . ."

A concerned Engels advised a week later: "Stop your night work for a time and lead a more regular life." Marx replied soon after, "This time it was touch and go. My family didn't know how serious the matter really was. If the thing breaks out again three or four times in the same fashion, I am a dead man. I have fallen away terribly and still feel damned weak, not so much in my head as in my loins



and legs. The doctors are right of course when they say that excessive night work was the cause of the relapse, but I can't tell them why I commit such extravagances, and it would be no use if I could"

MARX' FAMILY

It is true that Marx' family suffered along with him for his devotion to the working class cause. But Hoover's attempt to paint Marx as a cold, unfeeling fanatic who readily sacrificed his wife and children for the revolution is contradicted by the facts. Karl and Jenny Marx had seven children, four of whom died at birth or when very young. Marx was a devoted family man. His children, who became activists in the working class movement themselves, called him the "Moor" and were as devoted to him as he was to them.

Marx' concern for his family's welfare runs like a thread through all his correspondence. After pawning most of his belongings Marx wrote Engels, asking him for money. "I assure you I would sooner cut off my finger than write this letter. It is truly crushing to have to live half one's life in dependence.

"The only consolation which sustains me is that you and I are in partnership and that my job is to give my time to theoretical and party business. I am afraid that this house is rather above my means and this year we have lived a little better than usual, but it was the only way to give the children an opportunity of establishing connections which might offer them some security for their future, not to mention the fact that it was little recompense for all that they have gone through."

MARX — A HUMAN BEING

Karl Marx was not a saint. One of his favorite expressions was "nothing human is alien to me". Like all of us he had his share of shortcomings. He was sometimes moody and had a fiery temper which he did not always keep under control. He could be impatient with people and coldly aloof. But he was also known for his sense of humor, his warmth and his charm. Like most of us he was contradictory. But what stands out in Marx is his strength — his drive and ambition in the face of great adversity, an ambition not for himself but for the working class and the interest of all humanity.

Undoubtedly J. Edgar is unhappy that Marx did not choose to spend his life as a quiet but prosperous shopkeeper. But the international working class has no reason to be embarrassed by the character and life of Karl Marx and every reason to take pride in his example of life-long devotion to the common cause.

But even more important than Marx' character as a man were his ideas. J. Edgar Hoover and the capitalist class hate Marx' ideas with even more passion than they hate Marx the man. And as we shall see, the working class stands in great debt to Karl Marx for these very same ideas.

Two Views of Marx

If the mind of Marx was perverted and biased, it was at the same time sharp and keen. In his arrogant pride he thought he could recast the world on his own terms. Through his writings and his revolutionary organizations he undertook to do so. . . This man who attacked the domination of the capitalists showed his own dominating nature again and again. In theory, he was "for the common man. . ." In practice, his fanatical intolerance and overbearing ego made him a tyrant, an autocrat, a dictator. Marx's character helped shape the whole philosophy of communism and, as we shall see, forged a hideous instrument of power for those who were to follow him.

—J. Edgar Hoover
Masters of Deceit

. . . Marx was above all a revolutionary, and his great aim in life was to cooperate. . . in the overthrow of capitalist society. . . to cooperate in the emancipation of the modern proletariat, to whom he was the first to give a consciousness of its class position and its class needs, a knowledge of the conditions necessary for its emancipation. In this struggle he was in his element, and he fought with a passion and tenacity and success granted to few. . .

And therefore Marx was the best hated and most slandered man of his age. Governments . . . expelled him from their territories, while the bourgeoisie . . . vied with each other in a campaign of vilification against him. He brushed it all to one side like cobwebs, ignored them and answered them only when compelled to do so. And he died honoured, loved, and mourned by millions of revolutionary workers from the Siberian mines over Europe and America to the coasts of California, and I make bold to say that although he had many opponents, he hardly had a personal enemy — His name will live through the centuries and so will his work.

— Friedrich Engels
Speech at the Graveside of Karl Marx

Pregnancy & Working Women

by SARA MURPHY

In the Victorian era, pregnancy used to be called "confinement" because women of the upper classes were "confined" to their homes during that time. Although times have changed for women since the turn of the century, the myth still persists that pregnant women are too fragile to do anything but pamper themselves.

However, today we have other myths surrounding pregnancy. One is that pregnant women are just like anybody else, they can do anything, and a "modern" or "liberated" woman barely notices that she is pregnant. Another myth is that today women have all kinds of choices: whether to work, not work, or work part-time during pregnancy — "It's up to you."

These myths come from a variety of sources: sexism and paternalism that confines women to the role of wife and child-bearer, racism and other attitudes of the exploiting class that see working women as profit-making machines and care nothing for their health or the health of their children. Even some women — middle class women who have certain options in their professional work situations — are blind to the situation of their working class and oppressed nationality sisters.

The truth of the matter is that working class women need to work during pregnancy because of economic need, and because of poverty and racism this goes doubly for oppressed nationality women.

The paperback book on pregnancy that a "fatherly" obstetrician wrote has little relevance to most of us when it says, "Take frequent rest breaks at work, put your feet up or lie down for a few minutes several times a day, take a nap during lunch hour or arrange to leave the office early." Unless you're way up in the office hierarchy, this is totally unrealistic even for office workers.

And in the same chapter, this doctor advises, "If your job tugs at your mind or is exciting to you, you better quit and find a more tranquil profession". Equally ridiculous — most women would prefer to work during pregnancy if their jobs were not so *physically* rigorous and taxing. Who wants to sit at home being "tranquil" and crocheting blankets for nine months?

PREGNANT WORKERS ARE SPECIAL

The truth of the matter is that pregnant women workers are special. Not only are they *capable* of working, and reluctant to "confine" themselves for nine months, they *need* to work — because they need the pay, now more than ever! But at the same time, the bodies of pregnant women are already working overtime, nurturing and developing our children. Pregnant women and their unborn children need and require special care and protection.

Physically, there are certain limits on just how much a pregnant body can do. Pregnant women have a 20-50% increase in blood volume, leading to an equally increased workload on their hearts. The speed of their general body metabolism can increase up to 30%. This, along with carrying extra weight, means one thing: fatigue.

Besides the fatigue which accompanies all stages of pregnancy, there are other specific problems. Nausea and vomiting during the first months can be extremely debilitating — yet who ever heard a boss tell a worker with morning sickness to come in at ten o'clock for a few weeks? And toward the end of pregnancy, ligaments soften to get ready for the baby to come through — lifting can cause severe strain. Yet how often are women forced out on early maternity leave rather than put on a lighter job for a few months?

Varicose veins and hemorrhoids are common during pregnancy, and prolonged sitting or standing greatly increases the chances for these problems. Machine operators, clerical workers, telephone operators have no choice but to sit in one position all day; elevator operators, dental assistants, beauticians, cashiers and salespeople have no choice but to stand. This is unhealthy for anyone, but risks and discomfort increase markedly during pregnancy.

DANGER OF INFECTION, ACCIDENTS INCREASES

All these day to day hazards add to the stress, fatigue and discomfort for the pregnant worker. An already greater susceptibility to infection is increased by these added factors. This means more easily catching the flu, as well as those especially frequent vaginal and urinary infections pregnant women get. Both fatigue and imbalance due to added weight multiply safety hazards. Falls, accidents with tools and machines, are more likely when workers are fatigued and under extra stress.

But even more important is the question of pregnant women and chemicals. Most workers are exposed to various types of chemical substances: we know this is true in heavy industry, but what about copy machines in offices and cleaning solvents in textile? The real danger here is damage done to the baby by substances which cross the placenta. These include anaesthetic gases, pesticides, lead, mercury, radiation, carbon monoxide, many organic solvents and other chemicals. As in the case of studies done on operating room nurses and technicians, risk of miscarriage, stillbirth, and birth defects increases markedly. Breast milk can also be affected and can damage the infant after the mother has returned to work.



Chemicals, fumes, stress, prolonged sitting or standing and increased safety danger due to fatigue: These are some of the health hazards that can affect pregnant workers and their unborn children.

WORKING WOMEN — VICTIMS OF NEGLECT AND RACISM

Also, we must remember that a fetus is most susceptible to damage during the first three months of pregnancy, and in those early weeks, a woman doesn't even know yet that she is carrying a child! Women and men have a right to know if the substances they work near or with can damage their children — and they have a right to be protected from these hazards.

It is criminal that so few studies have been conducted to determine the hazards not only to unborn children during pregnancy, but to the reproductive capacity for women who are not yet pregnant, and to men workers as well.

Studies and counter-measures are particularly scarce in the sweat shop industries where oppressed nationality women are concentrated. For instance, it's generally known among clothing workers, many of whom are Black and Hispanic women, that miscarriages and hysterectomies later in life are common. But health and safety guidelines don't account for this.

Is the reason generally poorer health and pre-natal care in minority communities, or do years behind vibrating machines

enter as a factor? Ignorance on these questions is indicative of the racist and genocidal attitude of the powers-that-be when it comes to the health and well-being of oppressed nationality peoples — even unborn children.

WHAT WE NEED

The sexism of this society makes it extremely difficult for a woman worker of childbearing years to gain stability in her job. We need disability pay during childbirth leave, a reasonable length of time for that leave, and good quality childcare for infants, preferably close to where we work.

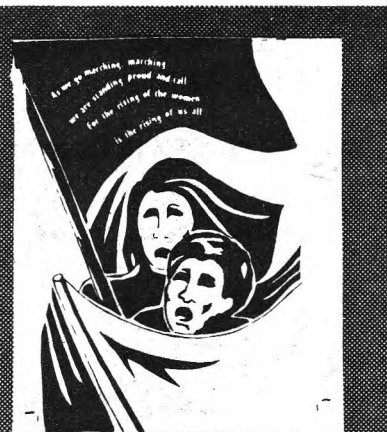
We need an end to the "like it or lump it" choice of exhausting and often dangerous work during pregnancy. This means absolutely safe conditions, quality pre-natal care and more flexible work schedules and job requirements during pregnancy.

Both through legislation and through our union contracts, we can win some of these things, if men and women unite to fight for them. But only in a classless society where the health and well-being of the workers and our future generations is society's concern — where profit-making exploitation is a relic of the past — will the problems of pregnant workers finally be resolved.

Organizer Note Cards for the holidays

"The people, united, will never be defeated" is the theme of these beautiful two-color cards designed by worker-artists.

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Texas farm workers on the move

by JENNY QUINN

Last month one of Texas' most persistent union organizers, Antonio Orendain of the Texas Farm Workers visited Philadelphia. Since he went to Texas with the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee in 1966, Orendain has faced grower's shotguns, court injunctions, jail, the Texas Rangers and harassment from the Texas-Mexico border patrol. He and other farm labor organizers meet with success in the fields — the workers support unionization, but the laws and powerful growers are stacked up against them.

Texas farmworkers are mainly Chicanos (people of Mexican descent) or immigrants from Mexico. The employers of the Southwest, in both the fields and factories, have forced Chicano workers to work the worst jobs for the least pay.

Like Black people in the South and the ghettos of the North, the Chicano people are subjected to the worst housing, education and social services. They are victimized by discrimination and are the subject of a whole series of humiliating and degrading racist myths. But the Chicano people have a long history of resistance to oppression of which the effort to organize in the fields is only the most recent chapter.

RIGHT TO WORK FOR LESS

One of the biggest cards in the growers deck is section 14B of the Taft-Hartley Act, which allows states to pass anti-union "right-to-work" laws. This hurts unions all over, but it is particularly bitter for the farmworker. As Orendain puts it: "14B gives us the 'right to work' for less. It gives us the right *not* to work at all if we are pro-union." The next greatest obstacle is the lack of a law like the one in California, which allows elections within seven days of petition. Since farm work is seasonal, long waits for union elections make effective unionization impossible.

These two obstacles to unionization in Texas sent Orendain and 35 other members of the TFW on the march — all the way from the Rio Grande valley (known by the growers as the Magic Valley, but by the people who work there as the Valley of Tears) to Washington, DC. Their goal was to muster support for national legislation which would protect the rights of farmworkers to organize, and repeal 14B.

WALK THROUGH THE SOUTH

They decided to take the southern route and talk to Black farmworkers in the rural areas and rank and file workers in the cities. This is how Orendain described their experiences:

"When we came close to the Louisiana border, we were scared because of all the things we had heard about the South — the civil rights stories of lynchings and police dogs. . . so we had a meeting. We decided that we would all stick real close together.

"Well, when we got across the border, were met by 700 Black sugar cane workers who welcomes us into their homes and talked to us about the situation they faced. They showed us a petition they had drawn up, and you know what they were asking for? Three things. That the company stop opening their mail, that they be able to choose the beneficiaries on their life insurance policies instead of the company, and that they not have to shop at the company-owned store!" And this is 1977!

"In Virginia, we were walking along a road and a group of Black workers carrying tobacco began to run from us. One of our people chased them and asked why they ran. He was told that they thought we were coming to kidnap them and take them to another tobacco field, or at least take their children!

"These kind of things have to stop, just like we have to be able to organize. It is easy to look at each other and see the differences, Chicanos, Blacks, all poor people. What we have to see is that we are all at the bottom of the social barrel. Social change can only happen when the people at the bottom get together."

CARTER REFUSES MEETING

When the marchers got to Washington, they asked to meet with the president. Not surprisingly, Carter refused. So the TFW and supporters sat down in a hunger strike, and a few days later, Mondale talked to them. Orendain said "He was full of nice words. He said that his heart was with us. If hearts were all we needed, we'd have a union by now! We'll see what it means to have Mondale's heart, whether the rest of him will do anything for us."

Orendain and the TFW went to Washington to state their case, but they count on the workers for their day-to-day support. Despite what Carter tells us about undocumented workers, the TFW knows that it is the anti-labor laws, racist slurs in the media, and the twin danger of the growers and the Texas Rangers who are their enemies. On his radio program, "The Voice of the Farmworker", Orendain speaks to workers on both sides of the

Texas-Mexico border. Texas itself has between 50 and 60 percent of the undocumented farmworkers in the US, and many support the TFW. Orendain said: "Here at the bridge is the most distrust. We have to unite, because it is the only way we will get anywhere..."

"The people already understand that a worker is not the enemy of another worker. But it is the system. The system of free enterprise sounds beautiful, if you have money, if you have a profession, if you have an education. But if you don't have those things, the only free enterprise is, if I'm hungrier than you, I get to work cheaper than you.

"So who is hungrier than ourselves? The workers from Reynosa, Mexico, and that's why they are being forced to work cheaper than us. So that's why I think, under union contract, no matter where you are living, if you and I are doing the same job, we are entitled to the same payment."

Orendain and the TFW stand united with workers on both sides of the border against the KKK hoodlums patrolling the border today, and they are uniting for union fields and orchards in the state of Texas.

The Texas Farmworkers are going to face a tough struggle. "It might take us 15 years to get a union in the Texas fields and orchards, but let's start counting the years now, and not wait any longer." They urge rank and file activists to learn about their struggle by reading their newspaper *El Cuhamil*, and to support them through fundraising.

But particularly, they want people to get behind the repeal of 14B. "The AFL-CIO supports the repeal of 14B, but its going to be the people themselves who move it out, George Meany isn't going to do anything about it.

"In Philly, you'd see a lot less runaway shops to the south if these states didn't have right-to-work laws that sit in the shade under 14B..."

WHAT SHOULD WE DO?

"Talk to people, let them convince themselves with the facts. If you don't like our group, fine, go elsewhere, but organize. Don't look for Moses to lead you to the Promised Land, maybe he won't appear, maybe we just have to get together and be our own Moses. People together think better than one, anyway."

Letters-WHC-

(continued from page 2)

class background, who have pushed most articulately for an increased class consciousness within the women's movement. In fact, the women's movement has a history of concern with issues that face both working and middle-class women in this country — rape, wife abuse, child support and custody, support for women-headed households, pro se divorce, oppression of homosexuals, job and wage discrimination, job training, prostitution, abortion and sterilization and the quality of health care in general. Most of these issues were not discussed or considered important by the left before women's liberation began raising them and were not brought up on March 12.

Therefore, your portrayal of the women's liberation movement not only did not credit it with making revolutionary contributions to the left, but sharply criticized it in ways which were unnecessarily undermining and enraging to those of us who have put our political energies into women's liberation for a number of years. We consider ourselves to be part of the thousands of women in the US who have fought hard over the past eight years to define potentially revolutionary goals for women's liberation. We have helped

to found and sustain it. We are in a difficult struggle with forces of cooptation — those of you working in the trade union movement should have a deep understanding of this process. When you don't acknowledge the left wing of women's liberation, you are strengthening the bourgeois reformers.

We are not saying that it is easy to portray the women's liberation movement — anyone who reads women's literature knows that it is full of struggle. But if we are to be criticized at public gatherings, especially when there are people present who know us only through the mass media, we hope criticism of the movement will be done more fairly and accurately.

We were stirred by the evening, and a part of our intense reaction to it has to do with our self-criticism for having avoided struggle in the recent past. We see this letter as an attempt to promote principled discussion of these ideas either individually with members of PWOC or in the areas of political work which we already share.

Sincerely,
Women's Health Collective
Philadelphia

December 1977 page 13

Internationally acclaimed journalist
WILFRED BURCHETT
to speak in Philadelphia
on his first U.S. tour

From Vietnam
to Southern
Africa:

The struggle
against imperialism



Time: Saturday, Dec. 10, 8 PM
Place: Christian Association, 36th and Locust Walk
Admission: \$2.50 — Proceeds to benefit the Guardian and the Organizer
Childcare provided

NUTS & BOLTS



how to write a leaflet

Picture your neighborhood slowly being destroyed by absentee landlords, abandoned houses, and City Hall neglect. There's angry talk all over the neighborhood about these problems, but no one seems to be doing anything about it.

Or take those two fellows from the shop who were fired last week for "insubordination". The company is cutting out a job here and there, piling the extra work on everyone else, and two fellows who stood up for their rights were fired. The union shop chairman has suddenly made himself scarce, and it seems that the union leadership is going along with the company on this one. In the lunchroom and in the bar, more than one worker is saying that something's got to be done.

LEAFLETS: AN ORGANIZING TOOL

Whenever people are oppressed and denied their rights, there is always anger and there is always resistance of some kind. But just demands can only be won when that anger is fanned into a flame, and that resistance is directed into effective common action for a common set of demands. A leaflet (flyer) is one of the main tools that any organizer (that's you) uses to arouse people and to give them a sense of what to do about a problem.

Trouble is, high school English class convinced many of us that we're too ignorant to write for an audience. That's baloney. If you can talk, you can write. Some of the best poets and writers of all time have used everyday speech and a simple direct style — Walt Whitman, Mark

Twain, Langston Hughes, Jack London and lots of others.

Crystal clear and straight-to-the-point writing usually has more power and interest than the endless corkscrew prose of "refined" authors. Getting good at writing is a lot like learning any other skill, whether it's tool and die making or cooking — it just takes practice. Here's a list of some basic rules to follow, more or less step-by-step, in writing an effective leaflet.

1) A group of people should work together to decide what you want to say in the leaflet; four or five heads are better than one for this job. But only one person should do the actual writing of each leaflet. Three or four people trying to write one leaflet at the same time usually gets very confusing and takes forever. After the leaflet is written, you can have a couple other people from the planning group look it over, to be sure it says what the group had in mind.

LIST YOUR IDEAS

2) Decide what you want to say first, before you start to write. Draw up a list (or outline) of all the points you want to make. Then put them in some kind of order that makes sense. Try to make the outline as clear as possible — this makes the actual writing much easier.

3) Cross out everything in your outline that's not important. Don't try to make your leaflets into a book. Remember that in most cases, a leaflet should cover no more than one side of a piece of paper. Shorter usually means better. Use a series of leaflets, each covering one or two main points, if you have lots to say.

Short and straight-to-the-point leaflets are easier to understand and more interesting to read. Of course, don't go overboard and leave out so many facts that your readers can't figure out what you're trying to say.

4) Once you sit down to write, write the whole leaflet out from beginning to end, without stopping too long on any one part. This is called the "first draft".

DON'T GET STUCK

If you get stuck on one part, skip over it and keep going. If you re-write a sentence once or twice, but still can't get it to sound right, skip over it.

After you finish this first draft, *then* go back and work on the hard parts, re-write the sentences you don't like, and so on.

Write it out first, look the whole thing over, and *then* edit it. This gets the job done faster and keeps you from tearing the paper up in frustration. If you get really stuck, ask someone else for a suggestion, and their new ideas will break up your mental log jam.

5) Make the headline and first couple of sentences catch people's interest. Headlines should be not more than three or four words, eye-catching, and interesting, and should sum up the main point you're trying to make. WHY WAS JONESY FIRED?; STOP THE SHUTDOWN! WE NEED MORE PLAYGROUNDS! A good beginning that grabs the reader's interest right away makes them want to read the rest.

6) Write like you talk. Use the words and expressions in your writing that you use in everyday speech. Big words and flowery language make your leaflet hard to understand. When you use \$10 words, it also sounds like you're trying to impress people, and that turns them off. Don't worry about "style" — say what you mean as clearly and simply as possible, and your message will come through. Also, stay away from weasel words like "perhaps," "possibly," "maybe," "might have", and "I think". When you use these words to stretch a point, it shows.

KEEP IT SHORT

7) Keep most of your paragraphs and sentences short; this makes them easier to read and understand. Use a few longer sentences for variety. Cross out any words (or sentences) that aren't needed.

For example, here's two sentences that both say the same thing, but the second

one is shorter: "The fact that the Supervisor didn't fire Jonesy right after the argument, but instead waited a week to concoct an excuse, shows how the whole thing was nothing but a frame-up."

Now here's the same sentence, re-arranged, minus nine excess words: "When the Supervisor took a week to concoct an excuse to fire Jonesy, everyone saw that it was nothing but a frame-up." The shorter sentence saves space, is easier to read, and has more punch.

8) Stay away from vague generalities. Instead of saying, "Mayor Rizzo isn't doing his job and something should be done about it", tell your readers about Rizzo raising the wage tax, dropping the corporate income tax, and let them know that a petition drive has started to put tax reform on the November ballot.

Don't just say that "Our shop is too dangerous." Give examples of that forklift accident last week or the fumes in Department 12. When you're trying to get across a general idea (like "corruption", "democracy", "injustice") use real examples to illustrate what you mean.

9) When you've finished writing, read the whole thing over out loud. Listen to how it sounds. This is the best way to tell how the leaflet will come across to the reader. Then make any final changes.

10) After you get your leaflet written, you need to "lay it out" in neat and readable form, then get it printed. See *Nuts and Bolts* in Vol. 2, Number 3 of the *Organizer* for how to lay out a leaflet.



Budd Red Lion: union meeting spurs debate

UAW Local 92 mustered a quorum on Nov. 20 to have its first local union meeting in six months, and it was a busy one.

The most important issues at the meeting were both focussed on the jobs crisis; Local Union President Bill Hill reported on the UAW's campaign for passage of the Labor Law Reform Act, which has passed the House but not the Senate. He urged that every member write a letter to each Senator urging support for the meas-

ure. In the course of his comments on this issue, Hill made it clear that "no matter who you are or what you are, we need your support" — that labor law reform is in the interest of all working people, regardless of political affiliation, or what caucus they are in in the union. Practical understanding of the need for this unity could go a long way toward helping strengthen Local 92 with the energies of all its members.

Although strongly supporting the Reform Act, Hill had only strong condemnation for the Humphrey-Hawkins Bill, calling in an empty promise, with no guarantees of jobs. He strongly criticized Democratic Party politicians for delivering such a weak piece of legislation, and said workers should demand something better, which clearly recognizes our right to a job.

The weakness in Hill's position became clear when he was questioned about why he had not named the members of the Full Employment Action Committee established previously by the Executive Board. Hill replied that there was no need for a Committee because there was no program for them to move on, indicating that he wanted to wait for the International leadership to develop a program.

Several members pointed out that the need for the Committee was still there — to educate and inform members of the

facts of the crisis, and to make proposals for local action and national action to be sent to the union leadership. Rank and File involvement now would provide that much better organization when a program is fully developed. The meeting concluded the issue by passing a resolution in opposition to the Humphrey-Hawkins Act and supporting immediate formation of the Full Employment Committee to pursue the goals originally stated in the Act: that is, a job guaranteed for everyone willing and able to work.

In discussion of a resolution urging local action to oppose apartheid South Africa, President Hill stated that the UAW was moving ahead on a project to remove its money from Detroit banks which support apartheid, but wanted no local action which might jeopardize negotiations with the banks. A resolution of support for the bank action, to be sent to the International was passed.

The progressive stance of the International Union on this issue is weakened by its opposition to local action. Local

action could only impress the banks (and the government) that the leaders speak for an informed, concerned membership. This would exert real pressure on the banks, as well as the Carter administration. As on other issues facing the union, local initiative, and rank and file involvement are the keys to real strength and political power.

One issue that divided the meeting was the struggle over the elimination of a steward's job. Although according to the contract steward's jobs can be eliminated when the work force is reduced, members of Zone 2, where the reduction occurred, argued that it was done improperly. Too much discretion was left in the hands of the Committeeman, the contract was wrongly interpreted and special circumstances in regard to the need for stewards in the Press Shop were ignored, according to union members who argued that the union should oppose the elimination of any steward in that Zone at that time. The majority of the membership felt that there was no grounds for an exception, and supported the Committeeman's decision. Members of the Blue Ribbon Group felt the Committeeman abused his power and violated the contract in order to remove from the steward's position a member of that caucus.