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The ORGANIZER

Fighting over "Combat" Troops in Cuba

by Kate O'Hare

The right wing in this country has launched a new campaign, directed against Soviet "combat" troops in Cuba. The presence of 2000-3000 Soviet troops in Cuba has suddenly become a major issue. It may well cause the defeat of SALT II, which is being held up in the Senate until the Carter administration reaches some kind of agreement with the Soviets about the troops.

The presence of the "combat" troops was "revealed" on August 30 by Sen. Frank Church, Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and previously known as a liberal who supported the SALT II accords. However, Church is facing a serious challenge by right-wing forces in his home state of Iowa and is trying to appear less liberal. Church not only announced the presence of the troops but he said that they would have to be removed before he would support SALT II.

The whole story may be a fabrication. The Soviet Union says that the troops are not combat troops, and that they have been there for 17 years. Their mission is to train the Cuban military forces, who get all their equipment from the Soviet Union. The Carter administration has few facts to refute the Soviet view.

The USSR is hardly going to invade Miami Beach with 2000 soldiers, and the

government admits that the troops pose no military threat to the US. They also admit that US intelligence does not know when the troops arrived. Furthermore, no one is quite sure what a "combat brigade" is and how you tell it apart from troops on a training mission. Supposedly, US spying on Cuba was stepped up as the situation in Nicaragua heated up, and increased spy flights spotted the Soviet troops on maneuvers on August 17th. Someone leaked this information to the press, and the Carter administration was forced to go public.

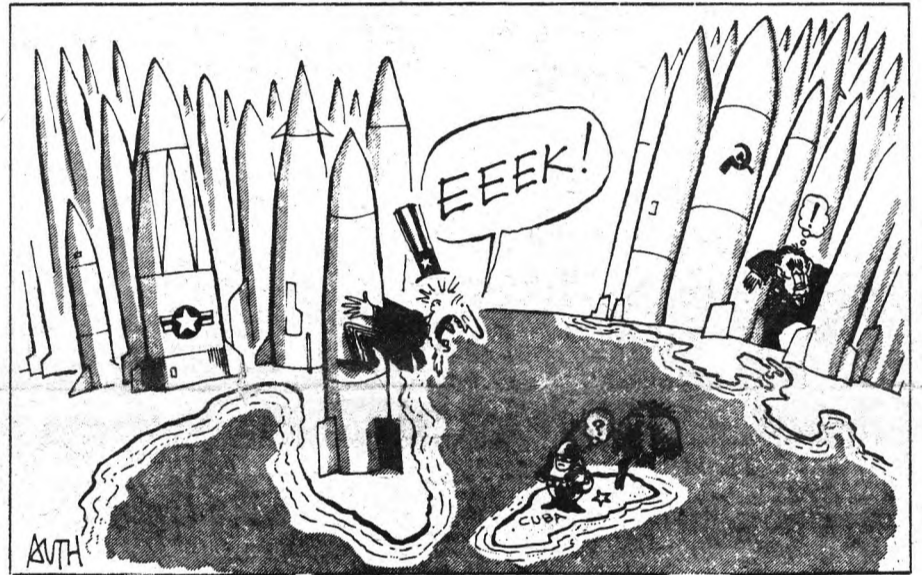
The right wing is having a field day with the issue. Ronald Reagan has called for the US to break off all contacts with the USSR until the troops are removed from Cuba. Senator Jackson, a leading critic of SALT II, has insisted that the troops be removed, that all high performance aircraft be taken out of Cuba, and that no additional submarines be provided to Cuba by the Soviets.

Right-wing Presidential advisor Zbigniew Brzezinski has said that it is time to re-assess Soviet-American relations in general, and Cuba's role in the world in particular. Brzezinski has suggested that possible US reprisals might be a major US military build-up in the Caribbean, a cutting off of wheat sales to the USSR and selling more military hardware to China.

Sen. Howard Baker, another key Senate critic of SALT II, has said that the matter might be resolved in a matter of days. "We're not talking about weeks. I don't think the SALT treaty has a prayer in Hades of getting through the Senate unless the Russians do something to de-escalate this latest confrontation." And on the far right, retired troop commander Gen. Singlaub has claimed that the Soviet troops are in Cuba to protect nuclear warheads on Soviet planes, even though the CIA reports that there are no nuclear warheads in Cuba.

Meanwhile, the State Dept. is trying to cool all this down. Secretary of State Vance has had five meetings with Soviet Ambassador Dobrynin and several with Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko. It appears that the Carter administration is trying to find a formula whereby the Soviets can appear to make some concessions, without actually withdrawing the troops. One idea is that the Soviets might transfer some of the heavier weapons to the Cuban army.

(continued on page 12)



Campaign '79 — From the Bottom, Up

by Ann Caswell

After a slow start, the independent campaign of Lucien Blackwell for mayor is beginning to gain momentum as the month of September advances. If the issues of the campaign are brought home to the grass roots communities of Philadelphia, October promises to see a mayoral campaign posing some real alternatives for the people of the city.

Accepting the draft of the Black Political Convention in late July, Blackwell was a latecomer to the race. Plus, running without the blessing of the two big business parties, he lacks traditional city-wide

organization and big money backing. Organizational weaknesses reflecting the immaturity of the independent political movement in the city plagued the campaign in the early weeks, leading to some demoralization about the ability of Blackwell to mount an effective campaign.

GRASS ROOTS CAMPAIGN

But from the grass roots, people have taken the initiative to organize. This upswing in activity can be seen in a number of committees formed in workplaces and communities to carry out tasks related to the campaign. This initiative is vital to the success of an independent campaign,

which must gain its strength without relying on ward leaders or even labor leaders, most of whom are clinging to Green's coat tails and fear antagonizing the Democratic Party.

From the inception of the Blackwell candidacy, for example, it was rumored that 1199 Hospital Workers' Union would endorse him for mayor. However, support was not readily forthcoming. A rank and file committee within 1199 petitioned the union delegates to take up a struggle to insure Blackwell's endorsement. The effort was successful, and union president Henry Nicholas is one of the few labor

leaders to support a fellow unionist in this race.

Even in unions such as the UAW, which has donated to Green 70% of his labor backing, the struggle goes on. Rank and file unionists, white as well as Black, are fed up with the Tweedle Dum-Tweedle Dee politics of Green and Marston. They are promoting Blackwell as a candidate running on the Human Rights Agenda, which puts forward demands corresponding to the basic needs of Black and Hispanic people, and by extension to all working people of Philadelphia.

In the AFL-CIO Council, Green's endorsement did not pass without a fight. The real issues of this campaign must be brought into all Philadelphia's workplaces and neighborhoods. The blindspot of racism which blocks many white working people from seeing that Blackwell is far more representative of their interests than Green or Marston, must be exposed.

GREEN'S CORPORATE LIBERAL CAMPAIGN

In the meantime Green, backed by money from the city's businessmen, is running a traditional corporate liberal campaign, relying heavily on television commercials and liberal rhetoric. Two-thirds of Green's million dollar primary coffer came from businessmen, many of whom, according to the Philadelphia Bulletin are Republicans from outside the city! Most of his other backing came from professionals such as doctors, lawyers, and architects.

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Letters To The Editor...



A Pat on the Back

Dear Organizer Staff,

Keep up the good work! Your newspaper has been a big help to me for quite a while now, and if anything, it's getting better. I find I can use something from every article — even the ones strictly geared to places in Philadelphia. I know it's lots of work to put out a quality paper, and the work in yours shows. The one thing that would make it more useful for me is more issues a year, so you could cover more issues, events, problems.

Please renew my subscription.

C.G.
Dorchester, Mass.

Teamster Rank & File Rebellion

Dear PWOC,

I am writing in response to some factual errors and your interpretations in your article on the Teamsters (ed. note — *Rank & File Rebellion in Teamsters*, in July issue). I worked for UPS for 11 months and did some work with PROD. First of all, UPSurge is not part of TDU. While there should be only one united group within the Teamsters, I feel that UPSurge takes a more realistic approach towards UPS workers than TDU does.

Apparently TDU made a proposal at the UPSurge convention last year that UPSurge, TDU, and PROD form a coalition around the UPS contract with equal representation of all three groups. Both UPSurge and PROD thought that this was off the wall, although UPSurge offered TDU people membership on their steering committee, which TDU turned down.

The people who work in the national office of PROD are real good. They are opposed to and have not participated in the red-baiting of TDU, although red-baiting still exists among PROD's rank and file. In fact, some ex-members of the PROD rank and file steering committee are currently red-baiting the national office and accusing them of wanting to merge with TDU. PROD probably cannot survive without a merger, but they have a lot to offer TDU. Unfortunately, a lot of people will probably drop out of PROD if they merge. Enclosed is a copy of the UPSurge newspaper, and some newsletters we put out.

In Struggle,
J. B.

The Organizer responds:

You're right about UPSurge not being a part of TDU; we apologize for the sloppiness and appreciate your setting us straight. We're not sure what you mean

by UPSurge being more "realistic" than TDU, but we assume you mean they are more realistic in their judgment of what kinds of demands the UPS workers will support. That may be true in terms of economic demands (wages, working conditions, etc.) but we feel that both groups have a falsely pessimistic attitude about the kinds of political demands the UPS workers are ready to fight for.

We know from our own experience that workers are ready to fight for such demands as an end to race and sex discrimination (including white and male workers) and the need for working class political action independent of the capitalist controlled Democratic Party. By downplaying these very important issues, the TDU and UPSurge leadership are hurting the long range strength of the rank and file movement, for the sake of short run popularity among some of the less conscious workers. We realize this is a hard line to walk, but dodging these controversial but central issues isn't the answer.

As for the question of sectarianism and division among the major Teamster rank and file organizations, we don't doubt that TDU has made some mistakes. However, we stand by our position that it has been the PROD leadership which has held back the necessary unity the most.

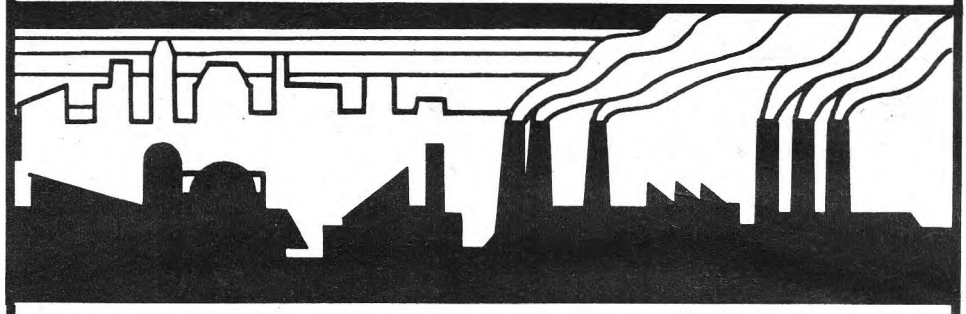
Their 1977 public letter slandering TDU as plotting foreign agents, and their constitutional requirement that members of other rank and file groups (such as TDU or UPSurge) could not serve on the PROD steering committee, are two examples. We agree that the current national leadership is more progressive than the liberal lawyers and others who formerly dominated PROD, as we indicated in our article. Both organizations see the need for unity, and are working towards it, with TDU taking the most initiative.

Finally, we agree that some PROD members will probably drop out of formal membership if PROD merges with TDU. TDU makes no secret that some of its leading members are socialists, and some backward workers won't go for that. But we feel TDU is, and has been, correct to make this fact known, and to refuse to engage in thought control purges. This is particularly true since the socialist TDU members have been some of the best, most dedicated members of the organization (as has been the case in every union since the earliest days of the labor movement).

Our experience is that, in the long run, workers will defend and support good leaders, even when those leaders are open communists.

We appreciate your correction, and your serious discussion of some important political questions that face many rank and file organizations.

Publications from the PWOC



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The Philadelphia Workers' Organizing Committee

The Philadelphia Workers' Organizing Committee

Who We Are



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

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

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

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

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

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

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Sustainers receive their Organizer first-class mail and may send a free sample to a friend each month. (Beginning in August the Organizer will initiate a sustainer's newsletter)

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Labor Round-up

Union Rights for Stouffers' Workers

The following item is from a leaflet handed out by Stouffers restaurant workers picketing in downtown Philadelphia:

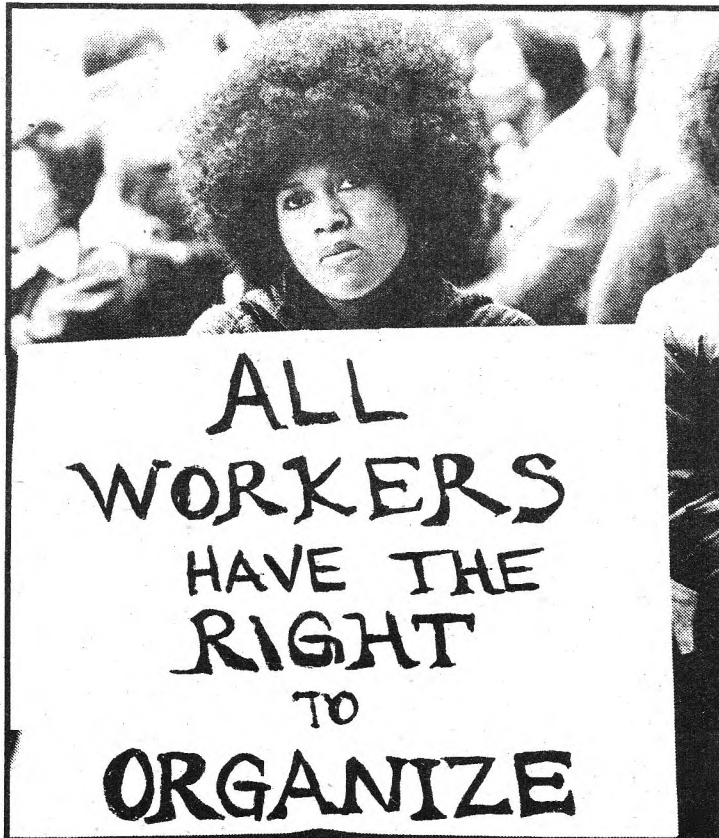
"UNION RIGHTS FOR STOUFFERS KITCHEN WORKERS

"We are the kitchen workers from Stouffers downtown restaurants. We do not get any tips. We have to live and support our families on our low hourly pay, and few benefits.

"The overwhelming majority of us want our own union, United Labor Union's Local 862. This is our right as Americans. We have asked local Stouffers management to recognize us and they have refused to do so.

"You can help by calling Mr. Garvey, Stouffers' regional manager, to ask him to recognize that the majority of the employees want a union. (Call Garvey at 649-9327)."

Even though refusing to bargain with a recognized union is supposed to be illegal, Stouffers isn't the only company to use endless legal appeals and other stalling tactics to bust unions. JP Stevens textiles company is the most well-known. Philadelphia's Temple University's Computer Center is carrying out a similar campaign, under the direction of lawyer Robert Wachs. Mr. Wachs is a member of the same law firm as Democratic mayoral candidate Bill Green, the "friend of labor".



Labor Solidarity Key to Westinghouse Victory

On September 15, the two month long nationwide strike of three electrical unions against Westinghouse officially ended. The 60,000 members of United Electrical Workers (UE), International Union of Electrical Workers (IUE), and International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (IBEW) have been on strike since July 15. It was the first time since 1948 for all three unions to come together to strike Westinghouse nationwide.

The big issues of the strike were: 1) the company's attempt to take away the company-paid pension plan won in the 50's and replace it with an employee contributory plan, which would cost each worker about \$300 a year and, 2) job security. UE and IUE's membership has been cut almost in half over the past few

years, with union shops running overseas or to the South.

Strike activity varied in different locations, but labor solidarity was strong all over. At the Lester, Pa. plant, the company offered the business agent of the guards' union the same settlement that that UE would eventually get if the guards agreed to settle right away. But he realized the company would use their settling to put pressure on UE to settle, and refused the offer.

The weak links in the strike were the newly organized, smaller IBEW shops in the South. To them, the issue of job security was unimportant. So when the company leaked out that the continuation of the noncontributory (company-

paid) pension plan was agreed, they voted to settle. Larger, longer-organized plants voted against settlement, but lost. Still they refused to cross UE and IUE picketlines in yet another act of labor solidarity. Nevertheless, IBEW settling did seriously weaken the strike, and soon IUE and then UE settled.

The settlement contains some important victories: the retention of the non-contributory pension plan, a modified union shop from a previously open shop, and some job security clauses such as three months advance notice before a plant moves or closes down, and increased compensation pay and pension when a plant moves. Weaknesses in the settlement were lower wage, COLA and pension increases than the unions hoped to

win. Also, they were hoping to win more money for the retraining of laid-off workers.

Probably the most important issue brought out in this struggle is the importance of organizing the unorganized. This is particularly true in the South, where most companies are running for cheap labor. For even when all three unions went on strike together, it was the non-union southern shops that kept the company going. And the newly-organized southern shops with the least understanding of labor solidarity were the first to break ranks, forcing the other unions to settle. We can look to this strike as both an inspiration in labor solidarity and a reminder of the tasks ahead.

Professional Sports ... Big Bucks and Broken Bones

by Jake Hammond

Players and fans pay a high price for the excitement of professional sports. This is especially true of football where each week viewers see players carried off the field on stretchers. Even "non-contact" sports like baseball have seen a rash of injuries, often to key players, which redirects the fortunes of contending teams. The '78 World Champion NY Yankees and the National League Eastern Division champion Philadelphia Phillies are two excellent examples of teams that were devastated by injuries and will probably finish 15 games back. Obviously the teams and particularly the players suffer a great deal from these injuries, but it's the fans, not the owners, who wind up paying the dollar costs of these injuries.



Sports are big business. The teams are owned by millionaires who make their millions with the same techniques used by the "giants of industry" — push, push, push, screw the workers at contract time, and try to isolate and get rid of the troublemakers. There is no difference between the company that delays or cuts off an injured worker's compensation to force her/him back to work and an owner that pushes a player back on the field before he's fully healed. The Boston Red Sox are particularly good at this, having practically ruined ace reliever Bill Campbell's shoulder, pushed catcher Carlton Fisk to play while he could barely throw to second base on one bounce, kept Bob Stanley in the starting pitcher rotation despite a nagging shoulder injury, and even pushed the great Carl Yastremski to play with a sore hand, hip and Achilles tendon.

The Phillies had Dick Ruthven pitching with a pulled groin, bursitis, and bone chips in the elbow until the strain and pain finally sidelined him with a massive elbow inflammation. He faces off-season surgery and may never return to the form that helped the '78 Phils to their third straight NL East championship. The Baltimore Orioles made Jim Palmer the most booed player in Baltimore when he insisted he rest until his sore back and elbow were completely healed. He was portrayed as greedy and disloyal (sound familiar, unionists?), even though he has stayed at Baltimore for 12 years during which he pitched a record 51 shutouts and has

eight 20-win seasons (only immortals like Walter Johnson and Lefty Grove have done that).

But pro football stands out as the profit-pushers' paradise. Most fans know the tragedy of Joe Namath's knee, but how many know of Dick Butkus' out-of-court settlement for \$600,000 when he sued for being forced to play before his injured knee had healed. And Richard Todd, NY Jets quarterback, was told to start a game eight weeks after he broke his collarbone. A third period quarterback sneak gained 7 yards, and Todd was lost for the rest of the season when he re-fractured the bone.

Athletes wear their bodies out quicker and for higher stakes, but basically they are just like their parents who slowly wore out on the job and the number is constantly increasing. Hundreds of athletes are injured on the job each year, and that number seems to be increasing even faster. Doctors who are employed by the club are a part of management that handles the dirty work by using the "macho-man/hero" ideology to try to make a player feel like "less than a man" if he thinks he's injured too badly to play.

When a player plays hurt and gives "all for the team" he is held up as a model for the workers. When Jim Palmer says, "I could pitch right now. You can always pitch one game. But could I pitch the last two months of the season? I doubt it." — he is portrayed as selfish and

a slacker. Because ideas like that threaten the philosophy of "Win one for the Gipper" — which really glorifies the rap the boss gives you to "Go back to work and produce even if you are hurt." The boss and the owner want the same thing — self-sacrifice to the point of stupidity "for the team." But what they really want is the worker on the job and the player on the field producing so the profits keep rolling in.

But players' consciousness of dollar settlements for injuries is higher these days. When players are injured, or see teammates injured, they understand the dangerous nature and lack of job security in their profession. As a result, they feel a strong need to negotiate the highest salary for the longest time possible in their contracts. And only a few are able to get long-term security that takes care of them after they retire from playing. That's why Luis Tiant's deal with the Yanks to be Latin American scout after three more years of pitching stands out, as does paralyzed wide receiver Darryl Stingley's lifetime security settlement with the New England Patriots and the NFL. And that's why players are demanding million dollar multi-year contracts.

Of course, the owners aren't going to see their profits limited, so they blame the players and get the fans to foot the bill by continually raising ticket prices. Is this any different from the company that passes wage and benefit increases for their workers on to the consumers with price increases?

The Human Rights Agenda ... Toward Quality Education for All

by a teacher

Philadelphia, like most big-city school districts, doesn't get the funds or attention it deserves from government — city, state, or Federal. City schools have far larger classes than the suburban districts lying just outside the city limits, so teachers have less time for each student. Many school buildings in Philadelphia are well over 70 years old, and at least 14 have been declared fire traps by the city's own Fire Department.

Every day, thousands of public school children in the city must contend with rats, mice, and other unhealthy conditions. Reading scores are way below the national average. It's working-class children who suffer from these conditions while the city's politicians and business executives send their children to expensive private schools. And with the School District of Philadelphia 70% Black and Puerto Rican, this sorry state of education is also blatantly racist.

Lucien Blackwell is leading a Human Rights Slate of independent candidates who have pledged to uphold the Human Rights Agenda, an anti-racist people's program created by the Black Political Convention. What does this independent campaign mean for public education in Philadelphia? What does the Human Rights Agenda have to say about the schools?

The Human Rights Agenda calls for the following specific measures to improve education:

1. An elected school board.
2. Enough funding for the schools — stop budget cutting.
3. An end to control of School District finances by the banks.
4. Bilingual-bicultural education (English/Spanish).
5. A curriculum which reflects the true history and culture of Black people.
6. Work-study programs in the high schools.

7. An end to "competency" tests such as Project 81, which push students to leave school early, and lower educational standards.

8. A city-wide community board to deal with the special educational problems facing the Black community.

9. More educational and cultural programs, such as summer school, art, music, etc.

10. Programs which would enable students to visit and study socialist countries such as Cuba and China.

11. Fire school superintendent Michael Marcuse, a Rizzo ally.

12. Community control of the schools.

These demands, which come from the Black community, are really in the interests of *all* working people. Everyone has a stake in the full funding of the school system, an elected school board, and taking control of school finances away from the bankers. The call for a curriculum which acknowledges the history and culture of Black people is an important part of the fight for a curriculum which would tell the true history of all working people, of minorities, and of women.

Likewise, the demand for a community-based board to oversee education of Black children is one important step in the direction of a city-wide board that really represents the entire community — white, Hispanic, and Black. Bilingual-bicultural programs give non-English-speaking children the right to learn in their own language as well as in English. These programs benefit English-speaking children by giving them an opportunity to study another language and culture.

In addition to these benefits, the white working class has another interest in the educational platform of the Human Rights Agenda. The present racist school system denies Black and Hispanic people real and complete equality and democracy. As long as this racist inequality



Black and other national minority youth suffer the most from Philadelphia's racist school system, but quality education would benefit us all.

exists, there can be no true democracy for anyone. And it is the divisions created by this inequality that lead to white and Black and Hispanic working people quarreling among themselves, while the bankers and Democratic Party hacks continue to strangle everyone's schools. This is why all working people share an interest in ending racism in education.

The Human Rights Agenda isn't perfect; it does not come out strongly for desegregation of the schools, for example. While the Agenda doesn't oppose desegregation, it does call for community control of schools and, by implication at least, suggests that community control is a better answer to racism than desegregation. Underlying the idea of community control in the Black community is the feeling that Blacks can and must "go it alone" because of racist reaction to desegregation (such as the Frankford High sit in). This sentiment on the part of many progressive Black people is understandable when we look at the record of the white-controlled school system of Philadelphia, the unwillingness of the teachers' union leadership to speak out against racism, and the very real outbreaks of racist violence against Black students.

But the hard facts are that finances are controlled not in the neighborhoods, but by the city-wide school system. Only a united Black-white movement across the city can gain enough leverage over those finances to stop the unequal treatment of Black children, and to improve the quality of education for all students. The lack of a demand for desegregation in the Human Rights Agenda is mainly a reaction to the fact that such Black-white unity barely exists at this time.

As November 6 draws closer, both big-business parties will be running their mouths about what they will do for the city of Philadelphia. Green will try to present himself as a friend of working people. He will cite his "100% record" in Congress on education issues. But what about his pledge to support tax credits for private schools, a measure which would mean even less money for the public school system? Marston will repeat his slogan of "throw the bums out", asking us to replace the Democratic bums with Republican bums. But the needs of the working people and national minorities of Philadelphia can only be met by an independent movement away from the two old parties and towards an anti-racist people's platform, such as the Human Rights Agenda.

Fighting for a New Edison

by Henry Menufargis

The 20 year struggle for a new Edison High School is intensifying. A multi-racial coalition of parents and students from District 5, led by the Kensington Joint Action Council and the Puerto Rican Alliance, is fighting for the building of a new, integrated, co-ed high school at Front and Luzerne Sts. Area students are presently victimized by a pattern of segregated and unequal education. Black and Hispanic students go to all male Edison or all female Kensington High, the district's two aging and decrepit firetraps. The majority of white students go to Frankford High outside the district.

The focus of the current struggle is an eight year old law suit instigated by the Rizzo administration to block construction of the school at a 23 acre city-owned site at Front and Luzerne. In spite of substantial community pressure for the new school, Rizzo claimed the "community" didn't want it. Posing as the advocate of democracy, Rizzo went to the courts so that the school wouldn't be "shoved down people's throats." Rizzo pointed to the opposition mobilized by his own political ally, City Councilman Harry Janotti, as evidence that the new school was not wanted, ignoring the broad, multi-racial movement in favor of it.

The political upsurge that toppled Rizzo from power has put the Edison question back on the agenda. Over the last several years there has been a coming together of grass roots organizations in

the District 5 area, mainly around the housing issue. The unity and fighting strength developed in fighting for better housing is now making itself felt in the struggle for education.

In April, Superintendent of Schools Michael Marcuse proposed an alternative school at Front and Luzerne to accommodate 80 white students who would otherwise have been assigned to Kensington or Edison High. At a community meeting to sell the plan, Marcuse was turned away by over 125 white, Black and Puerto Rican parents who resolutely rejected Marcuse's "alternative" and demanded the Board build a new Edison at Front and Luzerne. Citing community opposition, Marcuse withdrew the proposal.

This victory fueled a successful petition drive over the summer. Over 8,000 signatures were collected calling for the immediate construction of the new Edison.

THE FRANKFORD OPTION

The prospect for a new Edison High School is bound up with what has come to be known as "the Frankford option." Historically white parents in the district have had the option of sending their children to Frankford High outside the district and most have exercised it. Earlier this year the school board closed off this option in an effort to give their sham voluntary desegregation plan some desperately needed cover. With the voluntary aspects of the program like the much touted magnet schools barely making a

dent in the segregated contours of the city's school system, the Board needed to take some action in order to avoid a court-imposed plan.

By late summer the pressure on the Board to reinstate the Frankford option was mounting, led by the Janotti clique. The leaders of the coalition for a new Edison understood that if the Board caved in to this pressure it would be a major setback for their efforts. The Frankford option undercuts the struggle for quality desegregated education. Instead of a united effort to replace educationally inferior Edison and Kensington with a new school offering a better education for all, whites have the dubious privilege of going to a better but still inadequate school, and are effectively pitted against minorities. As one coalition leader put it to the Board: "The answer to quality education in District 5 is not special privileges but the immediate construction of a new, integrated high school."

Meanwhile the Rizzo-Janotti gang was urging Frankford parents not to send their children to Kensington and Edison because they are educationally inferior, prompting a sit-in by some parents at Frankford. These politicians are the same people who have consistently and aggressively opposed the effort to improve the quality of education at Edison and Kensington by standing in the way of a new high school.

Backed by angry parents and Edison and Kensington students, the Coalition

carried the fight to the school board. At a thunderous Board meeting on Monday evening, September 25, the Board, in the face of this movement and motivated by concern for the future of their desegregation plan, decided once and for all to abolish the Frankford option. The forces for equality and multi-national unity had prevailed over the voices of racism and division.

EDISON AND THE ELECTION

The Coalition now plans to make the question of a new Edison a major issue in the present mayoralty campaign. They intend to bring pressure on all three candidates to withdraw the city's law suit if elected and build a new high school at Front and Luzerne. To date the candidates have largely skirted the key issues involved in the Edison dispute. While this is predictable behavior for the likes of Green and Marston, the failure of Lucien Blackwell as an independent people's candidate to speak out and give clear leadership on this question has been a disappointment to many of his supporters.

While Blackwell favors a new Edison High, he has failed to expose the racism inherent in the Frankford option and in the motives of those who have fought for its preservation. This is undoubtedly based on the kind of short-sighted thinking which says you get white votes by sweeping the question of racism under the rug. This sells us all short. White working people can and must be won to the understanding that the struggle for equality is in the interests of all. The rallying of many white Kensington parents to the fight for a new Edison shows it is possible. And the victories that Black, white and Puerto Rican parents have won in this fight show what this kind of unity can do.

Make Health Care a Priority ... It's a Basic Human Right

by a former city nurse

Good health isn't important in Philadelphia. This is the message put out loud and clear by the Rizzo administration for the past eight years. The health department has consistently been hard hit by job freezes, budget cutbacks, and employee lay offs.

The most notorious example was the closing of Philadelphia General Hospital (PGH). Preceded by years of calculated neglect, PGH was a living scandal by 1976. Instead of putting available funds into fixing it up, Rizzo chose to shut it down and pour millions of dollars into lavish projects like the Gallery and the commuter tunnel.

In August of '78 the health budget was cut again. Of 600 lay-offs of city employees, 130 were from the health department. That's 22% and health is only one of 20 departments. In January of 1979 30 more health workers were laid off.

Home health services have been eliminated entirely. All of the home health aides were laid off in August '78. As of July 1, 1979, the city no longer provides any visiting nurse services for the homebound. This will create special hardships for patients on welfare and medical assistance, since reimbursement is well below the cost for private services. Formerly

the city subsidized this — now these people will be receiving less care or no care at all. According to one high level official in the health department, "It's not our responsibility. We can't be all things to all people."

Racism is at the heart of Rizzo's policies toward the health department. City statistics show that many health problems are more severe in Black and Puerto Rican sections of the city. (see *Organizer*, Vol. 4 No. 4, page 8) For example, in 1976 in District 5 — which is 80% minority — there were twelve times as many cases of tuberculosis as there were in District 10 which is 99% white working and middle class (the Northeast).

District 5 had the highest infant death rate of the city — 31.1 for every 1000 live births. The death rate for non-white infants is almost double that of white infants. Lead poisoning is also higher in non-white sections of the city. You don't need to be too smart to know that constant cutbacks in health services are only making these ugly facts uglier.

While minorities clearly bear the brunt of poor city health services, the white poor and working class doesn't fare much better. District 6, which is 57% white has comparatively high rates of TB, cirrhosis of the liver, and infant mortality. And everyone has to suffer through

unbearably long waits at the overcrowded and understaffed district health centers.

All of us suffer during layoffs from lack of services, but the workers suffer most. Many health department workers are minorities and women who in these times of rising unemployment will find it nearly impossible to get other jobs.

NEW CUTBACKS

But you thought it couldn't get worse? Well it has! Rizzo has put the health department on the chopping block again. Last year the workers won a contract which guaranteed them cost-of-living adjustments based on real inflation. The budget was based on the predicted inflation figure of 7.5% but official inflation was a whopping 10.5% as of June 30, 1979. Since the Rizzo budget wasn't prepared for this, they decided to make up the deficit in their usual way — cutting back programs and laying off workers throughout city departments.

Of course, police and firemen got their increases without a single lay-off! And some departments even got budget increases — managing director, finance, and the mayor's office. But the health department received a \$2.6 million cutback. Twenty-six workers were laid off, which accounts for the \$2.6 million. The remaining two million is from various programs being reduced.

So what can we do about this? City workers are protesting and planning strategies to combat the constant attacks on their job security and working conditions, and we must support them wherever possible.

The mayoralty elections present a unique opportunity for the working class of this city to finally have a measure of real control over city policies. The

Republican and Democratic hopefuls, Green and Marston, who have so far said only the usual empty nonsense, "I'm for decent health care for everybody," are not unique. Can you imagine a politician saying he was against decent health care?

Lucien Blackwell, on the other hand, presents a real alternative. As a city councilman from West Philadelphia he has a fairly progressive record of fighting for working people and the minority community. Most notably, he was one of a handful of council members to vote against the closing of PGH and worked long and hard with different community groups to keep it open.

But more important is the context in which Blackwell is running. He is running on the Consumer Party ticket as the Human Rights Slate candidate for mayor. The slate, which includes John Anderson, John Street, Valerie Lane, and David Fattah, was formed by Phase III of the Black Political Convention on July 14 and 15. These candidates have endorsed the Human Rights Agenda as their basic campaign platform. The health section of the agenda (see box) addresses the real health needs of all people in this city while granting special attention to the Black and Puerto Rican communities.

This movement to break away from the two traditional parties represents a real step forward for all of us. As long as we are tied to the Democratic and Republican parties, both of which represent banking and big business, we will continue to suffer attacks on our standard of living. While Philadelphia bankers see their profits go up, we will see a rise in TB, infant mortality, unemployment, lead poisoning, and so on. By uniting behind an independent slate we can begin to challenge the two capitalist parties and begin to build a decent health care system for all.



Following are highlights from the Health Section of the Human Rights Agenda:

1. The Health Systems Agency of Southeastern Pennsylvania must enforce the regulation stipulation of 51% consumer representation on its Board. There must also be an immediate appointment of Blacks and Spanish-speaking representatives.
2. There should be more consumer health education programs in the neighborhoods.
3. A major effort should be made to expand and improve the public health clinics in the neighborhoods.
4. Air, water, and industrial pollution laws should be enforced.
5. Home nursing services must be reinstated and expanded.
6. A new City Health Program should be designed to meet the diverse needs of all peoples, with special emphasis on prevention.
7. Women's health care problems need major consideration. Immediate action must be taken to correct the abuse, disrespect, and maltreatment of minority women.
8. Physicians must deliver health care services to the homebound.

Detroit Activists Fight to Save City Hospital

by a Detroit community activist

The struggle by this city's public hospital workers and hundreds of community activists to keep Detroit's only public hospital, Detroit General Hospital, under city control entered a new phase Saturday, September 8.

At a public conference entitled "Public Hospitals in Crisis — Save Detroit General Hospital", the two sponsoring organizations, the NAACP and the Concerned Citizens for Detroit General Hospital presented both an analysis and a program to save both public hospitals and Detroit General Hospital.

Keynoting the conference were both Jerry Wurf, International President of AFSCME, and Larry Washington, president of the Detroit Branch of the NAACP

Both are quite familiar with public hospitals and especially the results of their closure. Both of their respective organizations have been involved in fight after fight trying to keep public hospitals open. Unfortunately, despite their analysis that it is the private domination of health care, the growing monopolization of health care, and the general emphasis of money over people causing the problems in public hospitals, neither were able to provide much of a program for change.

That part of the conference was left up to the participants and organizers. The building of a mass movement was the general strategy put forward at the event, especially around maintaining public hospitals. Although the need for a national health plan as outlined by the Dellums Bill, HR 2629 was discussed, the most immediate and pressing demand was for

federal money to maintain all public hospitals until a national health plan is legislated. For without such money, jobs, services and lives would be lost.

Further tactics projected at the conference include a petition campaign to put the issue of Detroit General Hospital on the ballot and joint work with the Save Dodge Main Coalition, specifically a joint demonstration September 29.

While the effort of the AFSCME International and the NAACP are invaluable in building the general united front mass movement to save the hospital, their general faith in the two-party system basically leaves most of us out. On the other hand, the local union leadership, rank and file activists and community activists — while having a theoretical understanding of the need for independent political

action — have neither the experience nor the mass movement to develop it to the fullest.

Thus while there is the need for a renewed mass movement in Detroit and for it to chart an independent political course, it does not exist. There are elements to the program that will unite this movement, the tasks of molding these forces and programs together remain the number one priority of union and community activists.

Health Care for People Not Profit

School Employees Union

Crisis in the PFT

by Linda Hagopian

On June 1, 1979, John Murray of the United Slate (US) became President of the Philadelphia Federation of Teachers (PFT). He took office as the sole US person elected — faced with an Executive Board made up of people from the Collective Bargaining Slate (CB), headed by Treasurer John Ryan. For a decade before, the PFT leadership had been controlled by Frank Sullivan, John Ryan and Sunny Richman of the CB. The PFT has grown to include 22,000 workers in the Philadelphia public school system, the largest local in Philadelphia and in Pennsylvania.

Control of that union had been hotly contested during the months before John Murray took office; each side putting out masses of literature. Murray and the US built an organization within the union which questioned the democracy of the PFT, accused the CB of mishandling funds and accused the union office of poor service to the workers in terms of representation and handling grievances. Murray's slate also accused the leadership of holding too many offices and basically controlling the local, the state federation, the legal fund and the health and welfare fund for their own benefit.

He vowed to fire the PFT lawyer, who not only received a large fee as a retainer, but also was in control of the new legal fund. For many workers, Murray opened up the possibility of infusing the PFT with more voice for the rank and file and of changing what seemed to be a growing pattern of abuses and corruption.

At the same time, the CB told workers that in order to maintain their contracts and continue to negotiate with the Board, they needed to stick with the people who had been in power. They also accused the US of racism. Because the US criticized the handling of transfers for racial balance, which had misplaced thousands of teachers and other workers last February, the US was able to capitalize on growing discontent around these transfers. Without a clear position on racism and on desegregation in the schools, and without building a campaign based on issues which spoke to racist practices of the Board, the United Slate remained weak around the question of racism, and fed some of the racist responses of white teachers who did not want to be transferred into schools in the Black community.

MURRAY'S LONG HOT SUMMER

In anticipation of Murray's taking office in June, the PFT Executive Board voted to take some powers away from the President. They abolished the publication of the PFT *Reporter*, and they gave all power for hiring to the Executive Board, with the intention of preventing Murray from firing the PFT lawyer and hiring one of his own choice. Recognizing that he could not overturn any decisions of the Executive Board, Murray took the issue to a general union membership meeting, where the membership voted to rescind the Executive Board's decision on hiring. Claiming that this was unconstitutional, the Executive Board then declared the membership meeting null and void.

In the meantime, Murray had fired the lawyer, along with a number of union staff people who stood firmly in the CB camp. This began a long summer of struggle between John Murray and the CB Executive Board, which included the firing of John Ryan as Chief Negotiator (he still retains his elected position as Treasurer of the union and Executive Board member), negotiations between Murray and Ryan, taking the case to the National AFT, and, finally, Murray taking the Executive Board into Common Pleas Court. Murray also accused Ryan of taking important union financial records home.

Before the schools opened in September, Ryan started calling for new elections and called on the membership to vote for elections in a referendum put out to the workers the first week of school. Murray called a general membership meeting to overturn this decision. At the same time, Common Pleas Judge Rosenwald came up with a negotiated settlement between the two parties which halted the referendum, established rules for both sides in carrying on union business in calling meetings and in hiring practices, made Murray and Ryan co-negotiators, and ordered an independent audit of union records. This agreement was signed by both Ryan's and Murray's lawyers and Murray put out to the membership that this was now the basis for moving along.

None of this recent history has been behind closed doors, rather it has been out in the pages of the daily newspapers and in the public courtroom downtown. The membership of the union, many of whom had attended Executive Board meetings over the summer (some as large as 400-500 people) returned to their jobs on September 7, debating and questioning the state of the union, well aware that negotiations will begin soon for the next contract in September, 1980. The membership was also aware that the Board would be doing its best to once again cut back on education for Philadelphia school children by closing down programs, enlarging the class size, and laying off thousands of workers.

Some PFT members also knew that over the summer, while staff positions in the union remained unfilled because the Executive Board would not approve Murray's new staffers, and while the controversy raged over who would be the PFT lawyer, some of the 12-month Get Set workers were being faced with contract violations. These workers, who are largely Black, were asking how they were going to get proper representation from their union under these circumstances.

The crisis had not passed, however, by September 7. Although Ryan's lawyer has signed the agreement, Ryan and the CB rejected the court's agreement, claiming that it endangered the union's independence from the courts and endangered the right of the union to call out the membership to vote on a strike or to ratify a contract. Some of Ryan's criticisms are correct about the dangers of the court's involvement, but for the wrong reasons. Ryan doesn't want to make any deals because he wants to retain his own control of the union. It is for this reason that he backed away from the agreement and instead claimed to have gathered 7,000 signatures on a petition calling for a "Recall Murray" referendum.

The referendum itself was rushed through — no membership meeting or union chapter meetings were held to involve rank and file members in discussing a recall and its implications. The "Ryan — Yes" committee's literature put forward a plan to hold completely new elections for the whole Executive Board and agreed to allow Murray to run again, opposing Ryan for President. Ryan insisted that Murray would, in fact, be recalled by the membership. Murray's literature called for Ryan to uphold the agreement which would set guidelines for taking on the Executive Board's work in the future.

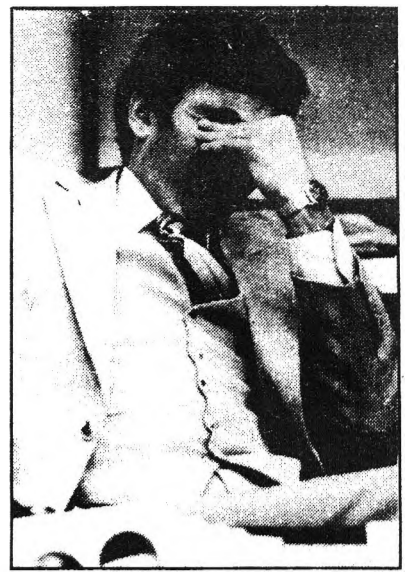
As of this date, we do not know the results of that election. Judge Rosenwald had the ballots impounded the day they were to be in at the Main Post Office and held Ryan in contempt of court for not upholding the negotiated agreement. The union's ability to function remains at a standstill. And its weakened position is surely not going unnoticed at the Board of Education!

THE RANK AND FILE IS KEY

John Murray has been in a position which no one would envy, for there is no doubt that those who have held the power in this union do not want to give any of it up and are prepared to fight to keep it. Every step which Murray has tried to take has been resisted, including his every day work at the union office like getting things typed, finding union records, etc. At the same time, John Murray has not been able to really speak to those issues which he ran on, or involve the rank and file of the PFT. Murray took the issue of the President's power to hire a lawyer to the membership, but he has yet to take up the issue of the *Reporter*, which was the workers' main source of information from the union.

Murray has made some small steps towards the community; he spoke at the Civil Rights Commission concerning the issue of SW Philadelphia and he sent a representative to meet with the Parents Union. However, he has not put out any real concrete plans for the future to build this relationship. Murray fired many union staffers, knowing that those spots would necessarily be vacant as long as the feud within the Executive Board continued. Clearly, he may have had reasons for wanting to work with a staff that wasn't trying to keep him from doing his job.

But at the same time, he needed to build the membership's confidence — leaving them unrepresented for so long was a hardship on them. Murray has never taken up the points from his own platform on union democracy, like the establishment of a Constitutional convention to bring old and new business back to the membership meetings for the membership to take action on.



PFT PRESIDENT John Murray is frustrated in his position

Murray has opposed new elections. Surely, *recalling* a president who has been battled every step of the way by his Executive Board is not a democratic way to run a union. However, new elections was the only way that the PFT membership could have played a real role in determining the future course for the PFT. The membership, through a large number of split votes, had voted in a union leadership which was not functioning.


It is the rank and file of the union which must step in to either force its leadership to lead the union, or to replace it with a group which can. Rather than take this road, however, Murray has taken the union dispute into court, claiming that it was his last resort. He left the field wide open for Ryan to opportunistically go to the membership, claiming that only Ryan is upholding the democratic process.

We can never forget that the highest body of the union is the membership itself. This was Murray's strength, and he should have continued to go to the membership, exposing the bankruptcy of Ryan and the CB and isolating the Executive Board and its undemocratic maneuvers. Although it is important to recognize that allowing the courts to step in and halt the membership's vote may set a dangerous precedent, the Recall referendum in fact represents a divisive and undemocratic move on the part of Ryan, given the existence of a negotiated settlement and given the manner in which the Recall was handled. Progressive thinking union members urged a NO vote on the Recall. It is up to the rank and file to see that an agreement is upheld by Executive Board members, and to demand a voice in further action should this prove to be insufficient.


The key to democratizing the PFT is a movement within the rank and file of the union. The United Slate movement is part of this movement, along with thousands of other workers. It is only the strength of this movement which will insure that the highest body is in fact, the membership of the union.




Which side are you on, kid?



Nonaligned reaffirm their course



Puerto Rican Nationalists free after 25 years



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Campaign for Justice...

Kick the Judges Out

The tenant had legally withheld rent because the landlord didn't provide heat for most of the winter. But Judge COSGROVE evicted her anyway, and ordered her to pay the back rent. (*Turner v. Dudley* 5/14/79).

The landlord was trying to evict the tenant for not paying \$270.00 rent. Yet the tenant had been without any water because the landlord had failed to pay the bill. There was no hot water for three weeks due to a leaky hot water tank, and there were many other repair problems. Judge CONROY ordered the tenant to pay \$270.00 to the landlord and to vacate the property. (*Pereira v. Parder* 4/20/79).

The tenant didn't pay the rent increase because the Fair Housing Commission made a ruling that the increase was illegal. But the landlord attempted to evict the tenant for not paying it. Judge MEKEL found that the tenant was correct in not paying the increase, but evicted him anyway. (*Samit v. Austin* 5/30/79).

Every day, 50-100 tenants are summoned to Court Room 196 to face eviction charges brought by their landlords. Everyone is told to appear at 3:45 PM. Three hours later Court will be over, and less than a handful of tenants will still have the right to live in their homes.

In the upcoming November election, six Municipal Court Judges will stand for retention. This means that we will have an opportunity to decide if they are worthy of their offices by voting "yes" to keep them, or "no" to kick them out. This is no small matter, for it is the Judges who decide how to apply to law.

Municipal Court Judges hear cases where landlords are charged with violations of the Fire and Housing Codes and where landlords are attempting to evict tenants. These hearings take place in two different divisions of Municipal Court, and the Judges sit in these divisions according to a regular rotation. Unfortunately, landlord responsibilities and basic tenant rights are routinely ignored.

The Tenant Action Group has monitored Municipal Court Judges in their application of the law in housing cases. Here are some of the preliminary findings:

-Tenants are evicted 93% of the time.

-Judges ignore basic tenant rights in 90% of the cases.

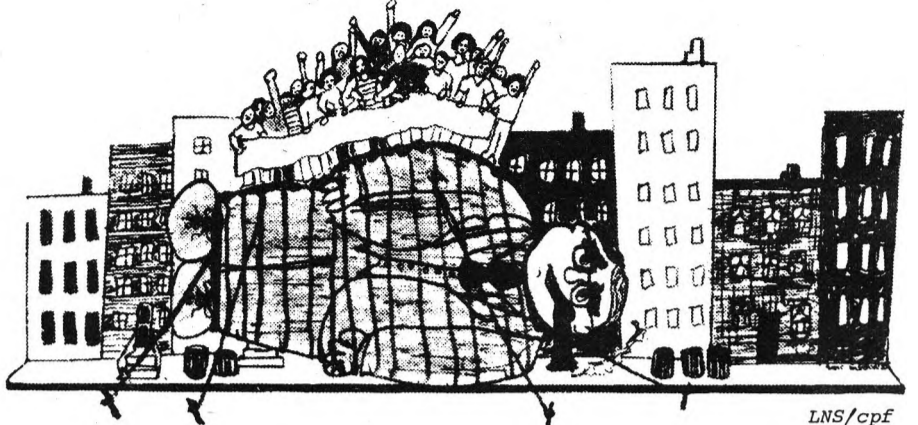
-Judges usually impose no fines when landlords are prosecuted for violations of the Fire and Housing Codes.

-When fines are imposed, they are rarely more than \$25.00.

"The property was in such bad condition that it had been certified 'Unfit for Human Habitation' in April of 1976, and was still considered unfit by L&I when they were contacted in late August. The landlord had been taken to court by the City on several occasions because of the numerous violations to the Fire and Housing Codes.

"Under the requirements of the Philadelphia Code, the landlord should have been subject to a minimum fine of thousands of dollars, and could have faced a jail sentence as well. He could have avoided these penalties by making the repairs, but he chose a much simpler route - he ignored everything. He never made the repairs and he never bothered to show up in court. When the case came up before Judge CONROY on October 20 1976, he was fined only \$100.00. On March 21, 1977, Judge BLOUNT fined him \$200.00, and on July 19, 1977, he was fined \$400.00 by Judge MEKEL. (The case came up again on March 7, 1978 before a Judge who is not presently up for retention, with similar results.) The landlord hasn't even bothered to pay any of these fines.

"Perhaps if the Judges had imposed heavier fines, or even a jail sentence, the landlord would have been forced to make the repairs. As it is, it has been much cheaper, and much easier for the landlord to ignore the problems. In addition, despite the run-down condition of the property, the landlord has been able to continually rent it out. So many people are desperate for a roof over their heads that even an unfit building is in demand.



LNS/cpf

"But at least one tenant who moved in, rapidly became fed up with the conditions and began to withhold her rent. Rather than making repairs, the landlord decided to evict her. The case came up on January 18, 1979, before Judge MEKEL. At that time, the property had been certified "Unfit" for almost three years. Judge MEKEL decided that the tenant was correct in withholding her rent. He ruled that she owed the landlord nothing, but he also evicted her.

"When L&I was contacted in late August, 1979, they stated that they still considered the property 'Unfit for Human Habitation,' and that it had been rented out to another tenant a few weeks earlier." (*Ford v. Brown*)

In Philadelphia today we face a severe housing crisis. Redlining, recycling, sky-high mortgage rates, a critical housing shortage and the cutoff of city services to poor and minority neighborhoods all play a role in this crisis. The housing shortage means that even properties that are in a seriously dilapidated condition are in demand. A tenant who is forced to move is often faced with few, if any, choices of decent housing.

While Municipal Court Judges by themselves, reverse the tide of our housing crisis, they are an important link in the process. They have the power to levy heavy fines or imprison slumlords who don't obey the Fire and Housing Codes. By failing to do this, the Judges encourage landlords to neglect their properties. At the present time, it's cheaper to pay the minimal fines handed out by the Judges than to make the repairs.

When landlords want to evict tenants, they must go through the Municipal Court Judges. These Judges can prevent unfair evictions, and can stop landlords from evicting tenants who have done nothing more than exercise their legal rights or demand that repairs be made.

Bennet Hall is a large apartment building in Logan which has had a history of serious problems for the past ten years. Virtually every winter, the tenants there organize to demand heat and hot water, and to protest the continuing decline of the building. And each time this happens, the management of Bennet Hall uses the Municipal Court to silence these demands. Eviction Complaints are filed against the tenants on a mass scale. On March 22, 1979, 15 such cases were brought before Judge McCABE.

McCABE evicted all the tenants, and the case of *Bennet Hall v. Baldwin* is a typical example. The tenant explained to the Judge that he had exercised his legal right to withhold rent under the warranty of habitability. The warranty became law in April, 1978 when the Pennsylvania Superior Court handed down their

decision in *Pugh v. Holmes* (since upheld by the Pa. Supreme Court). If a landlord doesn't maintain the property in a fit condition, the tenant may make repairs and deduct the cost from the rent, or reduce the rental payments according to the severity of the conditions (minor or cosmetic repairs are excluded).

Despite the fact that this was clearly spelled out in the warranty decision, Judge McCABE told the tenant that the warranty did *not* give tenants the right to withhold rent. McCABE ordered Baldwin to pay the full amount of rent he had withheld *and* evicted him. By evicting Baldwin and the other Bennet Hall tenants, Judge McCABE gave the management the freedom to continue their neglect of the building. The management will now be able to rent the apartments to new tenants, and we can expect that next winter at Bennet Hall will be as bad as it was last year. The tenants and the community will continue to suffer the consequences of a Judge who evicted tenants who stood up for their rights.

We have Fire and Housing Codes, a warranty of habitability and other legal protections for tenants. These laws can help us in our fight for better housing and to stop the decline of our neighborhoods. But the laws are only as good as the Judges who enforce them. The Judges of Municipal Court have become a virtual rubber stamp for landlords evicting tenants and abandoning properties. Unless these Judges are effectively challenged, they will continue these practices.

The most effective way to challenge the Judges is by turning out a massive "NO" vote on election day. If these Judges are removed from office, you can be sure that their replacement (as well as the judges who come up for retention next election) will take much more notice of tenant rights and landlord responsibilities.

In order for such a campaign to be successful, it will require massive voter education. Most people are unaware that Judges are elected. In the ten years the retention system has been in effect, no Philadelphia Judge has ever been removed from office. So far, the campaign to remove the judges has been endorsed by the Black United Front, and by mayoral candidate Lucien Blackwell.

It is essential that this voter education take place. The Judges must be held accountable to the voters who put them in office. Election day is our opportunity to let the Judges of the Municipal Court know exactly what we think of their habit of ignoring the law and defending the exploitation of tenants. For leaflets on the Judges campaign to give your neighbors, or for more information, contact Campaign for Justice, Box 15704, Phila., Pa. 19103. Phone 563-0736

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a Marxist Leninist Perspective

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Organizer Interview...

Trade Unionist and Community Activist

Rashida Abdu is a member of the Rank and File Committee of Local 1944, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (IBEW) and has been an operator at Bell Telephone since 1974. Rashida has been active in the Stop Rizzo Movement, the Black United Front, Tenants Action Group and has also been working to improve conditions in her neighborhood with the Paxton St. Home Owners Association. This past summer Rashida was a member of the trade union delegation from Philadelphia that toured Cuba. The following are excerpts from a recent interview.

Organizer: Tell us about the Rank and File Committee at Bell.

Rashida: The Committee has been working to make some changes at Bell. Conditions are very bad and the union is really weak. When we first formed the committee, four years ago, operators didn't know who the union rep was and nobody knew how to file a grievance. Operators were being fired left and right, upgrading was a joke, the absenteeism policy unjust and harassment from management cruel.

I myself was fired last February. A customer got upset during a call. While I was looking up an area code the customer was cussing me out and finally hung up on me. I was being monitored at the time and the company claims I was discourteous to the customer. But all I ever actually said to the customer was "one moment please". I grieved it with the union, and I still haven't heard from the arbitrator who can take as long as he wants to decide my case. It's making my life difficult since my unemployment benefits just ran out.

The Committee has helped to build our confidence and strength in dealing with the company. The operators know more what their rights are, more about the union, why we have one, and how to use it.

O.: Do you think your firing was a result of your organizing?

Rashida: That and because I'm Black. They've been harassing me for the past five years. But I'm not alone. Whether you organize or not they'll try like hell to get you. One way they count on keeping our union weak is through a big turnover. Three other operators have just been fired since I got the axe and so many more have just quit because of pressure. I had to fight just to get my unemployment benefits after being fired. You gotta fight to stay at Bell.

O.: What's been the response of the union officials?

Rashida: They haven't given much support and they work hand in hand with the company. They get so mad when we tell the operators what their rights are. It's OK for us to know, "but why do we have to tell everybody?". They try to discredit us every chance they get, but it's not working because the operators see the benefits of having a rank and file committee.

We don't just attack the officials. We try to make them represent the operators more. For instance, we put out a mass grievance or a petition around a problem, we get everybody to sign it, and if the officials don't act on it in our behalf, then they hurt themselves. It becomes pretty clear whose side they're on.

STOPPING RIZZO

O.: How did you get involved in the Stop Rizzo movement?

Rashida: When Rizzo first went into office I didn't understand the political process. But it didn't take long to see that his administration has not been beneficial to anyone except the big corporations. What he has done has turned us against each other racially. When the charter change came around, I knew it was time to get him out!

I joined the Stop Rizzo Coalition and was division coordinator in my ward. We met at my house, went out on the streets and registered a lot of people, taught them how the voting machines worked, put out leaflets. . . we were busy. My experience organizing at Bell helped. I learned how to speak out, how to fight. The problems at work and in the community are basically the same. . . human issues. It's all the hassles you have to get through every day just to get by.

Since Rizzo went down I've been involved in the Black United Front and the Black Political Convention. The Convention made many Black activists aware that another party, independent of the Democrats and Republicans, is needed. These parties have never done a thing to help Black and Hispanic people. We need a third party to represent the people and not the monopolies. The Republicans and Democrats already represent them.

The Convention also produced the Human Rights Agenda which speaks on the issues facing all the people. . . on labor, on health, on education and housing.

O.: Do you think Lucien Blackwell will carry out the things in the Human Rights Agenda if elected Mayor?

Rashida: As a union local president, he knows the issues facing workers. As a man who came up in West Philly he knows the issues facing poor people. He knows what issues need to be put on the table and he'll be under a lot of pressure from the Black community to put those issues out. But that doesn't mean he will or can carry out the Human Rights Agenda. He'll need cooperation from City Council and community organizations. He'll need the people pushing behind him. He's going to be facing the power of the monopolies if he's elected. He's going to need the power of the people behind him.

IN THE COMMUNITY

O.: You've also been involved in the Tenants Action Group. What have been some of the issues surrounding that work and how did you get involved?

Rashida: I got involved with TAG because I've had so many problems with apartments and landlords. Landlords don't want to fix anything, they turn off your heat and water, especially in the winter, but they sure can charge some rent.

The last apartment I was in the landlord promised before I moved in that he would fix up the place. There was no plaster on a lot of the walls, it needed painting, it was a mess, there were bugs. Instead of fixing it up he sold it without telling us and the new landlord raised the rent from \$185 to \$300 a month. TAG is good. We have been working on legislation which would make the landlords more responsible to the tenants and also trying to get Licenses and Inspection to



clean up their act. L & I works hand in hand with the landlords right now even though they are supposed to operate for tenants.

O.: You've been doing a lot on your block too. Can you talk about some of the conditions?

Rashida: About a year ago the city came to spray the trees for bugs but instead they killed the trees. Since then the trees have died and the roots are breaking through the sidewalks. The limbs are falling off. That's what really started us off because a limb fell and hit a man's house and just missed hitting a child. Besides there are potholes in the street and rats.

People have called City Hall and written. We've even tried to get different political people to help us but nothing ever got done. The railroad too. They put down new railroad ties and throw their trash on the side of the tracks. There was a cave-in almost two years ago from those trains which brought down the back of three houses near the bend in the tracks. The whole street is giving way. The railroad and City Hall are still fighting in court over who's responsible.

Meanwhile, the street is sinking where the kids play and the rats run around like they own the block. Something has to be done. We all got together and blocked off the street. . . wouldn't let traffic past until the city paid us some attention. This got action out of the city but still Conrail was dragging their feet. So the same week we stopped the trains. When you block their trains you stop their money and this will get action. Now the railroad is getting to work cleaning up the mess too.

HOW IT'S DONE IN CUBA

O.: You were just in Cuba. How would they deal with these kinds of problems?

Rashida: In Cuba there are Committees for the Defense of the Revolution in every neighborhood down to the block level. They handle every and any problem that comes up in the community. Even if you go to the CDR on a weekend, action would be taken immediately. You wouldn't have to wait until Monday morning. The problems like on our block would not have been let go like that in Cuba. It would've been dealt with before rats were running around threatening kids.

O.: Why?

Rashida: Because we live in a capitalist country where the rich look out for themselves. They don't care whether the working people have enough. They give us just enough to survive. . . so we live long enough and are well enough to make it to work and back each day. A government run by the monopolies doesn't really care about the people. In Cuba, the people control their government. There are no monopolies, no big profit gain for any one person or company.

O.: As a working mother you face special problems. How do the Cubans deal with some of these?

Rashida: Right now I'm trying to find day care for my son. I can't find a decent place for him where he can learn something. Even if I could, enabling me to go back to school, I'd still have to find someone to watch him at night. That means two different fees I'm paying.

In Cuba a woman wouldn't have all these worries. Child care is free. Daycare centers are open 24 hours a day. We visited some centers. It's an educational process for the kids and childcare is available when the child is three months old.

O.: What about racism in Cuba?

Rashida: I wouldn't say racism is wiped out in Cuba, but they are definitely trying to overcome it. They are trying to educate people that there is no reason for color barriers in Cuba. Racist offenses are against the law and are taken very seriously. Here too the role of the CDR's is very important in terms of educating people and administering justice. Their revolution is only 20 years old. They are trying to break down all stereotypes imported by the US corporations who controlled the country for so many years. The thing that impressed me most is that in spite of so many problems there is a real sense of building and moving forward.

O.: It sounds like you liked Cuba. What about some things you didn't like?

Rashida: I didn't really see anything I thought was bad. Oh yes, there was one thing. They didn't have my brand of cigarettes or my favorite fruit soda. People, workers in particular, should go to see for themselves. Cuba is not what we have been told it is.

Autoworkers Contract with GM...

Big Money or Bad News?

by Duane Calhoun

"We come to you with a great victory... This contract is the largest single economic package ever negotiated in the auto industry." — Irving Bluestone, head of United Auto Workers General Motors department.

According to the union leaders who negotiated it, the General Motors-UAW contract signed on September 14th is the best union contract ever. If that's true, it would be quite an accomplishment; this is the first UAW national contract in fifteen years to be settled without a strike. But the major rank & file caucuses in the UAW, the Independent Skilled Trades Council (ISTC) and the Autoworkers for a Better Contract (ABC), say that the contract is "totally inadequate."

The UAW officers point to the wage increases that the average assembler will get: from \$8.67 an hour in early September, the assemblers' wage will go up to \$11.32 by September 1982, if inflation is 8% a year. And GM assemblers will get about \$12.40 an hour by 1982 if inflation stays at 12%.

That sounds like a lot, but every penny of that comes from the Cost-Of-Living Allowance (COLA) which has been in the GM contract since the 1970 strike, or from the Annual Improvement Factor (AIF) which has been a part of UAW contracts since the early 1950's. (AIF is a 3% yearly increase in base rates, intended as partial compensation for the 4% to 7% yearly increase in each worker's productivity.)

In other words, there is *no* new money. By the time the rise in the cost of living is figured in, every penny of that increase will be eaten up, just to stay even with inflation. The COLA money alone covers only about 80% of the rise in the government's Consumer Price Index (CPI), and the CPI under-estimates the effects of inflation on workers' standard of living.

Another "new principle" the union claims to have won is in the way this COLA money is figured. The present formula calls for 1 cent an hour for every .3% rise in the CPI. In the third year of the new contract this will be increased to 1 cent for every .26% rise in the CPI. This will mean an extra 8 cents an hour by the end of that year, which *Business Week* magazine says will cover 82% of wages lost to inflation: hardly a "new principle".

PENSION "BREAKTHROUGH"?

Cost-of-living protection for retirees was the prime goal set by the union leadership for this contract. And UAW President Fraser has claimed a "breakthrough" in this area: both past and future retirees will get regular pension increases that he claims will "protect them from the ravages of inflation". Retirees do need protection against the effects of inflation on their fixed incomes, and this contract does get them raises of between 5% and 13% per year (depending on how long ago they retired, age, etc.). Workers who retire this fall (30 years and Out, under age 62) will see their pensions go from \$800 a month to \$915 a month in 1982, an increase of less than 5% each year.

The workers who get a 13% increase will make out ok if inflation doesn't get any worse, but those who get 5% won't even come close to catching inflation, let alone making up what they lost during the last contract.

More important, these increases bear no relationship to the real effects of inflation. The demand of rank & file organizations was to tie pensions to a fixed percentage of active workers' wages, so that from then on pensions would go up automatically, in step with prices. Even if the union had to settle for a low percentage at first (say 40% for current retirees and 50% for future retirees), the principle would be established. The GM contract establishes no principle, it simply gets retirees some increases in pensions, as they have been getting off and on since pensions were first won in the early 50's.

But the worst part of this pension agreement is that part of the working members' COLA money was given back to GM to pay for part of the pension increase. One cent of workers' COLA money will be taken out every 3 months for two years, and two cents each quarter in the last year. This adds up to a give-away of 14 cents per hour by June 1982. The average GM worker will donate \$436.60 to GM over three years (and more if he/she works overtime). The total gift from 460,000 UAW members to GM will amount to over \$200 million. That amount will pay for almost *one-third* of GM's increased pension costs.

This give-away was the real "breakthrough" in this contract — a breakthrough for General Motors, not for the

workers. This is the second contract in a row where active workers paid for the company's pension costs: last contract the UAW gave up 6 cents, and this contract they gave up 14 cents. Where will it end? The retirees made profits for GM for thirty years, so let GM give them a decent pension in their later years.

Possibly the most dangerous side to this give-away is that it sets up a guaranteed conflict between younger workers and retirees: the more the retirees get, the more the young workers lose, and vice versa. And this division will come up again and again at each contract, over more and more money, as long as this anti-union principle is allowed to stand.

Another problem with the pension agreement will arise when the union takes the pattern to AMC and the major parts plants. These companies have a higher percentage of retirees than GM does, and the same pension increases will cost them more. Will the International give up even more of working members COLA money? Will they cut back on the pension increases that the retirees need so badly? UAW Social Security chief Melvin Glasser has already said the pattern will be "modified" at AMC and the Parts & Suppliers plants. While some cuts may be unavoidable, the principle of pensions as a percentage of wages is still necessary and possible to win.

WHAT HAPPENED TO JOB SECURITY?

While encouraging early retirement will open up jobs, the main way to do
(continued on page 18)

Chrysler Workers Fight Back

by a Chrysler worker

The threat of long, maybe permanent layoffs still hangs over Chrysler workers. While the rebate program has turned up almost half a billion dollars for Chrysler, by getting rid of a huge backlog of 1979 models, Chrysler still needs a lot more to pay off its bank loans. It also needs millions to continue the changeover to small cars, which now make up almost three-quarters of the cars sold in the US. How do they plan to raise this much? From the workers, and from the taxpayers.

On September 21, Chrysler announced that in order to cut costs and raise cash, "Several of these (older plants) have been or will be closed in the next six months." They're also considering selling some of their profitable parts plants to other companies. It's possible that Chrysler could get out of the big-car market altogether, by closing, selling, or re-tooling their big-car plants. This is what saved AMC, but Iacocca doesn't want to do it. Chrysler continues to push the UAW for a wage cut in the 1979 contract, and to push the government for loans and tax breaks.

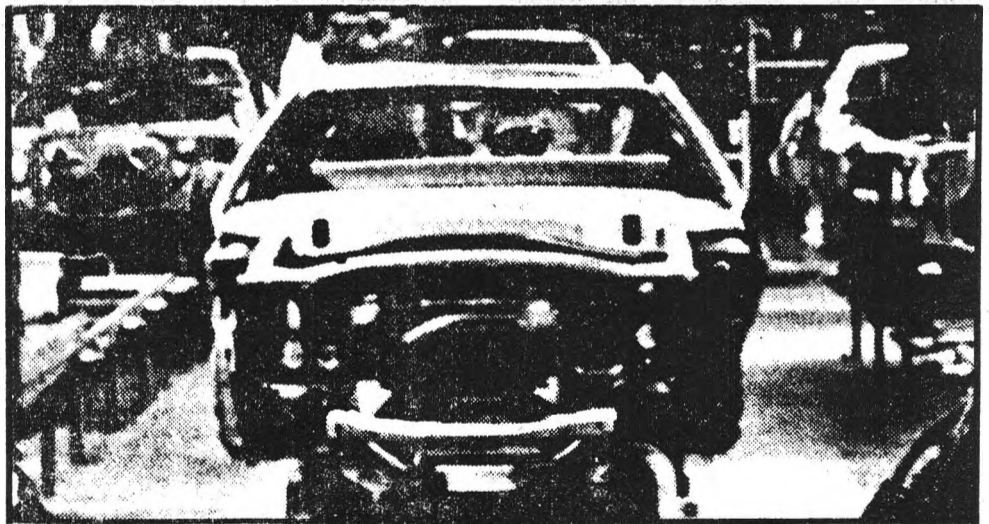
Adding to the danger Chrysler workers face, a few of the company's bankers now seem to favor bankruptcy, even though they had been working against this until recently. It seems that the growing demands for some form of public ownership and control have them worried that they may not be able to milk the company much longer. One New York banker told *Business Week* magazine, "Some people feel bankruptcy is now the preferable solution. A reorganization could bring (the banks) 70 cents

to 80 cents on the dollar. With the government in, we don't know what our chances of recovery would be." Bankruptcy would make it even more likely that many older plants would be shut down; many of these laid-off workers would have little chance of being re-hired anywhere soon.

UAW President Fraser has already let up on Chrysler by announcing that, "We force a contract that could be different and could be less." Rumors are that Fraser is talking about going under the GM contract by \$1 an hour. Chrysler workers are already the most productive, and the Company's wage costs the lowest, of the Big 3. A further wage cut is not what's needed to save jobs. Jimmy Carter is taking Chrysler's side by pressuring the UAW to take a cut, threatening to let the company fold if the union doesn't give in.

Fraser continues to push the demand that the union have 1/3 of the seats on the Board of Directors (along with public representatives). He may make this demand a condition of giving Chrysler a wage cut when contract negotiations re-open. A similar plan for employee stock ownership and participation on the Board is being pushed by Senators Robert Byrd and Russell Long; these conservatives believe that such participation (as a minority of the Board) will make us work harder. Outright nationalization of Chrysler, under public control, remains the best chance workers have to save their jobs. At present, this demand has yet to win a large following.

Business economists are divided in their opinions about whether Chrysler can be saved. Some say the company



could save itself the way AMC did, by getting out of the side businesses (real estate, boat motors, etc.) and concentrating on small cars. Others say some kind of government loan is needed. And some say it's already too late. The last group seems to be those tied to the banks, who want to sell off the company piece by piece, and take their money and run.

WORKERS DEMAND BIG 3 PATTERN

Meanwhile, Chrysler workers haven't been sitting on their hands. At their union meeting Sunday, September 16, Chrysler Local 212 in Detroit passed a resolution stating that they would not accept a contract that didn't meet the GM pattern. Local 212 includes Mack Stamping, 8 Mile Stamping, Outer Drive Stamping, and Detroit Trim plants. The President of the Local, Joe Zappa, is on the Chrysler Negotiating Committee, and is in a good position to put pressure on the International Union to deal with the rank & file demands (if he follows the mandate of the membership). This is good news. What's needed now is that other Chrysler locals pass similar resolutions.

The Detroit organization, Autoworkers for a Better Contract (ABC), has also joined the fight. On September 7, the

ABC and the Committee to Save Dodge Main (started by progressive committeemen in Local 3) held a joint rally to demand job security. They called for Supplementary unemployment Benefits (SUB) to be guaranteed for one year, a \$50 increase in State unemployment compensation, extension of the time you can collect to 65 weeks, the 4-day week to create new jobs, and a guarantee from Chrysler that Dodge Main will stay open as part of the contract.

On September 29 the ABC joined with Concerned Citizens for Detroit General Hospital (which the city is threatening to sell), AFSCME Local 457, UAW Local 3 (Dodge Main), and NAACP, to demand three things: 1) save Detroit General Hospital, 2) save Dodge Main, and 3) save all workers' jobs. About 600 workers joined the march, and half stayed to hear US Representative John Conyers, Local 3 committeeman Lacey Brooks, Keith Mickens of ABC, and other speakers.

On September 16, ABC held a talent contest and rally for a good contract at Wayne county Community College auditorium. The theme of the show was the need for a good contract, and the performers (mostly auto workers) acted out several skits about autoworkers' needs in this contract. There were also gospel, blues, and rock groups.

Lucien Blackwell, Candidate for All Working People

by Sara Murphy

This time last year, Frank Rizzo made headlines with his call for white workers to "vote white." Rizzo appealed to the false idea that the problems of white working people are caused by Blacks and other minorities. It didn't work. Many white workers, still smarting from the sting of the Rizzo tax hikes and cutbacks, turned on this so-called "champion of the white workers" and voted against his bid to succeed himself as mayor. Many white workers saw that his blatant rhetoric of racism cut against the grain of the democratic aspirations of all working people.

THIS TIME ROUND

Again this fall, the issue of racism is central to the city's mayoral race. More subtly than Rizzo, the two party politicians are also calling on whites to "vote white." This takes the form of targeting Lucien Blackwell as the "Blacks only" candidate. Blackwell is Black, thus he will represent only Blacks — this is the new version of the "vote white" logic.

Underlying this argument is the assumption that the masses of Blacks and white working people have divergent or contradictory interests. This too is an old theme of Frank Rizzo's. Whites have to organize as whites to protect their rights — the flip side of the coin being that Blacks have gotten too many "privileges" — this was the gist of Rizzo's "white rights" spiel.

This is just a new version of the old divide and rule tactics that the employers and the politicians have always used to keep working people divided and weak. The interests of the masses of working people, Black and white, are fundamentally the same — we all want jobs, a better standard of living, less crime and a thousand other basic things. We all are served by uniting behind a candidate who will take up the struggle to win these demands.

Nor does the demand for an end to discrimination and for racial equality go against the grain of our common interests. On the contrary, the demand for equality is at the heart of the effort to forge the unity necessary to win these broader demands. Inequality is the source of the division, the basis on which those in power pit white against Black.

Lucien Blackwell's candidacy has grown out of the Black movement in the city. Blackwell has consistently pledged to fight for the interests of all poor and working people. There is no contradiction here. The things that the Black movement is fighting for in the form of the Human Rights Agenda (see article) do benefit us all.

WHY BLACKWELL?

There are many reasons why Lucien Blackwell is the best candidate by far for



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mayor of the city. His record is one of fighting against discrimination, against police abuse, for better health care, against cutbacks in services and for jobs and employment. These problems affect the Black community the hardest, but they are critical concerns of all working class neighborhoods.

Also, there is Blackwell's history as a labor leader. As an official of the Longshore Union he knows the common problems of workers of all races. It is unusual indeed when working people have a chance to vote for a trade unionist to represent them in government, particularly a trade unionist who has stood by the people, not sold out to the bosses.

On the basis of these facts alone, Blackwell would be the obvious choice of all working people, if racist ideas did not blind whites to voting for a Black mayor. However, more important than any of these is the movement that drafted Blackwell to run in the first place. This movement represents a step away from "politics-as-usual" and a step toward independent politics based on the interests of the working class and the national minorities.

This movement is a step forward from the Stop Rizzo movement, in that it holds up a *positive program* citing the concerns of the grass roots people of the city. While the program of the Stop Rizzo movement was correct, it was very limited and had only a negative thrust. "Stop Rizzo" and "Vote No" were its slogans. But the question remained, what next?

There are two different answers to this question. First is the answer of the business bosses who found Rizzo had outlived his usefulness, and the liberal democrats, who rely on formulas that do not alienate the Black people and the working class so readily. Their answer is a return to "politics-as-usual" and a mainstream, white corporate liberal mayor in the person of Bill Green.

The second alternative is to move a step forward rather than backward, to deepen and strengthen the Stop Rizzo movement that developed in the Black and Hispanic communities and in the rank and file of the trade unions. A step forward involves the need for a positive program and a beginning break from the two-party formula that has historically kept business representatives in government office.

The movement which drafted Lucien Blackwell for mayor is moving with the second answer, the *only* answer for working and minority people. The program of this movement is the "Human Rights Agenda" which grew out of a series of community workshops held last winter by the Black Political Convention.

The many demands and issues take up the struggles of Black people everywhere — from the need for expanded community health service, to cleaner and safer SEPTA stations, to the need for a short work week: 32 hours work for 40 hours pay. The Agenda raises demands that provide the core of a *positive program* representing the interests of the Black people and the interests of the entire working class.

Along with the embryo of a positive program, the movement which drafted Blackwell represents a break from the two-party system. After witnessing Charles Bowser — who claimed to represent the interests of the Black community as opposed to Green who represented the Democratic City Machine — turn after losing the primary to endorse that very machine candidate, the need for independence from the Democratic Party was made clear.

The Democratic Party has long claimed to be the party of the "little people" and has sucked in the support of

the Black community, the trade unions and white workers by throwing a few crumbs our way. But aside from these crumbs, the two parties are essentially the same and represent the interests of the big business bosses, the capitalist class. No clear-thinking worker would vote for Republican Marston, candidate of the party that brought us Watergate, the Nixon wage freeze and the likes of Ronald Reagan. But the Democrats offer no real alternatives. Do you remember how we were supposed to vote for LBJ because the Republican conservative Goldwater would lead us into war in Vietnam?

In our unions, we have learned from hard experience, that being "partners in production" with the company gains us nothing in the long run. The reward is always take-aways proposed at contract time and runaway shops. Only by uniting in struggle *against* the company do we begin to make real gains as workers.

AN INDEPENDENT MOVEMENT

The same is true in the political arena. The Democratic Party's candidates hold that as workers we need a "good business climate" such as tax breaks for corporations while we pay through the nose in income, real estate, sales and wage taxes. Of course it's good for business, but it's no good for us! We need to break with the "company unionism" that the Democratic Party represents in the political arena and establish an *independent* political movement based on our interests as workers. The Blackwell campaign is a step in this direction.

This movement in the city will only be strengthened by building it in the direction of Black-white unity. This means that white working people must recognize the need for the Human Rights Agenda, for developing a positive class program, for independence from the two business parties, and for electing a labor candidate. But central to recognizing all of these is recognizing that all working people must take up the struggle against racism.

Racism hurts white workers as well as the minority people directly affected. Because by "racism" we mean not only a systematic practice of discrimination in all areas of social life, but also a set of ideas which says this is okay. It is the business bosses and their friends in the government who initiate and practice this systematic discrimination and who profit by it; but they seek to infect all white people with racist ideas so that we go along with their game of exploitation.

To their "divide and conquer" scheme our answer must be "an injury to one is an injury to all." Only by taking up the fight against racism and all forms of discrimination will we build a movement that unites working people of all nationalities and races.

Many things have happened to us in recent years that point up the need for this kind of movement: the Vietnam War, inflation, Watergate, the energy crisis, Three Mile Island, unemployment, attacks on the gains of the civil rights movement...Who could deny that a new kind of politics is called for in our society?

The struggles of Black people have historically been struggles to further the cause of democracy and equality in our society. By championing the struggle against racism and for equality, white workers will build a powerful alliance against corporate exploitation. Only such a movement will have the strength to turn things around, to make the corporations and not the poor and working people pay the cost for economic ills of the society. Joining the Blackwell campaign for mayor this fall can be a real step in building this movement.



Councilman Lucien Blackwell Philadelphia, running on the

Vote for People

The following candidates, in the view of people of Philadelphia and the trend toward union. All the candidates have endorsed the platform and all of them come out of the believe all progressive forces should unite to

MAYOR — Lucien Blackwell, heading up the Consumer Party and the Black Political record of responsiveness to his constituents brutality. As a labor leader for Local 133 stands the problems of working people first.

CONTROLLER — Lee Frissell, Consumer Party rates and established himself as a consistent struggle against Rizzo's charter change.

CITY COMMISSIONERS (Vote for 2) — Val part of the Human Rights slate endorsed by ist, she was one of the organizers of the C Tartaglione and company.

— Pat McNamara, running on the Co Sheriff Sales program. She also was an area of the need for an honest fair election commiss

SHERIFF — John Brickhouse, Consumer Party Sheriff's sales on homes for Consumer debt of Sheriff's notices.

REGISTER OF WILLS — Garland Dempsey — has fought against freezer frauds, fire alar consumer.

COUNCIL IN THE 3rd DISTRICT — Lucien the Democratic ticket. Should Blackwell los in Council.

COUNCIL IN THE 4th DISTRICT — David Human Rights Slate endorsed by the Black trying to secure ballot status.

COUNCIL IN THE 5th DISTRICT — John the forefront of the struggle for decent ho Convention. As the winner of the Democr ticket.

COUNCIL IN THE 7th DISTRICT — Ralph fought against the corrupt, racist practices of ment of the Puerto Rican Alliance and the C

COUNCIL IN THE 8th DISTRICT — Herb represents a real alternative to the misleade and active support of the Human Rights Ag and independent leadership in City Council.

COUNCIL IN THE 9th DISTRICT — A running. Ken Galloway on the Consumer P ent. Both are SEPTA workers and trade un To avoid dividing the independent vote, wo the other. Since Walter Roy has attracted so ibility in the District, we think he is the lo are well qualified.

COUNCIL AT LARGE (vote for 5) — John Democrats to pledge his support for the H Black Political Convention.

— Ralph Wynder, Consumer Party cand Residents Coalition, has a record of fighting vital needs of Philadelphians.

— Max Weiner, Consumer Party candid founder of CEPA. Weiner can be counted on

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Councilman Lucien Blackwell, Independent Candidate for Mayor of Philadelphia, running on the Consumer Party ticket.

Vote for the People's Slate

The following candidates, in the view of the Organizer, best represent the interests of the people of Philadelphia and the trend toward independent political action in the present election. All the candidates have endorsed the Human Rights Agenda, an independent progressive platform and all of them come out of the grass roots, popular movements in the city. We believe all progressive forces should unite to work for the election of this slate.

MAYOR — **Lucien Blackwell**, heading up the Consumer Party ticket, was drafted for mayor by the Consumer Party and the Black Political Convention. As a city councilman Blackwell has a record of responsiveness to his constituents, fighting for jobs, decent housing and against police brutality. As a labor leader for Local 1332 of the Longshoremen's Union, Blackwell understands the problems of working people first hand.

CONTROLLER — **Lee Frissell**, Consumer Party candidate, has led fights against higher utility rates and established himself as a consistent consumer advocate. Frissell was also active in the struggle against Rizzo's charter change.

CITY COMMISSIONERS (Vote for 2) — **Valerie Lane**, candidate of the Human Rights Party, is part of the Human Rights slate endorsed by the Black Political Convention. A lawyer and activist, she was one of the organizers of the Convention and promises a real alternative to Marge Tartaglione and company.

— **Pat McNamara**, running on the Consumer Party ballot, is Director of CEPA's Stop Sheriff Sales program. She also was an area coordinator for the Stop Rizzo Coalition and knows the need for an honest fair election commission first hand.

SHERIFF — **John Brickhouse**, Consumer Party candidate, from North Philadelphia opposes Sheriff's sales on homes for Consumer debts and has been active in protesting improper service of Sheriff's notices.

REGISTER OF WILLS — **Garland Dempsey**, Consumer Party candidate and a founder of CEPA — has fought against freezer frauds, fire alarm swindles and banking practices which dupe the consumer.

COUNCIL IN THE 3rd DISTRICT — **Lucien Blackwell**, incumbent councilman, is running on the Democratic ticket. Should Blackwell lose in his bid for mayor, we will still have his services in Council.

COUNCIL IN THE 4th DISTRICT — **David Fattah**, longtime West Philly activist, is part of the Human Rights Slate endorsed by the Black Political Convention. Fattah is currently in court trying to secure ballot status.

COUNCIL IN THE 5th DISTRICT — **John Street**, who along with brother Milton, has been in the forefront of the struggle for decent housing, has the endorsement of the Black Political Convention. As the winner of the Democratic Primary, Street is running on the Democratic ticket.

COUNCIL IN THE 7th DISTRICT — **Ralph Acosta**, running on the People's Alliance line, has fought against the corrupt, racist practices of opponent Harry Janotti. Acosta has the endorsement of the Puerto Rican Alliance and the Consumer Party.

COUNCIL IN THE 8th DISTRICT — **Herb DeBeary**, running on the Consumer Party ticket, represents a real alternative to the misleadership of Democrat Joe Coleman. DeBeary's strong and active support of the Human Rights Agenda will provide the 8th District with progressive and independent leadership in City Council.

COUNCIL IN THE 9th DISTRICT — At this point there are two progressive candidates running. **Ken Galloway** on the Consumer Party ballot and **Walter Roy**, running as an independent. Both are SEPTA workers and trade unionists and both support the Human Rights Agenda. To avoid dividing the independent vote, we believe one of the two should withdraw in favor of the other. Since **Walter Roy** has attracted somewhat broader support and has achieved more visibility in the District, we think he is the logical candidate to remain in the race, although both are well qualified.

COUNCIL AT LARGE (vote for 5) — **John Anderson**, Democratic candidate, is one of the few Democrats to pledge his support for the Human Rights Agenda. Has the endorsement of the Black Political Convention.

— **Ralph Wynder**, Consumer Party candidate, a founder of the Black Cadre Family and the Residents Coalition, has a record of fighting for decent housing, public transportation and other vital needs of Philadelphians.

— **Max Weiner**, Consumer Party candidate, is a long time advocate of consumer rights as a founder of CEPA. Weiner can be counted on to fight for the people's interests in council.

Grass R... Elc...

Without the backing of big r... Lucien Blackwell and the other in... dent candidates in this year's e... have to rely on hard work and gras... organization. Candidate Blackwe... been campaigning hard, out at plan... at 6:30 in the morning and keepin... steady round of appearances until... at night. But as one campaign vol... put it: "You'd never know it from... ing the papers...Blackwell's there... you read about is Green and Marste...

Blackwell's candidacy repres... rare opportunity to put a trade u... in high public office, but the bulk... city's trade union leadership r... wedded to the Democratic Party... backing Bill Green. Nevertheless... well's campaign is stirring conscie... rank and file support and organiz... ity. In 1199C, the Hospital W... Union, a petition drive to support... well is meeting with widespread su... Much of the union's leadership, inc... President Henry Nicolaus, is l... toward Blackwell.

In the UAW, rank and file ac... are putting together a citywide org... tion to work for Blackwell and... independent candidates. In the A... mated Clothing and Textile W... Union, the PFT and the Transit W... Union rank and file groups for Bla... have emerged and are holding plan... rallies, registering voters, and pas... resolution supporting Blackwell ar... ling on their leadership to do the... The Trade Union Committee o... Human Rights Coalition has pro... much of the leadership for this mo... tion.

The Coalition has also been ac... the community, fostering voter... tion work and creating ward comm... The fragmentation of the indepe... forces has been overcome to some... as the campaign gains momentum... Human Rights Coalition has been a... in establishing some coordin... between different candidates. At the... roots level, forces from different... paigns are coming together. In Ge... town, for example, people workin... Blackwell, the Consumer Party, V... Lane and Herb DeBeary have beg... coordinate their efforts. In the P... ford and Kensington area, people w... for Blackwell and People's Alliance... date for council, Ralph Acosta, are... ing their efforts. Blackwell and A... recently staged a walk-a-thon tog... through the Northeast.

The present campaign has lacke... broad spontaneous enthusiasm that...

Up-coming Events

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Mayor... What d... Rizzo y... zations... will be...

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Independent Candidate for Mayor of Philadelphia
Consumer Party ticket.

he le's Slate

Organizer, best represent the interests of the independent political action in the present election Rights Agenda, an independent progressive roots, popular movements in the city. We for the election of this slate.

Consumer Party ticket, was drafted for mayor by convention. As a city councilman Blackwell has a long record for jobs, decent housing and against police brutality. The Longshoremen's Union, Blackwell under-

candidate, has led fights against higher utility rates. Frissell was also active in the

Lane, candidate of the Human Rights Party, is running on the Black Political Convention. A lawyer and activist, Lane promises a real alternative to Marge

Consumer Party ballot, is Director of CEPA's Stop Rizzo Coalition and knows the city's inside hand.

candidate, from North Philadelphia opposes the city's plan. He has been active in protesting improper service

Consumer Party candidate and a founder of CEPA, Frissell is fighting the banks and practices which dupe the

Blackwell, incumbent councilman, is running on the Consumer Party ticket. If elected, we will still have his services

Street, longtime West Philly activist, is part of the Black Political Convention. Fattah is currently in court

Street, who along with brother Milton, has been in the city for years. He has the endorsement of the Black Political Convention. Street is running on the Democratic

Acosta, running on the People's Alliance line, has the endorsement of the Black Political Convention. Acosta has the endorsement of the Consumer Party.

DeBeary, running on the Consumer Party ticket, is the son of Democrat Joe Coleman. DeBeary's strong record will provide the 8th District with progressive

At this point there are two progressive candidates on the ballot and **Walter Roy**, running as an independent, and both support the Human Rights Agenda. One of the two should withdraw in favor of the candidate with broader support and has achieved more visible results. A candidate to remain in the race, although both

Person, Democratic candidate, is one of the few candidates on the Human Rights Agenda. Has the endorsement of the

Street, a founder of the Black Cadre Family and the Black Political Convention, has fought for decent housing, public transportation and other

Street, a long time advocate of consumer rights as a councilman, has fought for the people's interests in council.

Grass Roots Election Activity Growing

Without the backing of big money, Lucien Blackwell and the other independent candidates in this year's election have to rely on hard work and grass roots organization. Candidate Blackwell has been campaigning hard, out at plant gates at 6:30 in the morning and keeping up a steady round of appearances until 11:00 at night. But as one campaign volunteer put it: "You'd never know it from reading the papers...Blackwell's there, but all you read about is Green and Marston."

Blackwell's candidacy represents a rare opportunity to put a trade unionist in high public office, but the bulk of the city's trade union leadership remains wedded to the Democratic Party and is backing Bill Green. Nevertheless, Blackwell's campaign is stirring considerable rank and file support and organized activity. In 1990C, the Hospital Worker's Union, a petition drive to support Blackwell is meeting with widespread support. Much of the union's leadership, including President Henry Nicolaus, is leaning toward Blackwell.

In the UAW, rank and file activists are putting together a citywide organization to work for Blackwell and other independent candidates. In the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union, the PFT and the Transit Workers Union rank and file groups for Blackwell have emerged and are holding plant gate rallies, registering voters, and passing a resolution supporting Blackwell and calling on their leadership to do the same. The Trade Union Committee of the Human Rights Coalition has provided much of the leadership for this mobilization.

The Coalition has also been active in the community, fostering voter registration work and creating ward committees. The fragmentation of the independent forces has been overcome to some degree as the campaign gains momentum. The Human Rights Coalition has been a factor in establishing some coordination between different candidates. At the grass roots level, forces from different campaigns are coming together. In Germantown, for example, people working for Blackwell, the Consumer Party, Valerie Lane and Herb DeBeary have begun to coordinate their efforts. In the Frankford and Kensington area, people working for Blackwell and People's Alliance candidate for council, Ralph Acosta, are pooling their efforts. Blackwell and Acosta recently staged a walk-a-thon together through the Northeast.

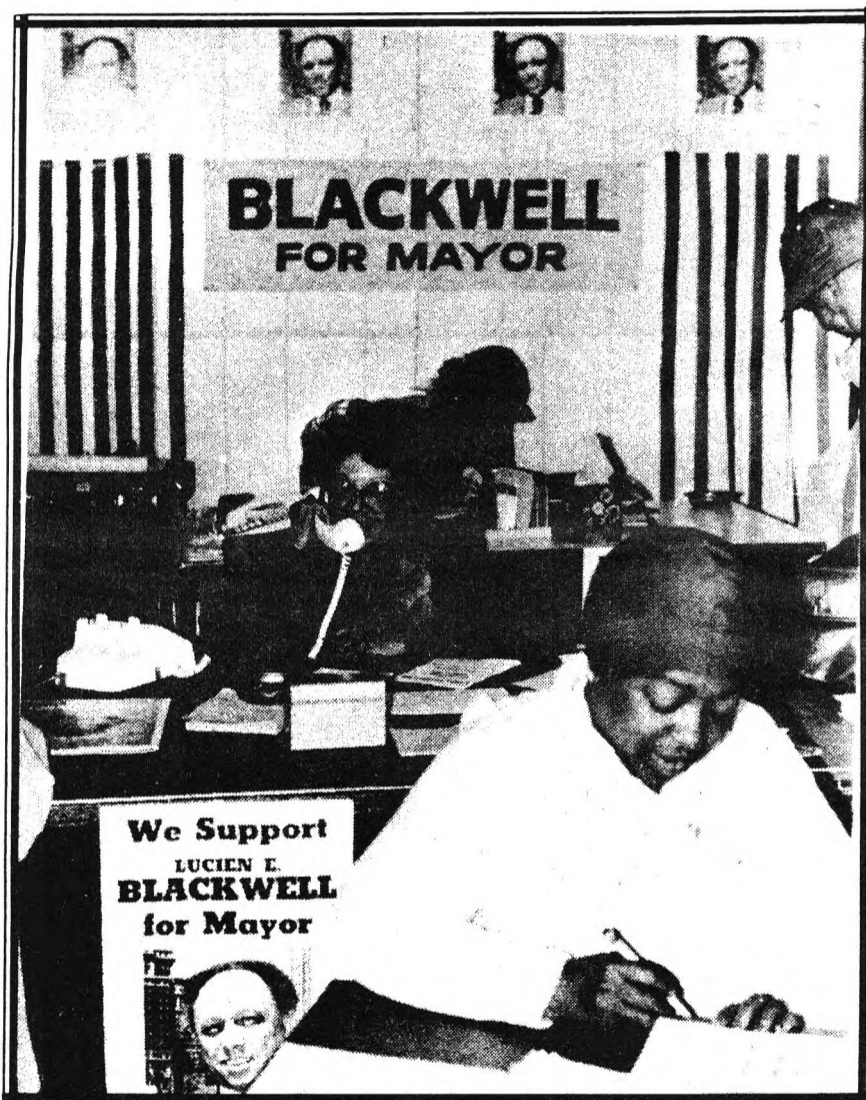
The present campaign has lacked the broad spontaneous enthusiasm that char-

acterized last year's Stop Rizzo movement. The issues are less clear cut this time around. Still, as the independent forces mobilize and take their message to the masses of voters, they are finding a positive response. "After our shopgate rally," one Blackwell volunteer told the *Organizer*, "some people who weren't going to vote now say there is something to vote for and a few workers who had Green buttons on took them off and asked for Blackwell buttons." This incident underlines a key problem - that the independent candidates and their program are not widely known among the voters. It also shows that as their stand becomes known, many voters are rallying to it.

Another feature of the campaign is the demand of the voters to know the

positions of the candidates on the key issues facing the city. This has found expression in a series of actions and forums. Kensington area residents picketed the Sheraton last week calling for the candidates to take a stand on building a new Edison high school at Front and Luzerne Sts. Forums are scheduled on affirmative action and health issues (see box). Most who have attended these events agree that it is Blackwell and the independents who have taken the clearest positions and have been most responsive to the needs of the masses of voters.

With the election a month away, the trend toward unity among independent candidates and the effort to build grass roots organization must be sharply escalated. A good beginning has been made.



A LUCIEN BLACKWELL FOR MAYOR office opened in Southwest Philadelphia Saturday (Sept. 22) at 56th and Chester Ave. with much fanfare and celebration.

Up-coming Events

Up-coming Events Up-coming Events

A Forum With Mayoral Candidates on Discrimination and Affirmative Action

How do the candidates plan to address the problem of reversing the systematic discrimination against minorities and women? Sponsored by the Philadelphia Affirmative Action Coalition and dozens of supporting groups. Tuesday, October 16th, 8 pm. First Unitarian Church, 2125 Chestnut St. Childcare provided. \$1 donation. For more information call 843-4047 or 726-5113.

Mayoral Health Forum

What do the candidates plan to do about the massive cutbacks in health services during the Rizzo years? Sponsored by the Philadelphia Health Alliance, a coalition of over a dozen organizations. Wednesday, October 17th, 10 am. First Unitarian Church, 2125 Chestnut St. Childcare will be provided.

The Present Elections and Independent Political Action

A Marxist-Leninist view of the current elections and the task of developing independent political action. Sponsored by the PWOC. October 27th, 8pm. Community Education Center, 3500 Lancaster Ave. Childcare provided.

Four Nationalists Released... FREE AT LAST!

Four fighters for Puerto Rican independence, in American jails since the early '50's, were granted clemency by President Carter on September 6th. Their release, with no restrictions on political activity, is a great victory for the Puerto Rican independence movement. For many years the release of the four nationalists has been the goal of a broad campaign by many people, not only in Puerto Rico, but also in the US.

In recent years almost all important organizations on the island of Puerto Rico came out publicly for the release of the four, from the labor unions to the Bar Association. In this country, many Puerto Rican organizations also fought for the four. The release of the nationalists was the focus of a campaign by the Puerto Rico Solidarity Committee, a US group that supports Puerto Rican independence.

The four nationalists are now expected to return to Puerto Rico to continue their work for independence. They have remained firm during all their years in jail, and have refused to seek a pardon, believing that their acts were justified. They have also refused any con-

ditional release which restricted their political activities.

Oscar Collazo has served time since 1950 when he and another Puerto Rican attacked President Truman's residence. Lolita Lebron, Rafael Cancel Miranda, and Irving Flores wounded five Congressmen in an attack in 1954. Many people forget that during those years the US was involved in savage military repression of the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico, a Party which represented the movement for Puerto Rican independence. All four prisoners were members of the Nationalist Party.

A fifth prisoner, Andres Figueroa Cordero, also involved in the attack on Congress, was released last year when it was clear he was dying of cancer. He returned to a hero's welcome in Puerto Rico where he died this spring.

The prisoners have shown no regret for their actions. In an interview last year, one of the nationalists said, "I would do it half a million times if I had to. To save your country, there is no other recourse than to give your life."



WELCOME HOME — 5000 people greet the four Puerto Rican Nationalists at San Juan's airport.

Angola Mourns Death of Leader

On September 10, Agostinho Neto, president of Angola and leader of Angola's MPLA, died of pancreatic cancer. Neto was 56. He was a poet, and physician, and above all a revolutionary. He spent his life fighting Portuguese colonialism, and became one of Africa's most distinguished leaders. Angola won its independence from Portugal in 1975, after 15 years of armed struggle by the MPLA (Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola). Neto then led the fight against neo-colonialism and against South African invaders.

In a statement on September 11, the MPLA said that "Neto's memory belongs to all the peoples of the world fighting for freedom. Each worker, each peasant, each exploited man and woman, each international fighter, each Marxist-Leninist thinker, will find in him a symbol of struggle over and above national interests — he is one of the great leaders of our time."

Neto was imprisoned many times by the Portuguese. He spent the years 1955-1957 and 1960-1962 in jail. He also escaped many times. After escaping in 1962 he was elected to the steering committee of the MPLA and from then on led the armed struggle against the Portuguese. After Angola became independent in 1975, the MPLA under Neto's guidance had to continue to fight. Two fake "liber-

ation" movements, in reality supported by South Africa and the CIA, opposed the MPLA.

These two groups, the UNITA in southern Angola and the FNLA in the north were defeated by the MPLA. They were defeated even though both had active CIA support, and UNITA asked South African troops to join the war on UNITA's side by invading Angola. After that invasion, the MPLA asked Cuba for assistance and Cuban troops joined the MPLA to defeat the racist South Africans. Today, FNLA has disappeared, but the remnants of UNITA, still dependent on the South Africans, continue to harass the Angolan government.

Neto, among his many talents, was a poet. One of his poems was entitled "Here in prison." Here are some verses from that poem:

*Here in prison
I would recall the heroes
were I to sing joyfully
the war songs
with which our people crush slavery.*

*Here in prison
rage contained in my breast
I patiently wait
for the clouds to gather
blown by the winds of history
No one
can stop the rain.*

International Cinema Series

Beginning the end of September and running until early October, the International Cinema is offering many quality films at a very reasonable price (\$1.50). Here are some examples of the films being offered:

The Life of Oharu — This is the story of a woman, set in feudal Japan during the 1700's. In addition to fine drama, it stands out for its insight into the oppression women feel due to the roles forced on them by class society. (Thursday and Friday, October 18 and 19).

Vietnam: An American Journey — This documentary was shot in Vietnam in 1978 by Robert Richter, who has been making TV and film documentaries for 25 years. Richter was free to film nearly anything he wanted, except for military

installations. See for yourself what's going on in post-war Vietnam. (Friday, October 19).

Death of a Bureaucrat — This satiric comedy about government red tape and bungling was made in Cuba in 1966. If you always thought that no public criticism of the government was allowed in Cuba, this film will be a surprise. Gene Shalit and Vincent Canby loved it, and so did we. (Wednesday-Friday, November 7, 8, and 9).

For show times or to get a copy of the full schedule, call International Cinema, EV7-5125, extensions 222 and 201. Showings are at International House, 37th & Chestnut, in University City.

Troops in Cuba...

(continued from p. 1)

There is a lot of hypocrisy in the position of the US government. While the Soviets have sent troops to Cuba on Cuban request, the US has 2300 troops at Guantanamo Naval Base in Cuba despite repeated Cuban requests for their withdrawal. The US has about 500,000 troops stationed outside its borders. 313,700 are in Europe, 143,500 in the Pacific and Far East, and 15,900 in Latin America (including 3800 in Puerto Rico and 9300 in Panama). US troops in Turkey are right next to the Soviet border.

The US press has failed to talk about the US troops in Cuba. Press spokesman Hodding Carter was taken aback at a recent White House press conference, when a Soviet newsman asked him how many US troops were in Cuba, what they were doing there, and when would they be withdrawn. The US press has instead sensationalized the issue. *Newsweek* even printed a photo of a sophisticated "Soviet electronic installation" for long distance communications by the headquarters of the Soviet brigade. Later it turned out that the device was actually installed by ITT before the Cuban revolution to transmit ordinary phone calls.

The timing of the blow-up about Soviet troops is suspicious. A year ago there was a brief flurry when Soviet MIG-23 fighter planes were delivered to Cuba, but it quickly quieted down. This time, however, the issue has been blown up. Clearly the right wing wants to stop SALT II (and defeat the Carter administration as well). US intelligence and military officials want to see increased pressure on Cuba, and the Caribbean countries in general, after the Sandinista victory in Nicaragua.

The Soviet troop issue could be used as a pretext for increased military presence in the area. In this sense, it could be a kind of re-run of the Gulf of Tonkin incident, when the US falsely accused North Vietnam of attacking a US Navy ship, as an excuse to begin wide-scale bombing of North Vietnam.

Finally, the issue arose just when Havana was hosting the third summit meeting of the non-aligned countries. Ninety-four countries sent representatives to Cuba, and a sharp ideological battle broke out between Castro and Yugoslavia's Tito. Castro urged the non-aligned to come out strongly against US imperialism, while Tito wanted a statement opposing Soviet hegemonism as well. By and large, Castro's position won out, and the non-aligned sharply condemned the US while mildly opposing hegemonism in all its forms. The issue of Soviet troops came up in the closing days of the week long conference, and was clearly intended to show that Castro is only a puppet of the Soviets.

But the non-aligned countries and liberation movements present in Havana (including a delegation from Puerto Rico) saw through this argument. Cuba is an independent nation, and has the right to seek military aid from whomever it wants. Given that the US has invaded Cuba (during the Bay of Pigs in 1961), has sent countless small invasions of CIA-trained mercenaries since then, and has tried to assassinate Castro many times, the Cubans naturally feel they need strong armed forces to protect their country. The US, which is armed to the teeth and has a military base on Cuban soil, has positively no right to tell Cuba what kind of armed forces it can have.

As we go to press, the situation remains tense. Carter is planning a TV appearance to present intelligence data proving that Soviet troops are in Cuba. Carter has also formed a seven man panel to advise him on the issue. The panel is made up of high officials of previous administrations. It includes ex-CIA directors, ex-Defense Dept. officials, and former national security advisors. In addition to this reactionary crew, Carter has asked Henry Kissinger to advise him on the issue.

Iran Under Khomeini ...

The Revolution Continues

by Kate O'Hare

The Iranian people won a tremendous victory with the ouster of the Shah last February, ending decades of right-wing dictatorship. At that time hopes were high for a new Iran which would fulfill the needs of the working people and use its tremendous oil wealth to the advantage of all Iranians. Now, eight months later, many of these hopes have been destroyed. The Iranian people fought the Shah under the leadership of both the political left and the traditional Islamic religious leaders, who were allies at the time. But that alliance has broken down. The Islamic religious leaders, especially Ayatollah Khomeini, have the support of most of the Iranian masses and have so far been able to repress the left. But the battle is not over, and the left has been gaining strength while the religious clergy has been losing force.

Meanwhile, the country suffers serious problems. The clergy has done nothing to tackle grave economic problems. Industry is operating at half capacity, unemployment is about 20%, and food supplies are short. In August, food riots broke out in Tabriz, Iran's fourth largest city. Even though \$24 billion per year in oil money is rolling in, Khomeini has not developed a plan to use that money to reactivate the economy. Instead the Ayatollah has spent his time organizing his own military force, the Revolutionary Guards, while at the same time starting the process of rebuilding the Iranian Army. The US is getting ready to once again sell arms to Iran, honoring \$5 billion in weapons orders which Iran had agreed to buy under the Shah.

Khomeini has imposed his religious fanaticism on Iran, prohibiting music on the radio, prohibiting men and women from swimming together on the beach, and restricting what women can wear. Khomeini has recently closed down 26 newspapers and expelled many foreign correspondents. He has taken over the TV station as well. Finally, he has carried out a vicious campaign against Iran's national minorities, especially the four million Kurds in Northwestern Iran.

The official government, headed by Bazargan, has little power. Bazargan has tried repeatedly to resign, but Khomeini won't let him — it is Khomeini who really runs the show in Iran, making all the

major decisions and contradicting the government when he sees fit. A new trade union law in June is aimed against the workers. The left is gradually being forced underground, and arrest warrants are out for many leftist leaders.

This deterioration has been steady since the Shah's overthrow, but has been most obvious recently. There are still some progressive aspects to Khomeini's regime. For example, his foreign policy supports the PLO against Israel, and oil shipments to Israel and South Africa have been cut off. Iran is no longer a stronghold of US imperialism, and the Shah's army has largely fallen apart. The left has been greatly strengthened, enlarged, and armed. The dreaded secret police, the Savak, have been disbanded, and some of their leaders executed.

These progressive aspects show up even in the midst of Khomeini's most backward campaigns. For example, on August 17th, Khomeini brought one million supporters into the streets of Teheran to support the PLO and the demand for a Palestinian state — at the same time Khomeini was engaged in heavy battles against the Kurds and preparing to ban all the independent press. Increasingly, Khomeini's domestic policies are reactionary, while Iran's foreign policy remains progressive. This is a common pattern in the Middle East.

The recent marked right-wing trend of Khomeini began in early August with the election of an "Assembly of Experts" who are to draft a new constitution. The elections, which were boycotted by most of the left, were clearly rigged. Intimidation was used to prevent the left from putting forward its views in the short campaign. Voting itself was a carefully orchestrated drama where voters were told how to vote for the Khomeini slate — made up almost entirely of Islamic clergymen.

Angered by the left's refusal to participate in this electoral charade, Khomeini decided to attack the left head on. He chose to attack the press, closing down 26 newspapers on August 12. At the same time he renewed the demand that the left turn over its weapons and cease its agitation. Khomeini's forces had taken over the TV stations early on, shortly after the Shah's overthrow. But the newspapers remained critical of his regime.



The newspapers appeal mainly to the middle class and the educated, in a country where 65% of the population is illiterate. Yet they have been an important focal point of all the opposition to Khomeini, which includes not only the middle class but also, increasingly, the organized workers' movement, the national minorities, and all of the left.

The moderate and leftist opposition responded on August 13 with a demonstration of 100,000 in Teheran to protest the closings. The National Democratic Front, which represents the moderate, middle class opposition, united with the leftist Fedayeen and Mojahedeen organizations. In response, Khomeini forces organized vigilante attacks on the demonstration. On August 14, the Ayatollah organized a large counter-demonstration, which led to attacks on the headquarters of the Feyadeen, the leading left force and a Marxist organization which was in the forefront of the armed resistance to the Shah.

Khomeini supporters also sacked the offices of the Tudeh Party, which is Iran's Communist Party, and which has until now given Khomeini largely uncritical support. The offices of the Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party were also sacked. Subsequently, 12 members of the Socialist Workers Party have been brought to trial and are being threatened with execution. A warrant was issued for the arrest of the leader of the National Democratic Front, who subsequently went underground. The Feyadeen also prepared to go underground. One Feyadeen leader was quoted in *Time* magazine: "We are used to operations in a pervasively hostile atmosphere. We never allowed ourselves to develop flabby waistlines, with or without the Shah."

On the same day as the press ban, August 12, renewed fighting broke out in Iran's northwest between the Kurds and Khomeini's Revolutionary Guards. The Kurds have their own language, culture, and territory. They have until recently been a nomadic people; even today 80% of the Kurdish population is rural. Their religion is Sunni Moslem, a different brand of Islam from Khomeini's Shiite Moslem faith. Iran's Kurds number about five million, but ten million more Kurds live in the neighboring countries of Iraq and Turkey. The Kurds have been fighting for their own independent state for hundreds of years. At present, the Kurds in Iran are seeking greater self-government, but not separation from the central government.

After the Shah was overthrown, the Kurds demanded increased autonomy in the new, democratic Iran. The large landowners in Kurdistan (northwest Iran) opposed increased autonomy, opposed land reform, and sought protection from the central government. The Kurds set up peasant governing councils, expropriated the landlords, and set up Revolutionary Councils in the cities of

Kurdistan. The Kurdish Democratic Party, representing moderate elements in the Kurdish struggle, speaks for the urban Kurdish merchant class and is allied with the Tudeh party. To some extent the Kurdish Democratic Party has been able to act as a representative of the national struggle and has been singled out by Khomeini as an "agent of Satan." But the Marxist parties, especially the Fedayeen, have a base in Kurdistan as well.

Besides the Kurds, there are a number of other large national minorities. One important group is the three million Arabs in the southwest who control the oil production and who have already had armed conflicts with the Khomeini forces. The majority of Iranians are Persians, not Arab. Khomeini refuses to make concessions. During the recent round of fighting, Khomeini blasted the Kurds: "We saw you were not good people, that you were not Islamic and that you had connections with foreigners. We know you are bad people and we will not give you freedom." On the other side of the fence, the leader of the Kurdish Democratic Party has expressed: "We are not just fighting for autonomy, but for democracy in Iran."

The recent fighting occurred over a period of three weeks. Conflict broke out in the town of Pavleh between the Kurds and Revolutionary Guards. Army reinforcements, with superior weaponry, eventually managed to re-take the town. The armed Kurds retreated to the town of Saqqiz. Here the pattern was repeated. After a few days of fighting the Kurds took over the town and besieged the army garrison. After several days of air attacks, Iranian Army reinforcements arrived and were able to re-take the town. The Kurdish guerillas then went to the town of Mehabad, then to Sardasht. Finally the Iranian army held all the towns in the area, and the Kurds have retreated to the countryside areas to carry out what promises to be a long guerilla war. Over 600 people died in the fighting.

A special emissary of Khomeini, the Ayatollah Khalkali, summarily tried and executed more than 80 people, most of them captured Kurdish guerillas. During the fighting a delegation of Kurds was negotiating with Khomeini, demanding four conditions: 1) freedom for all Kurdish prisoners 2) no more army reinforcements in the area 3) no more executions of Kurds 4) the withdrawal of Khalkali from the area. Khomeini refused to negotiate. He may well regret it. The Kurds are well armed and adept at guerilla warfare, and the war is not over.

Khomeini's attack on the Kurds and his repression of the left are aimed at intimidating all opposition. Yet increasingly the mass movement in Iran is recognizing that Khomeini's government cannot answer their needs. The Iranian revolution is not over. Its first phase is nearing its end, but the second is just beginning.

FROM THE STAFF

Readers, Subscribers, Supporters —

We are coming out late after several months on a steady production schedule. We want to apologize to all of you for this lateness, and explain it, so you won't think we've slipped back into our old ways of lateness and inconsistency.

Initially, two months ago, we had planned for this issue to be a bit late because our editor planned a well-deserved and sorely-needed vacation. Secondly, many of us on the staff are heavily involved in the city-wide elections. Lastly, at the most crucial time in our production schedule, our typesetting machine broke down, and we were unable to get replacement parts for several days.

Since we are now nearly two weeks behind, the November issue will likely be a week late. We plan to be back on steady target again with the December issue, and thereafter. Thanks for your patience.

Also, we would like to say thanks, good-bye and best wishes to our former Spanish translator. He has returned to his native country of Columbia and has been hard to replace. We apologize for not having a Spanish section this issue. That will be a regular feature again, beginning with the next issue.

The Energy Crisis, Part 3

Big Oil Goes International

by Jim Griffin

Almost from the beginning the oil business has been international in scope. In the last century Standard Oil established a nearly world-wide monopoly in the kerosene market. But until the 20th century, while the market for oil was world-wide, the lion's share of crude was produced in the US. With the discovery of huge reserves of cheap oil in the Middle East and elsewhere and with the rise of a number of competing giant trusts, the scramble for the world's oil began in earnest.

In this global contest between the international oil companies the home governments of these companies have played a decisive role. It is no accident that five of the seven largest oil companies are owned by US interests and the other two by British interests (and Dutch in the case of Shell). This reflects the domination of these two imperialist powers. These governments have promoted and fought for the interests of "their" oil companies as part and parcel of the effort to promote national economic supremacy over competing capitalist concerns based in rival countries. The oil companies, of course, have benefited enormously from this active support and have participated directly in shaping it, by placing their agents in the highest levels of government.

THE CASE OF IRAN

The struggle over Iranian oil is a case study in the international competition between the imperialist powers and demonstrates the critical role of these governments in boosting and protecting the profits of big oil.

British interests gained a foothold in Iran (or Persia, as it was then known) in the early 1900's. Organized as the Anglo-Persian Oil Company, these interests relied on British gunboats to protect their concession from Russian rivals. In 1907 the world's largest oil field was discovered in Persia, but two years later Anglo-Persian was ready to quit the whole business because of difficulties in developing and marketing this bonanza.

The British foreign office reacted with alarm. A British officer wrote, "Cannot Government be moved to prevent

these fainthearted merchants, masquerading in top hats as pioneers of Empire, from losing what may be a great asset?"

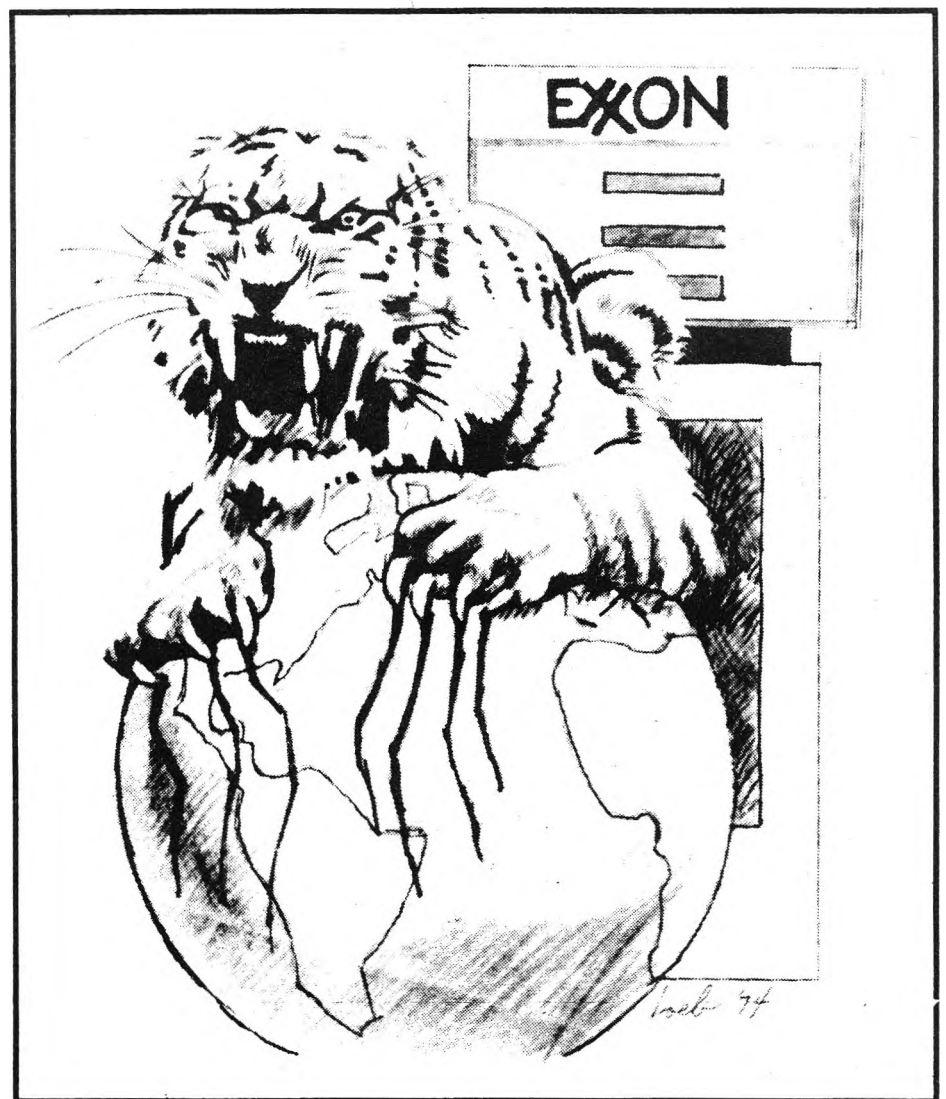
Indeed, "Government" could. The British government got Burmah Oil, a Scottish company, to put up two million pounds in a new venture, Anglo-Iranian Oil. Then in 1914 the First Lord of the Admiralty, Winston Churchill, seeking a British-controlled source of oil for the Navy, got the government to take over majority control of the company, which became British Petroleum (BP). Oil was too important to be left in the hands of "the fainthearted."

The US government was dismayed at this British monopoly of Persian oil and waged a decades long battle to get a share of the booty for US-based companies. In 1920 the US Secretary of State protested "the monopolization of the production of an essential raw material, such as petroleum, by means of exclusive concessions or other arrangements." This and other protests to the British Foreign Office fell on deaf ears. In 1921, 1923, 1936 and 1944 efforts on the part of US oil companies to gain concessions in Iran were all failures, owing to the dominant position of Britain in the area.

Only with the weakening of British power after World War II did the US find a way to penetrate Iran. In 1951 Iran moved to nationalize its oil fields. This reflected the growing nationalist sentiment that Iran got little for its oil. Great Britain, owing to the new world balance of power, particularly the new strength of the Soviet Union, could not simply intervene militarily to stave off this threat.

After appeals to the International Court and the Security Council of the UN failed, the British imposed a boycott on the export of Iranian oil. Because of vast holdings elsewhere in the Middle East, Britain was able to do without importing Iranian oil, while Iran was faced with a total cutoff of revenues from this source.

This loss of revenue had only a limited impact on the Iranian economy which was predominantly agricultural to begin with. Also, the greed of the British imperialists was such that the share of revenue from the export of oil



which was kept by Iran was much smaller than in other Middle East countries. It accounted for only 12% of the Iranian budget. To make up for the loss of this revenue, and to finance an ambitious development program, the progressive government of Dr. Mossadegh moved to collect the huge arrears of unpaid taxes of the "1000 families", the feudal oligarchy of Iran.

In addition Mossadegh decreed a reduction on land rents paid by Iran's dirt poor sharecroppers, a 10% tax on profits from agriculture, and the confiscation of the land of those owners who refused to pay. Finally, the government cut the Shah's multi-million dollar income. These measures created a base of support among the privileged classes within Iran for a move against the Mossadegh government.

British and US imperialists put aside their differences in the face of Mossadegh's threat to Big Oil and private capital. The CIA played the crucial role, organizing a coup which turned all power over to the Shah, and the British had to pay for the bail out by the US. A new oil corporation was formed, with BP getting only 40% of the shares, a step down from their 100% monopoly. The five US major oil companies got most of the rest. Kermit Roosevelt, organizer of the coup and distant cousin of FDR, became vice-president of Gulf Oil.

WASHINGTON AND BIG OIL — A PROFITABLE FRIENDSHIP

In other areas the US fared much better, much earlier in its rivalry with Great Britain. In sharp struggles the US oil companies backed by the power of their government secured major concessions in Iraq in 1928 and Saudi Arabia in 1933.

World War II proved to be the turning point during which US established its supremacy in oil. As a condition of lend-lease aid to its war time allies, the US government demanded and got "free and equal access" to the European powers' colonial empires for US oil companies. After the war similar conditions were attached to Marshall Plan aid.

As a result, American oil companies gained a strong position in countries that previously had been under the domination of European capital. British control of the Indian market and Dutch domination over Indonesia were broken. The US companies gained footholds in French Tunisia, and Portuguese Mozambique and Angola. British companies dominated Ethiopia and elsewhere.

There are countless other examples of government aid to the oil companies in their international operations. Right

after World War II the US government provided Aramco — a joint Arabian US company — with scarce steel to build a pipeline to the Mediterranean. When the Arabian government secured a 50-50 split on the revenues from Aramco between themselves and the US-owned companies, the US government helpfully allowed the US companies to deduct their lost revenue from the payment of their domestic taxes.

It is not hard to figure out why the US government is so responsive to the needs of the oil companies. For one thing just look at the men who compose this government. A few examples will illustrate the intertwining between Washington and the oil companies:

John Foster Dulles - former Secretary of State, until 1949 a senior member of Sullivan & Cromwell, law firm for Standard Oil of New Jersey. Herbert Hoover, Jr. — formerly Undersecretary of State for the Middle East, a petroleum engineer and a director of Union Oil. Robert B. Anderson — former Secretary of the Navy, director of the American Petroleum Institute. Harold Minor — former Ambassador to Lebanon, an assistant Vice President of ARAMCO. Brigadier General Patrick J. Hurley — special envoy to the Middle East, attorney for Sinclair Oil. Whenever and wherever the government deals with matters that affect the interests of Big Oil, the representatives of Big Oil represent the government as well.

What about Congress? Last year the oil companies, acting through 26 Political Action Committees (PACs) distributed \$1.1 million to various congressional candidates, according to the *New York Times*. What did the oil companies get in return? A recent vote in the House on an amendment to the windfall profits tax proposed by the Carter administration gives some indication. The amendment, which would save the oil companies upwards of \$8.8 billion, was passed by a 236-183 margin.

According to Congress Watch, a public affairs group associated with Ralph Nader, 55 of the 58 House members who received more than \$2500 in campaign contributions from the oil companies voted for the bill. It was these votes that provided the oil lobby with their margin of victory on the amendment. Not a bad investment when you think about it. For a mere million the oil companies reap a savings of over eight billion — and this one bill is only the tip of the iceberg.

Next issue we will look at the rise of OPEC.



'Fine, thanks . . . how's the energy crisis with you?'

SUPPORT GAY RIGHTS

by Edward Carpenter

On October 14, several thousand lesbians and gay men and their supporters will be marching on Washington, demanding an end to all discrimination against them. In most states, homosexual activity is still a felony punishable by imprisonment. In all but a few cities it is a legal basis for discrimination in housing and employment. An unwritten law almost always denies lesbians and gay men custody of their children.

The March calls for an end to all these forms of discrimination. It calls for the end of all laws against homosexuality, and for the inclusion of "sexual orientation" in all anti-discrimination ordinances.

Since Anita Bryant put gay rights in the headlines 2½ years ago, it has been a public movement. Gay characters have turned up on TV, gay rights ordinances have been passed and repealed, and a few gay men and lesbians have been elected to public office. The most prominent of these, San Francisco Supervisor Harvey Milk, has been assassinated.

But Gay rights have not arrived, despite some victories. Assaults and police brutality against gay men and lesbians are increasing. Most lesbians and gay men are still afraid that they may lose their jobs or be rejected by their families if they acknowledge their homosexuality.

As with rape, attacks on gays are not reported to the police, as too often the victim of the crime is seen as the criminal by the law and its agents. A movie such as *Cruising*, which portrays all gay men as murderous perverts, can still be given production support by the city of New York, despite nightly protests by hundreds of gays.

Because gay people can hide, discrimination is not automatic, but it is nonetheless real. Gays *may* lose their jobs if they are found out; lesbians almost always lose their children, *if* the father decides to act. Gay men *may* be arrested for sexual activity in their own home, *if* the police decide to raid. The erratic nature of discrimination, leads many gay people to live double lives — a source of much loneliness, guilt and fear.

WHERE DOES ANTI-GAY PREJUDICE COME FROM?

In capitalist society there are definite sexual stereotypes — men are "supposed to be" a certain way and women are "supposed to be" another way. These sexual roles are widely regarded as "natural" rather than being the product of a particular set of social relations. Moreover these roles embody an institutionalized inequality between men and women, an inequality that profits the dominant capitalist class by allowing them to extract unpaid labor from women in the home and deny women equal pay for equal work on the job.

Sometimes blatantly and other times more subtly, men and women who deviate from these "natural" roles are stigmatized. A common example is the stereotype that a woman who pursues a career rather than marriage is just doing it because she "can't get a man." Then at 40 or so she earns the disrespectful title of "old maid."

Gay men and lesbians challenge and confront these roles head on. Lesbians for example, as women who are independent of men, challenge the basic sexist idea that a woman must have a man to protect and support her. The prevailing view is that gay men are trying to be women and lesbians, men and the totality of social

and legal pressure is to punish them for these "deviations" and force general conformity with bourgeois sex roles.

No scientific evidence has ever been produced which shows that gays are less stable emotionally or mentally than heterosexuals, or that they are any less productive or creative members of society. Despite numerous attempts to justify anti-homosexual myths, it can't be done. For instance, studies point out that gay people are *less* likely to be child molesters than heterosexuals, Anita Bryant to the contrary.

This prejudice serves to obscure the reality of sexism and its role as a prop of

the monopoly capitalist class. And it is for this reason that the most reactionary sections of the ruling class have inspired and financed the present attack on gay rights, scapegoating gays for everything from the decline of the family to moral permissiveness.

More and more people are recognizing that the defense and promotion of gay rights is not the struggle of gays alone, but the fight of all democratically-minded people. It is in this spirit we must support the March On Washington. For more information and bus tickets, contact: 252 S. 12th St. or Giovanni's Room or call 546-2093 Monday thru Friday, 12 noon to 5 p.m.

THE NATIONAL MARCH ON WASHINGTON FOR LESBIAN AND GAY RIGHTS

- Repeal all anti-lesbian/gay laws.
- Pass a comprehensive lesbian/gay rights bill in Congress.
- Issue a presidential executive order banning discrimination based on sexual orientation in the Federal government, the military, and federally-contracted private employment.
- End discrimination in lesbian mother and gay father custody cases.
- Protect lesbian and gay youth from any laws which are used to discriminate against, oppress and/or harass them in their homes, schools jobs and social environments.

The Organizer supports the struggle of lesbians and gay men for full democratic rights and endorses the march as an important tactic in that struggle.

For more information: In Philadelphia, 546-2093, Noon to 5PM, Monday thru Friday Outside Phila., call the national office, 29 W. 21st., NYC, 10010. Tel 212-924-2970.



End All Sexist Violence

On September 29, 6,000 people, mostly women, marched through the streets of downtown Philadelphia to protest the mounting violence perpetrated against women in our society. But more than a protest, it was an affirmation that we are ready and willing to aggressively take up the fight for the right to safety, dignity and respect.

It was a statement that fear and anger engendered by oppression and ex-

perienced by each individually must be fought collectively. Marching in strength past the porno houses that sell women's sexuality like McDonalds sells hamburgers; past the financial institutions that profit from sexual oppression: through the subway tunnels unlit by our city administration — the action was yet another indication that women are fighting back against the right wing offensive that would strip them of their democratic rights.

The demonstration was one part of an international series of actions organized under the slogan "Take Back the Night." The local Take Back the Night Coalition was spear-headed by Women Organized Against Rape (WOAR) and included the National Organization for Women, the Reproductive Rights Coalition and several groups specifically focused on various aspects of violence against women. Besides calling for an end to rape and violence against women, the demonstration condemned police brutality, demanded more shelters for battered women and increased security for public transit.

"I SURVIVED A RAPE"

One of the most powerful features of the march was the courageous participation of rape victims. The terrible reality of sexual violence was driven home by women who wore sashes that said "I survived a rape", by signs along the march route that announced "a woman was raped here" and most dramatically by the testimony of four rape victims who combined to produce a speakout on rape, abuse and sexist violence.

The attention span of audiences at political rallies is notoriously short, but you could hear a pin drop when a mother told of how she was driven to the brink of suicide after her daughter was repeatedly gang raped coming home from school. After the third incident, she heard the experience of other victims of rape and seeing that women were organizing to fight back, this woman found the courage to go on.

A Black woman named Brenda shared her sense of helplessness and rage by telling how she was raped in the

presence of her infant son by a man who forced his way into her apartment. Another woman told of how she was a victim of incest as a child and grew up to be beaten and raped by her husband. She acknowledged the sense of guilt, her belief that she was, in her words, "a bad seed." This is part of the price a male supremacist society exacts from its victims.

A woman who is suing Conrail for damages after she was permanently crippled by a man who attacked her at a Conrail station, warned against the simplistic solution of more police and repression to the problem of sexual violence, pointing out that rape has its origins in the institutionalization of sexism that is part and parcel of the profit system.

Sister Falaka Fattah, co-chair of the Black United Front, was another featured speaker. Pointing to the police slaying of Cornell Warren and the vigilante murder of Tracey Chambers, Fattah reminded the audience that the day to day violence directed against women is paralleled by racist brutality against Black people.

The program included music by the Anna Crusis Women's Choir, and by Darthe Jennings, a local feminist song writer. Songs included a piece written by a woman in Washington, D.C. inspired by the struggle of the women of Vietnam, internationalizing the struggle for women's liberation.

THE PROBLEM OF UNITY

One of the strengths of the demonstration was the substantial participation of men who numbered close to a quarter of the marchers. This, taken together with the positive response from many

continued on page 20



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Health and Safety ... And What About Uranium Miners?

by Tom Mooney

The near-disaster at Three Mile Island focused national concern on the hazards of the nuclear energy industry. Nuclear fuel (uranium) is a deadly threat to human health. The miners who extract uranium ore from the ground have experienced the most serious health effects of nuclear energy so far.

An epidemic of lung cancer is killing hundreds of uranium miners in south-western US. In Colorado alone more than 200 of an estimated 6000 persons who mined uranium have died of lung cancer, about five times the normal rate of lung cancer death. Government studies predict that 1150 uranium miners will get lung cancer by 1985 - one out of every six miners.

Uranium is the fuel for atomic reactors. When uranium is mined a radioactive gas, radon, enters the lungs, where it can remain radioactive up to 100 years. This direct radiation to the sensitive tissue of the lungs causes lung cancer.

Most of the sick miners and the families of the deceased have not been compensated by state compensation systems. If they got sick in Colorado, Colorado says they caught the disease in Utah. If they got sick in Utah, Utah says the cause was not radiation, but smoking. If they got sick in New Mexico, New Mexico says too bad - they did not file the forms in time. So the miners have been dying with no money for medical costs or for their widows and children.

In addition, there is no government help for surviving miners who must live in fear of getting the disease. Cancer screening programs, which might save lives by detecting lung cancer at very early stages, have not been set up. The federal government, the only customer for uranium until nearly 1970, has not assumed financial responsibility. A federal bill to compensate the uranium miners, patterned after the law that provides compensation to coal miners who suffer from black lung disease, has been introduced in Congress repeatedly since 1972, but has failed to get out of committee.

Most of the miners who have died worked in the uranium mines in the '40's and '50's. It takes about 20 years for most lung cancers to develop after first exposure to a cancer-causing substance. Ventilation in the mines began to improve in the '60's but it's too early to tell

from death statistics whether it has improved enough to stop the epidemic.

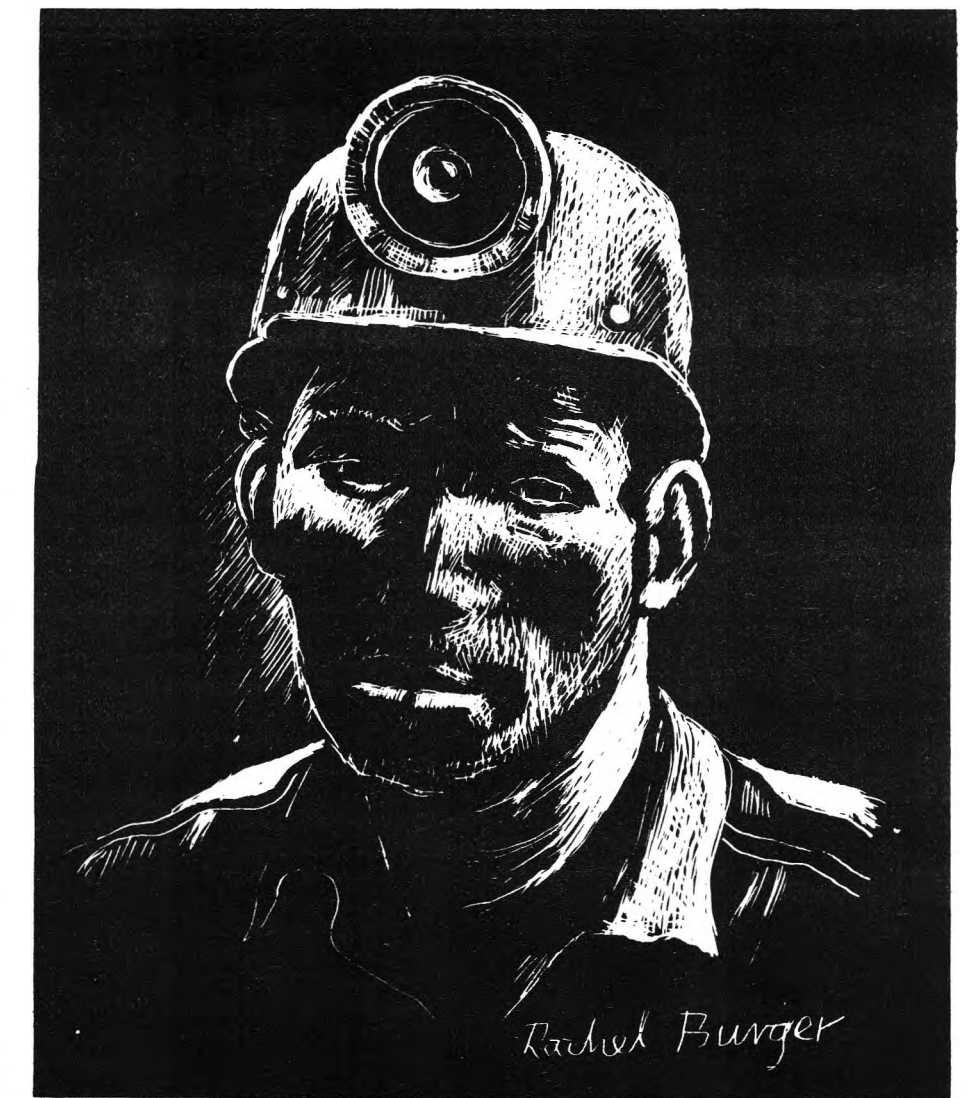
At the start of domestic uranium mining in 1947, the nature of the hazard was known and the means to prevent it were available. An epidemic of lung cancer was predicted by health officials in the US, on the basis of excess cancer in European miners. Adequate ventilation techniques have been known and used in the mines in Europe since the early 1930's. A study estimated that adequate ventilation in uranium mines would cost only 1% of the operating expenses of unventilated mines. (For example: if the operating expenses of an unventilated mine were \$1000, the operating expenses of an adequately ventilated mine would be \$1010.) So why wasn't the proper ventilation set up?

Part of the reason was a federal push to stimulate uranium production after World War II for atomic weapons. The Atomic Energy Act of 1946 provided for a system of price supports and bonuses for uranium. This made the uranium mining industry very attractive to the "get rich quick" capitalists.

During the '40's and '50's any opposition to the atomic energy program, including concern over the health of uranium miners was considered anti-American. Attempts to regulate conditions in the mines were opposed as threats to national security. By 1961, two of the largest mine companies in Colorado spent only 25 cents per ton of uranium for ventilation.

The mining companies did not face organized opposition by workers on health and safety, mainly because most mines were non-union. Unions were not successful in organizing the uranium miners for several reasons. In Colorado, most miners worked in mines that employed fewer than five men. Such mines were termed "dogholes". Also, the National Labor Relations Board ruled that the individual mine was the unit of organization. No sooner was a mine organized than operations would be shifted to a new site, and organizers would have to start all over again. Union involvement in uranium mine health and safety did not begin until the late '60's.

As deaths from lung cancer among uranium miners began to pile up, and mine unions began protesting dangerous conditions, the federal government was



forced to do something. The Secretary of Labor finally proposed a regulation which called for the immediate enforcement of a widely advocated radiation standard. Although this standard was proposed in 1968 it did not go into effect until 1971.

At present, standards permit miners to receive three to five times greater radiation exposure than other workers in the nuclear industry, and there is considerable controversy over whether the levels for the rest of industry are really safe. The enforcement of the standards is not very good.

The government is telling present day uranium miners that the levels of radiation they are exposed to will not harm their health. The government, with a stake in the nuclear energy industry and the arms race, continues to encourage the plunder of land and lives.

But workers and their allies are fighting back. In Washington DC, the Environmental Protection Center, (EPC) is plugging for a tenfold reduction in radiation level standards in nuclear power plants and a substantially larger reduction for uranium mines. The Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers and other unions have been fighting to give OSHA all nuclear safety authority; rather than splitting it up among different federal agencies that have a long record of failing to protect workers' health.

Racism has undoubtedly been one of the reasons that health hazards of uranium mining were neglected for so long. Among the early miners, there were many Native Americans who are now dying of lung cancer. In many areas, Native Americans have been forced off their land so it could be mined for uranium. One Navajo community has been contaminated by a radioactive waste pile near an abandoned mining and milling operation.

Native Americans have been at the forefront of an active uranium safety movement, uniting Chicano, white, and Native American workers with environmentalists. They are demanding that uranium mining be stopped until adequate environmental safeguards can be found to protect workers and the environment from radioactivity released during extraction and processing of the ore.

In April of this year, more than 500 Native Americans, Chicanos and whites rallied near Gulf Oil's Mt. Taylor uranium mine in northwestern New Mexico. Demonstrators demanded an end to uranium mining on Native American lands. In July, 4000 people turned out to a demonstration in Black Hills, South Dakota, to protest large scale uranium mining in the area. Through this grass roots movement there is real hope that uranium miners can achieve a healthier workplace and a job that doesn't lead to slow death from cancer.

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Proposed Legislation ...

Toward Limiting Runaway Shops

by Duane Calhoun

"Business has a strong social responsibility to create jobs and maintain jobs... They should have just as much responsibility to employees as to creditors. Without employees, the companies wouldn't run." —State Representative Mark Cohen (D. Philadelphia), on the reasons why he co-sponsored Pennsylvania House Bill 1251, which would regulate factory shutdowns in the state.

On September 6, a coalition of labor unions, community organizations, and clergy held a press conference in Philadelphia to announce a campaign for passage of Pennsylvania House Bill 1251 (the Employee Protection and Community Stabilization Act). Union officials from UAW Local 1612 (ITE-Gould), UE Local 107 (Westinghouse), Amalgamated Clothing & Textile Workers and about a dozen other unions were present.

The Philadelphia Council of Neighborhood Organizations (an umbrella organization of community groups) and the two major sponsors of the bill, State Representatives Mark Cohen and Dave Richardson, were also there. (57 other State Reps have co-sponsored the bill, an unusually large number.) This new coalition includes many of the same unions and community groups that sponsored the "Save Our Jobs and Build Our Neighborhoods" conference in Philadelphia last February.

The bill calls for the following:

- 1) Companies must give one year notice to employees and to State government of a planned shutdown.
- 2) Severance pay to employees of one week's pay for each year of service (as in many major union contracts).
- 3) Right to transfer to another company plant, with moving expenses paid.
- 4) Six months paid health insurance for laid-off workers.
- 5) Payment of 15% of the plant's yearly payroll to the State, to be used to create new jobs in the area affected by the shutdown. This money could go to community organizations for community controlled projects, to cooperatives to

buy up closed plants and re-open them, or to government agencies like the Philadelphia Industrial Development Corporation.

6) Financial aid to businesses that convince the state they need money to modernize a Pennsylvania plant in order to stay competitive.

The bill does have weaknesses. The penalties won't be stiff enough to stop many plant closings. The law would not cover a company that has filed for bankruptcy; only a federal shutdown law could legally apply to bankrupt corporations. (There are three anti-shutdown bills pending in Congress, but they have little chance of being passed anytime soon.)

Section 8, which provided for loans and other financial aid to ailing businesses is too loose — it applies not only to small business, but also to the larger companies that should not get any government subsidy. This section is bound to be abused by businessmen and their golfing partners in government "regulatory" agencies. But on balance, the bill is a real step forward, far better than the present legal freedom of corporations to do as they please without regard for the human consequences.

Plant closings are a serious problem in the older industrial states, and getting worse. During Rizzo's 7 years in office (not counting 1979), 108 companies left Philadelphia, taking 62,500 jobs with them. This trend is a big part of the high unemployment in northern cities. Black workers, traditionally segregated out of the skilled trades, usually have an even harder time finding a new job after shutdown than white workers do. The Labor Department reports that the unemployment rate among Black workers is double the rate among white workers. Shutdowns also hit older workers, women and unskilled workers of all races very hard. These workers find few employers willing to hire them, and find many other jobless workers to compete with for the few jobs that exist.

The companies and their mouthpieces would have us believe that "high taxes" on business are the reason for plant closings and re-locations. They use this argument to extort lower taxes from

state and local governments. But nearly every study of the problem done in the last ten years, even those published in pro-business magazines like *Southern Economic Journal* or *OSU Bulletin of Business Research*, has found that taxes in fact play very little role in corporate decisions to move plants.

Dennis Donovan, a consultant to companies which are planning to move their plants, has explained the real reason behind runaway shops, "Labor costs are the big thing, far and away. Nine out of ten times, you can hang it on labor costs and unionization." It is industries that are highly unionized, and where wages make up a big part of manufacturing costs, that are the hardest hit by runaways — electronics and electrical equipment, clothing, textiles and auto parts. In other words, the runaway shop is a roundabout way to destroy unions, by pulling the jobs out from under them.

Right after Bill 1251 was introduced, both the Pennsylvania Chamber of Commerce and Governor Thornburgh came out against it. They claimed it would cost business too much, and would keep new industry out of Pennsylvania. Ten of the bill's co-sponsors took their names off when the Chamber and the Governor released their statements. Representative Cohen commented to the *Organizer*, "There is a high level of corporate hysteria about this bill, and that means that the large corporations must be planning to leave the state in the future. If they weren't, they wouldn't be so concerned."

With such high-powered opposition, the key question is how to get this bill made into law. Some of the leaders of the coalition seem to feel that simply by passing local union resolutions, writing letters, lobbying by a few labor leaders, and trusting in the good will of labor's friends in the legislature, Bill 1251 can be passed. Apparently, these "leaders" were either asleep or out of the country when the Labor Law Reform bill was defeated by Congress in 1978 (despite more than a 2/3 Democratic majority), and when Jimmy Carter forgot his campaign promises to labor right after the election.

But other coalition leaders are aware

that some kind of mass action by thousands of people, sustained for as long as it takes, and independent of control by liberal Democrats, is the only hope for Bill 1251. Legislators Cohen and Richardson belong to this latter group, and emphasized the need for protest marches and other grass-roots action at the September press conference.

The potential for such action is definitely there. Over 600 people turned out for the "Save Our Jobs" conference last winter, and most of them were disappointed by the tired lobbying/letter writing/elect-the-Democrats refrain in most of the speeches.

More recently, the Black Political Convention has endorsed a platform with a measure very much like Bill 1251. This platform, called the Human Rights Agenda, includes many of the same provisions as the bill in its section on "Jobs & Economic Development". The Black Political Convention is the most significant body in Philadelphia's Black community, and a potent force in local politics. Dave Richardson, co-sponsor of Bill 1251, is the chairperson of the Black Political Convention's election organization, the Coalition to Elect the Human Rights Slate. Mayoral Candidate Lucien Blackwell is running on the Human Rights Slate, and has endorsed the Human Rights Agenda.

Several years ago, Blackwell introduced a progressive unemployment bill into City Council which was written by a local organization of jobless workers. The candidates of the Human Rights Slate deserve our support not only because they have pledged to support the anti-runaway measures in the Human Rights Agenda, but also because they are free of the strings that tie the Democrats to the interests of big business.

The candidate forums, debates, rallies, and street-corner campaigning of the fall election will provide good opportunities for raising the issue of plant closings, and building support for Bill 1251 among the voters. Building a grass-roots organization to fight for jobs will be the key to keeping winning candidates in line, and to putting effective public pressure on Harrisburg to pass the bill.

NLRB Ruling Favors Union Activists

The following article was contributed to the *Organizer* by a West Coast labor lawyer and activist.

A recent NLRB decision provides an opportunity for union activists to obtain the employment data necessary to challenge the discrimination practices of their employers. In *Westinghouse Electric Corp.*, 239 NLRB No. 19, 99 LRRM 1482 (1978) the Board held that union requests for statistical data relating to employment practices are presumed relevant to the collective bargaining process, and thus must be met by the employer.

In this case, the IUE made a request upon Westinghouse for various kinds of data about its workforce. The Union asked for the number of male and female employees by race at each labor grade. The union also asked for the same breakdowns for employees in each plant paid on a day-work basis and those who work on an incentive basis, as well as race and sex breakdown of employees by varying levels of seniority. Also requested was the number of promotions broken down by race and sex.

As to all this information, the Board held that the data must be provided by the employer. If substantial cost was entailed in getting the information, then the matter of allocation of costs was subject to bargaining between the parties, but it appeared that much of the data was already obtainable.

The Union also sought a list of all complaints or charges filed against Westinghouse under various employment discrimination laws. As to this, the Board held that the Union in this case had shown the necessity of receiving this information since it needed to determine what employees are complaining about with respect to alleged discrimination, and also whether employment discrimination charges were being adjusted with the EEOC to the exclusion of the Union. Thus, the Board held that the Union had shown the necessity of its receiving the information. However, the Board did hold that the confidentiality of the persons making these charges should be protected by deletion of the names from the charges and complaints.

The Board refused to find that the Union had adequately justified its request for the employer's affirmative action plan. These plans are required to be prepared by federal contractors under Executive Order 11246. Any federal contractor with 50 or more employees in a contract of \$50,000 or more must prepare this plan. Although the Board refused to direct the employer to turn over the affirmative action plan in this case, it may be possible in other cases that the Union could make a sufficient showing in order to get the plan. Here the union had made no previous effort to participate in the formulation of the plan.

The Board's decision comes from the legal principle that the employer has a

duty to bargain with the union, and that an essential element of that bargaining is that the employer must provide all information to the union which is relevant and necessary for the union to play a full role as collective bargaining representative. In this case, the Board had additional grounds in that the union contract had a clause that prohibited discrimination based on race or sex.

Thus, if the employer refuses to supply the information sought by the union, then the employer is guilty of a violation of the National Labor Relations Act, Section 8 (A) (5) — Refusal to Bargain.

The importance of this decision lies in making clear the right of unions to receive this information. Activists within unions should request their unions to make a demand upon their employers for this data, so that the union can effectively represent its minority and women employees. This kind of demand would be one that would be hard for most unions to turn down since it is only a request for information.

Moreover, should the union fail to request this information when asked to by minorities, women, or other activists, the union itself may be liable for discrimination. Additionally, should the union receive the information and then make no effort to change the discrimination by raising collective bargaining demands, the union may be guilty of unfair

labor practice — breach of duty of fair representation. A breach of this duty also provides a private cause of action to the victims of this breach.

Finally, the Board made clear that even if the union seeks information for use in a lawsuit against the company, that the company must still provide the data.

In another case, *East Dayton Tool & Die Co.*, 239 NLRB No. 20, 99 LRRM 1499, the Board held that the employer committed an unfair labor practice when it denied the union's request for information as to the race and sex of job applicants, even though these applicants were not represented by the union since they were not employees.



Conference Held . . . National Minority Marxist-Leninists

by Michael Simmons

Michael Simmons is a member of the PWOC Political Committee, was part of the Planning Committee for the Conference of National Minority Marxist-Leninists, and chaired the Conference itself.

Early this summer, some 40 national minority Marxist-Leninists held a weekend conference with important implications for the future development of the anti-"left" tendency.

It is widely recognized that the movements of the oppressed nationalities, as the most advanced anti-imperialist force in the US, contribute a disproportionately large number of fighters to the ranks of the revolutionary movement. At the same time the unity between national minority and white revolutionaries, including Marxist-Leninists, is tenuous and uneven. In varying degrees white communists have failed to fully grasp the centrality of the struggle against racism and this weakness has undercut efforts to build strong multi-national organizations.

The Organizing Committee for an Ideological Center (OCIC), which has sought to bring together and consolidate those Marxist-Leninists in opposition to both revisionism and ultra-leftism, has by no means been immune to this weakness. Coincidental with its founding, the Steering Committee of the OCIC, while recognizing the need for an all-sided theoretical and practical advance in the struggle against racism, also resolved to encourage and support a conference of national minority Marxist-Leninists.

The conference was conceived as a means of drawing more oppressed nationality Marxist-Leninists into organized party building activity and fostering unity with the OCIC. At the initiative of the Steering Committee, a planning committee of both OCIC members and independents was assembled which then conceived and organized the conference. While organizationally distinct from the OCIC, the planning committee had essential unity with the OCIC process, uniting with its 18 principles and sharing its perspective on the need for a single center to promote open, centralized debate.

CONFERENCE AGENDA

Meeting in Detroit in June, the conference drew participants from all around the country. The South, however, was seriously under-represented. Well over half the conferees were activists from the workers' movement, many of them new to Marxism-Leninism. The composition of the conference was predominantly Black with Latin and Asian nationalities under-represented. While strong ties with the working class movement constitute a definite strength, the regional and national composition highlight important weaknesses, weaknesses which are those of the OCIC as well as this particular conference.

The conference focused on three broad areas: 1) the history of the party building movement, 2) the particular tasks of national minority Marxist-Leninists and 3) the struggle against sexism. The presentation on party building, given by Tyree Scott from Seattle, situated the tendency in relation to the history of the effort to build an anti-revisionist communist party. It identified ultra-"leftism" as the primary impediment in this struggle, citing the components of the "left" line as: 1) reducing party building to the unification of Marxist-Leninists around political line, 2) counterposing the reform struggle to the struggle for socialism, 3) liquidating the struggle for democratic rights of the oppressed nationalities and women and 4) flunkyism in the form of blind allegiance to the line of the Communist Party of China.

Leslie Roberts from Detroit, in presenting the particular tasks of national minority Marxist-Leninists, focused on the role of the movements of the oppressed nationalities in the development of revolutionary consciousness in the US. She stressed the interdependence of the tasks of white and national minority communists in forging the unity of the workers' movement and the national movements, identifying the primacy of white Marxist-Leninists taking up the struggle to win the white workers to fighting racism.

The presentation also discussed the critical need for thorough-going, principled struggle against white chauvinism within the ranks of the communist movement. One form of chauvinism specifically targeted was the tendency to relegate the concerns of national minority comrades to purely racial questions. By way of contrast the presentation stressed the responsibility of national minority communists to address the full range of questions facing the movement.

Sylvia Kimura from San Francisco spoke on the struggle against sexism, addressing the general weaknesses of the tendency in relation to this struggle and the objectively racist manifestations this had in regard to national minority women. She contrasted a materialist to a moralist approach to the struggle against sexism, pointing out that the consequence of this moralism was a failure to grasp the advanced character of many of the historic struggles waged by women generally and national minority women in particular.

Kimura discussed the need for working class, anti-racist content in the women's movement, noting that the absence of such content held back the involvement of national minority women. Finally she took up the need for national minority men to wage a deeper, more consistent struggle against sexism within the movements of the oppressed nationalities, citing sexism as the principle contradiction within these movements.

there were about 45 such days off, it would mean a 4-day work week.) Reading that stuff about "more than double...," you'd think the 4-day week was just a few years away.

In the last year of the old contract, GM workers got 7 PPH days, which the *Wall Street Journal* said would create less than 2% more jobs. In the last year of this contract, GM workers will get 9 days. If there isn't too much overtime, those two extra days may come close to creating 1% more jobs at GM. Keith Mickens of the Autoworkers for a Better Contract has figured that at this rate of increase, autoworkers would reach the 4-day week by the year 2040.

Meanwhile, the auto industry is automating like mad. A "Unimate" robot welder costing \$45,000 pays for itself after only 15 months on the job; it does



graphic by Lucious Hightower

After lively discussion in both plenary sessions and workshops, several resolutions were passed, reflecting a high degree of unity on the main themes of the conference among those present. The Conference called for building an ideological center and endorsed the 18 principles of the OCIC as providing the political foundation for this process. It also called for conference participants to play an active role in building local centers to further this work. In relation to the particular tasks of national minority communists and the struggle against sexism there was unity with the need to take up the special tasks identified in the presentation and a call for further study on their formulation. The resolution also called for further in-depth study of the 18 principles.

CONTENTION WITH RECTIFICATION FORCES

The Conference was organized in the context of considerable conflict with leading advocates of the rectification line on party building, centered in the National Network of Marxist-Leninist Clubs and elsewhere. Having failed in an attempt to shape the conference to advance their perspective, these forces tried to subvert the entire conference process.

The shifts of these forces in relation to the conference's purposes and agenda expose their opportunism -- their view of the conference as essentially a vehicle to pursue their circle warfare with the OCIC. During their initial contact with the conference planning committee they

voiced a concern that the political level of the conference was going to be too low because of the inclusion of advanced workers. Yet after the planning committee rejected their proposal for formal presentation of their party building perspective, they made a 180 degree turn and proposed that party building not be discussed at all. Instead they called for a "third world anti-racist conference" whose objective would be the promotion of "joint anti-racist work".

Failing in these objectives, the rectification advocates sought to undermine participation in the conference by raising questions about the integrity of the planning committee and ended up boycotting it themselves. In spite of these efforts those comrades who attended the conference came away with a deepened understanding of and commitment to party building. Since the conference, the overwhelming majority have become actively engaged in party building activity in their areas. In some cities it has been these comrades who have played the leading role in developing local centers.

Thus the planning committee judged the conference a success. At the same time this positive result should not blind OCIC members to the continued urgency of combatting white chauvinism within the ranks of our movement and moving forward in winning the workers' movement to the struggle for equality and thus laying an enduring foundation for multi-national unity.

GM Contract...

(continued from p. 9)

this is the short work-week. This contract does almost nothing about this key issue. The union demand for double-time for overtime (to discourage overtime and encourage hiring new workers) was dropped two weeks before the strike deadline. GM workers still have to work overtime when the company tells them, up to 50 hours a week, even when thousands of other workers are laid off.

UAW literature given to GM workers played up the "many new PPH days...26 days off over 3 years, more than double the 12 PPH days in the last contract." (PPH days are paid holidays, scheduled so that the company will have to hire replacements, thus creating new jobs: If

it by replacing two human welders. And it never files a grievance, refuses overtime, or goes on strike. The Society of Manufacturing Engineers says that *one-fourth* of all auto assembly jobs will be taken over by computer-controlled robots within *six years!*

The UAW did win one genuine breakthrough principle: automatic recognition of the union at new plants GM builds in the future, within the USA. (A few plants are exempt from this agreement, but not many.) This goes a long way towards dealing with the problem of the runaway shop, since it eliminates the main reason for runaways: the desire to escape union contracts and union wages.

There are a long list of minor benefit improvements as well, from paid eye care for retirees, to bridge benefits for some widows under 45, to restoration of

pension credits lost by women workers during pregnancy leaves. All are valuable benefits, but not nearly as important to the future of the majority of UAW members as job security or COLA on pensions. All these benefits together cost GM 3 cents an hour for each year.

There was one other give away also: new hires who start at 60 cents an hour below rate will no longer get this money back, and won't get full medical coverage until they have one year seniority.

COMPANY RACISM AND SEXISM IGNORED

Once again, not a word of protest was said in negotiations about the race and sex discrimination that GM practices in its hiring, upgrading, and apprentice-

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Why Not?

"Rectification vs. Fusion"

by Clay Newlin

The PWOC has argued that it is incorrect to allow "rectification vs. fusion" to become the key questions before the party-building movement.

It is true that these two party-building lines are fundamentally in opposition to one another. And it is also true that the "rectification" line must be defeated if we are to succeed in re-establishing a genuine communist party.

But we have also pointed out that the foundation has not been properly laid for a mature contention between these two points of view. Our tendency has not yet completed its break with ultra-leftism on the political level nor summed up its ideological roots. And it has also not yet succeeded in isolating a narrow circle approach to the struggle for correct political line. The struggle between "rectification" and "fusion" must be subordinated to common work designed to complete these two tasks.

In our previous critique of the rectification line (see July and August *Organizers*), we exposed the basis of the National Network of Marxist-Leninist Clubs' (NNMLC) opposition to this tactical orientation. The leaders of this group fear the consolidation of our break with ultra-leftism and the isolation of the circle mentality. They do so out of recognition that the survival of both "leftist" thinking and circle wrangling are vital to their continued influence in the anti-"left" tendency.

Even some who adhere to fusion — and thus have no interest in extending the life of either ultra-leftism or the circle spirit — question these tactics. Why not just "take on" the rectification line and "be done with it," they argue. Surely the NNMLC line will expose itself to be little more than a cleverly wound ball of rhetorical flourishes — no more relevant as a guide for party-building than a papal encyclical.

Their line will have to be defeated anyway, the argument proceeds. Certainly no critique of ultra-leftism can be developed that does not part company with voluntarism, why not attack it frontally?

Also a frontal attack would prevent the NNMLC from arguing that the PWOC subordinates politics to organization. Instead of focusing on the Network's organizational opportunism (i.e., the circle mentality), we could unmask them politically. Once their politics are smoked out, the connection between opportunism in politics and opportunism in organization could then be drawn out.

There is much that is attractive to this point of view. Certainly, a "rectification vs. fusion" formula would "simplify" the two-line struggle in the anti-"left" tendency. It would polarize our forces into a rectification bloc and a fusion bloc. The question could then be put to everyone. Which side are you on?

It is also true that ultra-leftism cannot be overcome without a break with voluntarism on party-building line. Any critique of "left" opportunism that allowed for the re-emergence of an NNMLC-type line would be a shallow critique indeed.

Though attractive, this approach is nevertheless wrong. It is not only not in the best interests of our tendency as a whole, but not in the best interests of those struggling for the fusion line as well. In fact, at this stage a "rectification vs. fusion" polarization would be wholly to the advantage of the NNMLC.

ORGANIZATIONAL OPPORTUNISM

In the first place it would allow them to obscure their opportunism on questions of organization. This would not be

of minor consequence. For opportunism on questions of organization is presently the *principle* expression of opportunism in the NNMLC line.

The fight to establish a party (as opposed to a narrow circle) approach to the struggle for revolutionary strategy and program is vital to the future of the fusion line. As we have argued repeatedly, the survivals of circle warfare can only strengthen the hand of that which is dying away (ultra-leftism) and undercut that which is rising (Marxism-Leninism). Taken together, the dying away of ultra-leftism and the rise of Marxism-Leninism create excellent conditions for the victory of the fusion line.

Organizational opportunism is not only principle, but it is also the most easily exposed deviation in the NNMLC's line. Consideration of a recent explanation for NNMLC separation from the OC will show this to be true.

A leading exponent of the rectification line has, with uncharacteristic candor, admitted that the NNMLC decision to stay outside the OC is purely "tactical." He feels that the rectification line will not win out in the kind of centralized, movement-wide, ideological struggle that the OC hopes to generate. Consequently, it is necessary to organize outside of and in competition with the OC.

It is not difficult to see that our tendency is doomed if this type of thinking becomes dominant. If each and every little circle that fears that its line will not win out decides to organize independently and in competition with all others, the anti-revisionist, anti-"left" forces will fraction into a thousand pieces.

Moreover, if it succeeds in walling off its following so as to avoid grappling with the fusion line, the NNMLC strengthens its hand. After all, it can always count on petty-bourgeois "left" radicalism for nourishment.

Such radicalism is continually generated by present conditions. Class consciousness and revolutionary currents in the working class are relatively weak. This situation gives empirical justification to a view which denies advanced workers any significant role in the party-building process. And conversely, it can only strengthen tendencies for petty-bourgeois radicals to substitute themselves for the class.

While objective conditions do lend some justification to the "rectification" line, they give no support for splittism. Even the most ill-informed member of our tendency is familiar with the fractioning of the ultra-lefts, their unprincipled approach to ideological struggle, and their attempts to use organizational means to win ideological hegemony. Experiences have seared these errors into our consciousness.

Thus not only a basic grasp of the correct approach to building ideological unity but also experience tend to foster exposure of NNMLC organizational opportunism. It is this more than anything else that accounts for the NNMLC's great agitation when its commitment to principled struggle is questioned.

Along with covering up organizational opportunism, the "rectification vs. fusion" polarization plays into the NNMLC's hands in another important way.

Most of those won to the rectification line have not been won on the basis of a strictly scientific appraisal of its content. Some have just transposed allegiance from a leader with organizing or propaganda skills to that leader's formulation of party-building line. Others are attracted to what seems to be a "new" line and a "new" organization.

But whatever the point of attraction, those won to the rectification line all

share an important point in common — they are still strongly swayed by ultra-leftism. Voluntarism, dogmatism and a "leftwing" approach to the struggle against revisionism are central to their thinking.

These comrades are unlikely to put aside the rectification line unless the ultra-left cataracts are removed from their eyes. They must be forced to break with the anti-Marxist prejudices on which the NNMLC line is based.

"LEFT" PREMISES ON PARTY-BUILDING LINE

Given that Marxism-Leninism has the upper hand in our tendency, common work to further our critique of ultra-leftism will tend to force a break. It will drive a wedge between the misled but honest followers of rectification and those leaders of the NNMLC with a more long-term investment in "left" opportunism.

For example, consider the impact of a common study of the history of the ultra-left approach to party-building. Such an effort would clearly demonstrate that the basic errors of anti-revisionists on party-building line have been "left" and not right opportunist — as the NNMLC would like to have us believe.

It would show that the approaches of the Communist League (CL), the Revolutionary Union (RU) and the October League (OL) were all characterized by a downgrading of the potential contribution of advanced elements from the class and national minorities to the party-building process. And it would also demonstrate repeated tendencies to exaggerate the role of intellectual strata.

In addition, such a study would clearly demonstrate the abject failure of the Workers' Viewpoint Organization's (WVO) party-building perspective. The exposure of WVO would be particularly useful in that they (like the NNMLC) summed up the RU's and the OL's errors on party-building as being rightist in character. And in accordance with this perspective, they attempted to formulate a party-building line will to the "left" of their predecessors. Given the obvious failure of WVO, NNMLC comrades will be hard-pressed to defend their own views.

Common work towards an all-sided critique of ultra-leftism will not just call into question the NNMLC's party-building line. It will also tend to show — as could be expected — that the "leftism" in their party-building line finds expression in their approach to other questions as well.

The NNMLC approach to the relationship between reform and revolution is a case in point. Recently supporters of the NNMLC have been circulating a call for a national anti-racist organization. Nominally advanced by the National Committee to Overturn the Bakke Decision, the proposal was drafted by two leading exponents of the rectification line.

In this proposal we are treated to such silly dogmas as "national organization is the *only serious* (emphasis added — CN) instrument of political struggle — a formulation which apart from its "leftism" is a racist slap in the face to the United League of Mississippi among others. We are asked to believe that in the present period a national organization forged around an "advanced political line" can seriously "contend with the NAACP, the Democratic Party and the trade union bureaucrats" for leadership of the anti-racist struggle. And we are told that such an organization could be readily built if only the anti-revisionist, anti-"left" tendency would take "bold" initiatives to consolidate the gains of the anti-Bakke and anti-Weber campaigns —

campaigns which the proposal conveniently neglects to sum up. (In discussion the advocates of the proposal have qualified their written formulations and sought to take some of the sharp edge off them, but we have yet to see any written modification of their original proposal. A more developed critique of this proposal is available upon request. —Ed.)

Similar errors to those in this proposal would be brought out in a critique of ultra-leftism. Surely such a critique would unearth our movement's use of dogma to hide its inability to lead the mass struggles through the difficult stages of development from reform to revolution. And surely it would expose the tendency to substitute methods of leading small groups for methods of rallying the masses.

It would also lay bare the one-sided stress on the will of revolutionaries as if will alone could change objective reality. It would clearly demonstrate that revolutionary activity must begin with a strictly scientific appraisal of objective conditions. And it would show that success in advancing the revolution is reserved for those who can develop initiatives that move masses into changing those conditions.

Once again the actual history of the anti-revisionist movement would serve to underscore these truths. A study of the OL's initiative in creating the Fightback organization could be made.

The OL also called for the formation of a national organization on the basis of "advanced political line" and not a united front program. Bold initiatives irrespective of objective conditions were held to be the key to success.

History has already expressed its opinion of the Fightback organization. That organization is today little more than the Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist), the OL's successor, and its immediate periphery. And it is no more effective than the "vanguard" that leads it.

The significance of this verdict is only underlined by the fact that the OL's conception was broader than the NNMLC proposals and they also had considerably more resources to throw into building their organization.

In both cases of party-building line and line on the relationship of reform to revolution, our critique could proceed without explicit consideration of the NNMLC's line. The focus of the effort would be on reaching agreement on the correct criticisms of errors that both the NNMLC and ourselves are attempting to put behind us.

Both the NNMLC followers and those of fusion could judge who better plumbs the history of our movement on the basis of their own independent study and experience. And because defense of our own lines would not be primary, such joint work would tend to create the maximum openness to the opposing point of view — greatly enhancing the potential for unity.

As we have shown, this joint work would profoundly aid the struggle for the fusion line. It should not be forgotten that fusion historically grew out of an initial critique of "left" opportunism. And it will continue to advance only in so far as that critique is deepened.

Thus, both from the standpoint of defeating the principle expression of NNMLC opportunism and undermining the ultra-left conceptions around which they are grouped, the best interests of those holding the fusion line are served by fighting a "rectification vs. fusion" polarization at this time.

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Campaign '79...

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Rather than taking stands on the issues, Green promises to reunite the city. Presumably this means he will heal the antagonism based on the racism of the Rizzo administration. Indeed, following the Rizzo years, the Democratic Party is in deep trouble. Particularly in the Black and Hispanic communities, people are looking for an independent alternative based on a positive program, as indicated by the strength and success of the Black Political Conventions of last winter and spring.

The Democratic Party nationally cannot afford to "lose" Philadelphia. The eyes of the powers-that-be are on our city. Remember that it was the Black vote of Philadelphia that in a critical time carried the day for Jimmy "Peanuts-for-the-People" Carter. Green's task for the Democratic Party nationally is to bring together the Rizzo team with the Black leaders.

In the face of the mass movement that developed in this city in response to Rizzoism, Green faces an impossible task. The Black and Hispanic communities, and more and more progressive white working people as well, are not going to settle for a subtler brand of Rizzoism in Green or Marston. And make no mistake about it — while the television shows us Green's humble origins on a typical Kensington block, Green tells a different story when he presents the business world with his Blueprint for Economic Development, calling for labor to be "cheaper and more productive than elsewhere" and "union cooperation to improve productivity". While working people, Black and white alike, fight speed-ups, lay-offs, and infla-

tion, can we afford to turn around and vote for Bill Green?

THE "BLACKWELL-BOWSER SPLIT" WHAT DOES IT MEAN?

Much has been made in the newspapers about a bitter split between Lucien Blackwell and Black former candidate Charles Bowser. But the fact is that this is not a falling out between two individuals, but a real split between those who fall for the rap that the Democratic Party will "fight for all of us", and those who are intent on building an independent alternative based on the Human Rights Agenda.

For a moment, Bowser stood at the head of this independent mass movement, but he betrayed that trust. In traditional two-party politics, the primary issues mean little, and the loser, no matter how hard he campaigned, turns around and unites the party by endorsing the winner. An outraged mass movement prevented Bowser from endorsing Green, and continues to do so.

Bowser represents the traditional wing of Black politics which seeks to co-opt the mass movement into the liberal wing of the Democratic Party. But the Blackwell candidacy represents the embryo of a new alternative, based on the needs of the minority communities and the working class. The leadership of the Black United Front is preparing to bring charges against Bowser along with those Black leaders such as C. Dolores Tucker and Samuel Evans, who turned on the mass movement and sought to tame and

temper it by bringing it back under the wing of the Democratic Party and its corporate liberal program for a "good business climate".

These charges are based on the fact that these leaders have turned against the expressed interests of the Black community. They have nothing in common with the racist and sexist charges that hypocritical Marston brought against Dolores Tucker when she was caught playing Democratic Party politics-as-usual in pressuring Black businesspeople to support her candidate financially by assuring favors in return. In fact the racism of Green was further revealed when he disclaimed any connection to Tucker's tactics.

BUILD MASS MOVEMENTS, POPULARIZE THE HUMAN RIGHTS AGENDA

While the two big business parties politick with charges and counter-charges, with slick media campaigns and vague rhetoric about making life better for Philadelphia, it is up to the people to build the alternative campaign. Born out of the mass movement against Rizzoism, that same mass movement must sustain the Blackwell candidacy. Not only must we sustain it with hours of grass roots work in the neighborhoods, but we must sustain and build it politically.

This means we must continue to build and organize around the issues that affect our lives — the fight against inflation, against the energy ripoffs, for an end to police terror, for decent housing, health care and education, against discrimination by race and sex — and we must bring these issues into the campaign. Blackwell was drafted because of his res-

ponsiveness to the needs of the masses. If we feel he is not in touch with our needs on some issues, we must promote these issues and compel his support.

It is in this sense that the Human Rights Agenda must be popularized during the course of the campaign. This beginning program, a positive alternative which expresses the needs of poor, minority and working people through the voice of the Black community, is the heart of our campaign. The nuts and bolts of campaigning: fundraising, canvassing, building a volunteer election day apparatus, must not cause us to lose sight of the central issues.

Blackwell has spoken to many of these issues. He organized to oppose racist violence in Southwest Philadelphia; he spoke against the inequitable tax burden on working people at a meeting in the Northeast; he endorsed the call for a new Edison High School in District Five which could provide quality education for Black, Hispanic and white students alike; he endorsed the demonstration of 5000 women calling for an end to sexist violence in Take Back the Night.

The more clearly Blackwell speaks to these and other issues facing poor and working people, the more sharply he denounces racism and points out the common interests of white and Black working people in this city, the more he commits himself to using the mayor's office to lead a struggle to shift the burden of the economic crisis from the poor to the corporations and the very rich, the greater his chance will be of winning. And the more forcefully we raise these concerns in a mass way in the course of the campaign, the stronger the movement for independent political action will emerge in our city.

End Sexist Violence...

(continued from p.15)

male as well as female bystanders along the march route shows that the women's liberation movement is succeeding in affecting popular attitudes among both sexes.

One chant — "Men and women, Black and white, take back the night, fight back!" was taken up by broad sections of the march and reflected the growing understanding of the kind of unity that is necessary to fight sexual violence. At the same time, the small numbers of Black and Hispanic people present indicated that the movement has a long way to go in terms of understanding the political foundation this unity requires.

While the organizers of the demonstration did make some effort to link up the questions of sexual and racial violence, the centrality of this task was not grasped. National minority women experience both racial and sexual oppression. They rightfully see their struggle as being bound up with the liberation movements of the oppressed nationalities and will not be drawn into any movement that fails to give the struggle for national and racial equality full and unconditioned support.

At the same time, the women's movement has suffered in its own struggle to realize equality from a white chauvinist blindspot. This is not some recent development, but has over a century of history. From the errors of the suffragists, who counterposed winning the franchise for women to full democratic rights for Blacks, to some contemporary feminists who give only a token nod toward the struggle for racial equality, white chauvinism has served to disorient and isolate the movement. Both then and now there are forces in the women's movement who have struggled against this blindspot, a recent example being the actions of the Reproductive Rights Coalition which equally focused on the right to abortion and the fight against forced sterilization as two sides of the right to choose. But taking the movement as a whole, anti-racist consciousness remains limited.

While the need to link up the struggle against sexism and racism is applicable across the board of issues that confront women, it has a particular importance in relation to the question of rape. The

spectre of Black men as real or potential rapists of white women is a racist myth that has propelled lynch mobs for over a hundred years. Thus, any campaign against rape that is not clearly anti-racist in content carries with it the potential for more Scottsboro Boys and a generalized intensification of repression in the Black community.

TAKING BACK THE NIGHT?

It is in this context we have to view the march's main slogan "Take Back the Night." This slogan does not serve to connect the struggle against sexist violence with the fight against racism. On the contrary, in spite of the intentions of the march's organizers, it accommodates and appeals to racist sentiment. A slogan cannot be viewed abstractly but has to be seen in terms of how it will be perceived by broad masses of people. The slogans "law and order" or "save neighborhood schools" are quite neutral on their face, but everyone knows that these are code words for more repression and segregation.

As the *Organizer* noted in a special broadside for the march: "Who should take back the night? And who should they take it back from?" These are key questions given the predominance of

racist ideology. All too many whites will interpret an anti-rape demonstration with the call to take back the night as a demand for repression against minorities and for more police power.

The Take Back the Night was a moving and powerful tribute to the growing force of women's liberation. The consciousness that rape is not a personal tragedy to be borne in painful silence but a fact of social oppression to take to the streets is now the consciousness of thousands. This is a big step forward. At the same time the movement against sexist violence must better understand how to build unity and target the oppressor. The action was strong on the sentiments of militancy and solidarity, but it failed to project a full understanding of the sources of women's oppression or a strategic and programmatic road for liberation.

The PWOC has too often been guilty of preaching from the sidelines in relation to the women's movement. And this time too, we were latecomers to building the march, although we were there in force at the event itself. To win broad sectors of the movement to a fuller, more consistent, anti-racist, working class stand will take a fuller and more consistent involvement on the part of Marxist-Leninists.

GM Contract...

(continued from p18)

ship programs. While almost one-third of GM workers are Black (or from other minorities), less than ten percent of the skilled trades are Black workers. Less than two per cent of GM skilled trades workers are women.

While Black and women workers must pay the same dues, apparently the International thinks they don't merit the same representation. Besides being unjust, this racist and sexist blindspot tolerates the historic segregation and inequality that is the foundation for the deepest divisions among the working class. Until this changes, women and Black workers will be quite justified in believing that the labor movement is a fair-weather friend.

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One change was made in the apprenticeship program that can be used by honest local officials to promote equality. Local union apprentice committees now have the right to participate in the testing, and grading of tests, of all apprentice applicants. This is an area where the company has made use of its exclusive authority to torpedo plenty of women and Black applicants.

MEMBERSHIP UNORGANIZED

The contract was ratified by the membership by a margin of 72 to 28; how could that happen if it was so bad? Most GM workers saw and heard only the International union's version of the

contract, and they know how to make the hard sell. In the locals with an organized opposition viewpoint, the vote was much different. At the Lordstown, Ohio assembly plant, the local president spoke against it, and the contract was voted down.

There was some opposition to the settlement, particularly the pension agreement, in the National Negotiating Committee and the GM Council of Delegates; this opposition was either tamed or outvoted. Fraser and the International also successfully co-opted the rank & file "COLA On Pensions Committee", led by Hank Oginsky of Buick Local 599. Al Christner, President of Local 599, was brought onto the National Negotiating Committee partly for this purpose. Oginsky called the contract "a foot in the door" for COLA on pensions.

The real test of membership reaction will come at Ford and Chrysler, where the Independent Skilled Trades Council and Autoworkers for a Better Contract both have a larger following. Most workers also realize that when you force your leadership out on strike after they've already made a deal with the company, it's very difficult to get a better contract.

It's true that GM workers remain among the best-paid industrial workers in the US, and have much better than average benefits. But this new contract relies almost totally on breakthroughs that the union has made in the past; all it does is add a little icing on the cake in a few places. At one time, the UAW was an inspiration and an example to the entire working class. There are still some things UAW members can be proud of, but this contract is definitely not one of them.