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PROGRESSIVE LABOR

Vol. 8, No. 1

February 1971

*View from inside:*  
**PROGRESSIVE LABOR**

*The American Textile Industry*  
**Cone Mill Struggle**

*The ruling class is out to get you:*  
**Don't be a Sucker**

**Midterm Elections**  
**UAW Strike Analysis**  
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Published by the Progressive Labor Party

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# REVOLUTION TODAY

**U** ★ **S** ★ **A** ★

**A look at the  
Progressive Labor Movement  
and the  
Progressive Labor Party**

**\$2**

**PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY  
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**T**HE 1970 MIDTERM ELECTIONS ARE OVER. If you have 30 cents in New York City, or whatever it takes in other cities, you can get on the bus and get to work; that is if you're lucky enough for the train or bus not to break down—or if you have a job. However, while the various political pundits decide whether the elections were a political victory or a defeat for the Nixon-Agnew axis, it would be useful for us to take a good look and decide how the people fared.

Voters' apathy was the outstanding feature of this election in most areas of the country. Estimates show less than half the eligible voters trekked to the polls in an exercise in futility. And if previous trends continue, the tailing-off of voting was primarily among the workers.

Workers by the millions realize the voting game is nothing more than choosing this or that boss's oppression from their vantage point of state power. More workers are hitting the bricks in massive strikes to fight for a better life. These struggles, as in the auto strike, point to the root cause of the profit system.

Black rebellions which are still raging — like in Cairo, Illinois — are far more significant than what middleclass people in those areas did on election day. Black workers in *overwhelming numbers don't vote*. They have shown that rebellion moves the working class-struggle ahead.

Scores of demonstrations by students across the country against the war, against racism, in unity with workers show where their sentiments lie. On election day in Detroit, Michigan, thousands of students, led by SDS, from the South, East, and Mid-West demonstrated in solidarity with the auto workers. A similar SDS demonstration took place in San Jose.

Very significant is the refusal of the majority of the population to support imperialist war. Even worse for U.S. imperialism is its growing inability to get soldiers — mostly workers — to fight, or fight well.

Article after article in the press refers to refusals of soldiers to fight, reluctance to fight, desertions, rebellions and most significant, it is estimated by the Army brass that over 100,000 U.S. troops in Vietnam are on drugs. This is hardly a picture of an effective fighting machine.

Voting is a middle-class phenomenon in the U.S. But thousands of middle class students who were given two weeks off from school to work for local ward heelers

fought instead on the side of the working class. And on Oct. 24-25 in New York City, thousands demonstrated for socialism as opposed to capitalism. Workers in the demonstration had no illusions that you can vote socialism in. They know that workers, together with their allies, will finally and entirely reject the voting game. Only by seizing state power can workers rule.

Many capitalist spokesmen smelled that there was deepening crisis that was exposed during the elections: "... Even the most partisan voters ... agree something is wrong ... but none of them have come forward in this election with any effective policy for the future of the nation. This failure by leaders of both parties has produced some vague political ripples." James Reston, *New York Times*, Nov. 1)

Tom Wicker in *The Times* of Nov. 3 said, "This has been the most depressing election campaign of recent times — and so shabby in most aspects that it is tempting to call it unworthy of the American people."

But even more damaging is the point made by one of the big liberal mouthpieces, James Wechsler (*New York Post*, Nov. 3) that Nixon and Agnew are the leaders of the terrorists. They elevated terrorism to the number one campaign issue. Without this issue the entire Republican machine would have probably been washed out. Wechsler says:

... The Ohio State hearing involved a black student accused of joining with others to disrupt the activities of the university. He was eventually acquitted, perhaps partly because

of the embarrassment created by the identification of the two agents. But the questions stirred by the disclosure like those aroused by the activities of 'Tommy the Traveler' unveiled some months ago, are many and serious.

How extensive is the business of provocation of the infiltrators? How many of the 1000 FBI men now reportedly assigned to college campuses will engage in activist agitations to camouflage their surveillance roles?

... the Administration's two top figures have conducted themselves as if the nation were on the brink of civil war...

The liberals, out of panic, because they feared a Buckley win, have let the cat out of the bag. Wechsler writes that N.Y. *Daily News* political columnists have been hinting.

## **Midterm elections: The people fight like hell!**

### **Editorial**

Commonly known is that most bombthrower groups are government-operated. All bosses hope to use provocateurs as a smokescreen. They want to use these terrorists — who are police led — as “examples” of radicals. They want to crush the growing worker-student alliance, and they want to isolate communists from workers.

But despite this old police tactic, mass struggle and mass workingclass violence is growing against boss terror. Workers and students won't be fooled or panicked into stopping their struggles.

Although a massive shift to administration forces fizzled, it would have made no difference to workers and students who won. Wars, repression, layoffs, speed-up, racism and all forms of oppression under capitalism occur whatever the political stripes the politician wears.

The only difference between the bosses and their politicians is how to best make more profits, how to hold power and how and when to initiate counterrevolutionary measures. The only answer workers can have to the boss tactic of elections is not to vote: Organize against unemployment, racism and the war and build the Progressive Labor Party. The PLP believes no election will ever change the balance of class power, if workers want power, they must organize to seize it.

During the elections the basic strategy pursued by both parties was one of trying to divert the people from the real issues with *nonissues*. We heard noise that pornography is evil and unemployment meaningless. The war in Southeast Asia and the threatened intervention in the Mid-East by the United States during the Jordanian fiasco was superseded by the Manson trial. Lurid tales of how home-grown bomb throwers were out to kill us all, and law and order was breaking down, towered over welfare, education, and medicine. Intensification of racism was ignored as we were being told that people with long hair who never washed were about to take over the planet. Strikes and stepped-up speedup in the plants was covered over with talk of effete snobs, Christine Jorgensen, and Radical-Libs. (Even the term Radical-Libs wasn't original; it was first used by David Lawrence, the dean of U.S. reactionaries, in *U.S. News and World Report*, August 12, 1959.)

While Nixon and Agnew took the lead in pushing these points, their Democratic “rivals” were equally busy denying them. So the election tended to revolve around the devil theory. “Yes, *you* are a devil”; and “no I ain't.” Ted Lewis, possibly the best bourgeois political journalist in the country today, of the *N.Y. Daily News*, summed it up this way:

How else can one find it possible to comprehend, without naive revulsion, a campaign in which nonissues like obscenity, the American flag, and law and order were dramatized to display the moral tone of one political party and the moral decadence of the opposition?

It was just like old times—the ‘Rum, Romanism and Rebellion’ nonissues used by the Grover Cleveland Democrats in 1884 against the GOP presidential nominee, James G. Blaine.

Most of the big political pundits, like James Reston of *The N.Y. Times*, are wailing away that Nixon entered the campaign full-tilt. They are afraid that his gutter fighter technique has downgraded the presidency. Reston says,

“The President is the leader of the country, not of a political party.” The reasoning of these politicians is the exposure of the president as a third-rate ward heeler destroys the image of bourgeois democracy. Most of these pundits are imploring Nixon not to give them away. This criticism comes from both liberal and conservative forces. For example, *U.S. News and World Report*, considered a right wing organ, Nov. 2, 1970, republished the 1949

## SOUND LIBERALISM IS STILL THE ANSWER

BY DAVID LAWRENCE

*In the August 12, 1949, issue of U.S. News & World Report, the writer gave his definitions of Conservative Liberalism and Radical Liberalism. The principles set forth then have not been modified by the passage of time or the changing circumstances of national affairs. Hence, the editorial is reprinted in full text this week as a reiteration of the views then expressed and as the writer's reaffirmation of the doctrine of Conservative Liberalism.*

editorial by David Lawrence, entitled, “Sound Liberalism Is Still The Answer.” In this piece Lawrence spells out his differences with the “radical liberals,” as he originally called them. The essence of these differences is how many concessions should be given to the people.

In the Ted Lewis column in the *N.Y. Daily News*, referred to before (The *Daily News* is among the most Right-wing papers in the country), the Lewis piece is titled, “After Mud, Look To the Rainbow.” He then goes on to provide quite a bit of illumination:

...It should not be forgotten that the President proposed when he took office to unite the country that Lyndon Johnson had divided. He had to postpone that accomplishment in the domestic field because of critical foreign problems like Vietnam. And when these simmered down somewhat, it became politically preferable to delay an all-out togetherness drive until the mid-term elections clarified definitely the polarization problem—who was where, etc.

We can thus bank on a presidential effort, joined in by Spiro Agnew, to appeal to the better nature of all of us—black, white, young rebels, hard hats and ‘effete snobs’ — so divisiveness and turmoil will end before the 1972 presidential elections. This will be done regardless of the outcome of the off-year voting, which will be labeled a victory anyway, no matter how inconclusive.

In line with this meritorious campaign to achieve national oneness again, there will be, if

the signs are correct, a definite embrace of the methodology of the new politics.

It may well be given another name, like the politics of sense, but this will be only to take the Eugene McCarthy imprint off the politics of the future. For the new politics came into being as a theory that had a successful trial run under McCarthy's auspices in his abortive but significant 1968 campaign for the Democratic presidential nomination.

It appealed to youth then, and with 11 million of them likely to get a chance to vote in presidential 1972 under the 18-year-old voting rights law, it is obvious that Nixon and Agnew must reverse their style in a hurry. . . .

So both liberal and conservative forces are imploring Nixon to get on the "high ground." Their ruling class interests are at stake. U.S. ruling class interests are still best served by liberalism. In the event Nixon can't reverse his image, then various liberals are waiting in the wings to take over. This would be unusual, because one-term presidents are becoming a rarity as the presiding president has the best vantage point for reelection. Unless he is a complete incompetent or the objective situation worsens dramatically, he should easily be reelected. Apparently, Nixon is a victim of both situations.

*Newsweek* magazine, November 16, waxing poetically about the Nixon debacle, had this to say,

The day he jet-stopped across the nation, voice rising, arms windmilling, in breathless quest of a Silent Majority for his party's cause this year and his own two years hence, Richard Nixon, more than any President in history, turned an off-year election into a referendum on his own vision of America—a national canvass in which he handpicked candidates, set the rancorous tone, chose law-and-order as the cutting issue and finally took to the road for a fortnight's flat-out campaigning. The result was an autumn of rare partisan bitterness, and when it came mercifully to an end last week, the Silent Majority didn't show up—not, at least, in Mr. Nixon's column. The Democrats held onto Congress, made spectacular gains in the State-houses, peopled the political landscape with bright new faces and freshly burnished old ones, sent Edmund Muskie of Maine off and running toward 1972—and for the first time dared dream that Richard Nixon himself might be retired as President after a single term.

The damage was more serious than the simplest arithmetic looked.

In the same issue of *Newsweek* they go on to gloat enthusiastically about all the possible Democratic Party contenders for 1972. Additionally, they go to great lengths to dwell on the fact that Sen. Muskie of Maine took the "high and good road" on election eve. Apparently, they felt that he acted as the President should, and thus won the endearing respect and support of large sections of the ruling class.

. . . And suddenly, in the afterglow, the Democratic Presidential nomination in 1972 seemed once again a prize worth having. All the principal contenders for it profited by the 1970 campaign. Hubert Humphrey and Edward M.

Kennedy returned to the Senate by margins quite handsome enough to keep them in contention, Chicago 1968 and Chappaquiddick 1969 notwithstanding. The biggest winner of all was Ed Muskie, less for what befell him on Election Day—he won a third term by his usual majority—than for a rushed-together quarter-hour on network TV the night before. The party had turned to him in something like desperation to rebut a tape of a strident Nixon campaign attack on the dissident young as 'hoodlums and thugs.' The contrast between Muskie's eloquent cool and Mr. Nixon's high-pitched heat could not have

## HOW TO 'VOTE' ...

(Reprinted without comment from the *San Francisco Examiner*, Oct. 18)

Rep. John V. Tunney and actor Henry Fonda fled a campaign appearance late yesterday as Mexican-American youths jumped on their car and banged and kicked the vehicle. Neither was reported harmed.

Tunney, a Democrat running for the U.S. Senate, said after the incident that when he was jostled and heard shouts, "Get Tunney" he felt his safety was in danger and he decided to leave.

As Tunney's car made its way from a parking lot in the Mexican-American community of East Los Angeles to a waiting helicopter, a campaign aide pushed a youth from the car's hood and was struck in the neck and back.

Tunney said the attack on his car started just moments after a two-man police unit left. Some of the young persons tried to involve Fonda in an argument, but he was not attacked.

When Tunney and Fonda arrived for the appearance, some young people were parading down the street shouting "Down with Tunney," and "Bandidos."

been more pronounced—or more telling. "He was good," one White House topsider admitted grudgingly—and there were those who saw the encounter as a preview of the campaign debates of 1972.

If there were any doubts about the front-runner label for Sen. Edmund S. Muskie as the 1972 Democratic Presidential nominee, his election-eve telecast last week certainly set them aside. . . .

However, the best laid plans of mice and men often go awry. By all indications the economic crisis which prevails doesn't look like it will end soon. In previous issues of *PL* we have tried to point out the seriousness of the downturn. Some wishful thinkers are claiming now that the 400,000 man GM strike is over the economy will pick up. But there has been article after article in the *Wall Street Journal* cautioning against this possibility. Only recently, tens of thousands of steel workers have been laid off, and resumption of production at GM won't bring them back. The steel companies have stockpiled GM orders. So GM steel is made and only requires shipment when needed.

Layoffs in all industries are continuing. The government has been forced to categorize scores of cities as

disaster areas due to unemployment. Undoubtedly unemployment, and its inherent racist character, will make it a main issue in the next period. Workers are not going to sit on their hands and starve as they are laid off, their unemployment insurance runs out and they are forced on welfare — if they are lucky enough to get on.

More massive strikes loom. Other auto workers may walk. A steel strike is a distinct possibility and scores of smaller but important strikes are raging across the country. It is perfectly obvious that the UAW has sold the workers out again and the sellout isn't going to sit well with the workers. Workers' discontent and militancy will rise in auto, leading to more organization, which means sharper class struggle in that industry.

Additionally, workers are shattering the myth that they aren't political. More workers are opposing the foreign policy of the bosses as they recognize that these policies are against their interests. This development of political awareness will lead workers to the Left and to our Party. An article in the *New York Post*, November 13, "Are The Hardhats Actually Doves?":

... It was made by Dr. Harlan Hahn, an associate professor of political science at UC at Riverside.

Hahn, 31, a graduate of Harvard, said:

'It is a popular belief that the American working class is 'hawkish.' But as a class, low-income Americans register the strongest disapproval of our involvement in the war.'

He explained that the misunderstanding of lower-class attitudes toward the war developed, in part, 'because few people have bothered to study or inquire into their opinions.'

... In an attempt to resolve the misunderstanding, Hahn studied the results of referenda held in seven American cities between 1966 and 1968. They were San Francisco, Mill Valley and Beverly Hills, Calif., Cambridge and Lincoln, Mass., Dearborn, Mich., and Madison, Wis.

In 1967, San Francisco voters rejected 2-to-1 a proposal calling for withdrawal of American troops from Vietnam.

(In the Nov. 3 elections this year, however, the same voters passed, 107,785 to 102,731 a stronger initiative calling for an 'immediate cease-fire and immediate withdrawal of all U.S. troops from Vietnam.')

... The root of these antiwar feelings among the working-class is perhaps best explained by the fact that 'more sons of blue-collar families are inducted into military service and are assigned to combat units than sons of middle- or upper-middle-class families,' he believes. And, he said, 'more of the lower-class children, because of their exposure to combat, are killed or wounded.'

We don't know if you have to send your kid to Harvard to find out what the world has known for centuries. Workers are fundamentally opposed to all policies of the ruling class. In any event, this study should lay to rest all efforts of the government to propagandize that workers were all gungho adherents of the war in Vietnam. And workers were supposed to be the most reliable force the bosses had. These "theories" have always been peddled in the "Left" by various "ideo-

logues." The government has succeeded in getting most in the Left and elsewhere to believe their "big lie"—all except the workers.

On the economic and the foreign policy fronts, the ruling class base among workers is dwindling. This explains why workers are unwilling to carry out the bosses' war in Vietnam or anyplace else they might be sent. Anytime the bourgeoisie has difficulty in getting its main arm of state power—the army—to function, they have a serious problem.

In *The New York Times*, Nov. 15, C. L. Sulzberger, chief foreign policy analyst of the bosses, cries and cries. The article "Solving an Ugly Dilemma," says a lot. It goes on to point out,

The greatest lesson of the Vietnam war is that America still has many commitments abroad and still retains foreign policy aims that can no longer be maintained by the kind of military establishment, strategy or network of alliances now employed.

... But this cannot be done for the simple reason that European opinion is even more reluctant than its American equivalent to pull in its belt and protect the West against a war that, it firmly believes, will never come.

The flexible response strategy worked out by the Kennedy Administration has been less successful than the massive retaliation strategy worked out by the Eisenhower Administration because, while both achieved their ultimate goal of deterring major conflict, the former failed in its avowed purpose of being able to win a limited war.

As in Korea, when we became involved in 1950 but had the highly useful umbrella of U.N. participation, we again became directly involved in Vietnam—this time alone. Moreover, the avowed objective of building a sufficient conventional force to do the job effectively was not achieved. ...

What this all means in simple English is that workers in the U.S. and other countries are unwilling to fight for U.S. investments. The rest of the article goes on to complain that there doesn't seem to be anyway of getting around this and that the choice seems to lie between nuclear and conventional war. He rules out nuclear war as unthinkable now because it may wipe out profits.

Thus, the basic issues remain and are intensified. Unemployment, racism, police terror, war for profits, further deterioration in education, housing, hospitals and all aspects of life loom large. These facts indicate increased class struggle at home and abroad.

the liberals have always leaped to the front to protect profits and other class interests of the ruling class;

the Korean War was led by the liberals;

the Vietnam War was enlarged and vigorously pursued by Kennedy and other liberals;

ghetto rebellions have been crushed with the most ruthless force by liberals;

strikes and anti-strike legislation and action has been pushed hard by liberals;

Wayne Morse, once a chief liberal spokesman, has been brought to the forefront scores of times in strike situations.



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# Wall St. in Yugoslavia?

By HARRY SCHWARTZ

The possibility of creating a "socialist stock exchange" is being discussed actively in Yugoslavia.

Such an exchange, if it comes into being, would trade stocks and bonds issued by Yugoslav banks, factories and other enterprises. The purpose of such a market would be to provide liquidity for investors—whether individuals or enterprises—the domestic securities.

The proposal to form such an exchange flows out of the increasing need for capital felt by many Yugoslav enterprises that find it difficult to obtain from the state, the banking system, or other conventional domestic sources.

Yugoslavia's financial difficulties have been evidenced recently by the force of strong inflationary influences, which the Government has moved to combat by freezing many prices. Balance-of-payments difficulties have also been experienced recently.

In a major speech late last month, Mitja Ribicic, president of the Federal Executive Council, noted that "a greater part of the process of social production current depends on the amount of money issued by the National Bank . . . Since the beginning of 1968 an important part of Federal expenditures has been financed by monetary issues."

As a result, he concluded, "over-all

expenditures have surpassed the real possibilities of production" and "excessive investments have been made above and beyond the funds at our disposal."

In this situation, the prospect of tapping excess reserves of rich enterprises and idle savings of "Yugoslav citizens provides a spur for issuing stocks and bonds to help meet the capital needs of other socialist enterprises without adequate financial resources.

A bill introduced into the Yugoslav legislature last month provided detailed regulation for the operation of a "market of socialist capital" and would legalize the issue of bonds, certificates and securities by Government authorities at different regional levels as well as by banks and productive enterprises. The proposed law would give purchases of such securities such benefits as an interest rate above that paid in savings banks, a reduction in income tax proportional to purchase of securities and the right to benefit in gains realized by the issuing enterprise.

Opposition to the proposal has focused on two ideas. One is that a socialist stock exchange would be a dangerous step toward reinstating capitalism in Yugoslavia. The other is that Yugoslav enterprises are too poor to invest in

securities, while most Yugoslav citizens simply know nothing about securities or financial markets.

Operating against the skeptics, however, are successful securities sales by some Yugoslav enterprises in the past. The most notable case is that of the country's largest automobile factory, Crevena Zastava (Red Flag), which successfully sold most of a 100 million dinar (\$8-million) bond issue in 1968. More than 7,000 workers employed at the factory invested about four million dinars in the issue, while suppliers and other enterprises bought most of the rest. The bonds, carrying a 6 per cent coupon, provided funds to expand facilities for building Fiat-type automobiles.

A variant scheme for raising private capital has been introduced by a small Yugoslav factory called Mehanika in the town of Orasje. It has turned to Yugoslav workers in West Germany and offered to guarantee them jobs when they return home if the lend Mehanika money to expand its facilities. The first to accept were 20 Yugoslavs working at the Mercedes plant in West Germany who provided \$28,000. Hundreds of other Yugoslav workers employed in West Germany are reported to have expressed interest in the scheme.

—N. Y. Times

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Sen. Fulbright, chief liberal Congressional spokesman, has been involved in all the most overt racist laws and action in the federal government and in his own state.

Therefore we should have no illusions that a liberal victory in 1972 will mean any shift away from the ruling class trying to hold power by "all means necessary." The liberals will use the sugar coated bullet more, but in essence their class action will be vigorous.

In addition to the conventional type of coercion by the ruling class, other important tactics emerge more clearly and larger in their efforts to hold power at home and abroad. The revisionists in the communist and people's camp will be used more than ever. More reliance on nationalism will be used to hold on to the profit bags. Recently the Premier of Rumania came to this country. The picture of Ceausescu walking arm and arm with Nixon was particularly revolting as the U.S. continues to slaughter revolutionaries around the world, especially in Southeast Asia.

When Nixon made his last European caper most political analysts called his stopover in Belgrade his most

important move in the trip. Over 250,000 thronged the avenues to wildly cheer him. He did better in Belgrade than in San Jose, California. (Interestingly enough, just after his trip, thousands of students in Belgrade went on strike in support of unemployed and starving coal miners in Yugoslavia. This is a result of Tito's "socialism.")

At this writing there are many facts outlining the collusion between the Soviet and U.S. bosses to guarantee their "spheres of interest" agreement reached at Glassboro, New Jersey, a few years ago. Naturally, as in all capitalist relations, there is competition as well as collusion.

Both aspects were made clearer in the events surrounding the war in Jordan a few months ago. Suffice to say the "war" was settled between the "guerrillas" led by Arafat, and the government of King Hussein by U.S. and Soviet bosses. The picture of Arafat smiling and shaking King Hussein's hand after the bloodbath in which tens of thousands died, was nauseating. It was like two big shots from cafe society clasping shoulders after competing in a polo match. In this case the victims

weren't horses—they were people. The Soviets had backed Arafat and the Syrians to put pressure on the U.S. to get a piece of the (oil) pie. The U.S. backed hangman Hussein, with the Israelis waiting in the wings, if Hussein couldn't beat Arafat and Co. back.

When it became obvious that Arafat would need a lot more Soviet aid to win, the Soviets and Arafat opted for a truce. In the Middle East we see this potpourri of imperialists, revisionists and nationalists posing as socialists, fighting over their share of the profits — in the meantime the people lose.

At home the bosses have been able to use a slew of self-styled Leftists to divert workers from fighting on real issues and coming over to socialist ideas.

For example, earlier we pointed out how Nixon and Agnew lead the terrorists.

At the last convention of the Weathermen two years ago these forces hailed Manson as their hero; they lauded the murder of the Tate person and others and they declared there would be "Days of Rage." At this meeting there were about three hundred people. Almost immediately after the Weathermen went "underground." Now, no underground movement has ever been set up successfully in public—anywhere, at anytime in history. And underground movements which have not tried at least to cement ties with the masses of people have always failed.

Since then there have been a few bombings around the country which are claimed by this group, and a few groups like it. In most cases those hurt and killed have been Weathermen and some probable or potential friends. In the November 4 *New York Post*, columnist Clayton Fritchey tries to put this in perspective.

... It needs to know, for instance, that in the five years preceding 1969 the U.S. death toll for all civil strife, including college disturbances and urban riots, was only 220. And those were the peak years. This means an annual ratio of less than one death per million population, as compared with 238 per million for all nations.

More to the point, the five-year total was less than the average weekly deaths of U.S. troops in Vietnam for most of the war. That 220 figure also ought to be compared with the 250,000 Americans who were killed in auto accidents in the same period.

When the electorate reaches the point of believing campus trouble is more dangerous than war, reckless driving, mass unemployment, inflation, racism, and nationwide strikes, it's time for some new thinking. . . .

What is obvious is that 99.9 percent of terror is perpetrated by the U.S. government in the ghettos and in Vietnam. So the government uses the anarchists to coverup for their own massive terror. A few bombings and a handful of casualties are cheap enough prices to coverup and divert from their own ruthlessness. The price becomes even cheaper as one of the principal rewards of these terrorists is their use in diverting workers from a worker-student alliance and from communist ideas.

Interestingly, the vaunted FBI, et. al., has only arrested a few members of this group. In one case a patrolman stumbled onto them, as Bronx DA Roberts said, "it was

an accident, as the house had been staked out for the past six months." In another case, some local crazies were arrested by so-called "brilliant police work." These Nero Wolfes captured one well-known couple previously arrested for walking onstage at a Democratic Party convention in the nude with a pig head in hand, hiding no doubt! Either the powers of the state apparatus are so incompetent and impotent or these anarchist forces are more useful to the government out of jail than in it.

Ironically, there are similarities in this situation as in the situations that exist in racial murders, especially in the South. Recall how "inept" the FBI is when it came to catching racist murderers. How inept the police and FBI are in stopping the dope traffic; what is mainly involved is rounding up the Mafia. But we see, the bosses need the racist murderers and the Mafia, even though they occasionally give them a slap on the wrist. Similarly, the ruling class slaps gently, but needs and uses these terrorists.

Without the issue of terrorism the ruling class would have been virtually naked in the last election. Police provocation is one of the "oldest professions." To make this all the more convincing are the events surrounding the drug addict and pusher Timothy Leary. Recently, Leary "escaped" from a minimum security prison. He instantly went to Algeria, the new Mecca for various pseudo-revolutionary fossils. In Algeria he announced a new united front against imperialism with Eldridge Cleaver. According to them, turning on with drugs is a revolutionary act, a sign of opposition to imperialism.

Prior to this Black Panther leader Huey Newton announced a united front with the Gay Liberation Front. He indicated homosexuals are oppressed by the system and therefore candidates for the antiimperialist united front. Obviously, Newton, and more important, many others, don't realize the stiff price workers and revolutionaries have had to pay for those in their ranks who became victims of drugs and homosexuality. More to the point, movements which unite with drug addicts and homosexuals close the door to workers. The leaders of these bogus antiimperialist united fronts know full well workers, no matter what their color, will never unite with these people. Naturally, we realize both problems of drugs and homosexuality are results of capitalism; but capitalism cannot be crushed by those who it has already defeated. It can only be defeated by those who have the strength to withstand its blows, grow stronger and fight back. After socialism drug addicts and homosexuals can be treated and rehabilitated into useful roles in society.

It was no surprise Bernadine Dohrn's sister turned up in Algeria to proclaim the Weathermen were part of this united front and would intensify their activities. What a setup! Revolutionaries are pictured as drug addicts, homosexuals and little rich bomb throwers. Something like this couldn't have happened by itself. This caricature of revolutionaries dwarfs the old one the bosses had. The best they used to be able to say was that revolutionaries were humorless people who wore leather jackets.

Essentially the united front is against the working class and the Progressive Labor Party. All of these forces and others have shown no disinclination to attack the U.S.

workers as hopelessly corrupt, nor have they spared the horses in attacking the PLP. Their main focus against PLP is that we are opposed to nationalism and for the workers.

But the PLP is growing and fighting the bosses more than ever. During the auto strike PLers and friends were ever busy organizing support for the strikers. Scores of demonstrations were organized, food and money was raised, thousands of auto workers were introduced to communism, many brought closer and some into PL.

This process was underlined by the SDS demonstrations in Detroit and San Jose, California in support of the auto workers. It was further underlined by the more than successful demonstration in New York City for International Solidarity Day.

So we see the elections as primarily a diversion by the ruling class to confuse, slow down and halt the workers' militant actions in the class struggle. Within these elections the bosses were able once again to use the old line opportunists, the CP-SWP-pacifist troika who always take part in the elections process running their own or supporting bourgeois candidates. Additionally, bosses were able to use the newer self-styled revolutionaries, trying to even more divert workers. By and large none of it worked: the objective problems of imperialism won't go away but worsen instead. And the subjective problems won't disappear either. Tens of millions of workers did not vote; all aspects of the class struggle sharpened, there was more unity between workers and students; and most important of all, the communist movement grew. *The people didn't do too badly.*

\* \* \*

After this editorial was written, the 18-year-old vote

was granted for national elections, yet another desperate attempt to shore up the declining electoral system. However most political commentators already are complaining that they don't expect many of the youth to vote — wailing about how the youth are cynical about voting. Nonetheless, Nixon is coming on like a liberal gangbuster slithering around to grab a few votes from those youth who register for the election game.

The fantastic unemployment rate, which hits minority workers, women, youth and Viet vets the hardest, and the ever growing strike wave of those on the job, don't exactly inspire youth to support the system which creates vicious abuses.

Any system which keeps millions on a merciless welfare system in which the people barely survive, doesn't lend itself to winning the confidence of youth. The continued imperialist war and the threat of others — like the Middle East — only convince youth and others that the answer isn't to be found in mere abstention from voting. More realize they have to take a hand in the destruction of the most wretched society on the face of the earth.

All over the country youth are regrouping into alliances with the working class. Young people and workers are carrying forward the banners against unemployment, racism, dwindling living standards and the war. None of the bosses' gimmicks — like voting — is going to reverse this tide. As the mass movement strides ahead all the bosses' efforts seem puny in the face of working class anger. The bosses are growing fearful over their ability to hold power and they have good reason to be afraid — January, 1971.

**B**lack workers have been in the forefront of the movement against racism, imperialism and economic oppression for years. Because black workers refuse to be either bribed or intimidated the struggle is becoming sharper, the ruling class is attacking harder. More cops, prison sentences, more unemployment, more ruling class terror, etc., is a sure sign of this. (Many of these stories appear in *Challenge-Desafio*, PLP national paper.)

But another way the ruling class tries to divert and crush the militancy of black workers is to foist on their backs, "leaders", "spokesmen" and this is done by the bosses in a very systematic way. Using the entire media and stooge groups, individuals are publicized more than film starlets. The bosses pick out certain types: mainly middle-class and very articulate, pushing a bad line which leads only to confusion and defeat.

When these "leaders" are arrested the arrest is aimed at the militancy of the black workers. The bosses know that these "leaders" are anything but militant. They know and feel relatively safe that no large section of the masses will move. The bosses want to appear omnipotent, and that anything they do against black "leaders" will be met with passivity.

A current version of this scenario is the Angela Davis case. The bosses have unjustly arrested her and now they are severely harrasing her; *she should be freed!*

It is interesting to note that she leads nobody; that the policies of her organization — Communist Party — have been rejected by the militant black workers in this country and around the world. Most people know that this group is at best revisionists of revolutionary communism and represent the Soviet line in our country. Obviously, the bosses would prefer these fakes' line to come forward than for black workers to put forward their policies through a revolutionary party.

Angela Davis calls herself a communist and is so labeled by the ruling class because she is a member of the Communist Party.

However, a real communist party is one that:

- a) seeks to unite the working class,
- b) rejects non-violence and parliamentarism, and

c) relies on the people to win socialism as opposed to the liberal section of the ruling class.

Angela Davis' so-called communist party is opposed to all these points. They promote nationalism — racism in their own ranks — by having separate black clubs like the Che-Lumumba Club. They don't go to white workers to struggle against their racism on a class basis. They are uncritical of, and even give all-out support to nationalist groups such as the Chicano Moratorium and those BSU groups whose leaders are only after Ford Foundation money. The Communist Party supports the non-violence of Martin Luther King Caesar Chavez.

Non-violence is suicide for workers and only leads them into the bloody hands of the bosses. The Communist Party says that socialism will come through elections but more and more workers, especially black and Latin workers, are boycotting elections. The C.P.

thinks that the ruling class will just give up all its power to the people upon demand from an election victory.

The people know however that there are no basic differences among the various sections of the ruling class. One group of rulers may believe the U.S. should get out of Vietnam because it's hurting the economy at home whereas another group may want to get out because the U.S. army is falling apart and morale is low. There are other differences in regard to racism, young people, etc. But none of these differences within the ruling class will lead any section of it to advocate giving

up its power to the working people.

The Communist Party USA is allied with the Communist Party USSR. Kossygin and the other Russian bosses are known all over the world for making deals with other capitalists to sell out workers' revolution. The Russian leadership supports the bosses of Poland who are being opposed by the Polish workers — Polish workers who want socialism but Polish bosses prefer capitalism. Czechoslovakian, Bulgarian, German, Yugoslav and other Soviet dominated workers also hold these pro-socialist views in opposition to the Soviets and their local quislings. This is the kind of worldwide sabotage of revolution the CPUSA is part of.

For all the above reasons the PLP, as a revolutionary

## **Angela Davis trial diversionary tactic**

### **Editorial**

communist party, cannot endorse the politics of the CPUSA or endorse the politics of any leader or member of that group. Not only do we not endorse those policies, we must actively oppose them. We oppose the C.P.'s politics and Angela Davis as a member, because their politics, when put into practice, will mislead the workers.

What workers need to be won to is fighting nationalism, racism, pacifism, parliamentarism and liberalism. We say that more and more workers are being won to fighting these traps. We must not unite with those like the C.P. whose politics lead them to defeating the workers. *That is the main issue!* No matter what the immediate issues seem, unity with those who believe and organize around the politics of the Communist Party will lead to the capitalists maintaining state power ruthlessly for many more years.

Angela Davis chose to join the Communist Party and help carry out its programs. It's possible that people join organizations that they think are willing to fight against racism, exploitation and imperialism. Maybe Angela Davis joined the C.P. with this expectation; although it's hard to understand how, if she had investigated their program and their actions. The speeches and interviews of Angela Davis sound more militant than the programs and actions of the C.P. but she had not organized or lead any real mass movement, just like her sellout mentors.

She seems to disagree with the C.P. theoretically saying non-violence will *not* lead to revolution: this is a fundamental issue in the struggle for socialism. But why would Angela Davis remain a loyal member of the C.P. and speak for them if she had fundamental disagreements? Does she have disagreements? If she does, then she should publicly denounce the C.P. as being counter-revolutionary and throw herself in with those who are honestly seeking to fight for socialism and end all forms of exploitation. This is her duty, if we are to believe her speeches and interviews expressing her determination to fight against racism and other forms of exploitation. If not, Angela Davis will be remembered along with Earl Browder, John Gates, James Jackson, Gus Hall, Dorothy Healy and other revisionist sellouts. The people do not support revisionists.

### **BUILD THE PLP**

We say the main thing to do at this time to build the mass movements against racism, unemployment, imperialism is to build the Progressive Labor Party. PLP is seeking to unite workers, build a worker-student alliance,

oppose bourgeois politics, pacifism, and in waging a revolutionary struggle for socialism. Unemployment and racism are two issues that workers and students must struggle against now.

The ruling class is divided over the Angela Davis case. Some sections of the bosses would like to use this case to divert the movement away from fighting the rulers to fighting in the courts around one person, they even invited the Russians to attend. A minority section of the bosses, represented by Reagan, may really be opposed to the C.P. and Angela Davis. (Ramsey Clark, former U.S. Attorney General, recently told J. Edgar Hoover that the C.P. was harmless.)

The bosses in this country are known for attempting to build heroes *for* the people. Sometimes it's John Wayne or the Mod Squad. Certain sections of the ruling class find it to their advantage to build up "no-real threat" heroes among the mass movements. They like to tell the people who their leaders should be: even their "revolutionary" leaders. Remember Stokely Carmichael, Rap Brown and the Chicago Seven? Where are they now? They are not working with or in the interest of the people. When the mass media finished with them, they were finished.

How many people would know of Angela Davis if she wasn't built up so much by the media? Not many would know her from her direct work with the people, because she doesn't do too much of that. Workers and students should not be misled to accept the leadership of people just because they are attacked by a section of the bosses and are given lots of publicity. We must examine their politics and their actions, this is the only guarantee of real leadership.

We feel the revolutionary movement would be better served if Angela Davis was free. Her arrest, and diversions resulting from it, can only set the struggle for socialism back. We don't look to the bosses to serve the struggle by jailing anyone; the people can determine who their friends and enemies are and act accordingly. The jailing of Angela Davis only serves to divert the movement from real struggle.

We say that the attempts to stir up racism and anticommunism must be defeated. The main task now for those truly interested in fighting for socialism is to get involved and committed in building among the masses of working people. When the issue of Angela Davis is brought up in a racist, anticommunist way we must struggle against these bad ideas never forgetting that primarily we must build the mass movement.

(Note: The following is re-printed from the Nov. 1 issue of the *International Bulletin*, published by the Puerto Rican Socialist League.)

**S**AN JUAN—The Sec.-General of the Puerto Rican Socialist League (PRSL), Juan Antonio Corretjer, made the following statement about the unjustified and unjust attack by the Young Lords Party of N.Y. on our fraternal Progressive Labor Party (ML) of the U.S. and their reference to the PRSL (ML) and to comrade Corretjer himself:

In 1932 Puerto Rican members of the Lower Harlem Section of the old Communist Party of the U.S. and the Puerto Rican Nationalist Junta of N.Y. (affiliated to the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico) ended up in a tragedy after a senseless campaign of mutual insults. One night the police, taking advantage of the known dispute, assigned a so-called "communist" to assassinate a Nationalist during an El Barrio street meeting. Angel Manuel Feliu, a Nationalist, native of Utuado, was knifed to death while the so-called "communist" under the shadow of police protection, disappeared and, it was said, escaped to Cuba or Mexico.

The only ones who gained by the dispute and the tragedy were the class enemies of both parties and the repressive forces that persecuted them. To which side the victim belonged is secondary, even though it was more useful to capitalism to present the murderous "communist" as the assassin and the Puerto Rican patriot as the victim. It was natural that communists and nationalists clash in El Barrio in 1932. No matter how Puerto Rican one is, in the development of the struggle for independence a moment is reached in which one has to take sides; *either one is a Communist or a nationalist. It is impossible to be both at the same time.*

It was natural at that time, as it is now, that there be Puerto Ricans who fight for the independence of Puerto Rico under nationalist ideologies—and for that reason, bourgeois or petit-bourgeois ideology. It is also logical that other Puerto Ricans fight as we do—for independence according to working-class ideolo-

gy, Marxism-Leninism, under the flag of proletarian internationalism. Puerto Rico is a capitalist society, divided into classes. Such a class society inevitably projects its ideologies on the independence movement.

The struggle for independence is a specific form of class struggle. Either one struggles for an independence which benefits the workers only by means of taking power in a revolutionary way, the liquidation of private property and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, or one fights for a Nationalist independence, multi-class by necessity, which defeats foreign capitalist power in order to benefit a new dominant class whose power will establish private property.

The same difference will be reflected ideologically. Marxism-Leninism is a unified theory—not a multi-class hodge-podge of ideas. Without this unity, all that remains is a petit-bourgeois attempt at reconciling the unreconcilable. But one cannot be a 20 or 80% Marxist. One is a Marxist-Leninist standing on its fundamental philosophy—dialectical and historical materialism and its proven practice, which is its party with a Marxist-Leninist orientation, founded in the class struggle that fights for political power for the working class; the taking over power by force; liquidation of private property and establishment

of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

"A Marxist," says Lenin, "extends the recognition of the class struggle to recognition of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The transition of capitalism to communism may embrace a diversity of political forms; but the *essence* of all of them necessarily is one: the dictatorship of the proletariat."

The extension to the U.S. of the Nationalist struggle for Puerto Rican independence is a consequence of, (1) the Puerto Rican emigration, forced and stimulated by U.S. imperialism in Puerto Rico; and (2) the influence of the Irish Nationalist struggle in England upon Albizu Campos.

Marxist-Leninists of the PLP as well as ourselves in the PRSL-ML take the world (as Marxist-Leninists must) as a reality. We examine it accord-

## **Words to the Young Lords: Nationalism or Communism**

**Juan Antonio Corretjer**

ing to scientific fact and social practice. No matter how insignificant anything might seem, or how unimportant it may appear, we never approach it frivolously. That is why the PRSL-ML takes so seriously the mistaken and unjust attack made by the Young Lords Party of New York on the comrades of PLP and its reference to the PRSL and to myself.

A revolutionary line must base itself on a developing class, on a class on the rise, not on something temporary or short-lived. There is a reality in the life of Puerto Ricans in the U.S. which will not disappear—their *condition of being workers*. The impoverishment of the masses by capitalism, a universal law of the system, governs and will govern the life of workers in the U.S. until the system changes, until capitalism is defeated and socialism is established.

Puerto Rican workers share and will share, with all class brothers in the U.S., the suffering that



International Solidarity march; Juan Antonio Corretjer at lower right.

capitalism imposes on them, and should share also the glory of defeating capitalism and establishing socialism. To that end it is indispensable to develop an authentic Party of the U.S. working class, a Marxist-Leninist party of all U.S. workers, without distinction of race or national origin. Not to recognize this reality is to break with Marxism-Leninism, from what Lenin wrote about free determination and the Party; it is to ignore the work on the national and colonial question written by Stalin.

It is in the ranks of the political and ideological movement of the working class of the U.S. that Puerto Rican workers and their descendants living in the U.S. can render their maximum contribution

to the defeat of capitalism and the establishment of socialism. This is so because the fight for independence itself is part of the program to overthrow capitalism and establish socialism. Intensification of the struggle for independence within the U.S. will make itself felt more promptly and with greater depth in proportion to the increase of Puerto Ricans in the ranks of the Communist, Marxist-Leninist Party in the U.S.

This does not mean that Puerto Rico must wait for its independence until the U.S. becomes a socialist country. It *does* mean that the task of the Puerto Rican in the U.S. will always be, no matter its organizational form or its ideology, strategy and tactics, an *auxiliary* force to the struggle for independence in Puerto Rico. For it is here, in Puerto Rico, where the definite form is to be given and shall be given to the struggle for independence and its victory. It also means that the Young Lords Party of N.Y. has to understand that the destiny of the Puerto Ricans who have emigrated to the U.S. will be no different from that of all other immigrant groups: Irish, Italian, Polish, Spanish.

The Lords represent a halt on the road to acculturation. That is why we watched them come to public life with keen interest and affection. That is why we applauded and continue to applaud their militancy. That is why, when we met Cha Cha Jimenez in Jayuya on Oct. 30, 1969, when later we spoke at length with him, when afterwards we spoke with "Yoruba" in N.Y., we thought the Young Lords by being just what they are, some of perhaps the most exploited sector of the Chicago and New York proletariat, by just organizing they will take the Marxist road.

It is a pity that they did not take it. It is nothing to despair about, either, "Nobody is born a communist," said Lenin. One becomes a communist by acquired convictions, by ideas learned in Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, and Mao. It is a pity also that they have launched an attack on the Party which has proved to be the authentic Marxist-Leninist Party and which for several years has given Puerto Rico the systematic and consistent revolutionary aid that the Party of the working class of the imperialist country should give the Party of the colony. PLP has always understood this. It is within this Party where the Young Lords will find their real friends. It is a pity, I repeat, that they have not understood this.

The Young Lords of N.Y. make a mistake in thinking they are children of the so-called Third World, a petit-bourgeois invention, anti-Marxist and counter-revolutionary. *There are only two worlds: that of the exploiters and that of the exploited; "bourgeoisie and proletarians."* says the *Communist Manifesto*.

In fact, we are greatly worried over the call made by "Yoruba" to attack those who sell *Challenge-Desafio* in El Barrio. It was this incredible call, so lightly given, which so lightly given, which immediately made me remember the senseless tragic experience of 1932.

The PRSL-ML distributes a minimum of 6,000 copies of *Challenge-Desafio* each issue in Puerto Rico. We aspire to be able to double this number. It is part of the propaganda task directed by comrade Jose Marcano. The strikers at General Electric (in Puerto Rico) have seen the positive results of this circulation. The PRSL-ML shares completely with PLP all of the Marxist-Leninist-Mao Tsetung Thought ideology.

We recently shared in New York with the PLP comrades and the Canadian Party of Labor-ML an International Solidarity Day, the importance of which will be seen in the future. We pointed out the deep significance of this proletarian Marxist-Leninist unity of the three parties. Canada is the first world market of the U.S. bourgeoisie, which is also the owner of 60 per cent of its economy. Puerto Rico is a U.S. colony and a monopolized market, the second market of the U.S. in the Western Hemisphere. PLP is the Marxist Party of the imperialist country. Canada sells Puerto Rico \$34 million per year and buys \$5 million. Canada occupies the Northern frontier of the U.S. Puerto Rico is the key to the isthmus in the Caribbean frontier. A great

part of the future of the people of the world is in the hands of the U.S. proletariat which some day PLP will lead to the taking over of power in a revolutionary way.

The attention given by PLP to Puerto Rico shows the importance of the national question in the correct Marxist-Leninist thought of PLP. But the national question in Puerto Rico ceased to have a nationalistic solution. It ceased to have it forever. For the Puerto Rican workers, *socialism is independence*. We do not deny the importance of the independentist organizations that are not Marxist. But only the proletariat can be the vanguard of independence. Only a Marxist-Leninist Party can lead the proletariat to carry out its vanguard task. In Puerto Rico the nationalist solution once existed. It does not exist now. No matter how painful for the Young Lords, it can't be more so than it was. But I assure the Young Lords that that pain passes. A new joy, a new unending happiness fills our hearts and makes us willing and strong for a greater fight, when we know we have arrived at the universal truth of Marxism, the fatherland of the proletariat.

## POLISH WORKERS FIGHT BOSSES

Shipyard workers were marching peacefully in the city (of Gdansk) Monday afternoon to protest increases averaging 20 per cent in the government price of food, fuel, clothing and other commodities.

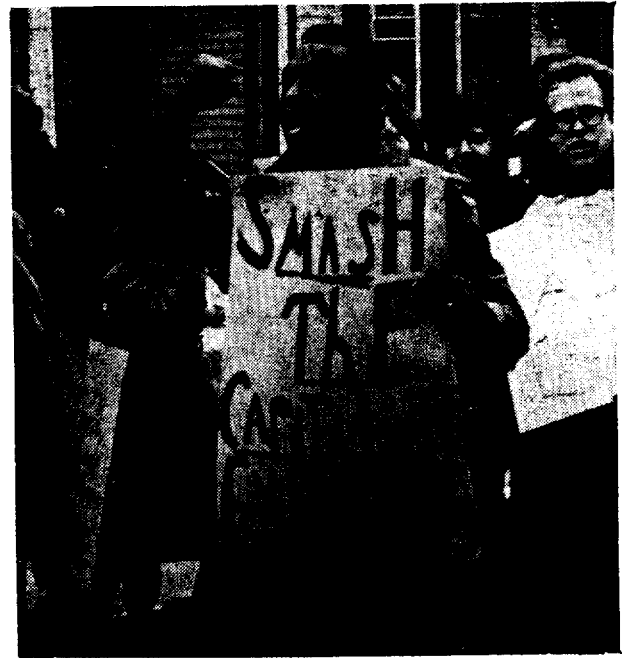
Police, seeing they were outnumbered by the demonstrators, panicked and started shooting. This triggered demonstrations all over the city. An angry mob singing the Communist Internationale attacked the Party headquarters and also tried to burn down the railway station. — *N.Y. Post, Dec. 17*).

**W**orkers rebellions in Poland against low wages, higher prices and general oppression should be welcomed and hailed by all revolutionary forces the world over. These heroic workers, flying the banners of international communist revolution, prove revisionists (bosses who claim to be communists) are the same as bosses in the U.S., the U.S.S.R. and Rumania. "A boss is a boss is a boss," they are *all rotten*. We should rebel against — and defeat — all of them.

Hopefully, this important rebellion in Poland will spur the growth of a new vigorous communist movement there. Poland today is as "socialist" as the U.S. Only a few years ago Robert Kennedy was invited there as a guest of the Polish bosses who forced thousands to turn out to greet him. These rebellions show capitalist policies are coming home to roost, and true communists are helping to lead the way (not the right-wingers the CIA-directed fascist "demonstrators" in the U.S. are hoping for).

Unfortunately there are many in the communist

movement who have illusions in or create illusions about the Polish bosses. This is based on some minor differences between Polish and Russian bosses, just like those between French and U.S. bosses. Differences between bosses over how best to screw workers have never helped



Poland, the U.S., the world. . . the only answer.

workers. Anyone who encourages Polish bosses by sending "greetings," delegations, etc., hurts the workers and the development of a communist movement in Poland.

If it makes us "extreme leftists" because we can't get ourselves to believe that any boss is good, so be it.



**D**uring the rise of Hitlerism in Germany, a small number of rich Jewish bosses, a number of rabbis and others in the Jewish community collaborated with the Nazis in the destruction of the Jewish community. These scum were called *Judenrat* (Jewish Council). Their job was to help the Nazis administer the extermination of the ghetto. They supplied their Nazi bosses with lists of names and addresses; they organized the people to board the trains and trucks that took them to the concentration camps and to the furnaces which cremated them; the *Judenrat* pointed out the communists, and any others who seemed dangerous to the state. Communists and radicals, in the ghettos, were killed *first*.

In return for this colossal betrayal of the German working class and the Jewish community, the *Judenrat* were allowed to "live." Many were allowed to leave Germany, and go to Palestine. In Palestine the *Judenrat* were an integral part of setting up the state of Israel.

But, in order to create an Israel at least two things were necessary:

1) Land had to be *stolen* from the Palestinian people;

2) Aid had to be obtained from U.S. bosses in order to force the British out of that area. The *Judenrat's* deal with U.S. imperialists was possible because U.S. rulers wanted to get their grimy hands on oil in the Middle East. Historically, the British controlled this territory, in alliance with Arab nationalist leaders. But the British were greatly weakened by World War II. Their economy became very dependent on U.S. bosses. Under pressure from the Israelis and the U.S., the British eventually made a deal with the Israelis. They granted the land—now called the state of Israel—to them.

What U.S. bosses needed in the Middle East was a *cop*, a force they could depend on to help prevent a serious revolution by the Arab people, and to keep the Arab national leaders from becoming too ambitious in grabbing the oil profits. What better bunch could U.S. bosses find to do their dirty work than the *Judenrat* and their pals. The *Judenrat* had helped slaughter their own people; were totally anti-communist; and were completely committed to a capitalist, class society in Israel. The oppressed Jewish workers of Europe who survived fascism; would

continue to be robbed and exploited in Israel by *Judenrat* bosses.

Additionally, U.S. bosses needed a ruthless bunch to herd the Palestinians, who had lived in the Israel territory, into slave camps. These camps were very much like those the Jews were herded into by the Nazis in Germany. The *Judenrat* drew on their wealth of training from the Nazis in doing this job for U.S. bosses. The Nazis had developed the "art" of extermination to new levels, and the *Judenrat* were good pupils.

In the rich Jewish financiers, like their ruling-class brothers, were busy oppressing workers at home and abroad—*whatever their religion happened to be*. These big business men were advocating the state of Israel and the "freedom" of the Jews. But they were busting strikes and *opposing unionization of workers in New York's garment and fur markets*. Many of these New York workers

happened to be Jews. The bosses robbed them and exploited them. When the workers struck, the bosses called out the cops and goons to attack them. Hundreds of militant Jewish workers, many communists, were killed, beaten, and jailed by their Jewish bosses. Today, *the garment industry is the lowest paying major industry in the U.S.* While a big reason for this is the overt racism directed against black and Latin workers, it is also part of the heritage of oppression against previous workers in the industry.

During the McCarthy period, a wave of anti-communism was launched by big business in this country against revolutionaries here and abroad. In the U.S. much anti-Semitism was also fostered by big bosses. Two heroic Jewish workers and communists were put to death by the Truman and Eisenhower administrations—Julius and Ethel Rosenberg. Their murder was the crowning results of anti-communism, and its many offshoots, like racism and anti-Semitism. However, *Jewish bosses took part in the cold war crusade and the murder of the Rosenbergs*. So, we see that the interests of the Jewish bosses are *not* that of the Jewish people. Their interests and loyalty are *to their class*. But they use nationalism among the Jewish people to dupe them into going along with their schemes for maximum profits.

The most vocal and vitriolic nationalists used by the

## **Bosses' weapons: Zionism and anti-communism**

ruling class in the Jewish community to get that community and all the people to go along with them are the Zionists. (Zionists are those who advocate that Jews leave wherever they are and go to Israel.) Actually, the Zionists are *the recruiting arm for the bosses* who really want to get more cops to the Middle East to protect U.S. oil interests. Thus, the slogan of "Free My People" by going to Israel is just bullshit. The Zionists never fought *anti-Semitism* in the U.S. They never fought for the interests of the Jewish workers here. But communists did! You never heard the Zionists protesting the murder of the Rosenbergs—a large aspect of that murder was anti-semitism. But communists and others did! So the Zionists are only concerned with anti-semitism *to the degree it can be of use to their ruling class bosses in the U.S.*

Today it is the Soviet bosses who are trying to squeeze into the oil picture in the Middle East. They want some of that gold themselves. So, they are stepping on the toes of U.S. bosses and their stooge Israel. Now the Zionist movement has sharpened its anti-Soviet campaign "against" anti-Semitism. (Remember, all these years these Zionist fakes never fought anti-Semitism in the U.S.) As in any capitalist state, anti-Semitism is one aspect of bosses' oppression. It surely exists in the Soviet Union. But the Zionists and their bosses are only using the issue (sky jacking trials, etc.) to beef up their pressures against the Soviet's penetration of the Middle East. Zionists are using the legitimate anger of Jewish people, and all people, to suck many, especially youths, into a nationalist orgy.

If Jewish workers wanted to fight anti-Semitism in Russia or any place else *the solution won't be found by running away*. Those Jews who want to run from Russia are leaving millions of Jews and millions of workers behind to face the oppression of the Soviet ruling class. In other words, they are leaving everybody holding the bag. Naturally, the Zionists advocate running. This will leave the system intact; and it will get more cops for the Israeli and U.S. rulers. People are being incited not to really fight anti-Semitism, but *to fight for U.S. oil interests in the Middle East*.

*Forces like the Jewish Defense League (JDL) and the rag, The Jewish Press*, are very much like the *Judenrat* of Germany. While the conditions and momentary goals today are different, the *essence* of their campaign is the same. They are agents of U.S. bosses who use nationalism to lure the people into fighting for bosses' interests. Of course, if they came right out with their cynical point of view—that they really don't give a damn about the Jews here or in Russia and are only interested in Israel surviving as the U.S. rulers' outpost in the Middle East—the people would be repelled.

Zionists are pushing the working class in Israel closer and closer to dire consequences, which *could result in their destruction*. Again we point out Zionists want Jewish workers in Israel to be the cops for the U.S. If the Jewish workers in Israel persist in this counter-revolutionary, suicidal course they will pay for it. But *they will have the old Judenrat and their modern counterparts to "thank."*

The Nazis first expropriated the Jewish people in Germany and then—using them as a scapegoat—destroyed six million of them. Today U.S. imperialism is using the Jewish people as cannon fodder for its oil profit schemes in the Middle East, which will produce the same result for the Jewish workers—destruction.

Jewish workers in Israel, like all workers, have to abandon nationalism and fight for the overthrow of their ruling class. If Israeli workers would do this, it would unite them with the oppressed people of the Middle East. *This is where their safety and freedom lies*. The oppressed Middle East masses should kick out both Soviet and U.S. imperialism and their local stooges—Israeli bosses and Arab nationalists.

On the home front the JDL and *Press* whip up racism against black people. They constantly fan the flames of fears and hatred of some white people against the militancy of black workers. Militant black workers are interested in fighting the boss, and pose no threat to the people. They only *benefit!* The JDL and *Press* are among the shrillest anti-communists. They dwarf even the N.Y. *Daily News* and *Chicago Tribune*. But we all know the results of anti-communism. Millions of people all over the globe had to fight in World War II against Hitler's anti-communism. Today, the U.S. is the chief imperialist. Look what the price of anti-communism is in Vietnam. The Vietnamese are slaughtered by the millions. And hundreds of thousand of U.S. workers are being killed and wounded to carry out the U.S. bosses' anti-communist profit war.

*The only way to crush anti-Semitism is to defeat the system which spawns it*. Nationalism, anti-communism and racism only beget more anti-Semitism. Don't be surprised if these same Jews who cry "red" now aren't the "list makers" in the U.S. later. Capitalism, private ownership, profits—this is the system that creates *all* forms of oppression. *You can't beat this system by running. You only win by fighting! And you can't win with bosses' ideas.*

You can win with communist ideas: ideas of internationalism, where *all* workers and oppressed people fight *united* against *all* bosses; *a boss is a boss, and a worker a worker*. All questions are *class* questions—people have to decide which side they are on.

# The Complex Past of Meir Kahane

THE NEW YORK TIMES, SUNDAY, JANUARY 24, 1971

By MICHAEL T. KAUFMAN

The story of Meir Kahane moves from Talmudic academies in Brooklyn to a congregation that rebuffed him, to an existence under an assumed name unknown to most of his friends and then to the re-emergence of Rabbi Kahane—this time as the founder of a militant Jewish group embroiling itself in international controversy.

As founder of the Jewish Defense League he has, with little more than a mimeograph machine, drawn the recognition—and condemnation—of the United States, the Soviet Union, Israel and the major Jewish organizations in the United States.

But until three years ago there was no spotlight of attention. To those who knew him then only as Meir Kahane he was simply the eldest of two sons of a highly regarded Talmudic scholar. He was a brilliant student, an ordained rabbi with graduate degrees in law and international affairs.

And for those who, at the same time, knew him only as Michael King, he was the resident of an East Side apartment who spent time in Washington as the partner in a small company that sought Government contracts for political research. Under that name he wrote papers and books and once organized a student movement to support the war in Vietnam.

Only once were the two names linked on the public record. That was in 1967 when a book called "The Jewish Stake in Vietnam" was published by the research group. Two of the three authors listed on the jacket were Michael King and Meir Kahane.

The other day, during an interview in which a New York Times reporter told the

rabbi that facts of his past had come to light, Rabbi Kahane was asked why both names were used on the book.

"I really don't know," he answered with a sad, small smile. "I suppose I wanted those who knew me by either of the names to know I had written it." ...

Under the name of King he, by his own account, "postured" as a man to be taken seriously in Washington political circles and in the intelligence bureaucracy. Again, by his own account this came to nothing.

But then in 1968 he founded the Jewish Defense League. Supported by a legion of adolescent followers, and with the force of his own personality, he projected himself as a defender of his people.

In speeches before synagogue groups, he elicited a basic response in many American Jews who had never felt themselves assimilated and who looked upon the traditional Jewish organizations as distant. ...

## Writing for Newspaper

By this time he began writing for The Jewish Press, a weekly with a circulation of 130,000, using the name Michael King for the first time as a byline on some articles.

As a young man in Flatbush, Meir Kahane had a close friend named Joseph Churba. The two went to the same schools and had attended a camp in the Catskills run by Betar, the revisionist Zionist organization. They were to form a professional association.

Mr. Churba, who also is a rabbi, is today a professor of Middle Eastern studies at the United States Air University at Maxwell Air Force Base in Montgomery, Ala.

In 1965 he was an instructor at Adelphi College and working on his doctorate at Columbia University. In May of that year, Mr. Churba rented a mailing address and a phone number under the name of Consultants Research Associates, 509 Fifth Avenue.

It was when he started working at Consultants Research that Rabbi Kahane moved seriously into the identity of Mi-

chael King. One of the team's first ventures was the July Fourth Movement, an attempt to mobilize campus support in favor of the Vietnam war.

"We felt there was a need to strengthen our presence in Southeast Asia," said Mr. Churba in an interview at the Air Force base. "We were both very disturbed by the spread of the radical left movements on campuses."

## Describes Alarm

Rabbi Kahane's recollection is similar. "I was particularly alarmed by the preponderance of Jews in the antiwar movement. I believed then as I believe now that that war in Vietnam was going to kill Jews and kill Israel. If there had been a greater United States will to fight, I don't believe there would now be 20,000 Soviet troops in Egypt."

On June 29, 1965, a quarter-page ad appeared in The New York Herald Tribune announcing the formation of the July Fourth Movement. It was signed by "Joseph Churba, chairman," and "Michael King, director."

On July 4 of that year, The New York Journal-American published a story about the organization under a picture of the two leaders. The caption identified Rabbi Kahane as Michael King.

Rabbi Kahane said the other day that he was fearful of discovery and went through some anxiety before allowing his picture to be taken. "But the man writing the story convinced me that Jews don't read The Journal-American."

The story said that chapters had been set up at six campuses including Fordham and the University of Wisconsin and that the groups were counteracting the antiwar sentiment of student groups.

"That was just nonsense and exaggeration," the rabbi said. "There was never anything more to it than Churba and myself. We never got much money. The antiwar thing had crested by that time."

Mr. Churba said there had been some financial backing from "organizations and labor unions," but he refused to be specific. ...

A New York public relations woman remembers running into

Rabbi Kahane at a party on Long Island. "I knew him only as Michael King. He told me he had been a correspondent for a wire service in Africa and I recall at one point he volunteered that he was a Presbyterian." ...

"I did some ghost writing of reports for staff members of Congressional committees," Rabbi Kahane said. "Once we did a position paper on the Greek view of the Cyprus situation for Senator Javits's office. It was nothing, really nothing."

## East Side Apartment

The two friends rented an apartment in the name of Michael King at 351 East 85th Street. Both men would stay there at times. Rabbi Kahane's family knew nothing of it.

"What we wanted was an East Side address that could impress prospective clients," the rabbi explained. The apartment was vacated in late 1967, with the tenants owing \$162 on a telephone bill.

In June of 1966, while living as Michael King, Rabbi Kahane met a 22-year-old woman named Gloria Jean D'Argenio. The woman, who sometimes worked as a model under the name of Estelle Donna Evans, impressed Mr. King as "an unusual person." When on July 31, the woman jumped to her death from the Queensboro Bridge, the rabbi was profoundly shaken.

He attended her funeral in Connecticut and in the year after she died he would sometimes place roses on her grave.

In early 1968, after he discarded the identity of Michael King and founded the Jewish Defense League, he established a charitable foundation in the woman's name.

Sometime early in 1967, Mr. Churba and Meir Kahane began work on "The Jewish Stake in Vietnam."

On Aug. 2 of that year, a company called Crossroads Publishing was registered as a partnership in the county clerk's office and space was rented at 2 West 23d Street.

"Basically Crossroads was just the two of us, Churba and myself," Rabbi Kahane said. "We set it up just to publish the 'Jewish Stake.'"

The book, which was never copyrighted, uses many quotations from Communist leaders, to put its case that Jewish life cannot exist under a Communist regime. From the July Fourth Movement until the formation of the Jewish Defense League, the ideological rationale that joined Mr. Kahane's two identities was largely that of anti-Communism.

The Kahane-Churba work bears this dedication: "To the enslaved Jews of Russia, with the fervent prayer for redemption." Three thousand copies were sold.

### 3,000 Copies Sold

The listed authors — Mr. Churba, Mr. Kahane and Mr. King—are not identified either on the book or on the jacket.

Mr. Churba said money for the book came from "individuals who felt it should be published." He said there was "no Government funding."

After the book came out, Mr. Churba again drew Mr. Kahane, as Mr. King, into another publishing venture. Mr. Churba had signed a contract to write a book about social life and politics of the North Vietnamese for Information, Inc., a publishing house with a large direct-mail business.

According to Eugene Schwartz, the president of the company, a man named David Aldrich suggested a book that would essentially present the Government's view of the necessity of fighting in Vietnam.

Mr. Aldrich, a former journalist and a playwright, is the son of Richard Aldrich, the theatrical producer and former diplomat. David Aldrich now works for Fred Rosen Associates, Inc., a public relations firm.

Mr. Aldrich says that he believed Mr. Churba to be in the intelligence bureaucracy and that he felt his collaborator had very good sources of information and good contacts.

This characterization has been denied by Mr. Churba, Mr. Kahane, the Central Intelligence Agency, the Federal Bureau of Investigation and a half-dozen observers who report on and study the military and intelligence communities. But all these sources concur in a general belief that Mr. Churba and Mr. Kahane may have sought to convey such an impression.

### Presented as Expert

At any rate, Mr. Aldrich remembers that a few weeks after work on the book began,



In June of 1965, Meir Kahane and Dr. Joseph Churba announced the formation of an organization to mobilize campus support for the Vietnam war. At the time, Rabbi Kahane, the director, was known as Michael King.

Mr. Churba came to his apartment with a Mr. King, "introducing him as an expert on infiltration and front groups."

Mr. Churba said that Mr. King would help in writing the book.

Mr. Aldrich said he had no idea that Mr. King was Meir Kahane until years later when he saw the rabbi on television.

Mr. Schwartz said the book never came out. "We were told we would be able to get endorsements for the book from some ranking Government officials. Without these we did not know how valid the data was. When these endorsements never came through, we decided we could not publish."

For a year and a half around the time of the preparation of the manuscript, Meir Kahane would frequently commute to Washington, leaving his home in Laurelton, Queens, on Monday and returning for the Sabbath on Friday. He was Meir Kahane at home and Michael King away.

Throughout this time he was still writing for The Jewish Press, receiving about \$200 a week for about two days' work.

But late in 1967, he gave up his association with Consultants Research. He began writing more regularly for The Press and he took on a job as rabbi of a congregation in Rochdale Village in Queens.

He completely gave up the role of Michael King because, he said, he left the Washington consultant business and had no further need for the name.

In 1968 he founded the Jewish Defense League...

Rabbi Kahane announced recently that he was establishing an international office of the league in Jerusalem, where he

has an apartment, and that Mr. Zweibon would succeed him here.

From the first, the organization's greatest asset was the public relations ability of Rabbi Kahane.

"Just like certain baseball players have a flair for certain kinds of plays, I always had a talent for understanding what makes people tick, what captured their imagination," the rabbi said.

"They used to say we're a flea against an elephant. But they don't think so anymore," said Mr. Kahane in an interview that preceded the meeting in the television studio...

When the school crisis in Ocean Hill and Harlem began, Mr. Kahane challenged the anti-Semitic writings of some black figures. ...

The league started a summer camp and gave karate lessons. The rabbi said he was trying to instill Jewish pride in young people. ...

In his speaking engagements he would talk of the forgotten small Jew, and he would attack those "alienated Jews in their \$300 suits who have lost contact with the people."

Essentially, his strength lay in those neighborhoods of Brooklyn that had been ghettos and where the Jewish population was being engulfed by newer immigrant groups. Some saw him as a racist. He denies this.

"If black is beautiful, and it is, then Jewish is beautiful, too, and I want our people to learn that."

Community patrols were organized to escort Jews to synagogues and protect them from assaults by toughs. Some critics said these patrols were disbanded after serving a publicity-gaining purpose.

Chapters were set up in Boston, Philadelphia, Cleveland, Los Angeles and Montreal. For the most part they were very small.

The league claims a membership of 12,000. The major Jewish organizations maintain the number is closer to 8,000 and of these they say only a few hundred are activists. The rest just pay dues.

"They never have more than 200 people at any demonstration," said an investigator for the Anti-Defamation League. "But there are people all over who are contributing money."

# LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

## FT. KNOX STRUGGLE

I would like to say a few words about the section in the last PL magazine dealing with the fight against racism at Fort Knox. At the time my wife and I were writing that article, it was generally felt in the GI section of the Party that the struggle we were describing was the most advanced thing PLers had done in the army. We communists had allied with black and white GIs to defeat a racist attack in my company at Fort Knox. To do this, we published a Left-Center newspaper, *EM-16*, and distributed it to masses of GIs on post. We relied on these GIs and not lawyers or congressmen to defeat the racist attack—and we won!

I think that the struggle was a good thing. The point I want to make is that the article about this struggle might be misleading at this stage because it omits the key question of building the Party.

What happened after we won the reform struggle at Fort Knox? Well, the GIs we worked with learned some valuable lessons; you can win if you are united, white GIs will fight racism, the army needs to use racism and hates to see us fight it. Lots of valuable lessons were learned and many people ended up with great respect for PL's ideas. After a while though, we realized that the main problem was not with the objective situation but with us. We had been following an incorrect policy on basebuilding which coincided with errors in other sections of the Party.

At the time *EM-16* appeared, we had never sold *Challenge* publicly, we had never had a PL forum for GIs. While the people in the *EM-16* group were attracted to communist ideas, they could not see any evidence that we were spreading communism except with them.

In other words, we were not

## "HALLS OF ANGER": BLACK BOSS HERO

The movie *Halls of Anger* is showing all over Los Angeles and really drawing young black audiences.

According to *Halls of Anger* the main problem in ghetto schools is

building the Left. We were just being militants who also, by the way, had certain theories about socialism. Ironically, the other GIs and GI wives involved in the struggle were on the whole much better militants than we. Because of our weaknesses, they tended to equate being a communist with being a militant, so that one guy criticized me by saying, "I'm a better communist than you."

In a lot of cases, working class GIs are more militant than we PLers in the army who are from student backgrounds. So what do PLers have to offer? Marxism-Leninism and our revolutionary paper *Challenge*. In the last few months we have been selling *Challenge* in a mass way off post and distributing the *GI Program* illegally on post. Through this activity we are beginning to win working class GIs and GI wives.

It seems to us that this might be a valuable lesson. While we should always participate in struggles like the one described in the PL article, the main job of communists is to spread communism, that's what we have to contribute; the working class will provide militant fighters in the class struggle. Our job as communists is to fight and be militant and provide the working class with the Marxist-Leninist ideas they need, not to forsake this responsibility.—*Mack and Sallie Smith*

white principals and a few insensitive white teachers. The Board of Education and the ruling class are let off the hook completely.

The real reason why black and brown schools are worse than others is that they insure bosses superprofits by giving students rotten educations which forces them into low-paying jobs and into the bosses' army. The movie, of course, ignores all this.

*Halls of Anger* builds racism by saying to white people, "You'd better help keep these blacks down. You see how they would treat us if they had the chance."

It also helps build another old racist myth: "Black people aren't much interested in anything besides sex." In one scene a black male student is given a course in "instant reading" when the black administrator gives him a sex novel to read. He becomes such a good reader that he can teach other male students—black and white.

The truth is that if we are to inspire them to read, we must present young people with the fighting history of Afro-American, Latin-American and all working class people—stories about how to fight—not the racist, anti-working class garbage they now receive.

The black "super" administrator in this movie is young, handsome, athletic, and militant! He can singlehandedly teach students to read, "persuade" black teachers to remain in ghetto schools, convince whites who have been viciously attacked to "stick it out," take on the best basketball player in the school, control student rebellions and get students who have been kicked out by the principal back into school. No

teachers or black parents showed any interest in allying with the students.

The "militant" students didn't have any genuine gripes against the school system—their problems didn't begin until those 60 "devils" came into the school. Students weren't being expelled until these whites came and provoked them. There were no cops on the campus or patrolling around the campus at any time. When cops are called, they are friendly and

cautious and wait to see if they are really needed, before they "lend a helping hand."

The reality is that students are expelled daily, there are cops on the campuses already (usually black cops in black schools), and when cops are called in (even by black administrators) they come in with clubs swinging.

One of the main ways the ruling class blunts student struggles is by seeing to it that plenty of drugs are available on school campuses.

Last year the *L.A. Times* even had an article entitled "Less Drugs: More Violence. More Drugs Less Violence." In *Halls of Anger* there was no drug problem, just too many "hate Whitey" types.

*Halls of Anger* skillfully uses young, black, talented people to mislead us. If you see it, don't believe it!

—Vera Greenwood,  
Los Angeles PLP member  
and schoolteacher

## PUBLIC SCHOOLS—SOME COMMENTS

### Content of education is important

I have been working on an article dealing with education in America for the last few months, but, thanks to Fred Jerome's article in the previous issue of *PL* magazine that will no longer be necessary.

But in one small area, I think my version of the subject would have been more thorough than Jerome's treatment: namely, in the *instruction of anticommunism* in the public schools. Because only communism threatens the very existence of capitalism — by attacking its essence, private property — anticommunism is the essence of the indoctrination process carried out by the U.S. government in the schools. Yet, Jerome touches on the subject only tangentially.

Following Jerome's example, I would like to simply submit a sampling from the textbooks purchased by the New York City Board of Education and used by the New York City public schools. The books themselves reveal the true intent of capitalist education far more eloquently than any commentator could hope to.

The title of the following quotation is *History Proved that Marx was Wrong*:

Today we know that Marx was wrong. In modern capitalist nations, such as the United States, wages and working conditions have steadily im-

proved... Therefore, Marx was wrong (from *Building the Modern World*, by J.R. Reich and M. Krieg, Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., page 564).

Those who could not learn the ways of communism were threatened, and those who would not obey the commands of communism were put to death. By using threats, torture, and promises for better days, the communist converts increased.

And, on the same page:

The communists of Russia told the communists of China what to do (from *The Pageant of World History*, by Gerald Leinwand, Allyn & Bacon, Inc., Boston, page 229).

Making certain the students know who is the real enemy:

During the Korean War... Communist China sent troops to fight for North Korea, but the Soviet Union did not send troops (from *Building a Modern World*, *Ibid.*, page 685).

On the Vietnamese War:

France gave limited independence to Laos, Cambodia, and two parts of French Indochina... In 1958, North Vietnam organized the Viet Cong or Vietnam Communists to attack South Vietnam. South Vietnam fought this attack, but it failed to defeat the Viet Cong.

When the fighting in Viet-

nam began, President Eisenhower of the United States sent American Army advisers to South Vietnam to help fight the communists. President John F. Kennedy later sent more American advisers to aid South Vietnam. Then in 1965, Lyndon B. Johnson ordered that two hundred thousand American soldiers be sent to help South Vietnam fight the communists. The Vietnamese War now begun...

In 1968, President Johnson tried to end this war by offering peace to North Vietnam. By then five hundred thousand American soldiers were in South Vietnam. The Vietnamese War was a long and terrible war, but it prevented North Vietnam from taking over South Vietnam (from *Building a Modern World*, *Ibid.*, page 688).

Every student learns how the communists manipulate people:

They [the Japanese Socialist Party] have often resorted to strikes... to force their opinions on the majority... (from *Japan*, by F.R. Pitts, page 54).

One could go on and on. But the truth is obvious. The U.S. ruling class knows that its existence is doomed the moment the American people learn what communism truly is and what it has accomplished in its short history on this earth. —V. Marrow

## Schoolteacher adds information to Jerome article

The article *Public Schools: Battlegrounds* was excellent.

I hope this is the beginning of many such articles, letters and general discussion on the topic of the fight in the schools. I would encourage all persons — new teachers and more experienced ones, students and parents, workers — to contribute and aid in the development of what will eventually become a parent-teacher-student alliance to further build and strengthen a movement to fight against capitalism and win a working class-run country.

I am a starting teacher in the Chicago school system. Right now I am a "provisional" (substitute) teacher. While I am concerned with the question, "what do I teach," I am more concerned with an immediate problem. As a substitute, I rarely have the chance to "teach." Most substitutes are in the position of very tenuous job security, no benefits (sick days, hospitalization, etc.) In the classroom they have to be concerned about control. "What is the best way to control the kids?" is the question most provisionals find themselves asking. From this brief description it is easy to see how such a position can become, even for the best-intentioned of people (read radicals as well as anybody), the job of a cop. Liberals who take on such a job (after reading all the books like *Summerhill*, *Open Classroom*, etc.) and have ideas that deal only with the form of the classroom and not the content, either don't last long or degenerate to a cynical racist, anti-working class-view of things that says "you can't do anything so why try." There are tremendous obstacles and frustrations connected with the job of a provisional teacher. These lead to reliance on the wrong people, such as administrators, or, it leads to reliance on methods such as threats and punishment. And it is easy to get sucked into such methods without even thinking.

The point I wish to make is this — the job of the provisional teacher is valueless, politically speaking (and generally, too, except for the ruling class). There is little or no chance to

### Adds little help to struggling parents

Fred Jerome's article is unfortunately both superficial and contradictory. The most disappointing aspect is that he is a member of the National Committee and West Coast organizer of the PLP. One really expects far more.

Although there is no question that textbooks used in the schools throughout the country are racist, are they really the most significant example that we can find to struggle against? On the one hand the examples that Fred Jerome gave were poor ones and the most obvious and remote from today's youth. I don't think kids relate very closely to the fact that Columbus was an agent of imperialism. On the other hand, what is the role of a communist gym, math or science teacher with regard to struggling with students considering that there are no texts used in their courses or they are not directly related to racism? Students for the most part are so turned-off school, and particularly the subjects that they consider impractical, you would be hardput to interest them enough to picket or demonstrate over books.

What is more significant in the article *Public Schools: Battleground in the Class War*, is the lack of touch with the very real and immediate problems facing students; those that

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do the type of political work as a provisional teacher described in the *PL* article. The job leads to cynicism, frustration, and demoralization. It creates obstacles such as paying a provisional \$40 a day in Chicago for going into a classroom which a teacher's aid could do just as well, if not better, and getting paid considerably less for it. Due to all this, I think people wishing to go into teaching should *not* do so as provisional teachers. They should first take the required courses and start with their own classrooms. Hopefully they will then build a successful parent-student-teacher alliance.

Fraternally, Michael Davison

are more insidiously racist and that disturb the teachers as well. For instance, there was no mention at all of drugs. We are well aware of the growing use of drugs in schools and of the fact that they are deliberately pushed in order to stifle struggle and action of any kind. With kids coming into school high, do they really care what the books say?

There was also no mention of the war—although the black and Latin population make up the bulk of the casualties.

The problem of the growing lack of jobs, especially among the young black people, was overlooked as well.

Communist teachers have a far more meaningful role to play in organizing struggles around the above issues than in pointing out the racist ideology in texts. The ground is more fertile in relation to parents on the issue of drugs, inasmuch as all parents fear this racist monster far more than poor books.

### DISCIPLINE A REAL QUESTION

The question Fred raises about discipline in schools is valid only up to a very limited point. True, schools are prison-like and racism is the reason. However, it is anarchistic to say that there should be no discipline at all. We must all have responsibilities that we are expected to carry out—getting to work on time, doing a proper job—and that goes for students as well. Aside from the chaos involved, if we don't suggest closing the schools completely, there have to be rules of respect for fellow students as well as for deserving teachers. Students cannot come and go at will and disrupt classes. Therefore, discipline in and of itself is not harmful—just the racist application, and that is important to point out.

The article makes the good suggestion to teachers that they should become more involved with the students and parents outside of school by visiting their homes. But no mention was made of the reverse. That in itself seems to be falling prey

to racism, or at the least it is a condescending attitude. Wouldn't it be a much closer and more important involvement if teachers were encouraged to have students and parents visit their homes or maybe participate in other social activities? In essence, make real friends.

Even if the struggle around textbooks were as necessary as the article seems to think, the methods suggested are unimaginative and old hat. The idea of picketing the Board of Education, etc., is for those parents who don't work, leaving out the majority. These types of protest don't involve the community which is really your prime target.

I have found that picketing the Board of Education is for the most part ineffective. There has been much greater success with boycotts, sit-ins, leafletting and picketing individual schools so that the community at large has the opportunity of being apprised of the issues and of becoming involved.

#### UNDONE HOMEWORK

In reference to the significance of any gains, Fred overestimated them and certainly, as they are minor as he himself said they would have to be, they should not be "hailed." We learn far more from the struggle itself and from the fact that we never really get any important concessions than by "hailing" these pitiabilities.

In the box concerning the question of whether teachers should inform the students and fellow teachers that they are communists and members of PL, I was left completely in the dark. One column dealt with the fact that the knowledge will surely get them fired and might turn off otherwise sympathetic teachers. The other column told of a teacher who after two weeks told her class of her politics and met with tremendous success. Well, which is the answer?

The proposed list of demands that might be struggled around left much to be desired. Ask any student if they want the present school lunch free. For the most part, you couldn't pay the kids to eat them. Rather, ask for a *better quality, edible lunch that is free.*

School supplies which are required in large amounts and are a definite

hardship to afford for most working class families are not free. How about demanding that?

We might also demand superior and convenient free medical and dental services instead of the inadequate and degrading clinics now available.

Fred's point concerning getting the cops out of schools is well taken. But just as important is getting the pushers out. Also, there should be struggles in the schools and community around the war and perhaps demonstrations at local stores and factories to demand that they provide jobs for the students.

No overcrowding, split sessions and many more schools; no shunting of black and Latin students into "vocational" schools that don't really train are also viable issues for struggle.

The schools are truly racist. The boards of education acting as arms of a racist society have established them as such. The administrations of each school foster this attitude and the

fight must be against them, not only an individual teacher as the article states; this only divides the teachers and turns the fight away from the more important real enemy.

One avenue open to involve other teachers in struggle and to try to make some changes in the school system is the teachers union. Fred completely overlooked or deliberately omitted it. It is the opinion of many that it is not worthwhile to become active in the union, however, its existence must be discussed. Many parents have very strong feelings concerning the union and the teachers role in it.

For all of the above reasons and because this is the only article written recently concerning the role of teachers in the school system, as a parent of children in the N.Y. public schools and because I consider myself a friend of PL, I am disappointed. The article leads me to the conclusion that Fred Jerome has not done his homework.—Sincerely, Mrs. N. Rubee

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## WHAT THE BOSSES LIKE--NATIONALISM

Some organizations put forward as a solution to the problems of black and brown people more black and brown mayors, cops, union officials, bosses, managers, foremen, judges, community control of the police and community control of the schools. That is, they see the problems as the skin color of the oppressor — rather than his function or role in serving capitalism. The so-called Communist Party has glorified black mayors, as in Cleveland and Newark, but we say, "are the black people in Cleveland and Newark suffering any less? Did Stokes act any different than a white mayor when he brought in the National Guard to shoot down black workers in the Hough district in 1968 or to attack striking teamsters this year?" Ask Jose Cara, beaten by Juan Morales; Latino community relations board copy in San Francisco's Mission District if it makes any difference what race the cop is.

"Washington loved his plantations, but he willingly left them to lead the American army during eight years of war. Many men are remembered for their part in the War for Independence, but George Washington is remembered above everyone else... His good sense and determination to win and the respect he received from his fellow patriots, made him the great hero that he is." Children are forced to learn this, memorize it, make Washington their hero under threat of discipline by the dean, principal, and cops.

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## Some added information

**C**ALIFORNIA — Hand in glove with the anti-working-class, racist manner in which America's schools are run goes the content of today's education. Poisonous lies are taught to our school-children instilling anti-communism firmly into their minds. In fact, anti-communism, along with racism, is the favorite subject of ruling class educators.

A brief survey of social science textbooks currently in use in public schools reveals a not too surprising fact: despite outward differences in tone and emphasis, all the books agree on the "fact" that communists are unscrupulous, self-seeking threats to freedom. Like the ruling class that publishes them, textbooks are all of one piece.

Perhaps the classic examples of the "hard-sell" technique are the many books of the ever-popular J. Edgar Hoover. His 1962 *Study of Communism* carries a boast on the inside cover by publishers Holt, Rinehart and Winston, that "the advantages of life in a democratic nation over that in a totalitarian state are clearly seen by students when shown in a point by point comparative chart outlining intrinsic differences." A sample from this chart:

**Communism** is dedicated, by ideology and practice, to complete domination of the world. Communism aims to destroy all other social orders and to communize the entire world.

**Freedom** is dedicated to peace and liberty for human beings to pursue many goals.

Hold it — isn't it supposed to be the communists who do the brain-washing?

The editors of *Scholastic Magazine* offer a book called *What You Should Know About Communism and Why*, that snowed considerable foresight back in 1962 by assuring that "the U.S. has promised to abide by its commitment to defend the freedom of South Vietnam."

On the subject of domestic communism, the authors report:

The U.S. communists had two big periods of growth and opportunity. One was during the great business

depression of the 1930's, when many factories closed down and millions of workers lost their jobs. Communists stirred up protest and discontent among the people who were out of work. (p. 113)

Pretty clever, those communists, to "stir up protest and discontent" among millions of hungry and angry men and women! However did they do it?

After the war, it appears that somehow "communists had control of some labor unions," but workers and the government teamed up to drive them out: "The union leaders and workers opposed to communists got help from the Taft-Hartley Labor Law passed in 1947."

The inevitable *Readers Digest* is also in the textbook market, with a 2-volume dose called *Communism: Menace to Freedom, and Freedom: America's Choice*. The first features articles by such "champions of liberty" as Hoover, Allen Dulles, and General Carlos Romulo of the Philippines; the second has a piece by millionaire George Romney entitled *Politics is for People — Not for the Bigs*, and another wistfully proclaiming, *We Need More Rugged Individualism*.

How many liberals there are who would scoff at the above-mentioned books, and even resist having their children fed them, but at the same time, look up with trust and respect to a "sophisticated" high school text like *American History* (Ginn, and Co., 1961) by professors Avery Craven and Walter Johnson. With typical liberal "moderation" the authors write, concerning Truman's 1947 purge of communist sympathizers from the government:

Some people felt that not enough had been done by the government in this area. Others criticized the loyalty program as an invasion of the civil liberties of government employees. Critics of the program agreed that disloyal people should be dismissed from government, but they felt that unpopular opinions should not be confused with disloyalty. (p. 641)

This passage teaches that two views concerning the witchhunt are permis-

sible: that the government should have been even more ruthless, or preferably, that the "disloyal people" should have been weeded out more cautiously. *Heads*: communists lose; *Tails*: the ruling class wins!

The so-called scholars also trot out the standard lies about Korea which one suspects went down easier in 1964 than they do today:

The Korean War was a true collective effort of many nations to stop aggression against a weak nation... this was cheering news to the nations of Asia, the Middle East and Europe that lay on the borders of Russia and China or in the vicinity of their satellites. (p. 656)

An ultra-liberal text just published by Silver Burdett Co. called *The Human Achievement — Culture Area Approach to World History*, by Petrovich and Curtin, provides interesting material for comparison with one of the hard-core tracts. On the subject of the Chinese revolution, *What You Should Know* tells tersely that "mainland China was overrun by the Chinese Communist armies in 1949... they gobbled up one region after another" (p. 123). Crude and stereotyped, of course. But here's how the sophisticated *Human Achievement* conveys the same impression of the Cultural Revolution:

Youths purged the universities of many teachers, destroyed old monuments, raided public buildings, and dragged officials through the streets in humiliating parades. Opposition to their actions caused riots in which many lost their lives. Chaos was everywhere. Schools were closed and factory production dropped. By 1968 Mao felt he had a firmer grip on the nation, and order was restored. (p. 762)

No class struggle, just a lot of rioting and a power play manipulation by an aging dictator.

The book's final chapter, piously called *UN: Hope for Global Peace*, follows the current trend in downplaying the line of the U.S. as the only hope of the world against communism, substituting the notion that "the world is not yet mature enough for a supranational government," because nations, and even

the U.S., isn't exempt, are still unwilling "to relinquish any of their sovereign rights" (p. 770). The world's problems aren't caused by capitalism and imperialism, rather by the "human," and hence classless, inability of nations to be "reasonable."

Some of the liberal texts like to mention in passing the theoretical attractiveness of communism only to sadly reveal how impossible it becomes whenever put into practice. Thus *Land of the Free*, by Caughey, et. al., (Benzeger Bros., 1966) tells:

The government was supposed to see to it that everyone received a fair share of the nation's wealth, regardless of his condition or occupation. Communism was much more idealistic than Mussolini's Fascism or Hitler's Nazism, but in fact Russia was a dictatorship and its dictator, Josef Stalin, was a brutal tyrant. (pp. 592-3)

The book also acknowledges that "some sacrifices in terms of civil liberties," have been paid by Americans in exchange for strong security against domestic subversion:

Such practices as security checks and political files narrow the freedom once understood to be guaranteed by the Bill of Rights. The courts would not permit such invasions except that the issue of national security is held to be overriding. In this area, at least, Americans have less protection in civil liberties than was true a generation ago. (p. 611)

Having built illusions about the *Constitution* and the courts, and hopefully having won credibility by being somewhat critical, the authors launch into a long glowing section on the civil rights movement, intended to show how in another area "civil liberties" have been vastly extended.

An interesting example of liberal anti-communism is found in a recently published text called *Eye-witness: The Negro in American History*, by William Katz (Pitman, 1967). The author gives special mention to the Korean War as a landmark on the road to equality for blacks: "Black and white men fought side by side on all fronts to stem the advance of the Korean and Chinese forces."

In summarizing the history of black participation in U.S. radical movements, Katz devotes one paragraph to the Communist Party, and quickly follows it up with five detailed paragraphs on Marcus Garvey's Back-to-Africa nationalist movement. In reference to the C.P.,

Katz explains that: "Negroes, pointed out some of their leaders, had enough trouble being black without being as well." He continues:

But during the acute economic distress of the depression such illustrious Negro figures as Robeson and Wright were among those who found Communism or socialism attractive. After many years of criticizing Communist tactics, William DuBois, at 93, joined the American Communist Party. A gesture of defiance, this action took place just before he left for Africa where he died two years later. (p. 399)

The racist implications of this passage are clear — those illustrious figures were easily taken in during all that acute distress. As for DuBois, he really knew better until he got old, and then only became a communist out of spite.

Our rulers follow the get-them-young principle they attribute to the communists. Fifth grade seems to have been chosen as the time to introduce the concept of communism as a simple evil — none of the fourth-grade history books checked mentioned the subject at all. Here's how Gertrude Brown's *Your Country and Mine* (Ginn and Co., 1951) broaches the subject to tender minds:

The people who run the Soviet Union call themselves Communists. The Communists in the Soviet Union wanted to seize other countries. Therefore, the Soviet Union did not want us to help other nations recover from the war. If such nations were weak it would be easier for the Communists to take them over.

The Americans knew what the Communists' way was. The Communists ruled people of their lands with an iron hand. They took away all freedom and made slaves of many people. Indeed, Communist-ruled people were not allowed to think for themselves. Knowing these things has made us more and more thankful for our free America.

Of course not only history and social studies books, but every kind of text used in the schools is anticommunist. A standard economics book, *Our American Economy* (Harcourt, 1959) was co-authored by Richard Lindholm, a Michigan State CIA-sponsored advisor to Vietnam in the 1950s. A typical passage from this book states:

As the leader of the free world, the U.S. must act to wind the friendship and support of the underdeveloped nations in our cold war struggles

with Communism. If we do not assist the economic growth of these nations, they may turn to the Communist bloc for aid. And still worse, such aid may lead to subversion and the establishment of Communist regimes in the underdeveloped nations. (pp. 480-1)

Prophetically, the warning concludes: "such a development would be a severe, perhaps fatal, defeat for the Free World."

As the struggle against the rotten conditions in our schools develops, so



N.Y.C. teachers protest firing of PLP'er who fought racism.

must the fight against the anti-communist content of American education. In order to make more and more people aware that it's not just the conditions children endure in school, but the very material they're fed — which is poisoning them — but not with the illusion that correct and useful ideas will ever be allowed by the rulers to be widely taught — they'll shut down every school in America first! Once people grasp the totality of the educational system they'll come to see the need to smash the ruling class that controls it, so that a decent system of education, run by the working class under socialism, can come into being.

—Peter Richter,  
Junior High School teacher

## How we teachers are "trained"

**O**HIO: What is education in American society? What is the role of public schools in this great "free democracy?" Is it, as we are all told from a very early age, to give everyone an equal chance to be educated free of charge? If so, then any child who fails, so the story goes, has only himself to blame, and not the system.

Only a short period of working in the public schools is required to see how phony this ruling class line is. Far from existing to benefit "everybody," the schools are a main weapon used to keep the people down.

I have been working as a teacher for about two years, but even after a brief time on the job my eyes were opened to a number of things which contradicted the ruling class line. I enrolled in a special program to do my student teaching and course work at the same time and after 20 weeks moved into a full load of teaching on a reduced salary scale. I was assigned to a school that was 90 percent black and ten percent Puerto Rican. I quickly found out that this and other ghetto schools were used heavily for training teachers.

Since all beginning teachers have problems in any school, children generally don't learn as much of the basic skills of reading, writing and arithmetic from them. The fact that ghetto schools are used heavily for the purpose of "training" teachers is just one instance of racism in the school system.

I was no exception and had as many problems as any other beginning teacher. However, I did not want to come down hard on my students but tried to find ways of relating to them better when I had discipline problems. One possibility seemed through extracurricular activities, a number of which existed already. Most were reserved for children who fit well into the system. Students who received good academic and cooperation grades obtained merits and were then ranked accordingly. Only those who ranked high enough were allowed to participate in outside activities.

A few of us teachers thought this

system bad and started a club to take students on trips, especially low-ranking students. We were discouraged by the administration which warned us we were making extra problems for ourselves by inviting "discipline problems."

This proved to be just another administration lie and we had several enjoyable trips with these children and, correspondingly better relations in the classroom.

Most youngsters, especially in their early teens, see things as they really are. If they feel oppressed by their situations — while recognizing most of the material they are forced to learn is either irrelevant or harmful — they will react in a rebellious way. This reaction naturally is directed against the immediate person in authority — the teacher. If a teacher acts — as we did — to lessen this oppression slightly, the students see that the teacher is not necessarily his enemy at all. Our experiment is, of course, in no way a solution to the evils of bourgeois education — for surely we don't want to encourage better submission by students to this rotten system. We did learn, however, how transparently false are the ruling class theories that "poor-performing" children are just "troublemakers," and how the ruling class uses this idea to build anti-working class attitudes in teachers.

At the end of the semester the principal gives evaluations to new teachers based on brief visits to each classroom. One reading teacher he visited was giving her class games to play which were specially designed to improve their reading abilities. He called her in and warned her "there were to be no games," that the children "should be totally silent with their hands clasped and listening to her every word — this was the way children learned the most."

Recently *Life* magazine resurrected yet again Prof. Jensen's racist theories that black children cannot conceptualize and this is the reason for the failure of compensatory programs in secondary schools. Well, we had one such "compensatory" program in our school. These are dear to the hearts of liberal ruling class educators for they are based on the theory that the students' homes are rotten, their

parents are stupid, but "we will do even more to help them overcome their handicaps in our great schools."

This program was supposed to give concentrated help to 7th graders having trouble with reading and arithmetic. Teachers were supposed to be actively involved in running the program, but it soon became clear that the principal had no intention of letting the program succeed. All teachers' views had to be made known to the principal through the program coordinator, who was then told by the principal how to run things. When the teachers became dissatisfied the principal consulted with them — one at a time! Some teachers then became afraid that too harsh criticism of the program would reflect on them personally. Their lack of unity, magnified by the principal's splitting tactics, effectively prevented the discontent from growing. Naturally, the program conveniently failed, adding fuel to racist theories that it was a hopeless task to teach those kids anything.

All the appointments the principal made for positions as department chairman and coordinator went to teachers who had been going along with his administration for years, he never consulted with the faculty — let alone the students! — to see who they thought would be best qualified.

My principal made no effort to get parents involved in the school so few or none knew exactly what was going on there. One black teacher who has been eager to get the parents involved is particularly outspoken about the state of my present school and thinks the solution lies in getting better administrators who look more to the needs of the children. The principal has repeatedly denied him the chance to get the administrative experience he needs to qualify for his administrator's credential. The point here is not that it would be a good thing if he became an administrator — but that the reason he can't is that he disagrees strongly with board policy. I have heard of other teachers who have become administrators and lost their jobs when they went against the board's decisions.

Bourgeois ideas crop in in the most "innocent" places in the schools. My school ran a special merit ceremony

for girls — they could earn the right to join the Silver Circle — which chose a girl-of-the-month in various areas such as dressing and grooming. Once a month they hold a ceremony in which a huge silver circle is erected

on stage, and the winners dress in special uniforms and file through the circle to have one of them elected princess! Corresponding programs exist for the boys in the form of guilds and squires.

It is clear to me now that, given the way the schools are run they are merely another way of confusing people, and teaching them no way out of their oppression. In fact, they are a very instrument of that oppression.

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**DEFEAT  
U.S.  
IMPERIALISM!**

**A P.L. Pamphlet**



**A**lthough the recent auto workers' strike in Canada and the U.S. against General Motors was lost—sold out—in “hard cash” terms, the seeds were sown for much greater gains in the future. No strike is a picnic, particularly against the world's largest manufacturing corporation. But precisely because of the *sharpness* of the class battle, certain lessons emerged which could greatly strengthen workers in both countries in struggles to come:

- The role of the union leadership in siding with the bosses was exposed as never before, convincingly enough to impel some real rank-and-file organization to lead workers in the future;

- The overwhelmingly positive reception given the revolutionary communist ideas of the Canadian Party of Labor (CPL) and the Progressive Labor Party (PLP)—and the fear of these ideas expressed by the UAW sellouts;

- The organizing of support from other workers—and from a worker-student alliance—which has been completely absent in the labor movement for 25 years;

- The power of aroused workers, united around a common cause, when that was able to surge forward despite the UAW's attempt to maintain iron-clad control;

- The beginnings of international unity as expressed in the joint support of the workers given by the CPL and the PLP and the worker and student forces they were able to marshal together.

\* \* \* \*

The 1970 strike against GM was a walkout that both sides expected and knew was coming. In fact, the company planned far ahead for it; it ended production of its 1970 models earlier than usual (also partly due to the general slump in sales) so it could begin production of a stockpile of 1971 models as far ahead of the Sept. 14 strike “deadline” as possible. With the angry mood of the workers, GM couldn't count on the UAW's ability to help it out by extending the deadline to allow a bigger stockpile.

The union did this in 1964 (the last time GM was struck nationally) when Reuther gave GM three extra weeks after the contract expiration date to store up a backlog of new cars, cushioning the strike's effect on the company.

The workers were in no mood to particularly “help out” GM. This was evident on the eve of the deadline when tens of thousands of workers “jumped the gun” and shut down the plants ahead of time. The workers were not only hurting in the pocketbook from the capitalist-caused inflation which was eating up their purchasing power while laying off tens of thousands; they were also mad because they had been robbed of \$100,000 an hour industry-wide from the ceiling put on their cost-of-living escalator clause in the 1967 contract. The combination of these factors, plus too small a wage increase, had left them with *less* real wages in 1970 than in 1967. And during those three years GM had grossed over *ten billion* dollars in profit.

But equally affecting many workers' consciousness was the tremendous speed-up being pushed on the assembly lines; the blatant racism directed by foremen and low-level supervisors against a higher percentage of black and Latin workers in the plants; and a general rebelliousness of a younger worker (nearly half of all auto workers are now under 30) who had not experienced the organizing struggles of the 1930's and early '40's, who felt frustrated by the complete alienation from their jobs, and who usually got the short end of the stick in layoffs, “choice” jobs, and assembly line pressure. Indeed, the auto companies were becoming increasingly worried over the significant increase in sabotage in the plants, which—without any rank-and-file organization of collective struggle—was the main way that the workers (especially the younger ones) were giving vent to their oppression and frustrations.

On top of all this was the somewhat less sophisticated ability of Reuther's successor as UAW president—Leonard “Roadblock” Woodcock—to keep the workers in line. This resulted in a string of some of the most glaring anti-working class state-

## **1970 Auto strike sows seeds for future rebellion**

ments ever uttered by a trade union official. (See box on later page).

At least 50,000 workers in both countries couldn't wait for the midnight expiration time. They jumped the gun as much as three days earlier (as happened in the big St. Therese plant near Montreal). Many who walked out on the last day of the old contract in the U.S. did so partially at the call of local union officials who, realizing the temper of the rank-and-file, wanted to show their "militance" to be in a better position to control the workers once the strike was on. Some of the events at the very beginning of the walkout indicated that mood very clearly (and intensified company and union efforts to maintain a "controlled" strike).

When the workers at the St. Therese plant saw GM shipping out new models on the huge auto carrier trailers, they went inside the plant on the Friday before the strike deadline and gave all the new

St. Therese, Quebec GM wildcatters stopped UAW from re-opening plant (see below).



cars a "working over," making them unmarketable. They then fanned out over Montreal to do the same job on the cars being transported to the showrooms, forcing the trailers to turn back, unable to deliver their loads.

The local UAW flunkies called a Sunday union meeting to try to jam through a vote to go back to work for all of Monday until the midnight strike deadline, but 200 workers planted themselves outside the company's gates the next day and kept the plant shut tight.

At Fremont, Calif. the last shift leaving at midnight felt impelled to stay around the plant, hold a rally and prevent any company bosses from leaving.

They literally seized the plant area, as this report from PLP's newspaper Challenge-Desafio indicates:

SAN JOSE—A rebellion broke out on Sept. 14 at the GM Fremont Plant as workers struck the world's largest corporation. Hatred of this billion dollar employer was so intense that workers attacked anything or anybody that came to the aid of the company—cops, firemen, guards, scabs, ambulances, garbage trucks. During a militant, shouting rally of about 1000 workers—black, white and Chicano; young and old; men and women—some workers spotted a truck carrying new cars trying to leave the plant. Five hundred workers dashed across the highway and forced the truck back inside the plant.

Then a garbage truck was halted trying to leave the plant. Workers pulled the garbage out and started a huge bonfire. When security guards and patrol guards tried to stop them, workers broke all their car windows and chased them out of the area.

A fire truck came to put out the fire. Three hundred workers stopped them dead in their tracks and forced them to return to Fremont.

Cops came immediately afterwards and were stoned by hundreds of workers.

Then another couple of squad cars and an ambulance tried to bull their way through the crowd. The ambulance hit a worker. It was a shambles in a minute, torn apart by a hundred workers. The driver was seen running toward Seattle.

Then another group of workers went over to the guard's shack, uprooted the traffic "stop" sign and threw it through the window of the shack at the guard. The guard started running toward Los Angeles. At this point the workers were claiming the whole area around the plant as their own. No more police dared to enter the area. Workers hung around hoping that the foremen would be stupid enough to leave the plant. When they hadn't by 3 a.m., the crowd left.

There was no question that the rank and file led the action where they wanted it to go. Their hatred for GM was so great that it couldn't be held back. Workers directed their power and feeling against the police as an arm of the bosses. And they refused to let the union flunkies divide them from any student supporters. Similar militancy erupted at the Southgate plant in

Los Angeles:

LOS ANGELES—"You forced us to work overtime; now *you* can wait awhile." That's what 300 striking workers at the GM Southgate plant here shouted at the night foreman and managers they surrounded in the management parking lot the night the national GM strike began. The militant singing and chanting pickets refused to allow the company men to leave.

*Then the union officials came over smiling*

and waving at some of the bosses, telling the workers, "This is 'so-and-so,' he's O.K.; let him through." But the workers held fast. When some of the bosses tried to escape out the side gate, a crowd of workers blocked it with mass picketing. And when the hated foreman of the trim department—Joe Brown—tried to get out, the strikers again moved in, chanting, "He stays! He stays!" They sang Solidarity Forever as Brown moved to other gates, only to be blocked once more. The workers held on for two hours until about two dozen cops drove up and, with the aid of the union "leaders," pushed the strikers out of the driveway and let all the company cars out. Everyone booed the cops and some of the Chicano workers shouted, "Who'd you kill in East L.A. lately?"

The union officials didn't want any mass picket lines but the workers seized the opportunity to "get back" at the company. By letting some of the bosses out right away and keeping others in, the union flunkies tried to make out as if there are "good" bosses and "bad" bosses. One black worker got real mad at this shouting, "Look, a boss is a boss! We're fighting all of management. We shouldn't let anyone out."

Such outbreaks of rank-and-file action put GM, and especially their lieutenants in the UAW leadership, on guard. The union bosses had long since sold their principles to the company in exchange for a cozy relationship that involved no class struggle, no threats to their fat salaries and expense accounts (or cushy jobs with the company, in the case of lower-level local officials and committeemen). The UAW leaders developed a "strategy" and tactics that clearly revealed them as being *against* the workers, *on the side of the company*. What they did could become a classic study in how *not* to win a strike.

Woodcock laid the basis for the union's pro-company position before the strike even began. In August he made the statement that "high wages" were a "cause" of inflation, that he would fight "too big" a settlement (!), despite even government figures showing bosses' price increases—and profits—so far outdistancing wages that workers were steadily *losing* ground in real wage terms. Then, on the eve of the walkout, he said that it was "important" that the U.S. auto industry not "suffer" in its competition with foreign cars, especially the new small cars that GM, Ford and Chrysler had coming off this year's assembly lines. So all three companies could not be struck at once, since this would give "foreigners" too big of a competitive advantage. U.S. and Canadian workers had to "help the companies stay healthy."(!) This was all part of a plan to "save the (bosses') nation and screw the workers."

This meant that under no conditions could the UAW go all out in striking GM but had to "soften the blow" as much as possible. About the farthest

thing from Woodcock's mind was unity with British, French, Italian, Argentinian or Japanese auto workers, many of whom were in constant battles, wild-cat strikes, burning down plants, etc. against the exact same *international* enemy as U.S. and Canadian workers. This was absolute boss nationalist ideology carried to its limits, as clearly revealed by the tactics flowing from such a sellout "strategy."

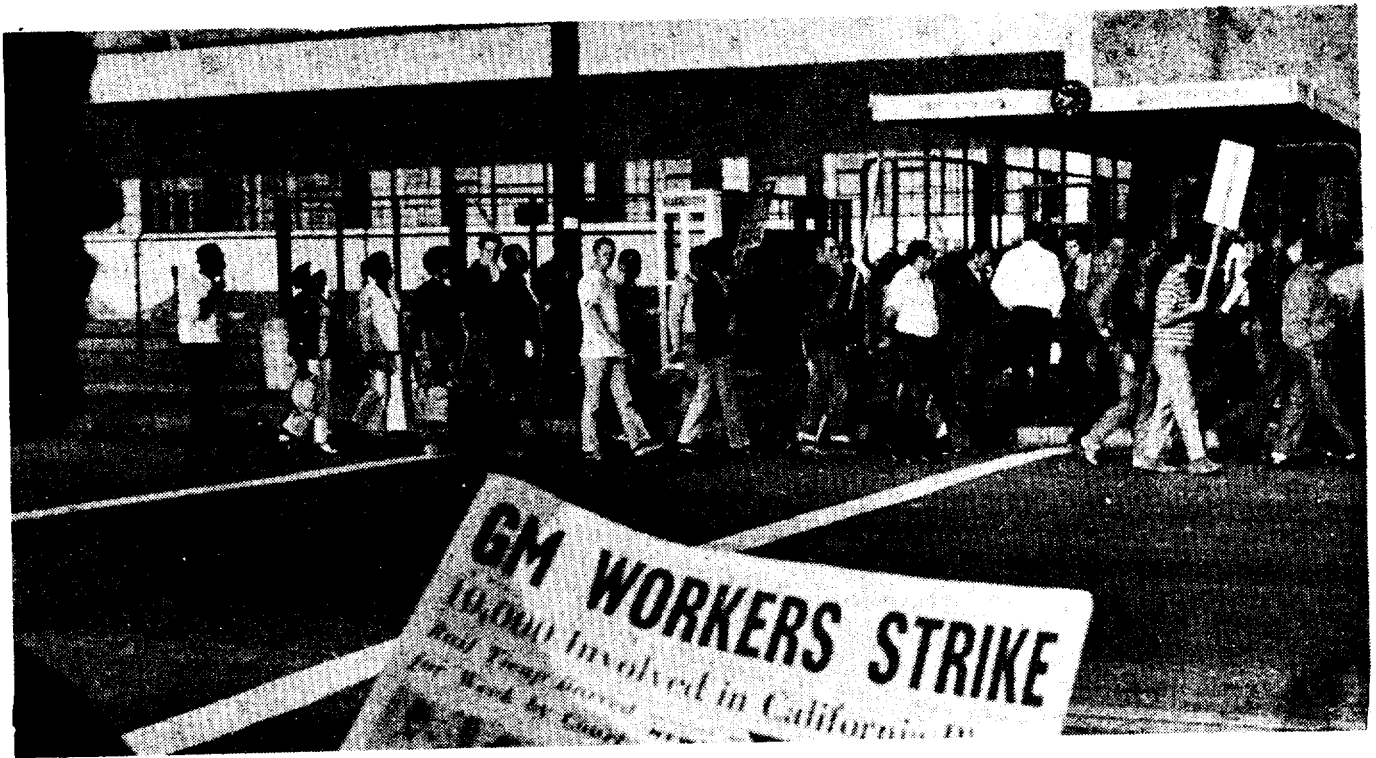
First of all, workers' demands had to be "scaled down" and virtually kept secret from the rank and file.

Second, to maintain "our" bosses' competitive position, Ford and Chrysler had to be producing, especially the Ford Pinto, that company's entry in the small car race. To do that, GM plants which produced parts for Ford and Chrysler had to be kept open. So the ludicrous situation developed in which most GM workers were on strike while a considerable number of others worked on parts for the rest of the industry, thereby making profit for GM which could be used to *strengthen* the company in its battle with all GM workers! This was a "strategy" that was supposed to put the "pressure" on GM to settle, since they would also be "losing out" to Ford and Chrysler. Of course, Woodcock never bothered to answer the question, if GM was so concerned about "losing" to their competitors, why didn't they simply shut their parts plants and thereby force Ford and Chrysler to close also? While bosses *do* compete with each other, when it comes to fighting workers, a "higher law" comes into play—bosses' unity against the working class.

Thirdly, to maintain this "helpful" position, the workers' militancy and unity definitely had to be curbed. Therefore, there would be no mass meetings in which workers could *get together*; doling out strike benefits would be as staggered as possible so workers wouldn't collect in too large a number at any one time. Mass picketing was definitely *out*—too "revolutionary" Woodcock told a Harvard audience. It reached the ultimate point of GM Southgate plant workers being forced to circulate a petition among the rank and file to have the union local call a union meeting!

Fourthly, there would be no interference with the company's other routines. Office workers could enter the plants, as well as maintenance workers, foremen, drivers transporting new models already finished, and GM employees installing new, automated equipment that could squeeze out even more workers once the strike was over. Everyone had "passes" O.K.'d by the UAW to keep GM as "healthy" as possible while the sham negotiations proceeded. (The word was out that there had to be a strike if UAW was to continue to control the workers. It would allow the union "leaders" to come to the strikers after a period of time with a "dressed up" contract that the hardships of a two or three-month walkout plus lack of rank-and-file organization would impel them to accept.)

Finally, there was definitely no appeal to the rest



of the working class—vitaly affected by a strike and settlement in this key manufacturing industry—to come to the aid of the auto workers. And when “outside” workers did attempt, on their own, to try to help the strikers, the UAW became hysterical in its attempts to stop any such movement and isolate the strikers from other workers and student supporters. As will be seen, at one point this became virtually the main role of local and regional flunkies: to attack anyone who supported the strike!

In the face of this gigantic betrayal by Woodcock and his pals, the rank and file—unorganized and divided local from local—broke through in a number of places to try to put the screws on GM. When the UAW asked Local 160 to keep the GM Tech building in Warren, Michigan open—where GM allegedly did “anti-pollution” and “safety” research—they voted down this “helpful tactic” overwhelmingly, surrounded the place and shut it tight. (The workers knew first-hand all about GM’s “concern” for safety and “fighting pollution” from its *complete disregard* for it in the plants where an increasing number of workers were being injured and maimed from speed-up and sheer company negligence.)

When Irving Bluestone, the chief UAW negotiator, proposed to the local that 306 of its members be allowed to return to work, he said, “The image of the UAW will suffer if we don’t move with the company on these projects.” *The local members booed him when he urged discussions with local management.* They questioned GM’s “dedication” to anti-pollution and safety devices. “Go and get some guts, Irving,” a worker jeered. *Not a single voice was raised in favor of allowing the 306 to return to work.*

The workers became increasingly fed up with the union policy of “passes” allowing GM virtually free access into the plants. In the 10,000-worker Oshawa, Ontario local, the wives of the workers organized 500 women to shut the plant tight, barring anyone from entering or leaving. Strikers at the St. Therese plant did the same thing, several times. Attempts to do it at the Fleetwood plant in Detroit were scaled down by the local officials.

Perhaps the biggest opposition to UAW policy by the rank and file came as a reaction to support from “outside.” PLP, CPL, SDS, and workers and students close to them organized a modest amount of backing for the strike throughout the U.S. and Canada. Marches through San Jose, Chicago, Minneapolis, Boston, New York and other cities to GM dealerships were organized. On Oct. 12 PLP held a national demonstration against the dealers in 19 cities simultaneously.

In a number of cities dealers were forced to close on individual days, fearing the wrath of the demonstrators against GM might “spill over” onto their new cars in the showrooms. Auto workers themselves joined several of these marches, which they felt could hurt GM’s profits by slowing the sale of new models. They saw it as one way of hitting back at the company despite the UAW’s collaborationist role.

But the real attack against the workers and their supporters by the union flunkies came when the support came directly to the plant gates or union halls. Wherever communists and their worker- and student-supporters sold *Challenge-Desafio* or the *Canadian Worker*, or gave out flyers published jointly by the two parties in both countries, the UAW



became nigh hysterical. They called the cops, brought out goons to harass, attack and arrest the supporters, and lied about them to the press and TV (who naturally, being on GM's side, cooperated fully).

On those occasions where food had been collected to distribute to the strikers, the local UAW officials invariably tried to sabotage this support. In Fremont, Calif. they told the workers the PLP was collecting food in the workers' name, only to use it themselves. When the workers saw through that, PLP was accused of "poisoning" the food with "LSD." But militant strikers exposed the UAW lies and workers came in droves out of the union hall to receive the food and thank the people who brought it.

In the Boston area, welfare mothers and GM strikers joined to organize a committee to support the workers and inform them of their right to obtain welfare. The union officials at the hall in Framingham, Mass. told the mothers they were "not welcome" there, but the rank and file said the opposite, receiving them warmly.

In many cities—San Jose, Oakland, Oshawa, Los Angeles, Boston-Framingham, Detroit, Chicago—Boycott-GM or Strike Support Committees were formed to collect food and money for the strikers and publicize the importance of the strike to the area's working class. In all cases these groups were opposed by the UAW but greeted heartily by the rank-and-file strikers. But the clincher was the political conversations that many of the supporters from PLP and CPL had with the workers, and the ideas printed in their leaflets and newspapers.

The union "leaders" were *most* fearful of any strikers learning about communist ideas and communists. It was this that they went to the greatest lengths to stop. They became so wrought up over it that they gave far more credit to PLP than was warranted. However, the officials' antics also caused *more* workers to become interested in, and defend, PLP, CPL and SDS.

After the initial rank-and-file-organized rebellion at the Fremont plant and the mass picketing at the Los Angeles Southgate plant, Paul Schrade—head of the UAW Region in California—came to a hastily-called union meeting at the Southgate plant. He accused "outside agitators" of "fomenting" the rebellion at Fremont. And he said the workers would have followed the union's "lead" at Southgate and never would have done what they did (bar GM bosses from leaving the area with a mass picket line) if it hadn't been for PLP "agitation." He said PLP was "anti-union" and "anti-American." Since most workers knew the truth—that they themselves had organized these actions (both of which were tactics supported by PLP)—the UAW leadership became further exposed as liars and for trying to paint the rank and file as a bunch of sheep.

In Canada, the UAW officials went on TV to "warn" the workers that the "communists were

coming." But the workers reacted overwhelmingly positively to these "warnings," receiving the CPL'ers and their friends warmly.

When the first strike ratification meeting was held at Fremont, Schrade also arrived there to try to jam through the sellout. When he again attacked PLP as "trouble-makers" for exposing the betrayal in a leaflet, he was greeted with a barrage of boos by the workers. Schrade got mad and charged PLP with trying to "stir up trouble." At that one worker yelled, "There's more in their leaflet than in what you said." Schrade persisted in attacking PLP, asking "What did they ever do to help you?" "Brought us food," retorted the members. At that point Schrade gave up and changed the subject.

One of the most significant of the communist ideas that was feared by the leadership but welcomed by the strikers was the call for international unity between workers in Canada and the U.S. The concrete expression of this came in two ways: 1) the distribution of flyers published jointly by the PLP and the CPL, which cited the necessity for such unity, both well-received by the workers; and 2) a joint distribution of food in Windsor, Canada by PLP'ers and SDS'ers from Detroit and the CPL, which the workers applauded enthusiastically. In the U.S., PLP constantly pointed out the need to support GM workers in Canada, both to strengthen the workers in the U.S. against a weakened GM and also as an act of international solidarity with brother and sister workers fighting the same international class enemy.

Both the PLP and the CPL became associated with those ideas that were in the best class interests of the strikers—directly opposed to the sellout and class collaborationist policies of the UAW leadership—resulting in many new contacts for both parties among auto workers.

One of the highlights of "outside" support for the strikers was the SDS-organized demonstrations on Nov. 3 in Detroit and San Jose in which 2,600 workers and students participated. A Chicago steelworker addressing the 2,000 in Detroit was visibly affected by the action as he said, "Once in a film I saw the trembling hands of a mother as she welcomed her son home from Vietnam. My hands trembled in the same way today when I saw all those people marching. This was the greatest pro-working-class demonstration this country has had in forty years."

The march and rally was organized to answer the ruling class's election gambit, as it tried to hoodwink students into working for "their favorite candidate" by giving them two weeks off just before election day. But these students from all over the U.S. and Canada, as well as the workers themselves, responded much more to the slogan: "Elections are a pack of lies; don't vote—organize!"

The rulers' fear of this kind of support for the auto strike—and its implications of working-class unity, of worker-student alliances, of international-

ism—led them into all kinds of gyrations to destroy it. Throughout the preceding week the mayor of Detroit, the governor of Michigan and their boss Henry Ford all appeared on TV to urge GM strikers to “stay away” from SDS and PLP. They were joined by their lieutenant Woodcock who said the UAW wanted “nothing to do” with the demonstration. That kind of line-up against the action was about the best recommendation it could get, and workers all over Detroit and its suburbs received the demonstrators warmly as they fanned out to distribute food, leaflets and sell Challenge-Desafio. Many workers housed them and helped organize the plant gate distributions.

While PLP, SDS and CPL and their friends were organizing this kind of support for the strikers, the labor movements’ “leadership” was doing absolutely nothing and the UAW officials were trying to keep the rebellious workers in tow and away from radicals and communists. While the amount of support in material terms certainly was not near the *quantity* needed to sustain the strikers over a long haul—the whole working class would have had to have been organized for that—the *quality* of the support and the ideas put forward was making the union and the company nervous. Especially was this true in Canada where the contract agreement was to be even worse than the one in the U.S. GM figured that if the walkout went on too much longer, into January, it might lose a decisive amount of ’71 model-buyers. And the effects of the strike were being felt throughout an already slumping economy—in steel, rubber, small parts manufacturers, etc. So now was the time for the company and its “helpmates” in the UAW to get together and end this strike that could become far more explosive than it had been.

The usual circus of “round-the-clock” negotiations took place and a “tentative settlement” was announced that “both sides could live with”; and “Roadblock” Woodcock announced it was the “best GM contract ever.” It was so “good” that this flunky for the ruling class walked out on newsmen questioning him about *why* it was the “best.” In actual fact the settlement was a *complete sellout* (see box this page). Woodcock and his cronies knew it and therefore launched a campaign to jam favorable votes through key locals around the U.S. and Canada.

Most workers’ immediate reaction was rejection. So the UAW officials engaged in a variety of tactics to get a “yes” vote on record. They called ratification meetings without notifying the bulk of the members so only the machine and others they could control knew about it. In some cases they droned on for so long that workers got disgusted and walked out of the meetings. In other locals they held “secret ballots,” workers voting on their way out of the meeting, so the votes were “counted” by the officials after the workers were gone, and a “yes” vote was “announced” later. In still other cases they held meetings far away from areas where many

of the workers lived, especially black workers who were among the most militant, so there wouldn’t be too much vocal opposition at the meetings themselves.

In general, they developed an atmosphere among the strikers—who were *not* organized into any committees or militant caucuses of opposition—that no matter what the rank and file said, this contract was

## UAW CONTRACT “GAINS”

When is a wage increase *not* a wage increase? When it’s negotiated by UAW sellouts, that’s when.

Roadblock Woodcock has been ballyhooping that “this is the best GM contract ever.” Yes, “best”—for GM.

In the U.S. they claim there’s a 49¢ to 51¢ hourly increase in the first year of the new contract. BUT—26¢ of that is to make up for *some* of the robbery in the last contract’s cost-of-living clause, money that *GM workers should have been getting over the past three years*. And another 5¢ is to cover the period from Sept. 14 to December. That leaves 18¢ to 20¢ in the first year. BUT—*there will be no cost-of-living adjustment until Dec. 5, 1971, a full year away*. So the remaining 18¢ to 20¢ will not even cover the expected rise in the cost of living over these 12 months!

If this 49¢ to 51¢ doesn’t even cover the jump in the cost of living from 1967 to 1971, there’s obviously no money allotted for any *real wage increase*. In fact, with taxes eating up at least 12¢ to 13¢ of this “increase” before workers even get their paycheck, we’ll be far *behind* when it’s all over.

And Canadian workers will get *still less*, because the 26¢ cost-of-living “adjustment” becomes 11¢ in Canada when “translated” into Canadian figures—more highway robbery.

Besides this sleight-of-hand, the pension becomes “58 and out”—not 30 years service and out (if one can last 30 years in any auto plant by the time 58 rolls around); the “high priority” dental plan dropped; compulsory overtime retained (work till you drop); and nothing said about the racism against black and Latin workers which saturates GM plants in the U.S. and against French-speaking workers in Canada.

signed, sealed and delivered and there was nothing they could do about it. So a major weakness of the walkout—the absence of any rank-and-file organization to counter the sellout leaders—had its most telling effect at this point.

Despite these steamroller tactics, many locals gave the union a real hard time, to such an extent

that the national UAW had to threaten to take over certain key locals—in Mansfield, Ohio and in Michigan—if they didn't ratify the sellout. In many places two and three votes had to be taken before the requested "yes" vote could be "certified." Examples of the more militant reactions at the ratification meetings occurred at Clark, N.J., Oshawa, Ontario and Framingham, Mass.

CLARK, N.J.—UAW Local 736 officials barely escaped with their skins under the wrath of an aroused rank and file who left no doubt about where it stood on this blatant betrayal of their demands for decent wages and working conditions. The local "represents" workers at GM's Hyatt bearings plant here.

This was one of the plants UAW kept open for GM during the strike to supply parts to Ford and Chrysler and help GM make some profits with which to fight the workers! The workers had wanted to strike, but instead half were laid off in the early weeks without SUB pay (supplemental unemployment benefits) and with GM blocking any unemployment insurance payments. The workers still on the job were pressured even more. So that's where tempers stood as they came to the ratification meeting.

The national, regional and local UAW misleaders pulled every trick in the book to force a "yes" vote. The meeting was held in an all-white area, a good ways from where the majority of the militant black workers live. No identification was required when voting and workers were pressed to cast ballots *before* going inside to discuss terms of the agreement! The "announced" secret ballot was allegedly 2 to 1 in favor—but, as it developed, this "count" was directly counter to the sentiment of the meeting.

When the UAW flunkies tried to sell the contract as "the best that could be gotten," they were shouted into silence. Workers charged that most of the meager "gains" would not take effect for a year or two, bringing up points in a PLP leaflet distributed at the meeting showing that over half of the first year wage "increase" was already owed from the old contract.

Then the workers kicked out a photographer from the Elizabeth, N.J. *Daily Journal* whose bosses' newspaper had slandered the strike and defended GM.

Finally, they got so fed up that a motion was put on the floor to *strike the Hyatt plant immediately*. The workers hailed the idea. When the Local president ruled it "out of order" and a Detroit fink said it "wouldn't be smart to strike just before the holidays," they were angrily shouted down with yells such as, "*Just because they bought you off doesn't mean you can buy us off!*"

Then a militant group of workers gathered right under the noses of the assembled mis-

leaders. The cops who had come to arrest the CHALLENGE sellers ran down to protect the union sellouts. Almost immediately the whole hall of workers rose up and *demand*ed that the cops leave. They slinked out through a side door amid thunderous applause!

And in Canada this was how the workers reacted (Challenge-Desafio, Jan. 4):

When time came to vote on the final "agreement," 7,000 Oshawa workers showed up. It was here that McDermott, UAW errand boy in Canada, whined about the "long, hard fight" and workers shot back, "How would you know?" In the hockey arena where the meeting was held the bureaucrats sat on the rostrum, but the workers refused to sit in the seats on the floor directly in front of them; they kept a separation between themselves and the flunkies by crowding into the bleachers. From that vantage point they began chanting "Sellout! Sellout!" as McDermott droned on in an attempt to talk them to death. There was constant booing and hooting as he attempted to "explain" the "promise" of parity with U.S. wages, "by next year."

As national TV cameras scanned the angry workers, they held up copies of the CPL paper, *Canadian Worker* and of the *DUMP THE SELLOUT!* flyer published jointly by the CPL and the Progressive Labor Party, their answer to the lousy contract. Meanwhile, they eagerly helped distribute hams collected and given out by members and friends of the CPL. Finally, over 3,000 walked out in disgust before a vote was even taken. It was "announced" that a "majority" of the remaining 3,800 had "approved" the settlement.

The reaction at Framingham also typified the effects of the leadership's tactics in developing disgust and hopelessness, even as the workers ripped into the officials:

"The union leadership used every trick in the bag to get their contract 'approved by the membership,'" declared one member of UAW Local 422 about the union meeting called to ratify the contract. All over the country GM workers are saying their "leaders" sold them down the river, and Local 422 was a perfect example, with the international flunky virtually being booed out of the hall and a majority of the workers walking out of the place even before the vote took place.

"They didn't let anyone know the terms of the contract before the meeting that was supposed to vote on it," the GM striker continued. "They didn't even tell us when the meeting was. We all had to call the union hall or hear about it by word of mouth. In the meeting Ted Barrett, the international representative, got up. His job was to sell us on that lousy contract, and that's what he tried to do in a big speech full of double-talk. He tried to convince us that he was on our side



Unemployed GM-Hyatt workers picketed UAW over GM robbery of \$1 million layoff pay.

by saying, 'However, if this were the last contract I wouldn't recommend buying it.' What a phony line! *He could say that every three years.* In fact, in '67 he gave us a big spiel telling us why we should accept *that* contract.

"Then he was asked what the wage increase amounted to in dollars and cents. This phony claimed we were getting a \$1.80 an hr. raise in the package.' When he was really pinned down, he had to admit that the wage increase (excluding fringe benefits that we often don't see anyway) amounted to about 20c, because we were owed so much from the last contract in which the cost-of-living escalator was limited. At this point Barrett was practically booed off the stage.

"Finally, he said that a majority of the international union was approving the contract (probably because of the same tricks that were pulled here in Framingham with you-know-who counting the votes). It was clear then that the UAW leaders intended to cram the contract down our throats, *no matter how we voted.* There was a lot of commotion and a sizable majority of the guys walked out of the meeting in disgust. Some of us hung around to vote against the contract, but *we knew our votes wouldn't matter.*

The over-all effect of the strike and settlement was to send the workers back into the plants in a potentially much more explosive state. Wildcats occurred almost immediately at Ford and Chrysler in both the U.S. and Canada. (At this writing Ford has "accepted" the settlement and "negotiations" are proceeding at Chrysler.)

The GM strike showed—both by positive and negative example—what must be done to win victories for

auto workers, as well as all workers: militant tactics such as mass picketing, rank-and-file control of organization, unity of action, support from the whole working class. But most important, there must be *a fight to smash racism and anti-communism.*

*The special exploitation of black, Latin and French-speaking workers in lousier, lower-paying jobs not only makes super-profits for the bosses; it divides the working class, weakening us for the fight that has to be made to defend our class interests. And it robs us of the special militant leadership that can be given by the specially oppressed black, Latin and French-speaking workers.*

Racism is the biggest part of the bosses' ideas that are shoved on workers. All the bosses' ideas combined add up to *capitalist ideology—directly opposed to communist ideas of workers' power, unity of the working class, serving the people and smashing the bosses' government. When communists support working class battles like the GM strike, it's not only because workers need more dough and better conditions, both very important.* It's also because communists understand that each battle against a boss—especially one against the biggest boss of them all, GM—is one more struggle in which the lesson can be learned of *how to get rid of bosses altogether.*

That's why the bosses, their government and their junior partners-in-crime in the UAW are so deathly afraid of communists and their ideas, and go to all lengths to smear them, as they have done in this strike. While they feel they can handle any force that operates *within* the capitalist system's "ground rules," they get hysterical when a force—especially of workers—emerges in a communist party like the

## Roadblock Woodcock's maxims

As classic an example of class collaboration came out of the mouth of "Roadblock" Woodcock's mouth before and during the GM strike:

### *Wages And Depression:*

He "was concerned that constantly escalating wage increases could bring on a major depression in this country."

### *Local vs. National Demands:*

Crying to a Harvard big-wig audience Oct. 16 about his difficulties in stopping the strike: "The main problem, which few people understand, and *I wish I didn't understand it*, is that of local demands which have to be met before national negotiations can begin." He called for a return to the '67 style, where "leaders" sent the workers back without pressing local de-

mands on speed-up and working conditions.

### *Internationalism:*

"A concurrent 'problem' is that of a simultaneous strike in Canada." (At Harvard)

### *The Cause of Bad Working Conditions:*

Admitting that visitors from Volkswagon had been appalled by U.S. plant conditions, he declared that, "We Americans are a filthy people, admit it." (At Harvard)

### *Mass Picketing:*

"We don't need mass pickets. This isn't a revolution; this isn't romanticism; this is a simple strike." (At Harvard)

### *On Winning:*

"We are not out to teach GM a lesson or inflict a defeat. We are simply seeking a settlement with fairness and honor on both sides."

Canadian Party of Labor and the Progressive Labor Party that goes *beyond* the system with the goal of a workers' government and a worker-controlled society.

The CPL and the PLP believe rank-and-file workers will have to organize *against* the union leadership to really be able to fight the companies. In some auto locals, rank-and-file committees have started during the strike and have made more of a fight of it. More of them can be formed. Now is a good time for militant workers and revolutionaries to take the initiative and *turn the sellout around!*

This strike has proven the need for a revolutionary working-class party. Once there are groups of workers in every plant who are members of the CPL and PLP, guided by the workers' ideology of Marxism-Leninism, there will be a fighting *core*

that *will not be turned around*. There will *always* be sellouts until workers develop communist leaders of their own. Once this happens, then all workers' battles, especially the big ones like this auto strike, can become part of a mighty revolutionary wave that must smash the bosses' government and their control over the mines, mills, factories and offices and sweep them into the dust of history, *ending the profit system forever*.

This is our ultimate goal—communism. We believe it is part of that goal to fight here and now against the kind of GM exploitation and UAW treachery we have seen before and during this strike.

Dump the sellout! Unite all workers! Smash racism and anti-communism! Build the workers' revolutionary parties, the Canadian Party of Labor and the PLP.

## U.S. Bosses Out to Get Us:

# DON'T BE A SUCKER!

**T**HIS YEAR, WITH THEIR EMPIRE CRUMBLING and their big business system coming apart at the seams, the big shots who own and run this country, the monopoly capitalists, bankers and their union official henchmen and politician puppets — the U.S. ruling class — is launching a new ruthless attack on the working people of the world in a desperate effort to hold power. In this attack their main weapon is racism.

The U.S. ruling class is scared.

\*Their *war on poverty* is a bust — prices, taxes and unemployment have all reached new heights and most working people in this country are hanging on by the thin string of ever-increasing installment debts.

\*Their war in Vietnam has been exposed as a war against working people, a war nobody except the ruling class wants, a war which is *winning* only higher prices, higher taxes and higher casualty lists.

That's why the ruling class is working overtime to stir up a new war — a race war. If the bosses could accomplish this, they could kill a few birds with one stone.

Black and white workers fighting each other would cover up the real enemy: the bosses and their government. Race war would divert workers from the real problems which force increased strike actions just to keep heads above water. It would also divert the growing opposition to the war in Vietnam, a war being fought by working class youth. *Race war would turn many white workers into triggermen for the millionaire mob*, it would make it easy for the bosses to beat back action by any section of the working people.

### WORKERS SHOULD FIGHT ONLY CLASS WAR

While the U.S. rulers try to incite race war, they try to make us forget the class war between working people and bosses. The ruling class is more scared this year than ever before *because the class war is getting sharper*.

This year is witnessing more key strikes by U.S. workers than any since 1946. More and more of these strikes are being led by rank-and-file workers — black and white — against the sellout union officials, the government and the big companies!

\*The militant nationwide wildcat strike of postal

workers — with black workers in the lead — showed that a united rank-and-file *can* stand up to bosses, union misleaders and even government troops.

\*Wildcatting teamsters in Ohio and California stood up to sellout *misleaders* and the National Guard as well as profit-grabbing companies.

\*Strikes by mostly black and brown sanitation workers, beginning in Memphis, Tenn., two years ago, are spreading throughout the country, especially the South — Jackson, Atlanta, and Albuquerque are three of the latest examples — again in the face of police terror and union-hack betrayals. Among other strikes: national General Electric strike of 150,000 workers; national postal workers' wildcat, 250,000 workers; telephone worker wildcat strikes in New York, Chicago, San Francisco, Detroit and the South; sanitation and city workers' strike in Atlanta; national airlines mechanics and ramp-clerical workers; railroad wildcat strikes, Cleveland, Los Angeles and 13 other cities; Los Angeles teachers; San Francisco general strike of city workers; hospital organizing strikes in South Carolina, Baltimore, Pittsburgh and other cities; campus worker strikes on numerous college campuses; meat-packing strike in Iowa and other Plains states; Goodyear Rubber workers' strike; national teamster wildcat strike in Chicago, Los Angeles, Cleveland and other cities; New York City garment wildcat strikes; printing workers in San Raphael, California, Baltimore, and New York City; wildcat strike of mainly black construction workers in Florida; wildcat strikes throughout the auto industry — Flint, Mich., Detroit, Mahwah, N.J., Tarrytown, N.Y., San Jose, Calif. and other cities; American Motors strike in Wisconsin; national General Motors strike, etc.

At the same time, rebellion against the ruling class and their local lackeys is sweeping the schools, the black communities and even the armed forces.

While all this is going on at home, working people around the world are fighting harder than ever against the same bosses. The politicians in Washington, controlled by big monopolies like GM, Ford, U.S. Steel, GE, duPont, the banks, utilities, airlines, railroads and truckers need to protect their investments in other countries when workers and poor people fight for their rights and freedom there. It's the same strikebreaking, wagefreezing, bossbacked

government that is waging war against the people of Southeast Asia and the Middle East. They don't care how many working class boys die so long as they can still make a buck. Killing and strikebreaking is the bosses' best business because it keeps them in power to make more money. And as long as we workers do the fighting for them, it's all their gravy. They make suckers and corpses out of us to defend their interests and profits.

But the U.S. boss class is having its problems around the world, too:

\*The working people of Southeast Asia and the Middle East are fighting back harder than ever against the U.S. war machine;

\*Rank-and-file workers around the world are striking against their bosses, who are backed by U.S. bosses, their local union sellout leaderships and in some cases against government troops in their countries as well. Copper workers in Chile, auto workers in Italy, postal workers in Canada, and dock workers in England, are among the most recent examples.

\*Add to this picture of a crumbling empire the massive strike by U.S. and Canadian auto workers, the rulers' basic profit-making industry, not to mention almost certain strikes in the key communications and steel industries next spring. We can see why the U.S. ruling class is so scared. Almost one-third of the workers in the United Auto Workers are black and brown. If the rank-and-file take matters into their own hands to fight over the heads of the company-kissing union officials, they can set the ruling class back on their axles, but good. But to do this, black and white rank-and-file unity will be essential. Racism must be fought.

## LET'S NOT BE SUCKERS

Now they want us to be big suckers. They want the working class in a race war here at home.

It's no accident that the boss-controlled newspapers, radio, TV and magazines have suddenly stepped up their racist brainwashing propaganda. In June and July of 1970, papers and magazines all over the country ran stories about stereotyped black gangs terrorizing the white community — just a few examples:

\*"Roving bands" of "black teenagers celebrated the last day of school by going on a rampage... attacked all whites..." (*S.F. Chronicle*, June 13, 1970).

\*A black "political revolutionary group"... captured... "which planned to skill police officers," headline, *Detroit Free Press*, June 29, 1970).

\*"Violent Black Minority," title, *N.Y. Times Magazine* story, May 24, 1970.

\*"Silent Majority committee... opposes black militants and revolutionaries..." *Chicago Tribune*, July 8, 1970.

But you can see how this racist propaganda works even more clearly in recent articles put out by the big magazines in this country:

Millions of Americans in 1970 are gripped by an anxiety that is not caused by war, inflation or recession... across the U.S. the universal fear of violent crime and vicious strangers — armed robbers, packs of muggers, addict burglars ready to trade life for heroin... is a constant companion of the

populace, "Police Prepare for Long Hot Summer," *Time* July 20, 1970.

*Time* is telling us not to worry about prices or taxes or war, just worry about law and order and *Time* makes it very clear that they are talking about black people.

... in some plants men are carrying guns and knives... tensions build toward the danger point as the blacks begin to gain parity in the work force. Thus factories are relatively calm in much of the South where few blacks are employed by the big companies...

... 200 black inmates of Long Binh Jail (in Vietnam) donned white kerchiefs and African style robes made from army blankets and went on a rampage that left one white inmate dead, scores injured and the stockade in shambles...

In these two lengthy articles, *Newsweek* pretends to give an impartial account of growing racial tensions in factories and in the army, but actually does its best to stir up just those tensions. *Newsweek* ignores the growing rank-and-file rebellions in the factories and the army against the big brass class, a rebellion of both black and white workers and GI's, and instead tries to divert that class war into a race war. Racial tensions do, of course, exist but the role of the press is to play them up and thereby try to increase them.

## LIFE MAGAZINE'S "MEIN KAMPF"

Just like Hitler and his nazi ruling class had their master race theory, so the U.S. rulers are developing theirs. Nowhere is this spelled out quite so clearly as in *Life* magazine's June 12, 1970 article on Prof. Arthur Jensen and his justification of white supremacy:

Jensen is in effect saying that if his studies could only show blacks that their lower IQ scores are a product of genetics they would stop complaining about imagined insults and alleged discrimination — or at least that they should.

Shockley [another racist professor who supports Jensen — Ed.] asserts, the need to insure that the nation's 'gene pool' is not polluted by the uncontrolled reproduction of inferior genetic stock.

The ideal experiment, Jensen says, would be to take a fertilized black ovum, both parents Negro, implant it into a white mother... or, if possible... it's a conceptual experiment... transplant the brain of a kid, do a brain transplant from white to black and black to white...

I hope people realize what I mean by conceptual experiment — that you dream up the ideal experiment and then try to set up something as close to that as possible.

Next time you hear about the mad nazi "scientists" conducting sadistic torture "experiments" on people in concentration camps and you wonder how the German people ever allowed that to happen, think of *Life*...

Hundreds of millions of Americans are being flooded with racism every day by the big money press trying to turn us against our class brothers.

U.S. bosses have been making the biggest profits off



Black workers led wildcat of San Francisco cable car workers against cops' racist attack.

the backs of black workers for centuries. The bosses love this and want to keep it that way. Today the modern masters of imperialism are turning more and more to that old reliable master race theory of Hitler — the divide-and-conquer strategy of racism to stay on top.

In fact, racism is basic to capitalism. They pay the minority worker less, send factories South where the black workers are more oppressed and terrorized, paying the oppressed black Southern workers starvation wages when the workers in the North are demanding *too* much.

The slaughter of workers and peasants in Asia today would be impossible if draftees hadn't been thoroughly drilled with the notion of *barbarians* and *gooks*. But those wars are very necessary for protecting the capitalists' investments overseas.

In this country the importing of Africans as slaves marked the beginning of their degradation and superexploitation and the beginning of their fighting at the vanguard of rebellion and class war against U.S. rulers. This history of their struggle could fill volumes, though they would never be found in the schools under this system.

The master race theory is a two-pronged pitchfork that serves only the bosses! They make billions by keeping black and brown workers at lower pay and worse living conditions, it divides the working class against itself so that while white and black workers are glaring at each other angrily, the boss has his hand in both their pockets. While there are many divisions within the working class, all of which hurt — men against women, skilled against unskilled, employed against unemployed — by far the most widespread and dangerous is racism.

#### RULERS TRY NATIVE NAZI MOVEMENT

Using racism as their main tool along with anticommunism, the U.S. rulers are trying like crazy to create a

fascist movement among U.S. white workers with black workers as the scapegoat for high taxes, prices and generally worsening conditions which are really caused by the profit-grabbing capitalists.

A small number of the new storm troopers have already made their appearance and the ruling class is working overtime through some of its labor fakers like Hutcheson (\$53,000 a year) and Meany (\$70,000 a year) to build this. *This is a most serious threat to U.S. workers — white and black.*

A close look at the recent *hardhat* demonstrations in New York shows who's really behind this "movement":

The first attack by *hardhats* against peace demonstrators came on May 8, 1970. That was the day the *N.Y. Times* reported the unemployment rate had jumped to 4.8 percent. That same edition of *The Times* reported on page 16, "Police clubbed several hundred students sitting down on 14th St." to protest the war.

The next day, while big business newspapers all over the country screamed their approval of the fascist attacks, reports buried in *The Times* revealed:

City Hall and the Police Department received warnings yesterday morning that several hundred construction workers organized into a band . . . would attack peace demonstrators in lower Manhattan.

The warnings came from amongst others . . . construction workers who did not approve of the impending attack.

Two men in grey suits and grey hats 'were directing the construction workers with hand motions.' It was obvious the incident was directed.

One worker reported, 'Men in business suits with color patches on their lapels — the color was the same on both men, and they were shouting orders to the workers.'



Not only were they organized but at least in one case they were offered a monetary bonus by their contractor-employer if they would take off from work to 'break some heads.'

Actually, the "two men in business suits" were Ralph Clifford and Alan Dale who head a small band of the fascist John Birch Society. Only about 75 construction workers took part in the first attack out of some 4,000 who were approached working on the jobs in lower Manhattan.

Later that month, under the leadership of the trade union bureaucrats who head the N.Y. Building Trades Council, some 50,000 were called out to a rally. On that day, every construction job in New York was shut down and many workers received pay from their contractor bosses.

Thousands of white workers were, in fact, misled into these fascist demonstrations. These workers are a small minority of the workers, even in the construction field. But they are allowing themselves to be used as goons by their bosses. If they continue, they will become the stormtroopers of America and will be fought by working people in this country, just as workers all over the world fought and beat the German stormtroopers.

But everyone should be clear who is behind these new native nazis. Transportation Secretary John A. Volpe, talking "as one hardhat to another," applauded the "construction workers' patriotism." He said, "he understood their feelings," and praised "the support you are giving our President on Southeast Asia," the *Detroit Free Press* reported.

Who is Volpe? And how does he talk "as one hardhat to another"; John A. Volpe is none other than the former President of the Association of General Contractors of America — that is, the organization of construction bosses!

Despite strenuous efforts by the ruling class to promote more hardhat demonstrations in other cities around the country and one half-hearted "success" in St. Louis, so far the new Rightwing movement has not caught on in a big way. That means the ruling class has to rely on its paid professionals — its gestapo — the police.

### CLEANING PIG PEN: COP'S NEW IMAGE

Ever since the three little pigs of TV's *Mod Squad*, cops have been getting *nicer, younger*, often black as well as white, and more *justice-loving* — at least on TV and in the movies. What with liberal Steve McQueen (*Bullitt*), Frank Sinatra (*The Detective*) and crippled Raymond Burr (*Ironsides*) being wheelchaired around by his black assistant, it's all you can do to keep from crying every time a TV cop gets shot.

Now the ruling class racists are trying to act out their TV scripts in real life. In a desperate attempt to win working people to support their rotten boss system, they are spending all kinds of money to try to produce the new *nice* cop:

The Ford Foundation recently announced in July, 1970 that it would spend \$30 million (that's money made off the backs of white and black auto workers sweating

on the assembly line) to "help reform police operations and training throughout the nation."

Ford's \$30 million facelift for cops is designed to make them look lovable. *Their line is police-community 'involvement'* (naturally, always backed up by the bully boys of the tactical squad). Among the proposals Ford wants carried out are:

Creating new positions for short-term recruits who might be college graduates and community police officers who would reside in the neighborhoods where they work . . . Promoting better community relations through such methods as teenage patrol corps . . . and grievance mechanisms for residents.

Ford's latest *better idea* for deceiving working people fits right in with the latest efforts of the so-called Communist Party, the Panthers, local ministers and community leaders in several ghetto communities who have been trying to direct all organized resistance by working people into peaceful voting. "If only we could elect our own community cops," their phony line goes, "then we'd have nice cops." Sure, just like on TV.

And the July 13, 1970 *Time* magazine spills the beans in detail. While black and white working people wage a life and death battle for jobs and decent living conditions — against the cops — *Time* says that the ruling class wants more *thoughtful* cops. And the Boy Scout image has already begun in most major cities according to *Time*:

*\*Philadelphia:* "When disturbances threaten, Chief of Police Rizzo dispatches black officers who are parttime ministers to spread calming advice in the ghetto." At the same time, Rizzo tells militants, "You get tough and we'll get tougher."

*\*Atlanta:* The young *understanding* cops swung nightsticks with daffodils hanging off them. They opened up a store front precinct, *The Pig Pens*, which the cops themselves named for hippies and their friends. Are they the friends of the black working class in Atlanta?

*\*New York:* Civil Liberties Union praised the NYC cops in demonstrations. Somehow these friendly cops are friendly to the enemy of the working class, the fascistic hardhats — the cops stood by while hardhats beat demonstrators and pedestrians.

*\*Washington:* Chief of Police Wilson — "He's not a cop's cop, but a community cop, goes to three 'community meetings' a week," says *Time*. He stresses "service and sensitivity." He is a model and instructs chiefs in other cities. His plan is: work with the sellout CP and Trotskyite antiwar march leaders, help them police the march until the demands like *fight U.S. imperialism* are too much and "busloads of special riot-control squads are parked out of sight," and they go into action!

*\*Los Angeles:* Chief Edward Davis "hopes citizens will get to know the cops," says *Time*. The families of the Mexican nationals murdered in July by L.A. cops *do know them*.

*\*Denver, Syracuse, NYC, Detroit:* The plan is college-educated cops. They have more psychological

## History of Black Rebellions

Just a few militant blacks in Harlem or Watts? Conspiracy by an underground black revolutionary group? That's what the big business papers and TV would like us to think about the ghetto rebellions. But the wave of resistance has spread so far and so wide to so many cities and towns that there is hardly a corner of this country where black working people have not begun to rebel, have not had to face the cops, the curfew and often the national guard. Here's just a partial list of cities and towns which have seen rebellions since the start of 1969:

Racine, Wisc.	Farrel, Pa.
Oakland, Calif.	Jamesburg, N.J.
San Francisco, Calif.	Youngstown, Ohio
Memphis, Tenn.	Baton Rouge, La.
Chicago, Ill.	Niagara Falls, N.Y.
Flint, Mich.	Lakewood, N.J.
Kalamazoo, Mich.	Mobile, Ala.
Detroit, Mich.	Linden, N.J.
Gainesville, Fla.	Long Beach, Calif.
Hartford, Conn.	Tampa, Fla.
Indianapolis, Ind.	Evansville, Ind.
Cairo, Ill.	Middletown, Conn.
Harrisburg, Pa.	San Diego, Calif.
Kokomo, Ind.	Waterbury, Conn.
Omaha, Neb.	Charleston, S.C.
Portland, Ore.	Bridgeport, Conn.
Sacramento, Calif.	Carbondale, Ill.
Utica, N.Y.	Columbus, Ohio
York, Pa.	Cleveland, Ohio
Burlington, N.C.	Greensboro, N.C.
Newark, N.J.	New York, N.Y.

1970

Augusta, Ga.	Alquippa, Pa.
Oxford, N.C.	Melbourne, Fla.
Alexandria, Va.	Red Bank, N.J.
New Bedford, Mass.	Charleston, W. Va.
Miami, Fla.	Pasco, Wash.
Philadelphia, Pa.	Pittsburgh, Pa.
Des Moines, Iowa	Buffalo, N.Y.
Asbury Park, N.J.	

understanding when they attack strikers, demonstrations and rebellions.

\**San Francisco*: The new plan is to educate cops to be teachers in school. John Finney, a black Juvenile Inspector had the idea. The policemen would not teach regular courses, but would, instead, teach a special course designed to give students "general knowledge" about police work in an attempt to prevent juvenile delinquency, the *San Francisco Chronicle* noted. Of course, cops teaching in the schools would also further intimidate students who are already threatened, beaten and jailed regularly if they protest or resist their racist education.

But behind the new mask is the same ugly face of police terror. Here are just a few of the most recent examples:

\* In Augusta, Ga., seven black men shot in the back and murdered by police while they were protesting the torture and murder of a 16-year old black youth in prison;

\* Police murder of two black students at Jackson State College in Mississippi;

\* New York's liberal Mayor Lindsay called out hundreds of Tactical Squad cops to attack the Puerto Rican people in El Barrio who were rebelling against ghetto conditions;

\* Vicente Gutierrez was murdered by a cop in San Francisco's Mission District;

\* Two Mexican youths were shot and killed in cold blood in their hotel room by the Los Angeles cops;

\* Two college students, one white and one black, were shot and killed by cops in Lawrence, Kansas;

\* Miami, Florida cops assaulted scores of black working people during a five-day rebellion against oppressive ghetto conditions in that city;

\* The vicious police murders of Black Panthers throughout the country - Fred Hampton and Mark Clark gunned down in Chicago were just two of the more publicized cases;

\* Boston cop Duggan murdered 24-year old black singer Franklin Lynch in Roxbury;

\* San Francisco cops are currently trying to frame-up and legally execute six Mission District youths in the *Los Siete* case.

In addition to these few examples from around the country, cops have recently attacked black working people in a Boston courtroom, black students at a San Francisco Junior High School and Puerto Rican tenants with no homes trying to live in an abandoned New York apartment house, and the list could go on for pages.

In other words, the ruling class is trying to clean up their pigpen, to make it look more presentable, to fool more people with educated pigs, *social* programs and pigs of different colors (black, brown, etc.). But behind all the frills is the same bloody billy club and the same deadly bullet. No matter how many old ladies they help across the street, no matter how many kids they take on bus trips, the *new* cops won't solve any of the basic problems of unemployment, rotten housing, murderous health care and general poverty which oppress the ghetto and threaten all workers. This oppression is *inevitable* in the profit-making capitalist system.

The only answer is resistance.

### WHY BLACK WORKERS REBEL

Black people rebel because they are the most oppressed section of the population. Wherever there is repression people will rebel. How long can anyone put up with a sub-standard level of existence. Black people, exploited like all workers, are superexploited and victimized by countless daily indignities, vicious police brutality and legal lynchings. Workers had to fight the cops, the Pinkertons and the National Guard to organize unions. In the first 50 years of organizing unions, several thousand workers were killed and thousands more maimed by the bosses, their goons and cops.

Now the bosses want white workers to be the goons who bust organizing by black people. In fact, black workers have always aimed their rebellions at such targets as large chain supermarkets, pawn shops and installment plan businesses. Demands have practically always been for jobs, better housing, health facilities, an end to police

harrassment, etc. Can any worker oppose such demands? Let's take a look at how oppression affects black workers:

#### Who pushes whom?

Ask yourselves a few simple questions: *Do black workers bust strikes? Do they pay low wages? Do they speed-up and automate workers out of jobs? Do they close plants to run away to low-wage areas? Do they pass antiunion laws? Do they hire scabs? Do they make young workers fight and die in wars against oppressed people for the sole sake of profits - like in vietnam? You know what the answers are. We have only one real enemy: The companies and those that represent them in the government and in our unions.*

### BLACKS SHARE OF "THE GREAT SOCIETY"

#### a. jobs and unemployment

1. Unemployment for black workers is more than double that of whites, and black workers are more than 20 per cent of all workers unemployed, even though black people are only 11 per cent of the total U.S. population.

2. Black high school graduates have a higher unemployment rate than white high school dropouts!

3. Only half (50 per cent) of all black males who worked in 1964 had fulltime year-round jobs, as compared with more than two-thirds for whites. The remaining 50 per cent of the black males who worked in 1964 had only parttime jobs, yet they are still listed as *employed* in government statistics.

#### b. income, housing, expenses

4. The median black family income is 60 per cent the median white income.

5. Sixty per cent of all black families earn less than \$4,000, while only 28 per cent of all white families earn less than this amount. Add to this the fact that the size of the average black family is larger than the white family.

6. 44 per cent of all housing for black people is classified as substandard (slum), while only 13 per cent of all white housing falls into this category. A greater numerical portion of the black population lives in that 44 per cent classified as slum housing than in the remaining 56 per cent classified as standard.

7. Between 1960-61, black families were forced to spend almost 10 per cent more proportionately for food, housing, and clothing than white families. Black people are charged exorbitant rents for slum housing and they are systematically robbed by corrupt merchants who have a captive market in the ghetto.

#### c. mass black poverty

8. Eleven million black people are classified as poor (impoverished), based on the Social Security Administration scale of \$1580 per year or less for a single person, up to \$5090 or less for a family of seven persons or more. According to this scale, 55 per cent of the total black population is classified as poor, while less than 16 per cent of all whites are so classified. But it would be closer to the truth to state that as much as 75 per cent or

16 million of the total black population lives in poverty. We might add here, that the remaining 25 per cent are not exactly living the *American Dream* either! For one thing, black people must pay almost 10 per cent more for food, housing, clothes and other necessities than whites. For another thing, the government scale is far too low. While \$1600 a year is considered above the poverty level for a single person; this works out to about \$31 per week. Is this a living wage for a single person? And \$5100 is considered to be above the poverty level for a family of seven or more persons; this works out to about \$98 per week. Is this a living wage for a family of seven or more human beings?

#### d. death statistics

9. The maternal death rate (death during childbirth) is four times greater for black babies than for whites.

10. The infant death rate from birth to one year of age for black babies is double the rate for whites.

11. The death rate for black people between the prime ages of 25 to 40 years old is double that of whites.

12. Black people are only 11 per cent of the U.S. population, but they are 14 per cent of the U.S. military. Black soldiers are 40 per cent of the men fighting in Vietnam and the death rate for black soldiers is over 18 per cent while the death rate for white soldiers is only 11 per cent. This is the *Great Society's* answer to black unemployment!

The condition of black Americans worsens with each passing day. The facts, figures and sum total of the fundamental objective conditions of life prove this - in spite of the big-noises that the ruling class and its Uncle Toms are making about *recent gains*. The anti-poverty program and all of the other so-called *gains* put together have not changed the fundamental conditions of life for black people one iota. They are merely band-aids on the festering sores of this system!

It is no wonder that many Afro-Americans are now prepared to pursue a more honorable response to black captivity than that of powerless slaves - powerless to even guarantee the lives, happiness and futures of their children.

We have only one real enemy: the large corporation owners and those that represent them in the government and in the unions. This is the ruling class that oppresses workers and students in this country as well as peasants and workers throughout the world. And this is the ruling class we have to defeat to finally end racism.

Since they're the ones - the only ones - who need and profit from racism, it can only be finally defeated when workers have destroyed the present government that the capitalists control, and seize power, setting up a workers' government. It will take the armed oppressed people led by black workers, fighting against cops and against those who stay faithful to the army generals. The workers' government will be a dictatorship over the former bosses, landlords and any who desire to return to capitalism. And it will be led by black workers, by those who lead the revolution and fight the hardest for the working class.

But strong fighting leadership is not enough for a

revolution. In the 1890's militant struggles for union recognition involved millions fighting the army and state militia. Thousands were beaten, jailed, and many lost their lives. Similarly in the 1930's. Even the recognition of the unions was not enough. The rulers took over the union leadership. Hundreds have been wounded and murdered in ghetto rebellions but this was not enough. Only a revolutionary party with the goal of a workers' dictatorship can — by bringing together the most class-conscious (blue and white collar workers, students,



**Boston GM strike supporters prepare to march.**

intellectuals, GI's and unemployed of all races — only such a party can ensure the liberation of working people through an armed revolution. The party, with deep ties among the working class, at all times raises slogans that will advance the movement. At this time we in the U.S. revolutionary communist Progressive Labor Party say: *Start now! Don't be drawn into the bosses' plans. We should keep our eye on the ball.*

Rank-and-file organizations of black and white working people in the shops, communities and schools can demand jobs for everyone at full pay, demand decent pay, shorter hours with no cut in pay, equal pay for equal work, end racist firings, demand preferential hiring and upgrading of minority workers, get rid of racist foremen, union officials, and supervisors; get rid of racist textbooks, principals and teachers; oppose use of troops to suppress working people on strike or in the ghettos; oppose use of troops against working people in Asia, Africa, Latin America — anywhere!

White workers have a stake in the fight that black people are waging for freedom. If black workers' wages are kept lower than other workers, the bosses use this to keep the wages of all workers lower. If one group of workers in the plant has low wages, the bosses use this as a lever to keep all wages down. Don't they always come up with the line: "How can we give you more? What will

so and so say? Sure we'd love to raise your pay, but then we'd have to do the same for everyone."

What does this mean for the rank and file in the trade unions? There are plenty of labor fakers in our leadership who try to tell us, like the bosses themselves, that the black man is trying to take white workers' jobs away. These are the men who keep black workers out of some of the unions and they are the same men who keep black workers out of some of the unions and they are the same men who will not even fight for their own rank and file when unemployment is hurting, as it is now in many industries. The labor movement should fight for the whole working class, and not try to build a fortress to keep out the unorganized and unemployed.

The bosses, the government and the piecards have prevented the organization of unions in the South. The South is used as an escape hatch and as a threat by the bosses. If we don't accept low wages they move away or threaten to move. Low wages in the South — based on terrorism of black people — hurts wages in the rest of the country. The bosses and their gang of stooges will go to any length to keep things this way. They have killed, beaten, and jailed thousands in the past to prevent workers' militancy and unity. This time they want to use us to kill off and beat down one another at home just like they use us to kill and burn oppressed workers in other countries.

#### **WHEN REAL PROGRESS WAS MADE**

The biggest gains in the history of the labor movement came with the organization of the CIO. The bosses fought this great organizing drive tooth and nail. Workers had to take over the plants and physically defend themselves from the goons, police and National Guard. It was during this period that there was a great deal of unity between black and white workers. Without this unity the CIO could never have been organized. Unity meant real unions and real gains in all conditions of life. This is why the bosses fear unity and try to drive wedges between all sections of workers.

Race war would undermine unity and make the bosses' job simple. The sellout will go unchallenged, and the same rotten speedup-layoff situation will stay as it is. If the UAW capitulates in the auto negotiations this will weaken bargaining in all the other unions that enter into negotiations afterwards. Naturally, race war would weaken unity in every union. The bosses stand to gain billions from race war. Our *reward* will be lower pay, greater job insecurity and watching our kids march off to war killing and being killed. The bosses will rub their hands and pat their bankbooks while their sons are off elsewhere.

If the bosses draw us into race war just remember how they will sit back and laugh — how they will say "look at the suckers doing our dirty work." Why not? We won't be fighting them. We will be fighting our allies.

Black workers have taken nothing from white workers. Some white workers might seem to be making a few bucks more because the boss can toss them a few pennies more from billions robbed from black people at home and oppressed people in other countries. You know what

we call this — *Blood Money*. Some white workers may draw some small comfort in the sick feeling of *superiority* to colored peoples. Don't forget how 30 million German workers died fighting for similar ideas for the bosses' man in Berlin, Adolph Hitler.

Racism is the enemy of all workers. It is a tool of the bosses to make more money. Just recall that racism has existed in the U.S. for more than a century. What problem has it solved? Every time white workers call some black guy a name, keep him from getting a better job or fail to fight for his right to hold a job, it puts money in the bosses' pockets. Every time he hears white workers wail about *the rotten black guys*, it's music to his ears. That cash register rings away for him. Remember that in the South, where racism has taken its most open and direct form, white workers are poorest.

Well, it's up to us. We can go on playing the bosses' game, fighting and dying so he can pile up more dough; in other words, be a sucker. Or we can begin to take matters into our own hands. Defeat the misleaders in the union, adopt a fighting program and unite with all workers for things we all need. If we do this, we can win. We can win enough for all workers.

Our united labor has created enormous wealth. Black and white workers can start to fight for control and distribute this wealth for the interests of the workers, not the bosses. In other words, start the long, hard job of

taking it away from the bosses and placing the wealth and power in our own hands. Let's start now. Let's fight the real enemy, the bosses and their boys in Washington.

In this *greatest of all* capitalist systems, working people are guaranteed the *freedom to starve*. Black and brown working people have twice as much of this *freedom*. Only when we follow through on a program for fighting racism and unite to completely destroy the big business rulers, their cops, courts, armies and entire imperialist system, will working people send the new American Hitlers to join the old.

Tens of thousands of working people have now begun to read *Challenge* in the past few months. Many are now joining our Party's ranks, helping to win still more workers to the revolutionary movement.

The importance of the soaring *Challenge* sales among U.S. workers cannot be underestimated in the face of the ruling class racist assault.

If this pamphlet and the PLP program make sense to you, contact the nearest PLP office for more pamphlets to give your friends. Meet, talk about it, start uniting the workingclass. If we do this nationwide the working class will have made a leap forward!

If you do not agree entirely with the pamphlet, contact the nearest PLP office, let's get together and discuss our differences, let's get something started.

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# War and G.I. Morale

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THE NEW YORK TIMES

## *American Soldiers Rebelling On and Off the Battlefield*

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By FRED GARDNER

It was in April, 1968, that I first heard a Vietnam veteran describe a seek-and-destroy mission as "seek-and-avoid." He said that most of the men in his company, an infantry unit stationed near Danang, didn't think the war seemed "worth it" in terms of life, limb and disrupted youth. "On patrol," he explained "we were supposed to go a mile and engage Charlie, right? What we did was to a hundred yards, find us some heavy foliage, smoke, rap and sack out."

In the past two years, hundreds of thousands of American soldiers have used this tactic. Refusal to take part in combat has grown so widespread that it need no longer be surreptitious. GIs leave their firebases with impunity; commanders fear that court-martialing them will undermine whatever remains of morale. Officers and NCO's who insist on ordering troops into the field are commonly "fragged"—hit by a grenade rolled under their tentflaps. Blatant racists are dealt with similarly. GIs smoke marijuana freely, realizing that a round-up of potheads would deplete the infantry faster than you can say Hatfield-McGovern.

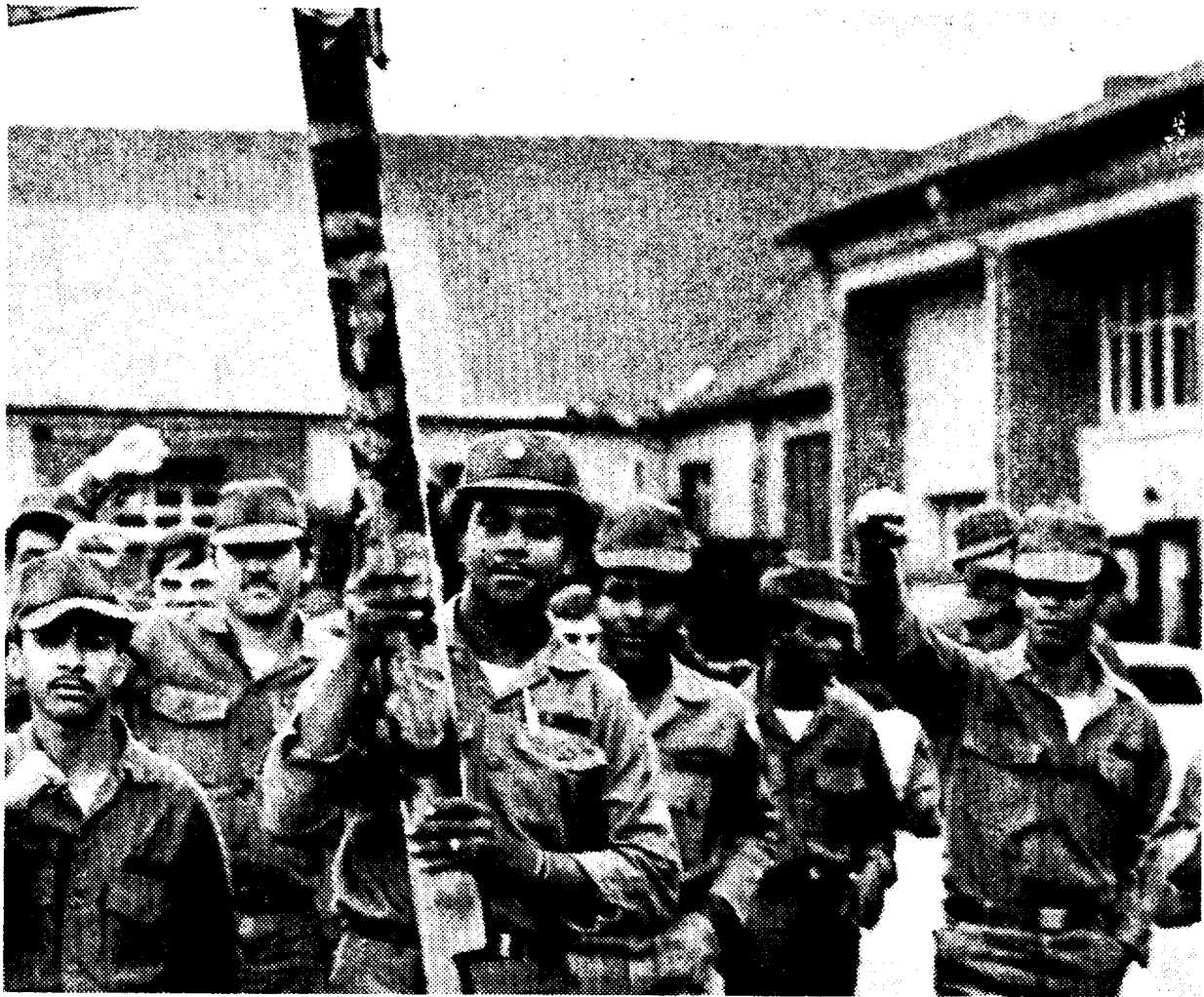
The meaning of the GI's reluctance to fight has not been lost on the Pentagon, where the masterminds are expediting the volunteer Army and planning an ever greater role for the Air Force. But the American people have long been denied the information that it's their boys, not President Nixon, who are cancelling operations. In the Oct. 23 issue of *Life* there is an illuminating piece by John Saar: "You Can't Just Hand Out Orders," a portrait of a young company commander. We learn that Capt. Brian Utermahlen, West Point '68, enjoys a rapport with the men of his "exceptionally good company" because he hasn't courtmartialled those who refuse to go to the field; hasn't persecuted the blacks (whose spokesman sympathizes with the N.L.F. and muses about fighting for liberation back home); hasn't busted the weed blowers; did dismiss a zealous sergeant who tried to enforce certain "less urgent orders"; and

managed to lead a 17-day mission in which no one, friend or foe, got seriously hurt. The piece might aptly have been called "You Just Can't Hand Out Orders" and played as the story of a company's refusal—however low-key and unorganized—to fight. The portrait of Capt. Utermahlen, after all, seemed insignificant against the "background" of an Army that will not go into combat.

Perhaps the current mood of the GIs is just too subtle—being neither heroic nor craven—for journalism to evoke, and we must hope this war produces a novelist who can give us the "American Schweik" so vividly that his name becomes a household word and his vague survival-politics come into focus. Or, maybe that mood could be conveyed through a collection of letters GIs are sending back from Vietnam. The ones to parents tend to be perfunctory and reassuring; but those intended for sweethearts, kid brothers and buddies are very telling. This is what a soldier stationed at CU Chi wrote to a friend on Oct. 26:

"They have set up separate companies for men who have refused to go out to the field. It is no big thing here anymore to refuse to go. If a man is ordered to go such and such place he no longer goes through the hassle or refusing; he just packs his shirt and goes visit some buddies at another base camp. Operations have become incredibly rag-tag; vehicles don't work for lack of maintenance; helicopters are just falling to the ground; airfields are falling apart . . . Many guys don't even put on their uniforms anymore. I am almost always wearing a pair of keds, a blue tie-dye shirt and army pants I made into cut-offs. I put in an appearance at work sometimes to see if I've gotten any mail.

"It used to be they could get a couple of months of work out of new people but that is no longer the case. When new guys come into our company we rap how we've taken over and turn them on. Lately they have been segregating new guys, whom they call 'new meat.' 90th Replacement Battalion, the main processing station for newly arrived personnel is off-limits. They



have barbed wire and guards all around it. You have to have a special pass to get in. It is also the outprocessing station for men returning to the states. They have been strictly segregated from the 'new meat.' When we have new men come in, the Sergeant Major personally escorts them from Long Binh. They rush them through processing, give big, lie-filled raps, and quickly send them to the field...

"The American garrisons on the larger bases are virtually unarmed. The lifers have taken our weapons from us and put them under lock and key. Theirs. One black locked and loaded on the battalion CO recently because they were trying to send him into the field.

About 10 other blacks backed him up. They just gave the guy a 212 (discharge). There have also been quite a few frag incidents in the battalion..."

President Nixon may claim credit for phasing down the war; Congress may debate a timetable for pulling out; but the fact is that rank-and file GIs are ending the fighting on their own.

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*Fred Gardner, author of "The Unlawful Concert," works with the U.S. Servicemen's Fund, which sponsors GI coffeeshouses.*

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## **EDITORS' NOTE:**

During the last year the women's liberation movement has come forward. By and large this movement is a middle class phenomena oriented to dealing with the problems of white middle class women. Most of the literature and those who represent this movement are from the intellectual middle class. And undoubtedly they are victims of this society, but they do not have a working class outlook. While they occasionally tip their hats to certain issues, like child care centers, and equalizing pay with men, they have no method or ideological outlook for dealing with why women are exploited; they have no real way to suggest how working class women, especially minority women, fight their way out of their oppression.

Usually, we are faced with hearing about the sex lives of this or that movement "leader." Many of the women who speak for the movement make more of their bi-sexuality than anything else. Undoubtedly, lesbians too are oppressed by this society but unfortunately these women provide us with no real insight about the questions of lesbianism and homosexuality. At least this question could be viewed from the point of view of whether or not lesbianism, et. al., is anti-social activity. And whether it arises from the sickness of capitalist society.

In any event, this article, written by two of our readers, gives a lot more insight to the question of fundamental aspect of women's oppression, the basis of which is economic.

As unemployment grows in our country, minority women are among those hardest hit and we are also including a brief piece on the oppression of black women from our pamphlet *Black Liberation*.

Liberals in N.Y.C. like Bella Abzug, Gloria Steinman, etc., front for the ruling class, and really control this movement. These forces would like to see men and women separated — divided, and of course they would prefer to have our people discussing sex mores than fighting shoulder to shoulder against unemployment, racism and the war: this could lead to battling against the bosses' system which creates women's oppression in the first place.



**T**HE PAST FEW YEARS HAVE SHOWN A growing awareness of a most important problem: the degrading way in which women are treated in our society. That awareness has given rise to organized attempts to fight against male chauvinism. Part of this attack is the growing literature which seeks to identify and analyze the ways in which male chauvinism operates to hurt women — and men. An important part of this literature has described the social and psychological aspects of male chauvinism — the existence of distinct male and female roles which we are conditioned to accept, fill and endure; the social and personal interactions which are built around and founded on sexist attitudes; the pervasiveness of those attitudes and the damage they do; etc.

In this essay we wish to explore the problem from a different angle, exploring the economic aspects of male chauvinism. For the secondary role of women in our society is not solely a cultural phenomenon: to fully understand it we must understand the nature of the economic system under which we live. Women in our society are especially exploited and oppressed by being paid less for equivalent work, channeled into more undesirable jobs, or simply excluded from the labor force. As a result they form a gigantic reserve labor pool, are forced into dependent relationships with men, and are condemned (without pay) to household drudgery. In our capitalist society, being born female automatically calls down

special penalties and restrictions. The growing struggle for female equality is therefore necessarily a part of the anti-capitalist struggle — and vice versa.

Any system of exploitation can survive only if those who are exploited fail to rebel against their situation. The crudest and most direct barrier to such rebellion is force; less direct, but more efficient means are the granting of concessions and the manipulation of ideology. Capitalism, while ready to use force whenever it is deemed necessary and willing to offer concessions within the limits of exigency and practicality, prefers to win voluntary acceptance through a broad complex of ideas and values which divide and weaken the working class by distorting its understanding of reality. Anti-communism, racism,

nationalism, sectionalism, anti-intellectualism, anti-scientism, religion, liberalism and male chauvinism are among the ideologies that serve capitalism in this way, and to understand how capitalism maintains itself, it is necessary to understand how these various ideologies work.

This essay deals with one such ideology — male chauvinism — which in its simplest sense involves the belief that men are innately superior to women in many ways. It is a belief widely held by both men and women, and is used to justify inferior treatment of women, including their economic exploitation under capitalism.

Chauvinism justifies treating men and women differently on the basis that *natural* differences between the sexes inevitably determine the roles that are appropriate to each. In this view, women are *naturally* intended to complement men, who are *naturally* intended to work,

provide and command. Thus women *belong* in the home, and it is their biologically - determined nature to be fulltime mothers, housekeepers and helpmates. Cleaning, cooking, shopping, sewing and child-raising are *inherently* women's work, and *real* women find these tasks far more self-fulfilling than work outside the home, which is *inherently* a man's domain.

Perhaps the most compelling *natural* role of woman, according to the chauvinist view, is that of the sex mate — who fulfills her husband's sexual needs as seductively — but unaggressively — as she possibly can.

This male chauvinist view of the proper relationship between men and women is pervasive and powerful. It molds our views of ourselves and others, dictates our tastes and buying habits, shapes our attitudes and, to a large degree, determines our social and work patterns and controls the sex and nature of our labor force. The majority of women don't work outside the home unless there is an economic need. And when they do they most often gravitate to *women's jobs* — housekeepers, clerks, secretaries, social workers, nurses, teachers — rather than working as mechanics, riveters, truck drivers, doctors, administrators or college professors, all of which are considered male jobs. And while some men may sew, cook or clean professionally, most consider it demeaning

## Political economy of male chauvinism

Tom Christoffel and  
Katherine Kaufer

to do so in their own homes.

So pervasive are the influences of chauvinist thinking that, even when some aspects are recognized as wrong and harmful, others continue to be accepted, despite the fact that such thinking condemns one-half of the population to a more restricted, less respected, less interesting, less independent way of life and robs society as a whole of the skills, talents and creativity that half of the population might otherwise contribute. What accounts for the tenacity of chauvinism in the face of ever mounting evidence that it is costly to most men and women and is based on a lie?

There is, of course, a real difference between the sexes: women bear children; men do not. During earlier stages of social organization this difference provided a rational basis for various divisions of labor. In pre-industrial society it made sense for childbearing women who were needed to nurse their babies to work in or near home and for men to venture away from home to hunt or fight. But in an industrial society such a division of labor has become senseless because the "maternal" role — insofar as it is biological and not otherwise parental — has become very much less time demanding. "In the 1890s in England a mother spent 15 years in a state of pregnancy and lactation; in the 1960s she spends an average of four years." And the secondary physical differences between men and women — size, strength, musculature, cyclicality — have at most marginal effects on workers' participation in the larger economy. The United States Public Health Service reports that employed men aged 17 years and over lost an average of 5.3 days from work due to illness during the period from July 1966 to June 1967, while employed women lost 5.4 days.

If the homebound and economically dependent woman is anachronistic and irrational in modern society, why does the practice survive? A partial but insufficient answer is that it is part of our heritage. Sex role divisions have existed for millenia and have had a profound effect on our history. But the same may be said of witchcraft, cannibalism and many other ancient beliefs and practices; yet these have died out as science and technology have left them behind. To understand why chauvinism remains socially and economically powerful, we must look at the role it plays in modern capitalist society. Viewed from this perspective it becomes clear that the role of women in our society and the ideology that supports it play an important part in capitalist exploitation of the workers.

First, as long as society continues to accept the notion that a woman's primary place is in the home, women will constitute a large available source of unpaid domestic labor, economically dependent on the men who support them. Second, the assumption that women are inherently less capable than men at tasks outside the home makes it possible to keep those women who are in the work force at the more menial jobs and to pay them less for doing the same work men do. Third, since women are considered peripheral members of the work force, they provide capitalism with a flexible supply of labor which can be drawn upon as needed. And finally, the socio-economic division between men and women encouraged by the chauvinist ideology makes it much more

difficult for the working class to unify in opposition to capitalist exploitation.

Let us discuss these four points in order. The unpaid work of women in the home is considered far less important than their husband's paid labors. It can be made a secondary function during periods of labor shortage, but becomes the woman's main role when jobs become scarce. In addition, the fact that housewives are not expected to be paid for their labors in the home makes it possible to keep the wages of their husbands far lower than they would have to be otherwise.

## WOMEN WORK AS UNPAID/LOW-WAGED WORKERS

The fact that women are not paid directly for their work at home makes them dependent on their husbands for any improvement in their working conditions. To lighten their housekeeping load they must convince their husbands to reapportion the limited family income toward that end, or to make increased funds for housekeeping an issue in bargaining. But male chauvinism makes it hard for working men to demand a wage increase for housekeeping expenses, with the result that housekeeping costs and conditions more often become family issues than the wage issues that they really are. Thus, women are uncompensated domestic workers often pitted against their husbands, an example of how male chauvinism benefits capitalists by dividing workers.

Furthermore, the capitalist profit level is supported in an important way by reliance on "unpaid" women who provide the household chorework for the society; i.e., keeping these jobs off the market. The value of such unpaid domestic labor has been estimated at one-fifth to one-third of the total gross national product, or approximately \$150-250 billion. Finally, the work of women in the home actually builds male chauvinism by making women seem less essential to the economy of the family. It does this by keeping women in supportive roles and by restricting the vistas and experience of housewives — making them often in fact quite limited. In a society that prizes earning ability and versatility, *women's work* has attached to it a whole aura of worthlessness and failure.

That women who work outside the home are paid less for their labors is an acknowledged fact. In 1967 the median income for men in this country was \$6,020 as compared to \$2,351 for women. This discrepancy particularly reflects the higher proportion of women who do not have jobs, but even if only year-round full-time workers are counted, the median income figures are widely separated at \$7,182 and \$4,150. What is even more important, this differential in median income ratio has been steadily growing over the past several decades.

Today over one-third of the total work force is composed of women, most of them concentrated in traditionally *women's jobs*. The President's Commission on the Status of Women reports that, "The largest concentration [of women workers] — 7 million — is in the clerical field. Three other main groupings — service workers (waitresses, beauticians, hospital attendants), factory operatives, and professional and technical em-

TABLE I: Male-Female wage differentials (in dollars)

	Total full-time employed	Year-round full-time	40-49 weeks full-time	27-39 weeks full-time	14-26 weeks full-time	0-13 weeks full-time
Male mean	7,334	8,156	6,281	4,850	3,225	1,553
Female mean	3,621	4,539	3,461	2,613	1,906	991
Difference	3,713	3,617	2,820	2,237	1,319	562
Number of women with income	24,604,000	14,870,000	2,415,000	2,250,000	2,548,000	2,522,000
\$ Difference x Number of women	\$91.2 bil.	\$53.8 bil.	\$6.8 bil.	\$5.0 bil.	\$3.4 bil.	\$1.4 bil.

Calculations based on eleven job categories — professional, clerical, service, etc. — but not broken down by duration of work, give a \$78,839,307,000 total. Based on Tables 10 & 4 of *Income in 1967 of Persons in the United States*, Series P-60, No. 60, Bureau of the Census, June 30, 1969. Corporate profits after taxes for 1967 were \$48.1 billion — 1969 *Economic Report of the President*, p. 308.

ployees (teachers, nurses, accountants, librarians) — number between 3 and 3¼ million each.”

“By and large,” as one recent study of employment points out, “women are found in jobs that men don’t want — jobs with low wages and poor prospects for advancement.” And most often they receive lower pay for doing the same work as men. This situation is often justified on the grounds that women are only working to supplement their husbands’ incomes and therefore do not need to earn as much as men. But this is clearly more myth than truth. One of every eight urban families is headed by a woman. And two-thirds of all women employed in 1965, for example, were either single, widowed, divorced, or separated, or married to husbands earning under \$5,000 a year. Of the remaining 34% one would expect that a significant proportion were in families where the husband’s income was insufficient to maintain a decent standard of living (given that the U.S. Department of Labor has suggested somewhat over \$9,000 as the income necessary for a *modest but adequate* 1966 budget for an urban family of four).

Overall, then, women earn lower incomes and have less appealing jobs for no reason other than their sex. The result of this situation is difficult to calculate precisely, but clearly it amounts to a significant percentage of total corporate profits. The magnitude of the male-female wage differential is suggested by the fact that in 1967 the total difference between the mean income for full-time employed males and that for full-time employed females, calculated for corresponding durations of work, amounted to \$70.4 million. While some of this differential is based on simple dual pay scales (for example, the 1968 average wages in Boston for the same job description of *clerks, accounting, class A* was \$126 a week for men and \$107 a week for women), much of it was due to a more complicated difference in skill levels and job classification, resulting from the systematic discouragement of skill acquisition by women. All in all, however, it seems safe

to look to the sexual wage differential to account for a sizeable portion of total corporate profits.

It is hardly surprising, then, that the number of women in the work force has been rising steadily — mainly in non-unionized, poorly-paying service jobs. Thirty-one percent of all women in the country were employed in 1947; 34 percent in 1957; and 39 percent in 1967. Women make up nearly half the nation’s white-collar force; three out of every four clerical workers are female.

“Equal opportunity [for women],” writes Caroline Bird, author of *Born Female*, “could raise our labor costs, make it harder for us to adjust supply to demand, and reduce the flexibility of our economy . . . Equal opportunity would have the same effect as raising the minimum wage.” The advantage to capitalism of an inequality between the sexes is clear: it delivers one-quarter of manufacturing profits. Capitalism would have great difficulty surviving “equal opportunity for women.”

The third enormous benefit of male chauvinism to those who control the capitalist economy is that women constitute a vast reserve of labor power which can be mobilized when needed, but is not considered unemployed when jobs disappear.

As Table I above indicates, the majority of women, unlike the majority of men, are *not* gainfully employed; and the current popular ideal is that of the happy housewife busy with home and children. When the labor market is glutted, the ideal gets a great deal of publicity; in times of labor shortages, the ideal that is publicized is that of the working woman.

During World War II, when the nation was desperately short of labor, women were assured that their menstrual periods did not have to immobilize them for several days a month, that bottle feeding was preferable to breast feeding, and that it was better for them and for their children if they got out of the home and into a job. Thousands of day-care centers were set up to make it

possible for women to contribute to the war effort. But as soon as the war ended 300,000 women workers were fired.

"Immediately following World War II," writes Joan Jordan, "when the returning veterans needed jobs, women at work created juvenile delinquents at home, were competing with men, and surveys showed eight out of ten infants who died of stomach ailments within the first year of birth were bottle-fed."

World War II demonstrated how easily women could be moved in and out of the labor force — and also how profitable it could be for business to employ women. As soon as the postwar recovery permitted, the employment of women sky-rocketed. The 1950s was the first decade in American history in which more women than men entered the labor force. The number of working mothers also increased dramatically. In 1940, one out of ten mothers of children under 28 were working; by 1967, the figure had risen to four out of ten, or 38 per cent of all women in the labor force.

So persistent are the chauvinist assumptions, however, that many wives and mothers feel guilty about the fact

working class across the board, but is concentrated within certain sub-groups. Very old and very young workers, unskilled workers, black workers, women workers have unemployment rates far above the national average — and workers who suffer less severely are convinced that their own situations would worsen if conditions were appreciably improved for other, worse off sub-groups. This antagonism between parts of the working class is fostered by such ideologies as racism and male chauvinism, with the result that the true unemployment picture remains an unchallenged obscurity.

Dependable statistics on unemployment are generally hard to find; with respect to female unemployment they are virtually non-existent. This is because standard tallies count as unemployed only those who are actively looking for work. But there is no way to measure how many of the 45,000,000 women over 14 not in the labor force would want to work if they could find jobs and if society sanctioned their working. It has been estimated that as many as ten million women might be added to the labor force under such circumstances, and even this may be a conservative estimate.

TABLE II: Employment of persons 14 years and over as of March 1968

	MEN		WOMEN	
	Numbers in thousands	Median income	Numbers in thousands	Median income
<b>TOTAL</b>	66,519	5,571	73,584	1,819
Employed	47,622	6,610	27,887	3,157
Unemployed	1,680	3,017	1,332	1,382
Armed Forces or not in labor force	17,217	1,634	44,365	913

that they work. Nine out of ten working wives in a 1956 Detroit area study, for example, felt that their job made personal relations in the home more difficult, hurt their husband's pride, or simply disrupted the home. Thus, there is little danger of organized rebellion when women are forced out of their jobs by a tightened labor market.

The flexibility in the size of the labor force provided by male chauvinism is especially important because of the inability of capitalism to provide full employment — at least without runaway inflation. Thus, the lesson of this century has been that capitalism can have full employment and full scale war, or full employment and intolerable price levels, or — the option usually followed — a relatively high level of unemployment. But if the real unemployment level were widely recognized as being at about 15 per cent, the capitalists would run a high risk of a working class rebellion. This true level is camouflaged, however, because unemployment does not strike the

The fact that a large number of women are employed in parttime jobs helps ensure the female-based flexibility in the size of the working force. In 1960, for example, 13 per cent of all employed men held parttime jobs; it was true of 32 per cent of all employed women. In other words, although women constitute only 37 per cent of the work force, they hold over half of all parttime jobs.

Parttime work is convenient for some women, but its greatest value is to the capitalists. It is a great deal easier to fire and replace parttime than fulltime workers. Job security is generally viewed by fulltime workers and their unions as a privilege of fulltime employment; and in most instances parttime workers are looked upon by their employers and their fulltime coworkers as temporary employees, without the protection of seniority. In addition, many hard-won fringe benefits, such as sick leave, vacations with pay, medical insurance, retirement pensions, and so on, are often denied to parttime

employees; and where this is so, huge savings in labor costs may result from breaking up fulltime jobs into two or more parttime positions. Finally, extensive use of parttime workers makes it much more difficult for all the workers on a job to unite in organized struggles for better wages, working conditions, benefits, and the like. It is interesting to note that in clerical work, a major area of female employment, temporary jobs have been institutionalized in the form of temporary worker agencies — Kelly Girls, American Girl Service, Girl Power, etc. — which provide parttime labor and insure all these advantages to the employer.

Because so many women hold parttime jobs and women workers provide flexibility for the labor market, many people still believe that female workers are marginal to the economy (e.g. Juliet Mitchell, Margaret Benston). But while it is true that the major increase in female employment over the past 15 years has been in those industries where — because of little technological advance — productivity has increased *least*, it is also true that more than one out of every three employed persons in America today is a woman. Approximately one out of every four factory workers is a woman, and two of every five such women work in *heavy* industry. Clearly, a high percentage of the total GNP and of all profits can be attributed to women workers. Far from being marginal, women constitute a crucial part of the productive capacity of the economy.

Nevertheless, working men most often fail to recognize working women as equals, a fact which weakens and divides the working class in struggles against their bosses. The capitalists, of course, recognize this situation and try to perpetuate it. For example, one-fifth to one-third of all companies have different pay scales for men and women doing the same kind of work. In other companies, work which could be done equally well by men or women is defined by the employer as *men's jobs* or *women's jobs*, closing off employment opportunities for one group or the other. And in a tactic often used by employers during strikes, letters are sent to strikers' wives, calling upon them to urge their husbands to return to work.

### TRADE UNIONS WEAKENED STRUGGLE

By failing to fight for equal wages and job security for women, trade unions have weakened *all* workers' struggles. For as long as men must fear replacement by lower-paid women, they are weakened in their fight for better wages and working conditions; and as long as women are not fighting alongside men, all workers are weakened. Yet working men have been conditioned to believe that their own exploited situation is relatively *good* because it is slightly better than that of a woman, and have been misled into believing they have a vested interest in keeping women down.

Women workers, as a result, often resent the men who work alongside them, and the two groups who should be working together are kept — profitably for their bosses — at odds with one another.

The same harmful division is often carried into the home, where wives must frequently bear the brunt of

their husbands' anger and dissatisfaction on the job. Frustrated by the economic treadmill they must run on, working men all too often come to view their families as burdens and blame them, rather than the exploitation of capitalism, for their discontent. Thus, male chauvinism divides the working class and turns its discontents back upon itself.

It is important to be clear, however, that male chauvinism not only hurts women, but hurts men as well — and quite directly. For as long as women are kept economically and psychologically dependent, men are charged — psychologically, if not always in fact — with the sole and complete burden of providing for their families. (And this is true even if their marriages should be dissolved by divorce.) To be sure, men are reputed to enjoy many advantages in their *superior* role. But the so-called advantages tend to crumble under examination.

The light and lively companion who is so flatteringly unchallenging to the male ego is seldom a friend with whom to share experiences, doubts, and problems; and the wife who is sheltered — and isolated — by the confines of her home and family all too often becomes a bore and a nag that her husband yearns to escape from. Keeping women *in their place* may help some men avoid housework. But a good marriage calls for more than being kept by a housekeeper and a marriage based on shared burdens and desires is a good deal more satisfying than one based on a well-darned sock. The satisfaction of feeling superior compares poorly with mutual respect, and command and subservience compares poorly with co-operation.

Despite the fact that male chauvinism hurts both men and women, it persists. For the attitudes that support it are pervasive and deep. Boys and girls are taught practically from birth that men are expected to run the world and women are expected to stay sweet, sexy, and at home. While most young men are raised to prepare for a job in order to support their family (their role being that of provider and authority first and only secondarily that of husband and father), the goal for women, first and foremost, is that of wife and mother, and they learn early that they are expected to venture beyond those roles only as required to help husband and children get along. The implications of such conditioning are profound and all-pervasive, and they serve capitalism well.

Because it helps them, the system fosters male chauvinism. The media they control are well-run schools for indoctrination in male chauvinism. Sex-oriented marketing practices serve the dual function of increasing markets (e.g., two razors) and maintaining male chauvinist ideas (be a *real* man; win a *real* woman; wear, use, *buy*) that increase profits through a sex-divided labor force. The survival of male chauvinism in advanced capitalist societies rests firmly on its economic basis. And unless that basis is clearly understood, the persistence of chauvinist myths and prejudices will be quite confusing.

Why, for example, if there are shortages in professional, technical, managerial and some skilled occupations, are women denied access to these areas? At the same time that the numbers of working women rose sharply, the proportion of professional and technical

positions held by women fell — from 45% in 1940 to 37% in 1966. Why, since women are clearly as intelligent as men, are there not more women in business and government leadership roles — especially when some of the available women are more capable than some of the men currently holding down such positions? Why are the intelligence and ability of women so often ignored and unused? The answer, we believe, is that male chauvinism is too profitable for capitalism to risk, and too vulnerable once the barriers are lowered. For example, an increase in the number of qualified and respected women in Congress would not directly challenge the capitalists' special exploitation of women workers; but such a development would convey the message that women are equal to men — a message that threatens dangerous repercussions not only in the halls of Congress, but also in the ranks of a currently sex-divided work force.

This explains, we believe, much of the irrational discrimination against women in diverse areas of life. The woman who would like to become a college professor and finds the road to that goal virtually blocked, despite having always stood at the head of her co-ed class, understandably rails against the prejudices in academia and within her chosen profession. But, in fact, barriers to professional women are inextricably tied to the discriminatory treatment of working class women and will yield only as the latter are able to overcome male chauvinism on their jobs.

Professional jobs for women will increase in number, but they will increase quite slowly, because male chauvinism is very strong, and an important pillar of capitalism itself. Indeed, the two are so closely linked that to attack one is to attack the other.

### MIDDLE CLASS ALSO EFFECTED

These facts are not always immediately evident to college students, particularly those who are middle class. For though they suffer from capitalism's irrationality and are alienated by its inability to provide a decent life, they are not directly exploited by providing the exploited productive labor that keeps the capitalist system going. Yet male chauvinism does hurt them. It hurts middle class women by tantalizing them with professional success and torturing them with the "masculine" tint of such success, making their relationships with men and with other women more difficult. It hurts them by giving them college educations, praising their intellectual and academic work, and expecting them to marry, have children and settle down to being *happy wives and mothers*. More often than not, it stunts their intellectual development, and it usually keeps them from taking leadership roles.

Male chauvinism hurts middle class men — as it hurts all men — by making them view women as competitors rather than as allies and by leading them to pin their masculinity on their command of women. They tend to consider their wives primarily as their caretakers rather than as people with whom to share their lives and responsibilities.

Male chauvinism hurts men and women of all classes,

directing their goals and lives along sexual lines, often against their needs, talents, and affinities. The chauvinism that hurts the middle class and the chauvinism that helps to maintain the exploitative capitalist system are parts of the same ideological framework and can be most effectively fought by a united opposition to all of its manifestations. It is not an easy fight, for it means attacking all the myriad beliefs, attitudes, assumptions, myths, that make up the male chauvinist superstructure. All of us, to one degree or another, share the ideas and values which underpin capitalism. To varying degrees we are all either male chauvinists or chauvinized. Until we recognize this fact and fight our own chauvinist attitudes we cannot effectively fight chauvinism elsewhere.

But this does not mean that only when we purge ourselves completely of chauvinism can we do battle against it elsewhere. Attitudes cannot be changed in the abstract, they change only when they are — and are recognized as — useless or harmful in practice. Male chauvinist attitudes can best be fought by exposing — to ourselves and to others — their destructiveness to our economic, psychological, and social lives, and by demonstrating how their elimination benefits us all. How, then, is this to be done?

The economic aspects of male chauvinism are, of course, best fought on the job: with drives for increased job opportunities for women, wage equality, and improved working conditions, as well as for such work-related issues as day care centers for children and paid maternity leaves. Trade unions — and especially the radical caucuses within them — must stress the elimination of sex discrimination among workers, and the struggles to improve conditions for women workers must, if they are to be successful, be carried on by men and women equally. This means, among other things, putting an end to the widespread tradition of male leadership in predominantly female union locals — and ultimately eliminating altogether most predominantly female locals and occupation; it means that women must play important leadership roles in labor struggles, and that the non-working wives of workers must be included as important and respected partners in these efforts. (A dramatic example of this was the role played by the wives of Gary, Indiana firemen in summer 1969; it was their "illegal" picketing that initiated a firemen's strike.)

Such united campaigns against the economic profit base of male chauvinism do three vital things:

(1) they improve working conditions, not only for women, but also for men;

(2) they demonstrate how the division between men and women workers weakens the working class, thus undermining through experience male chauvinist attitudes;

(3) they strengthen the working class as a whole while weakening capitalism.

At the same time, other efforts must focus on the social and psychological framework that supports male chauvinism. Emphasis on shared husband-and-wife responsibilities for child raising, housekeeping, and other aspects of family life, and on greater community interest in lightening such chores would distribute these responsibilities and tasks in a more rational way, lessening the

special burden on women and strengthening the family, the home and the neighborhood so that they become havens of mutual support and comfort instead of the misplaced focus for the discontents of exploited people who abuse and weaken one another.

Some of the same issues pertinent on the job and in the home are also pertinent on the college campus, especially at working class colleges and junior colleges, and for employees at all colleges. But the focus on campus must include the attitudes of students themselves, the way the educational process builds and reinforces male chauvinist attitudes, and the way these attitudes weaken student unity.

### RADICAL MOVEMENT NOT IMMUNE

The radical student movement is not at all immune from most aspects of male chauvinism; radical men tend to look to women for envelope-licking and *moral support* rather than as fully involved thinkers, speakers, and leaders. But in campus-based attacks on male chauvinism there is the danger of focussing only on its superstructure, and ignoring its economic base. It is quite easy, in a middle class student environment, to concentrate on irrationalities as if they were the fundamental causes of male chauvinism — just as in the early days of the civil rights movement, when the goals of desegregating restaurants, opening voter registration rolls, and so on, centered on the racist superstructure and benefitted only middle class blacks who tended to lead such struggles.

There are many women's liberation campaigns that seem incapable of seriously hurting male chauvinism, such as the denunciations of bras, girdles, hair rollers, and makeup. It is true, of course, that such items are by and large, although not entirely, needed and desired because they are produced, and not vice versa, and that the artificial creation of consumer demands is one way in which women are selectively manipulated. But it is also worth considering whether this is among the injustices most urgently in need of correction, or even most typical of the way male chauvinism hurts us. Aren't men, in fact, also manipulated at the marketplace? Are underpaid, overworked women significantly better off without bras and makeup?

These questions are not posed glibly. The choice of focus in the campaign against male chauvinism is a serious issue, and it is important to concentrate on significant changes. Bra and girdle-less women free of makeup can be as badly treated and paid as those who are tightly corsetted and amply camouflaged.

It is also easy, at times, to lose sight of the real causes of a problem and attack the manifestations of that problem instead. Thus, for example, because of the ways in which capitalism has used anticommunism, racism, male chauvinism and so on to weaken and divert American labor unions, some people have come to erroneously attack trade unionism as the source of these very underpinnings of capitalism. An analogous example is the attack of some women's liberation groups on the institution of the nuclear family, citing it as the cause of

the subservient role of most wives, the economic and psychological domination of husbands, and the psychological harm to women and children caused by the typical, inegalitarian family relationship. If women were not tied to their husbands, the argument goes, the perpetuation of male chauvinist attitudes could be halted, the stifling bondage of women could be terminated, and male chauvinism in all its economic, social, and psychological aspects would begin to crumble. Abolishing the family would therefore be a revolutionary step.

We believe that this approach mistakes the problem and attacks the victim rather than the disease. In fact, it actually magnifies the problems created by male chauvinism, because breaking up families can only feed existing antagonisms between men and women. Capitalism nurtures many institutions, including the family, as parochial bastions of the divisive values and practices needed to maintain that economic system. But this function does not have its source in the institutions themselves. The problem with the family, as with so much else within our economic system, is the way in which capitalism uses and distorts it. This point is crucial, for it indicates that alternatives to the nuclear family — extended families, communes, free floating individuals and groups — could be made to play the same bad functions as the family currently does. Female subservience, economic domination by men, parochialism, possessive control of children, all these serve capitalism's needs and would be fostered by capitalism in all social institutions. Thus the fight against male chauvinism must focus on the poison itself — not on the nature of the bottle that contains it.

Furthermore, to attack the institution of the family, which is so vital to the economic security of workers, is of no practical help to working people, with the result that the focus on the family isolates the middle class struggle against male chauvinism from that of the working class, leaving the overall struggle divided and impotent.

Finally, the attack on the family ignores the possibilities for non-chauvinist alternatives in family life, adoption of which can be an important part of the fight against chauvinism. How would a family function without the traditional chauvinist aspects? As mentioned above, childrearing, housekeeping, cooking, and related family duties would be shared by husband and wife. Divisions of labor would be made along individual, not sexual, lines, and all decisions affecting the family would be made cooperatively, eliminating all allocations of decision-making powers along sexual lines. With the chauvinist aspects of marriage removed, husband and wife would be able to help one another in many more ways than is common today, and would be far more likely to respect each other's ideas, problems, opinions, and plans. The same mutuality of responsibility and respect would be extended to the children, both male and female, as soon as that becomes possible, enriching the total family life and avoiding the transmission of chauvinist attitudes to the next generation. The rule should be to struggle with one's problems, with one another, and with the world, so as to improve the lives of everyone concerned. It is not an easy task.

This does not necessarily mean that the traditional family structure is the only possible arrangement of men, women, and children — or even that it is intrinsically the most desirable arrangement. But it does mean that as a strategy for change, a campaign to abolish the family in the foreseeable future is both futile and destructive. It is quite possible that the defeat of male chauvinism will ultimately lead to basic changes in the structure of the family — such as the reinstatement of extended families, cooperative child-raising, or other arrangements not yet thought of. But such changes must evolve out of changing relationships, as chauvinism is eliminated, and pressure for the immediate elimination of the family is less likely to destroy chauvinism than it is to destroy many people, many struggles and many possibilities for growth and change.

\* \* \*

The importance of understanding the economic basis of male chauvinism is strategic: because male chauvinism is so integral a part of capitalism, it can only really be eliminated when capitalism is destroyed. And the efforts to replace capitalism with socialism can succeed only as male chauvinism — and the other divisive ideological underpinnings of capitalism — are defeated. For unity of men and women is essential to real socialism, a form of social organization based on and built by people sharing equally their wealth and responsibility.

Because the underpinnings of capitalism and chauvinism go very deep, the defeat of male chauvinism and

the advent of socialism will take an unforeseeably long time. Even after a socialist revolution, it will be quite a while before all of the effects of these ideologies on our thoughts and actions become fully apparent. And the struggle against them goes on and on.

Of all the divisive ideologies, male chauvinism goes perhaps the deepest. Its added strength and tenacity is due to the childbearing capacity of women, which no longer provides a real material basis for male chauvinist sex roles, but which is a functional difference between the sexes that can be pointed to to justify male chauvinism. The other ideological underpinnings of capitalism have never had functional bases.

In the absence of a demonstrable functional basis — however unimportant — an ideology can be expected to grow weak in the face of evidence to contradict it and to show its harmfulness. Similar weakening is not impossible — but is much slower, for the ideology of male chauvinism. Furthermore, male chauvinism goes deeper simply because it involves sex, which intimately and ritualistically and often neurotically pervades our social and personal lives, and even our language.

What this all adds up to is that the struggle against male chauvinism will be at least as prolonged as it is essential, at least as difficult as it is promising. So long as we keep that in mind, it is a struggle that can be won . . . and during which we will all become stronger and freer.

**W**omen have always been a specially-exploited section of the working class. U.S. imperialism has maintained and extended this special exploitation by barring women from certain types of work, paying lower wages for similar work as men do and by using them as a special "reserve" force against militant male workers. There has always been, too, a systematic ideological campaign to place women socially, politically and economically beneath the status of the male population in general. As Engels said, "within the family, *he* is the bourgeois, and *she* is the proletariat."

While this special exploitation of women is true in general, it is more brutal when applied to black women; they must face superexploitation as workers who are black, together with the additional burden of being women. The superexploitation of women and the triple-exploitation of black women workers can only end with the destruction of imperialism and the construction of a workers' dictatorship.

It is precisely because of the special position of women and the brutal exploitation of black women that they therefore are the most potentially revolutionary section of the working class; they are the most oppressed and therefore will fight back the hardest. Recent history has shown that black women have taken leading roles in the fight for better housing, welfare, against police brutality and drug addiction. As a result, U.S. imperialism, attempting to use its *divide and conquer* technique, is attempting to utilize the old male supremacist

standby to split black women from black men.

Ruling class "scholars" and press are telling black men to regain their "rightful male position" in their lives and "not permit their own emasculation." And, at the same time, the so-called "revolutionaries" in the ghetto, the "cultural nationalists," preach that black women should stand behind their men and play a supporting role. Some even claim that this is in the historical "African tradition." It is much the same argument that the ruling class uses when it tells black Americans that their forefathers on the Southern plantations "like the warm, leisurely way of life."

In seeking to find African roots for the ruling class inspired campaign of oppression, the black nationalists distort the feelings of internationalism that black people have for their brethren in Africa, and the other colored peoples of Asia and Latin America. In line with this insidious plot, they foist drugs, which were forced upon the people of Latin America and Asia, as a "traditional Asian experience" and even prostitution of black women, in the name of the "traditional polygamous forms of marriage" in Africa.

These ruling-class inspired plots to split black men from women will not work in the long run. As black and white workers will fight to defeat the common class enemy, so black men and women will defeat the splitist tactics of the enemy. As the working class generally will be led by communist black workers, leaders among these black working-class revolutionaries will be black women.



**T**EXTILE WORKERS TODAY ARE ONE of the most viciously oppressed and exploited groups of industrial workers in America. Long-standing harassment and the use of open terror against organizing textile workers and the constant and pervasive propagandizing of racism among white workers has created in the South an entire region of the country open to the super-exploitation of its workers by U.S. monopoly capitalism.

This situation has profited from the cowardice, opportunism and objective political betrayal of the U.S. Left (primarily the Communist Party), and by the treacherous collaboration and sellout politics of the U.S. trade union leadership (formerly the AFL, and since the 1940s the Textile Workers Union of America, TWUA).

The combination of these two factors has created this situation within the U.S. textile industry.

590,000 of this industry's 954,000 workers are in the South, yet only 14 per cent of these workers are organized.

In the cotton textile industry, 96 per cent of whose workers are in the South, even less than 14 per cent are organized.

Southern textile workers received in 1967 an average wage of \$1.87 an hour (92¢ an hour less than the U.S. average for production workers), and average fringe benefits of 15¢ an hour (35¢ an hour below the U.S. average).

The difference in wages and benefits also reflects the lack of power textile workers have to fight against speedups, mass layoffs and a series of other boss schemes to maximize profits beyond the wage-benefit differential.

In response to this massive super-exploitation, beginning in late 1966 and going into June 1967, North Carolina workers of Cone Mills Corp., eleventh largest textile corp. in the U.S., waged an organizing drive around working conditions and pay. Also deeply involved was the major union in textiles, the TWUA.

The factory system was first introduced into this country by the bosses of the New England mercantile

trade. To increase their profits they organized the U.S. textile industry to supply a marketing system they already controlled with textile goods cheaper than could be bought in trade with England.

At first these textile mills hired workers from the women in the small towns throughout the New England countryside. But as the factory system gained acceptance, the bosses realized they could make greater profits by hiring immigrant workers. They initiated a systematic program of setting national groups against each other, increasing the workload and cutting the pay scales.

The heroic struggles of these mill workers began with sporadic protest walkouts by the original New England women workers in the mid-1800s. And this beautiful history of class struggle was marked by massive struggles and victories that spanned more than 80 years and such Northeast mill centers as Fall River, Lawrence, New Bedford and Lowell in Massachusetts, and Patterson and Passaic in New Jersey, to mention only a few. These struggles form a proud part of the history of the U.S. working class.

In the South, the development of the textile industry didn't begin until shortly after the end of the Civil War. At that time, the South was in turmoil, and the ruling class was faced by the beginnings of an alliance by poor whites

(small farmers, tenant farmers and sharecroppers, a group traditionally hostile to the rulers of the large-scale slavery-based plantation system), and the newly freed blacks throughout the South. The early radical-populist movement was emerging.

As radical reconstruction was sold out, the traditional Southern rulers launched a massive repression across the South, whipped up a vicious tide of racism among Southern whites and coupled this with a brutal terrorism against all, black or white, who dared to resist. This finally resulted in the elimination of the populist movement, along with the complete disenfranchisement and utter subjugation of both blacks and poor whites throughout the region.

Blacks were forced back into a slightly modi-

## **U.S. textile industry: an analysis**

fied plantation system, as were those poor whites who were unable to eek out a living from the marginal farms they had been working. But throughout an entire section of the South, the Piedmont region, there was no plantation system and in fact nothing at all capable of absorbing the tens of thousands of starving poor whites whose farms were unable to provide even subsistence for their families in the face of competition with the plantation system. And it was in this region (making up a large part of the states of North and South Carolina and in similarly plagued areas of Virginia, eastern Tennessee and Georgia) that the bosses devised a method to profit from the peoples' starvation. They began the process of moving the textile industry from one section of the country to another—a process that kept on at a rapid pace all through the late 1800s.

The mill bosses hired whites only. Workers were forced to live in mill towns, in company-owned shacks. The schools, teachers, churches, preachers, police, etc., were all paid for and completely controlled by the mill bosses. Wages were paid in script redeemable only at the mill commissary and were so low that only one individual could possibly subsist on them. This forced all members of the family to work in the mills, including wives, mothers, grandparents, and from the age of about six or eight, all children.

A fourteen-hour workday was the norm, with mass layoffs for months at a time in slack seasons. Semi-starvation was the best mill workers in the South could ever look forward to.

In order to keep this kind of vicious super-exploitation going, the mill bosses schemed to play every conceivable group of workers off against each other. The masses of poor white farmers were, in effect, pitted against black plantation workers—And the mill bosses threatened the white mill workers with training thousands of blacks for mill jobs if the whites tried to organize.

Among the whites, many of the young children as well as many farmers hired by the mill bosses were trained on a job and then immediately laid off. This enabled the textile bosses to keep control of the job market, to depress wages, to operate a ruthless blacklist system, and to have on hand a large trained force of starving and unemployed workers to threaten those employed who might try to organize; breaking any organizing drives that might develop.

And those in the South "lucky" enough to have jobs were in turn used to keep down the wages and living conditions of mill workers in the Northeast, in effect pitting these workers against each other.

Since pitting workers in the South against those in the Northeast paid-off profitably, most mill bosses realized that in the long run they could continue to make more off the Southern mill system. They did not reinvest their profits in modernizing or constructing new mills in the Northeast; instead they squeezed every penny's worth of profit out of

the mill workers there and used these profits to build modern new mills in the South. As the New England mills finally fell apart or became obsolete, most mill bosses simply transferred their operations to the South, to mills they had been constructing all along. In New England they left behind empty and obsolete factories, decayed cities and masses of jobless workers.

By 1900, wages paid Southern mill workers were just a little over one-half those paid Northern mill workers. Hours were at 12 a day, six days a week when production was underway. Children from six and up were still forced to work in the mills. And while the mill boss gorged on the profits earned from the mill—he called workers "lint-heads," "factory rats" and "cotton mill trash."

In spite of the odds against them, mill workers in the South tried to fight back. At one time, the old Knights of Labor had over 100 secret locals in mill towns throughout the South. But the remnants of most of these, along with the few locals of the newer AF of L, were wiped out in strikes during 1902 and again in 1913, after which the mill bosses were able to continue mostly unobstructed in keeping wages just above starvation level and a workweek still averaging over sixty hours.

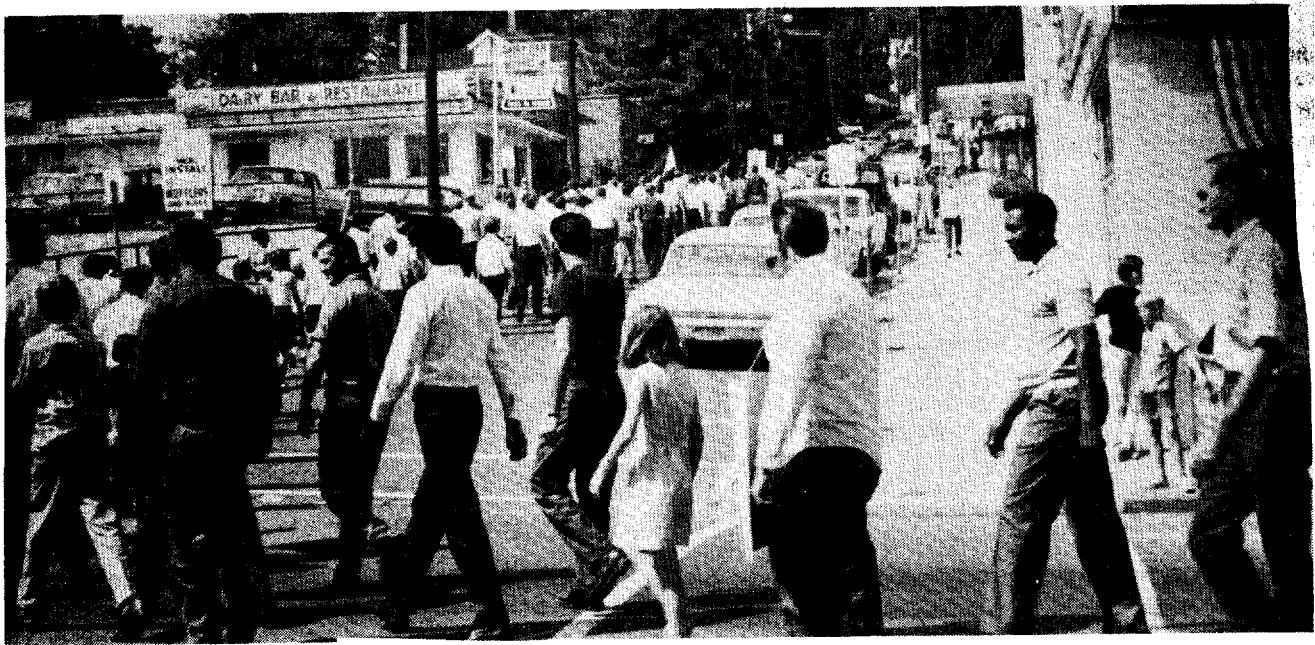
Wages and working conditions improved somewhat during World War I, and some locals were established under the United Textile Workers of America (UTWA, AFL). Immediately following the War's end, massive speedups and wage cuts were put into effect throughout the South. Strikes waged against this were launched between 1919-1922, but were ruthlessly crushed.

By 1926 Southern mill capacity equalled that of the Northeast, and its growth kept on picking up steam thereafter, widening the gap further each year.

Beginning in 1929, the workers rebelled in a series of major strikes marked by tremendous solidarity in the face of some of the most vicious repression ever unleashed on workers in the country's history.

On March 12, 1929, 500 women workers walked off their jobs at the American Glanztoff Corp. and were joined the next day by the remaining 2,500 workers at the company's giant mill in Elizabethton, Tenn. The workers held out for more than two-and-one-half months against hired goons, sheriff's deputies and local cops as well as more than 800 National Guardsmen mobilized to break their strike. But they were finally starved out and forced to return to work.

In September of 1929, workers struck in Marion, N.C. (see *Progressive Labor*, Feb. 1969 for a detailed account). After the bosses had betrayed even the sellout arrangement reached with the AFL's representatives of the UTWA, workers walked off their jobs and organized a mass picket line, staying to expand the strike to all production shifts. The local sheriff and his deputies attacked



North Carolina textile workers march, 1966.

these workers, throwing gas bombs into their midst and then opening fire. Six workers were murdered and 24 wounded in this attack, all shot in the back. (A mill boss commented "I understand there were 60 to 75 shots fired. If this is true, 30 to 35 of these bullets are accounted for. I think the officers are damn good marksmen.")

Following this were evictions, more terrorism and troops. The workers were finally betrayed completely by the AFL, which made no attempt to aid the workers or extend the strike outward to other mills. William Green, head of the AFL, repudiated the strike and even the six workers who had been murdered. In the face of this betrayal the strike was finally crushed by the mill bosses.

Children were working an 11-hour day, six days a week, for \$4.95 in pay at the Gastonia, N.C. plant of Manville Jenckes in 1929 when the communist-led National Textile Workers Union, (NTWU), successfully organized workers and struck the mill. National Guardsmen were immediately called in. A *Committee of 100* vigilantes was set up by the company. Picket lines were viciously attacked by the cops. The union hall was destroyed; relief food for the strikers and their families was seized, thrown into the street and soaked with kerosene. Evictions, arrests and beatings of strikers took place almost daily. A tent city set up to house evicted workers was raided by the police and in the ensuing gun battle one striker and two cops were wounded, and the chief of police was fatally shot. The repression accelerated. Communist organizers and militant workers were framed on murder charges and railroaded off to prison.

In September, Ella May Wiggins, a strike leader and mother of five, was caught in an ambush and murdered by company gun thugs. Although this strike was eventually lost, the bravery and soli-

arity of the strikers pointed out the miserable conditions of Southern mill workers, their willingness to struggle and the ability of black and white mill workers in the South to join hands in common struggle.

#### ISOLATION OF WORKERS HURTS THEM

Analyzing these strikes, several points stand out. The workers and organizers managed to overcome most of the bosses' obstacles: the stoolpigeon system and the blacklist, promotion of narrow individualism, race hatred, yankee-baiting, red-baiting and the ravings of phony company preachers and newspapers. They fought together bravely and with tremendous solidarity. They were able for months to keep out scabs and to resist the armed might of the bosses including National Guardsmen, sheriffs and deputies, local police, vigilantes, hired gun thugs and assassins. *But they failed because they were not organized as part of an industry-wide drive in which workers across the industry would have gone out simultaneously.* Once these isolated mills were struck, the strike was not immediately spread out in such a fashion.

In analyzing the Gastonia strike, the communist William Z. Foster noted that the NTWU

lost a great opportunity to take the lead in the whole struggle. Thanks to its Gastonia prestige and by throwing in all possible field organizers and calling a general Southern textile conference, it could have united the many scattered fights into one great coordinated struggle.

Foster then noted that instead of this, the communists concentrated all efforts upon Gastonia... The general effect was to isolate fatally the NTWU in terror-ridden Gastonia and to let the leadership of the general spontaneous movement go into the hands of the A.F. of L. by default.

That is just what did happen in the early 1930s. Textile workers continued striking and attempting to organize locals, flooding the phony UTWA with requests for organizers, charters, strike relief, etc. To quote Foster again on this, "The tragedy was that the workers were fighting against the speedup, whereas encouraging the hated speedup was the very heart of AFL policy."

But when the National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA) was abolished in 1934 and wages were cut again—textile workers in the South (and Northeast) could be held back neither by the bosses nor the phony UTWA, which was threatened with the widespread bolt of its membership to the Left. In the face of this, the UTWA was forced to call for a nationwide strike of textile workers against the blacklist, and the stretchout (speedup), for shorter hours and more pay, for reinstatement of discharged union members and for union recognition.

### NEVER WANT WORKERS' VICTORIES

The strike that followed was gigantic. At its peak, over 365,000 textile workers were out: 88,000 in North Carolina; 60,000 in South Carolina; 60,000 in Georgia; 38,000 in Alabama; and 25,00 in Tennessee. Also out were at least 11,000 National Guardsmen and troops in 11 different states, and an estimated 33,000 armed deputies local cops, vigilantes and gun thugs. Barbed wire concentration camps were set up in many mill areas of the South, and in Georgia hundreds of striking textile workers were herded into one such camp and imprisoned there. Yet these tactics were not new to Southern mill workers, and did not break their strike.

What finally did break it was the liberal demagogery of President F.D. Roosevelt. He went on radio across the South urging workers to abandon their strike, thus saving the ball game for the mill bosses. F.D.R. cynically coupled his back-to-work appeal with the appointment of an "impartial" body to "study" the problem. Naturally nothing of substance ever came from this board. In the confusion that followed, the bosses initiated a back-to-work movement. At the same time, they permanently fired at least 10,000 union members and strike leaders, dealing a heavy blow to workers throughout the South.

The main reason this strike failed, however, was that the UTWA never meant it to be successful. These sellouts made no preparations for strike relief, food, clothes or shelter for the strikers and their families; no areawide, and in most cases, not even a local plan existed. Nor did the UTWA organize any effective link between areas, so no coordination or democratic strike-strategy committees could be built. This was no doubt because the UTWA bureaucrats feared the workers and knew that once workers built such a network; they would begin to challenge the sellout deals these UTWA

phonies had been shoving down their throats for years.

These phony bureaucrats had hoped F.D.R. would bail them out by proposing some sort of a compromise. Instead, he broke the workers' ranks when bullets, clubs and concentration camps had failed. Being cut off from each other, the workers inevitably fell prey to this skillful demagogery and the subsequent back-to-work movement. But their disillusionment with the UTWA was permanent. *One year later, the membership of this union had gone from 300,000 to less than 70,000 workers.*

But the textile bosses stepped back in with more speedups, continued starvation-level pay and long hours. In 1937, the Right-wing socialists decided to pool their efforts in establishing a new textile workers' union that they could control. With \$400,000 from the Amalgamated Clothing Workers (ACWA), and \$200,000 more from the ILGWU, a one million dollar fund started the Textile Workers Organizing Committee (TWOC). Two years later it was chartered as the Textile Workers Union, TWU-CIO. This new union immediately began signing up members across the South and attempted to get these workers covered with whatever kind of contract the bosses would agree to. Within six months over 450,000 textile workers had signed up; about 270,000 were under some form of contract between the union and the various mill companies.

War soon began and seemed at the time to give a boost to the TWUA. Under the provisions of the War Labor Board, companies were to allow unions in their plants and meet and negotiate with union representatives. The bosses agreed because under massive war contracts they were making the biggest profits in the history of capitalism.

This is the key to what followed the end of World War II, the TWUA had not beaten the textile bosses in a decisive showdown. Events may have been leading toward this showdown in the late 1930s when World War II broke and the federal government intervened to promote *labor peace*. The TWUA's organization of the textile workers was tentative, *not* firmly grounded.

There was another factor that turned out to be decisive in the postwar offensive of the Southern textile bosses. That was the nature of the work of communists and Leftwingers in the South and within the textile industry.

Throughout the South during the late 1930s, the Communist Party's line had resulted in some very weak political work. Among small farmers, tenant farmers and sharecroppers the CP had been organizing to carry out various programs of the *New Deal*; implementing these programs had become its chief activity. It had been playing footsy with the Rightwing leadership of the TWUA, evidently thinking that serious political struggle against these phonies would hamper the trade union work. And worst of all, with the outbreak of World War II, the CP virtually abandoned all struggle against the

bosses and became loyal patriots of the system.

Little wonder then, that when the bosses launched their postwar anti-communist offensive, they were holding all the trump cards.

The CP was unable to erase ten years of opportunism. About the only *political* work the CP had been doing was on behalf of the capitalists helping to promote their *New Deal* policies and rounding up votes during elections for various *New Deal* politicians. It was hardly the sort of political groundwork necessary to fight back against this attack.

Yet even from this position of weakness, the CP's response, must stand as one of the most shameful pages in the history of the Left in this country.

### "LEFT" GOES UNDER – OSTRICH-STYLE

The CP dissolved itself in the South. It attempted to regroup and hide – ostrich fashion – under the guise of *Left-liberals*. It answered the anti-communist attack by pointing to its reformist activities of the preceding ten years, claiming to be simply *New Dealers* and good trade unionists. Its line was to plead phony "constitutional rights" in refusing to answer the red-baiting \$64 question, and to actually sue for *slander* those who were calling them communists.

When the dust settled, the communists and Left-wingers had been expelled from the TWUA (and most other unions), they were blacklisted by the bosses and unable to find work. Most were hounded and driven out of the South altogether.

Quite naturally the bosses moved to cash in on this immense victory. In the textile industry, this took the form of demolishing the shakily organized TWUA across the South, a task made easy by the Rightwing leadership ruling uncontested over the TWUA. As Hubert H. Humphrey, an expert on the subject, said in 1951, "If any union in the country is clearly most-anti-communist, this [the TWUA] is it."

Recognizing their betrayal by the bureaucrats, and without communist leadership to organize their struggle, mill workers became demoralized and hundreds of weakly-built locals across the South went under. The few remaining quickly became paper locals and for all practical purposes ceased existing. A few members came together in an occasional rump session to ratify whatever sweetheart agreement was presented to them by the TWUA bureaucrats.

The textile bosses in turn rewarded these sell-out officials of the TWUA by allowing locals to exist in the ever-smaller number of mills in the North-east, thus guaranteeing a sufficient flow of dues money into the pockets of the bureaucrats to enable them to continue living high on the hog.

There were only two notable exceptions to this pattern in the next ten years and both betrayed the

TWUA's shameful refusal to even consider raising the ante when it became clear a struggle either had to be escalated or fail. The first took place at Darlington Mills, in Darlington, S.C., owned mainly by the head of Deering Milliken, third largest U.S. textile corporation. Workers at Darlington attempted to organize a TWUA local in the plant and voted in favor of this local in a recognition election in September, 1956. The company's response was to close the mill down, auction off \$1,850,000 worth of cotton mill machinery and leave the building vacant and hundreds of workers jobless. The TWUA's only response to this was to file some legal objections, which ten years later were still in the courts, and to issue a press release protesting the action.

And in 1958 workers at the Harriet Henderson Mills, in Henderson, N.C., struck when the company refused to accept even the traditional sweetheart contract the TWUA had been mass-producing and foisting off on mill workers. When the strike began so did the usual strikebreaking methods of the mill bosses, including injunctions, National Guardsmen, scab herding, etc. Only 90 of the original 1,038



Blast scab at Cone Mill's White Oak plant.

strikers went back. But in a new twist on an old trick, a state *investigating officer* who had weasled his way into the strikers' midst, proposed to local union leaders and a representative of the TWUA International Executive Council that they buy dynamite to blow up the struck mill. The workers involved evidently didn't realize that this sort of an activity is by its nature counterproductive and can never take the place of strong workingclass action. Their allegedly foolish replies to this provocateur's *radical* plan were recorded on a hidden tape recorder and, together with the testimony of this North Carolina Bureau of Investigation agent, was enough to get the men convicted of conspiracy.

TABLE I: MAJOR STOCKHOLDERS AND BANKING CONTROL OF TEXTILE FIRMS

Corporations Employing 4,000 or more textile workers	Rank in top 500 USA Industrial Corporation	No. Textile Workers Employed	Value of Sales in Textile Pdts. (\$ thousands)	Value of Assets in Textile Pdts. (\$ thousands)	Major Stockholders	Primary Banking Agents	Control Group
Burlington Industries	32	74,000	1,364,552	1,027,564	MGT (14%) c	WB&T, CBNYT	Rockefeller, Boston (Morgan min.)
J. P. Stevens	62	44,800	794,241	568,095	Stevens family (3%) c	MGT	Morgan
United Merchants/Mfgs.*	93	14,900 (est.)	267,069 (est.)	207,805 (est.)	Schwab family (6%) c	FNCB, CTC	Rockefeller, Boston
Johnson & Johnson*	170	9,000 (est.)	160,200 (est.)	125,100 (est.)	Johnson family (27%) c	CMB, MGT	NA
West Point-Pepperel	171	19,800	334,699	223,361	NL	FNB-B, FNB-A	Morgan, Boston (Rockefeller min.)
Dan River Mills	179	18,900	256,548	269,745	Abernathy, Jefferson (12%) c	MGT, F&MNB	Rockefeller, Morgan - Baltimore, N. Carolina
Springs Mills	180	18,600	243,067	295,279	Springs, Close families (60%) c	MGT, WB&T	Morgan (Rockefeller min.)
Cannon Mills	187	18,000	287,370	237,473	Cannon family (41%) c	B&T	Rockefeller influence
M. Lowenstein & Sons	200	16,300	291,471	227,354	Lowenstein family (39%) c	CMB, MGT	Rockefeller influence
Cone Mills	214	14,600	262,622	220,238	Cone family (40%) c	FNCB, WB&T	Rockefeller influence
Indian Head*	233	9,100 (est.)	161,980 (est.)	126,490 (est.)	Robison, Kalman, Flack interests (18%) c CBNYT (7%) c	CBNYT	Rockefeller, Boston
Fieldcrest Mills	295	10,900	175,270	118,853	Amoskeag Co. (38%) c, Dumaine family (43%) c	NSB-B, CBNYT	Boston
Kendall Co.*	310	8,500 (est.)	151,300 (est.)	118,150 (est.)	Kendall family (27%) c, FBP (28%) p	FNB-B, FNCB	Boston
American Enka	334	9,300	186,000	197,429	AKU, NV-Holland (55%) c	CMB, FNCB	foreign ownership
Riegel Textile Co.	358	8,500	155,733	115,362	Riegai family (21%) c, MHT (9%) c	MHT	Morgan, Philadelphia
Reeves Bros.*	397	4,500	80,110 (est.)	62,550 (est.)	Reeves family (45%) c,	CMB, CBNYT	Rockefeller influence
Collins & Aikman	452	5,000	164,531	81,993	Girard Trust-Phil. (17%) c, McCullough interests (13%) c	BT, MMTG	Morgan (Rockefeller min.)
Abney Mills	NL	7,000	124,600 (est.)	97,300 (est.)	NA	NA	NA
American Thread Co.	NL	5,000	64,579	66,029	English Calico Ltd. (99%) c	MGT, CBNYT	foreign ownership
Avondale Mills	NL	5,400	96,979	65,745	Comer family (38%) c, (40%) p, BTNB (7%) c	FNB-Bir, BT	Morgan
Bibb Mfg. Co.	NL	8,000	110,000 (est.)	69,000 (est.)	Comer family (3%) c	C&SNB-A	Morgan
Callaway Mills	NL	8,300 (est.)	148,421 (est.)	115,768 (est.)	Callaway family (NA)	NA	NA
Coats & Clark	NL	6,000 (est.)	106,800 (est.)	83,400 (est.)	Coats, Patons, Ltd. Scotland (100%) c	ITC	foreign ownership
Deering Milliken	NL	40,000 (est.)	720,000 (est.)	540,000 (est.)	Milliken family (NA)	FNCB	Rockefeller
Graniteville Co.	NL	5,500	113,021	74,000	Swint Townsend interests (3%) c	CBNYT, MMTG	Rockefeller, Morgan
Greenwood Mills	NL	6,500	115,000 (est.)	90,662 (est.)	Self family (NA)	SCNB	Morgan
Russell Mills	NL	4,200	43,904	43,175	Russell family (70%) c	FNB-Mont	Morgan

Shortly after the men were imprisoned, the TWUA's international officers interceded in the strike and called it off. Five days after the state's governor granted executive clemency to the convicted officials, including the international vice-president. Thirty-three days after that the men were paroled from prison and later were pardoned altogether.<sup>1</sup>

The TWUA philosophy was best explained by its president, William Pollock, who told textile workers and delegates from TWUA locals in 1958, "we must face the facts of life in our industry and adapt ourselves to these conditions." He added in the same breath that the TWUA was forming new policies to which he felt "employers would be receptive."

This *new philosophy* applied not only to the economic slump years of the late 1950s but to the entire *new era* of the TWUA. The bosses have, on

the whole, indeed been *receptive*.

By a process of mergers and bank control, the textile industry today is controlled by major combines of capitalists: Rockefeller, Morgan and Boston interests. In the late 1800s and the early years of this century, economic concentration was fairly low, especially in the South. There workers were barbarically exploited, and the profit margins were high enough to umbrella many petty capitalists. This led, however, to a chronic crisis of overproduction, followed by production cutbacks, price cutting, wage cutting, massive layoffs and bankruptcies. In the wake of this, big banking interests began moving into the industry — especially after World War I. By the early 1930s, this development had matured to the point where the chief industry trade paper observed: "Banking interests are now practically in complete control of the textile situation; not only in the East but in the South as a general condition, all vital decisions affecting textiles are completed in the directorates of banks."

TABLE II: MONOPOLY CONTROL OF U.S. TEXTILE INDUSTRY

Major Synthetic Fiber Textile Producers	No. Fiber Plants in Operation (U.S. Total=159)	Company's Rank in Top 500 U.S. Corps. List	Monopoly Group in Control
Celanese Corp.	25	63	Rockefeller, Morgan
Beaunit Corp., (subsidiary, El Paso Nat. Gas Co.)	17	a	Houston (Rockefeller, Mellon, San Francisco, Morgan)
Uniroyal Inc.	12	35	Rockefeller, DuPont, Morgan
Owens-Corning Fiberglas Co.	11	227	Rockefeller (Morgan, Boston)
FMC Corp.	10	47	San Francisco, Rockefeller, Cleveland
E.I. DuPont deNemours & Co.	9	18	DuPont, Morgan
Firestone Tire & Rubber Co.	6	25	Cleveland
Union Carbide Corp.	5	24	Rockefeller (Mellon, Chicago, Morgan)
Monsanto Chemical Co.	4	41	Rockefeller
Goodyear Tire & Rubber Co.	4	17	Rockefeller
Eastman Kodak Co.	3	20	Rockefeller (Mellon, Cleveland, Morgan)
B.F. Goodrich Co.	2	59	Morgan
Chevron Chemical Co. (subsidiary, Std. Oil of N.J.)	—	10	Rockefeller
Enjay Chemical Co. (subsidiary, Std. Oil of N.J.)	—	—	—
Amoco Chem. Corp. (subsidiary, Std. Oil of Ind.)	—	61	Rockefeller
P.P.G. Industries	—	72	Mellon
Allied Chemical Co.	—	82	Rockefeller, Morgan
Dow Chemical Co.	—	83	(Cleveland, Boston, Morgan)
American Cyanamid Corp.	—	89	Rockefeller, Morgan
Phillips Petroleum Co.	—	91	(Rockefeller, DuPont)
Rohm & Haas Co.	—	239	Philadelphia
Thiokot Chemical Co.	—	348	(Morgan)

c: common stock  
p: preferred stock  
(est): estimated  
NL: not listed

\*: also involved in non-textile production  
NA: information not available  
(min): minority interest  
a: ninth largest USA utility co.

The following abbreviations for the local banking interests:

BT: Bankers Trust Co., New York; BTNB: Birmingham Trust National Bank; C&SNB-A: Citizens & Southern National Bank of Atlanta; C&SNB-C: Citizens & Southern National Bank, Charleston, So. Carolina; CB&T: Cabarrus Bank & Trust Co., North Carolina; CBNYT: Chemical Bank New York Trust; CMB: Chase Manhattan Bank, New York; CTC: Corporation Trust Co., New York; F&MNB: First & Merchants National Bank of Richmond, Virginia; FBP: Fidelity Bank of Philadelphia; FNB-A: First National Bank, Atlanta, Georgia; FNB-B: First National Bank, Boston; FNB-Bir: First National Bank, Birmingham, North Carolina; FNB-Mont: First National Bank, Montgomery, Alabama; FNCB: First National City Bank, New York; ITC: Irving Trust Co., New York; MGT: Morgan Guaranty Trust, New York; MHT: Manufacturers Hanover Trust, New York; MMTG: Marine Midland Grace Trust Co., New York; MSD&T: Mercantile Safe Deposit & Trust Co., Baltimore; NCNB: North Carolina National Bank, Charlotte; NSB-B: National Shawmut Bank, Boston; SCNB: South Carolina National Bank, Charleston; TCG: Trust company of Georgia, Atlanta WB&T: Wachovia Bank & Trust Co., North Carolina.

Sources: Moody's Industrial Manual; Moody's Bank and Finance Manual; Moody's Public Utilities Manual; Poor's Register of Corporations, Directors and Executives; New York Stock Exchange Directory; Who's Who in America; World Who's Who in Commerce and Industry; Security Exchange Commission forms Number Three and Number Four; corporation proxy statements; Commercial Banks and Their Trust Activities (House Committee on Banking and Currency); New York Times, July 21, 1968.

The pattern of control of the textile industry today is outlined by *Tables 1* through *3*. A narrow group of stockholders and three major banking groups control the biggest textile firms (*Table 1*). This same group, by and large, controls the synthetic fiber sources for the industry (*Table 2*). (Bank finance is, of course, also essential to the cotton-growing and cotton broker interests.) And the smaller textile firms are linked into the web by interlocking financial interests (*Table 3*).

This is what monopoly capitalism is. Those controlling and operating this monopoly structure are the same ones controlling all U.S. industry—the U.S. ruling class.

The ruling class uses this tight control to achieve one goal: maximizing profits. This means exploiting textile workers by paying wages lower than the actual value these workers add to the goods in the manufacturing process. Tight control also allows the ruling class to manipulate the market by fixing prices and by enforcing planned obsolescence.

Nor is this the end, for each year these few combines tighten their hold. As raw material use is shifting to chemical fibers and blends and away from organic fibers like cotton, wool and rayon, the old-time mills (where most small textile corporations are concentrated) are becoming less profitable to operate. There is an increasing need to *integrate* facilities backward to fiber production and preparation and forward into finishing operations. This requires a much more expensive and complicated production process—and only the major finance-capital combines control the capital and technology necessary to operate prosperously in this situation. Within recent years these groups got a special tax break from Washington to speed up the rate of capital investment in textiles.

## USA TEXTILE BOSSES RUN THE SHOW

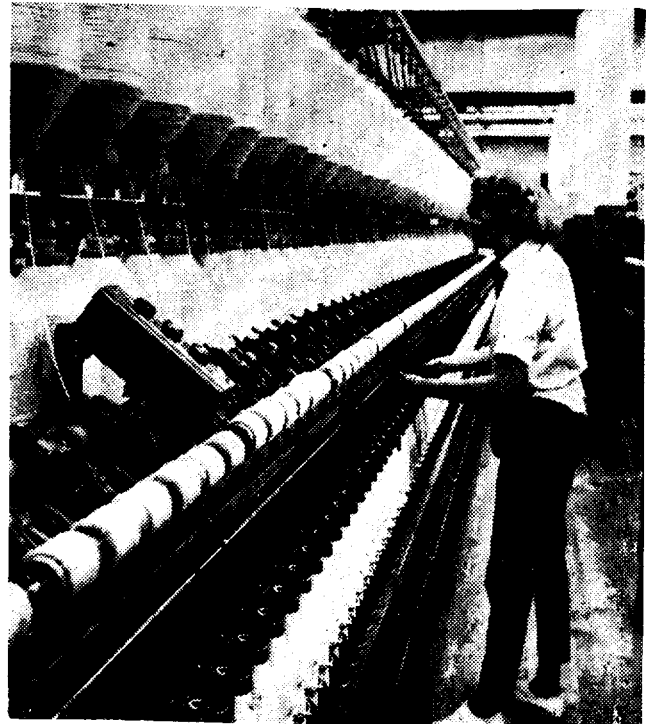
International rivalry is now an additional factor in prices and profits.

Under monopoly control, the textile industry made a profit of 7.9 per cent on the capital invested, and a profit of 3.2 per cent on sales last year. But while the industry didn't lose money, the big banks controlling it are far from satisfied. For their goal is to make not profits, but *maximum* profits, and the average profit for all industries that year was 11.3 per cent of the capital invested and 4.6 per cent of sales.

The reason for this difference say the mill bosses, is that competition from imported textiles prevented the industry from jacking up prices as much as they would have liked. To a certain extent, however, this is a phony issue used by the combines to justify special government subsidies for the industry. One of the most important boosts to textile profits in recent years has been huge government

orders for mill products, amounting in the peak year of 1966 to over \$1.5 billion and a full 5 per cent of the total output of the industry; but this is only the beginning.

Behind the issue of "imports" the U.S. government lays out roughly \$1.2 billion each year to subsidize the price to the textile industry of its raw material, cotton, wool and mohair. And this same issue served as the justification for a preferential tax deal to the textile and apparel industries,



J.P. Stevens exploits 30,000 in the Carolinas

beginning in 1962. Depreciation allowances (i.e., federal tax deductions) were increased by 40-50 per cent for virtually all new textile machinery. This had the effect of subsidizing a large part of the expense of stepped-up automation and modernization of the entire U.S. textile industry. And tied in with this move, the U.S. Department of Commerce began, at government expense, a special research and development program for the textile industry to find new uses for textile products in consumer-oriented industries.

The fact is that the U.S. bosses themselves are heavily involved in foreign textile production. Seven major U.S. textile corporations own a total of 77 foreign textile producers operating in 20 different countries throughout Europe, Asia, Africa and Latin America.<sup>4</sup> The textile industry in some foreign countries (notably South Korea and Taiwan) is really an appendage of the same big banks and ruling combines running the U.S. industry. The trading companies arranging much of these imports are similarly controlled.

Actually, a more serious impairment to the



U.S. rulers' ability to maximize profits in this industry has been the loss of many of the former markets for textiles. This is due to several factors: Initially the breaking away from imperialist domination by the early Soviet republic in 1917 and the latter winning of victory in People's China and Albania — as well as the domination of the Soviet revisionists in all of Eastern Europe and their economic hold on the textile and other industries. National-bourgeois forces (small-scale capitalists) in many colonialist-controlled countries have attempted to become bigger bosses by building up a textile industry. This is virtually the only industry these aspiring bosses can hope to enrich themselves in. Entry into basic textile production requires relatively little technology; the basic resource for these bosses is very cheap labor. Further, by erecting tariff barriers they create a domestic market for their products.

Naturally U.S. capital is busy attempting to buy up a piece of the action (or the whole business oftentimes) of any such operation that is especially profitable. But the development of a relatively primitive (i.e., very heavily labor intensive) textile industry in a series of colonialist-dominated countries (India, Pakistan, Spain, Portugal, various Latin American countries, etc.) had had the effect of restricting international textile markets for U.S. dominated firms in the last 15 years or so.

To the extent that the U.S. bosses really do see an "import problem" it is because other major capitalist combines have begun to rival U.S. domination. The U.S. mill bosses have always had a big advantage over the West European capitalists in textiles. Due to their tyrannical control over mill workers' lives, the U.S. bosses are able to operate almost uniformly on a three-shift basis; most foreign capitalists have only been able to operate two production shifts. This allows the U.S. mill bosses to get their investment on new machinery back faster than foreign capitalists and thus to be able to more quickly replace such machinery with an ever more modern and automated production process. As a result the U.S. industry is by far the most efficiently run textile operation in the capitalist world. (For detailed statistics on this see, *The Textile Industry in OECD Countries, 1967-68*, published by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development.)

Years back the U.S. bosses reinforced their edge by having their federal government enact a tax of 45 per cent on the value of almost all textiles imported into the U.S. The effect of this was to make certain that the bulk of textiles produced in Western Europe would be unprofitable to import.

More recently though, much basic (cotton) textile production has been shifted to low-wage colonies of the various capitalist powers. The U.S. bosses responded to this trend with the now-famous GATT (General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade) "Long Term Cotton-Textile Arrangement" reached in 1962 and still in effect. This allowed the setting and en-

forcing of quotas on cotton textile imports among the 19 capitalist countries participating, to the obvious benefit of the U.S. Among those involved are Japan, the United Kingdom, France and Italy—all major producers—as well as India, Pakistan, Spain, Portugal and Hong Kong. The U.S. neo-colonies, South Korea and Taiwan, who are heavy textile exporters to the U.S., were not subject to these quota restrictions.

When the textile-financed bosses in the U.S. decided, however, that Hong Kong (dominated by British capitalists) was exporting too much to the U.S., they had their federal government act (March 3, 1962), to ban imports of eight different categories of textiles from the British colony.

But the most recent development in this international rivalry among capitalists is the possible passage of a bill now in Congress which would restrict imports of wool and synthetic textile fibers. This clearly shows that a different relationship is now emerging between various capitalists, in this case primarily those in the U.S. and Japan. For one thing, the U.S. has been unable to convince Japanese capitalists to sign an "agreement" on synthetic textiles similar to the earlier one on cottons. This proposed bill will, if passed, roll back such imports by between 20-33 per cent.

## RACISM AND NATIONALISM

This type of conflict among rival capitalists, which already in the past fifty years has resulted in two world wars and scores of smaller ones, has always been part and parcel of the capitalist system, and its reemergence should come as no big surprise. It serves as full confirmation of the far-sighted position taken by Joseph Stalin shortly after World War II.

At that time, many asserted that the capitalists had "learned" from two extremely costly and destructive world wars, and would in the future avoid the commercial and imperial conflicts which caused these wars. Stalin, on the other hand, argued that the same forces as before were operating, that the U.S. ruling class was:

a) penetrating the economies of its chief capitalist competitors ("trying to convert them into adjuncts of the U.S. economy"); and

b) busily "seizing raw materials and markets" in its competitors' former colonies ("plotting disaster for the high profits" of these rival capitalists).

From this Stalin concluded that:

a) competing capitalists would be "compelled" into economic conflict against U.S. imperial rule; and therefore,

b) that just as much as ever the "inevitability" of wars between capitalist countries continued to exist.

To this we must add a vital additional factor, the tragic but definite reversal of socialism in the USSR itself. Russian capitalism (under centralized

TABLE III: INTERLOCKING TEXTILE BANKING INTERESTS

Major Southern Banks, Corps.	Control Group	Interlocking Textile Interests
BTNB	Morgan, local	[Cowikee Mills]
Cannon Mills		[Social Circle Cotton Mills; Wiscasset Mills Co.]
C&SNB-C	Morgan, local	[Arkwright Mills; Spartan Mills]
Cone Mills		[John Wolfe Textiles]
Dan River Mills		[Woodside Mills; Wunda Weave Carpet Co.; Webco Dyers Co.; Fulton Bag & Cotton Mills; Shuford Mills; Hickory Spinners Inc.; Hickory Mfg. Co.; Lavonia Mfg. Co.; Textiles Inc.; Danville Knitting Mills; Fitzgerald Mills Corp.]
Deering Milliken		[Drayton Mills; Excelsior Mfg. & Merchandising Co.; Laurens Mills; Machias Mills; Milliken Woolens Inc.; Pacolet Industries]
Fieldcrest Mills		[Wellman Inc.]
FNB-A	Morgan (Rockefeller min.)	[National Services Industries Inc.; Thompson Industries Inc.; Thomastom Cotton Mills]
M. Lowenstein		[Wamsutta Mills]
MSD&T	Baltimore	[Mount Vernon Mills]
NCNB	Rockefeller, local	[American Textile Corp.; Barnhardt Elastic Corp.] [American & Eford Mills Co.] [Erlanger Mills Inc.] [Pilot Mills; Belk Enterprises; Randolph Mills; CGB Co.; Adams-Millis Corp; Henry River Mills Co.; Park Yarn Mill; Quaker Meadow Mills; Stonecutter Mills; Union Mills Co.]
SCNB	Morgan, local	[BI Cotton Mills] [Featherknit Fabrics; Textile Hall Corp.]
Springs Mills		[Carolina Carpet Mills Inc.]
J. P. Stevens		[Allsheer Hosiery; Derby Co.; Nyanza Inc.]
TCG	Rockefeller, Morgan, local	[Coronet Industries Inc.] [Dundee Mills; Lowell Bleachery South; Rushton Cotton Mills; Hartwell Mills]
United Merchants & Manufacturers		[Associated Textiles of Canada; British Silk & Dying Co. Inc.; Clearwater Finishing Co.]
WB&T	Rockefeller, local	[Royal Cotton Mills; Sellers Mfg. Co.; Sellers Dyeing Co.; Jordan Spinning Co.; Chatham Mfg. Co.] [Stowe Mills Inc.; Stow Spinning Co.; National Yarn Mills; Imperial Yarn Mills; Pharr Yarns Inc.; Chronicle Mills] [Outlook Mfg. Co.; Belmont Throwing Corp.; Knit Products Corp.; Vision Hosiery Mills Inc.; Acme Spinning Co.; Linford Mills Inc.; South Fork Mfg. Co.; Perfection Spinning Co.; Piedmont Processing Co.; Rowan Cotton Mills; China Grove Cotton Mills]

The following abbreviations for the local banking interests:

**BT:** Bankers Trust Co., New York; **BTNB:** Birmingham Trust National Bank; **C&SNB-A:** Citizens & Southern National Bank of Atlanta; **C&SNB-C:** Citizens & Southern National Bank, Charleston, So. Carolina; **CB&T:** Cabarrus Bank & Trust Co., North Carolina; **CBNYT:** Chemical Bank New York Trust; **CMB:** Chase Manhattan Bank, New York; **CTC:** Corporation Trust Co., New York; **F&MNB:** First & Merchants National Bank of Richmond, Virginia; **FBP:** Fidelity Bank of Philadelphia; **FNB-A:** First National Bank, Atlanta, Georgia; **FNB-B:** First National Bank, Boston; **FNB-Bir:** First National Bank, Birmingham, North Carolina; **FNB-Mont:** First National Bank, Montgomery, Alabama; **FNCB:** First National City Bank, New York; **ITC:** Irving Trust Co., New York; **MGT:** Morgan Guaranty Trust, New York; **MHT:** Manufacturers Hanover Trust, New York; **MMGT:** Marine Midland Grace Trust Co., New York; **MSD&T:** Mercantile Safe Deposit & Trust Co., Baltimore; **NCNB:** North Carolina National Bank, Charlotte; **NSB-B:** National Shawmut Bank, Boston; **SCNB:** South Carolina National Bank, Charleston; **TCG:** Trust Company of Georgia, Atlanta; **WB&T:** Wachovia Bank & Trust Co., North Carolina.

**Sources:** Moody's Industrial Manual; Moody's Bank and Finance Manual; Moody's Public Utilities Manual; Poor's Register of Corporations, Directors and Executives; New York Stock Exchange Directory; Who's Who in America; World Who's Who in Commerce and Industry; Security Exchange Commission forms Number Three and Number Four; corporation proxy statements; Commercial Banks and Their Trust Activities (House Committee on Banking and Currency); New York Times, July 21, 1968.

forms) is now clearly in the saddle. The overseers of Russian imperialism are eagerly trying to offer a "better deal" to outbid their U.S. counterparts for access to raw materials and markets in one fascist country after another (Indonesia, Greece, Egypt, etc.). They are even beginning to penetrate major capitalist markets in Western Europe. The

circumstances Stalin correctly analyzed stand greatly reinforced today, as events in the capitalist world's textile industry (among others) are making clear.

This is but one inevitable part of the capitalist system. Its real guts and innards have always been the maximizing of profits thru the exploitation and

oppression of workers. Racism and nationalism have been fostered and used to render the working class incapable of unified resistance and rebellion. In its final and most desperate stages, increased repression and ultimately open fascism are used to preserve its rule. An examination of the character of the textile bosses' rule in the South today provides clear proof of these points.

### The South

In dealing with the South, a few myths should be discarded from the beginning. First, agriculture no longer predominates in the South. In 1940 there were 4,235,300 agricultural workers in the South—35 per cent of the region's total workforce; In 1960 there were only 1,713,600 agricultural workers—accounting for only 10 per cent of the region's workforce. No doubt the number has continued to decline greatly since 1960.

Second, the South is no longer predominantly rural. In 1960 full 28,140,000 people, about 57 per cent of the region's total population, were urban dwellers. Of these, 10,300,000 were living in cities

really was, primarily by plantation politicians and agrarian patriarchs. It is run, like the rest of the country, by the U.S. ruling class.

The South is unique, however, in that it is one region of the country where the apparatus and weapons of the bosses' rule have been the most open and direct: attack the Left, prevent or bust unionism, keep wages and living standards very low, and foster racism to keep all this going.

The scope of this super exploitation is partly revealed by the fact that while the South has 28 per cent of the U.S. population, and 24 per cent of the land area, Southerners account for only 22 per cent of the country's total personal income. The per-capita differential for Southern wages of \$751 a year (\$1679 vs. \$2430) amounts to an income differential of \$36,650,000,000 each year. In manufacturing industries alone, the wage differential stands at 50¢ an hour, amounting to roughly \$3,407,000,000 a year in extra profits for the bosses.

This pattern of superexploitation of workers in the South naturally yields the biggest profits to those industries dependent on a heavy labor input

TABLE IV: SOUTHERN INDUSTRIAL STRUCTURE

Top 15 Industries	No. Workers Employed	% Southern Labor Force	Top 15 Industries	No. Workers Employed	% Southern Labor Force
<b>EMPLOYMENT IN SOUTH</b>			<b>INDUSTRIAL CONCENTRATION IN SOUTH</b>		
Wholesale/Retail Trade	3,079,500	26	Tobacco Products Mfg.	61,100	71
Professional/Related Services	1,760,400	23	Textile Products Mfg.	589,500	62
Agriculture	1,671,700	39	Forestry, Fishery, Logging	136,200	53
Personal Services	1,399,600	36	Saw/Planing Mills	181,100	43
Construction	1,169,100	31	Mining	277,900	43
Transportation, Communication and Public Utilities	1,075,600	24	Agriculture	1,671,700	39
Government	817,100	25	Petroleum/Coal Products	104,600	37
Textile Mill Mfg.	589,500	62	Personal Services	1,399,600	36
Finance, Insurance, Real Estate	587,200	22	Furniture/Wood Mfg.	168,300	35
Business and Repair Services	482,500	23	Construction	1,169,100	31
Food Mfg.	415,600	23	Apparel Mfg.	305,800	26
Apparel Mfg.	305,800	26	Wholesale/Retail Trade	3,079,500	26
Metal Industry Mfg.	292,600	12	Government	817,100	26
Mining	277,900	43	Transportation, Communication and Public Utilities	1,075,600	24
Chemical/Plastics	235,800	24	Chemical/Plastics	235,800	24

**MEDIAN FOR ALL INDUSTRIES: 25.5%**

**SOURCE:** Maddox, et. al., *The Advancing South*, Twentieth Century Fund, New York, 1967.

with a population of 100,000 or more. This figure has also undoubtedly increased since 1960. Today such cities as Houston, New Orleans, Atlanta and scores more are quite clearly major U.S. commercial and industrial centers.

Third, the South is no longer run, if it ever

(*labor-intensive* industries). It is precisely this type of industry, along with those based on extracting and processing natural resources from areas of the South, that are concentrated in the region. *Table IV* lists the South's leading industries, first by total employment, and then by percentage of

leading industries concentrated in the South. Clearly dominant are the labor intensive industries.

The textile industry is no longer as central to the region as it has been in the past, but it is still the largest manufacturer employing roughly 20 per cent of the region's three million industrial workers. In some states concentration is even more marked. In North Carolina textile workers are 43 per cent of the state's manufacturing workforce; in South Carolina, 52 per cent; and in Georgia 28 per cent.

The key role played by this industry's rulers in keeping the South an unorganized haven for themselves is also clear. In North Carolina only 6.7 per cent of the non-agricultural workers are organized; in South Carolina 7.9 per cent; and in Georgia 12.7 per cent—(In all the Southern states combined the average is 14.4 per cent.)

The dominance of the textile industry in these states, as well as in eastern Tennessee, southern Virginia and parts of Alabama and Mississippi, gives it the leverage necessary to rule with an iron fist over the entire area. This rule goes from U.S. senators to village mayors, from the FBI down to county sheriffs and municipal police chiefs, and exists everywhere in between. This rule functions quite openly and ruthlessly, especially when enforcing the mill bosses' system on its workers.

#### *Racism and the Bosses*

The textile industry, the creator and the bulwark of racism in the South since Reconstruction days, is still the cornerstone of this racist set-up: in 1966 blacks were only 9 per cent of this industry's workforce and a scant 2.3 per cent of its skilled workforce while blacks constitute 21.3 per cent of the South's population.

The fact that this is the highest percentage of black workers ever employed by the textile industry reflects its former policy of excluding almost all blacks, for example, only 1.5 per cent of all textile mill operatives were black. That policy had to be amended in the last 15 years as more industries moved to the South taking advantage of the low wages and living standards<sup>5</sup>. Skilled white workers began leaving the mills and going into newer industries that were relatively better paying. This led to a shortage of textile workers, despite the industry's growing automation. Faced with this dilemma, the bosses finally begin hiring blacks in significant numbers.

The mill bosses would have to hire more than twice as many black workers as they have so far to eliminate the century-old pattern of Jim Crow racism from the industry, something the bosses have no intention of doing unless forced to. As of today, the mill bosses have just adopted the standard U.S. industrial methods of creating and using racism, hiring black workers into menial and dirty jobs; establishing wage differentials between black and white workers for equal work; threatening white

workers with training blacks in the skilled departments if whites *get out of line*.

Naturally the bosses have also been lying to white workers, claiming that these Jim Crow practices benefit them. This blatant lie can be exposed just by comparing the wages of workers, black and white, North and South. In 1959, for example, white factory operatives outside the South earned an average of \$5036, blacks \$4217. In the South, white operatives earned only \$3902, blacks \$2057.

White non-farm laborers outside the South earned \$4194, blacks \$3678; in the South, whites made only \$2639, blacks \$2204.

When white workers, North or South, allow the bosses to use racism and Jim Crow practices against black workers, all workers suffer. *The differential of \$1.27 an hour between Southern textile workers and the average production worker in the U.S. puts \$2 billion in extra profits each year into the mill bosses' pockets.*

#### MILL WORKERS' CONDITIONS

The average earnings of a mill worker in 1965 was \$3750—a figure that placed 45 per cent of all mill workers that year below the federal government's official poverty level. A textile worker between the ages of 60-65 in 1967 with 30 years continuous employment in a Southern mill could look forward to receiving a company pension of \$16.40 monthly.

Mill workers endure a lifetime of oppressive working conditions in addition to their sparse wages. Workers submit to arbitrary and constantly changing plant rules, to arbitrary layoffs for months at a time, to short work weeks of two, three or four days for entire seasons of the year, to an arbitrary promotion policy, to a complete lack of job security, and to the constant danger of losing their jobs due to expanding automation. Most hated by textile workers, is the everexpanding stretchout (speed-up) which has increased the workload tremendously over the years and accounts for a large part of the industry's giant productivity increases since 1940. Between 1940 and 1960 the industry increased total textile mill output by 24 per cent and at the same time reduced the workforce by 18 per cent—a drop from 1.2 million to 954,000 workers.

Racism, then, is one of the main reasons why the textile bosses have been able to walk all over white mill workers for 100 years, why this industry is still the lowest paying of all manufacturing industries and why working conditions have been going downhill year after year. It is also one of the main reasons why this industry is still unorganized. No mill workers are going to get anywhere until white workers join black workers to fight for equal job hiring, elimination of all wage differentials for equal work and elimination of the heavy concentration of black workers in menial jobs by demanding

upgrading and training of black workers already employed.

No one should think, however, that it is going to be easy, or that it can be done without serious organization. And it is this fact that makes it necessary to examine closely the problems of organizing, and also the current role of the TWUA, the largest textile union.

#### *The TWUA and the Organization of Textile Workers*

Organizing work in textiles faces violent and forceful opposition from the mill owners throughout the industry. When an organizer comes to a mill-town he is constantly under surveillance and is often threatened, beaten, shot at or arrested by local police. But the real weight of company anti-union tactics fall on the textile worker himself.

Workers who sign up with the union have their relatives, many of whom probably work in nearby mills, harassed and threatened with firing. Lists of union members are posted on company bulletin boards and it is made clear that if members do not go up and cross their names off the list they will be fired. Those that do quit the union are told they will be fired anyway unless they *prove* themselves, which means informing on everything they may know about a particular organizing drive and all the workers involved in it. If workers refuse to knuckle under they are followed all over the plant while at work by a supervisor, who makes it so miserable that most guys are forced to quit. In rare cases where whole plants decide to go union and beat these company tactics, the mills are sometimes closed down and all the workers laid off.

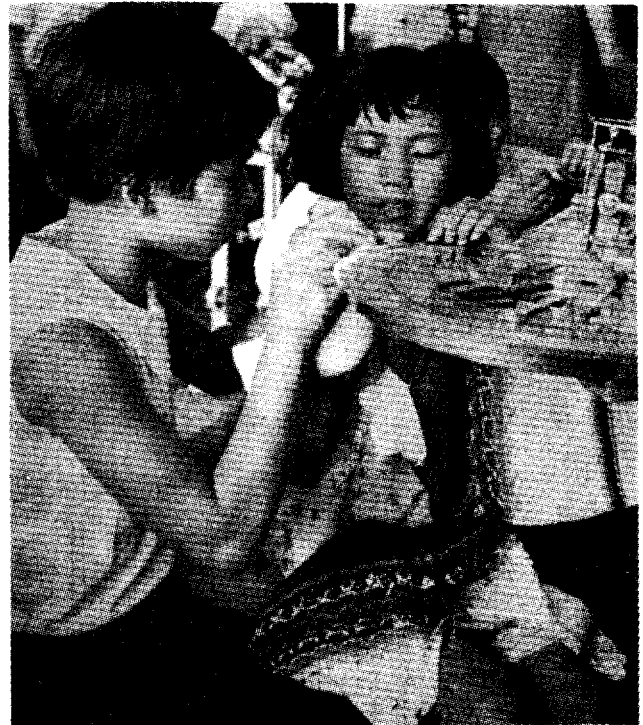
In cases where workers do succeed in organizing a union in their plant and the mill owners decide not to close the place down, they keep the union too weak to be a threat by refusing to agree to any contract with a grievance procedure. Another tactic is to refuse dues check-off, since none of the national unions even make a pretense of representing workers without a steady flow of dues. Companies also uniformly insist on the unilateral right to make, break and change all plant rules at their own initiative.

When the company figures the time is right, it busts the union by making tremendous demands in a new contract that it knows workers will not accept, forcing a strike. There comes an injunction, then cops and sometimes National Guardsmen. Scabs are herded in, many are already skilled in textile work, and then the company holds a decertification election. This pattern has been continuously reoccurring in the few Southern mills that ever manage to get organized.

None of the tactics are new. This massive resistance is not the main reason that a textile union which means something in the South has yet to be organized. The main reason lies right on the door-mat of the Textile Workers Union of America, AFL-CIO. The shortlived successes of the TWUA in the

1930s were followed by its rapid decline in the early postwar years. In the late 1930s over 400,000 textile workers were TWUA members; by 1963 the TWUA had at most 122,000 members. This figure is high as the TWUA counts as members those in paper locals not effectively in function for years; a more accurate figure would be thousands of workers below the official claim.

The TWUA's arrangement with the mill bosses accounts for the distribution of that membership. Over half (51 per cent) of the Northern textile workers are in the TWUA; less than 3 per cent (13,000 of 589,000) Southern mill workers are organized in-



Imperialist exploitation: Child labor at 10¢ an hour in Taiwan produces sweaters

to the TWUA. Another 50,000 Southern mill workers are in the United Textile Workers of America and other smaller unions.

The simple fact is that the TWUA has become little more than a private slop-trough at which its "clearly most anti-communist" leadership feeds itself.

The internal factions among these phonies have been organized over the past decade around varying and conflicting programs for dispersing the union's treasury. Legal battles and entire conventions have been fought out over this sole issue. (Former TWUA president Reive, one of the three main leaders of the CIO's anti-communist Right wing, rose on the floor of the union's June 1964 convention to denounce another faction in the leadership for conspiring to eliminate Reive's \$15,000 a year salary as the TWUA's honorary president.

Corrupt leadership is not unique to the TWUA in the textile industry. The largest union in the industry after the TWUA is the old AFL union, the UTWA with about 50,000 members. This union was in the hands of the bosses almost from birth. Its recent history has lived up to its heritage as one of the more openly corrupt and soldout unions in the country. Four other, much smaller unions (combined membership of 50,000 mill workers) are in the hands of sellouts of a similar stripe to those in the TWUA and the UTWA. All the workers' organizations in the industry are clearly under the thumb of the mill bosses and their flunkies.

The TWUA goes to great lengths to cover up precisely this fact from the view of Southern mill workers. For that reason, the TWUA periodically issues *calls for raises*. On Nov. 11, 1961, for instance, the TWUA's Executive Council, notes *The New York Times* "called on the Southern textile industry...to place into effect, without delay, a program of substantial wage increases and broader fringe benefits for its workers'." Each such call is then followed up by systematic leafleting, radio and television advertising campaign around the Southern mill areas calling on workers to join the TWUA. This, so the theory goes, scares the mill bosses so much that they actually do raise wages. Some feel that the TWUA does this to get wage increases for its Northern-organized workers as part of the general industry spiral. This activity actually results in no wage increases at all; the only wage raises the bosses have ever given came in an attempt to meet a severe labor shortage in the industry, not due to any *fear* by mill bosses of their flunkies in charge of the TWUA or its sellout cousin, the UTWA.

Nor is this the only sleight of hand stunt in the TWUA's bag of tricks. These phonies have also gone on record speaking out strongly for labor reform ideas.

One such idea was to have Burlington Industries required to post a \$10 million bond with the federal government. Then, if it *violated the law* the bond would be forfeited. Also part of this idea was to make mandatory the firing of any supervisors or plant managers who *violated the law*. Another idea was to have the federal government stop purchasing textiles from mills which violate the law.

The leadership's major noisemaking has been over the National Labor Relations Board. Both Pollock and George Meany himself have made complaints, charging it at various times with *shocking deadening delays*, claiming that its penalties are *much too lenient* and do not serve as a *deterrent to law violators*. From there, this pair of phonies carry on about the *incomprehensible, ruthless, shocking, shameful, and anti-social* behavior of the mill bosses. Their solution is calling for the overhaul and speedup of the NLRB operations.

Over the years the mill bosses have received only two slaps on the wrist from the government. In 1963 the courts ruled that J.P. Stevens Co. was de-

viating a little too obviously from the standard anti-worker tactics of the country and the company was required to rehire 73 workers it had fired in a drive *seven* years earlier. A similar reprimand came to Deering-Milliken in 1967, *eleven* years after it had closed down a mill to keep a local union out. But these mild measures were *hailed* by Pollock and the TWUA as a *major breakthrough*. In their wake, the TWUA and the Industrial Union Department of the AFL-CIO launched a million dollar signup drive, promising to take into court any mills which fired workers who were signing up.

Of course, this was no breakthrough at all. The companies have always been willing to rehire workers later, after they have busted a union drive. They don't mind the costs of lengthy legal procedures because they simply deduct them from their Federal income taxes as a business expense. Mill workers certainly were not buying the breakthrough line either. After the sign-up drive had about run its course, the TWUA announced its results: 4,000 new members out of about 600,000 unorganized textile workers.<sup>6</sup>

The rest of these "reform" ideas have come to the same end: all talk and no action. The NLRB exists to serve the bosses' interests. Of course the federal government has no intention of taking speedy action against the mill bosses. The same ruling-class that runs the textile industry and the rest of the country's industries, also *runs the government*. What else are they going to do except use it to serve their profitmaking?

And of course the mill bosses will do anything necessary to stop workers from organizing. Capitalists by nature are never satisfied with merely making profit, the law they obey is that of *maximum profits*.

Most workers know very well that it's going to take a major industrywide strike drive, and probably a general textile strike, to succeed in organizing a textile workers union that means something in the South. And most mill workers also know that despite all their big talk, Pollock and his cronies in the TWUA (and similar sellouts in the UTWA) have for the past twenty years had two main goals in mind:

- (1) the continued collection of workers' dues money; and

- (2) the diversion of as much of this money as possible into their pockets.

These phonies have a vital mission to perform for their masters, the United States mill bosses. Their job is to confuse and betray workers, demoralize them and keep them from moving to the Left, toward real class struggle. These flunkies of the TWUA have always been willing to resort to any means necessary to sellout workers over the years. But the most recent example, and one that is very important to learn from, is the shameful sellout of thousands of North Carolina workers of the Cone Mills Corporation in 1967.

**C**one Mills is the world's largest producer of denim and corduroy. Its chief markets have traditionally been the manufacturers of workclothes, sportswear and flannel nightclothes. It is also one of the nation's largest suppliers of cheap, across-the-counter yard goods. The founders of the company put the first textile finishing plant in the South; until then the southern mills had concentrated on producing cheap *greige* goods while the finishing of higher grade cloth was done in New England. They were also the first southern producers to integrate their operations from the cotton bale to the finished yard goods.

By now Cone Mills is a very large integrated manufacturer—with 25 plants, most of them in the Carolinas. With the financial backing of the Rockefellers its growth accelerated after World War II; it took over 14 one-plant textile companies, diversified into foam production for furnitures and into dyes and chemicals in Newark, N.J. In addition, Cone Mills owns 11 per cent of a major Argentinian textile and consumer goods producer, and owns a series of major storage warehouses in Gadsden, Alabama. The Cone Mills plants can produce some 350,000,000 yards of cloth a year; they can finish 500,000,000 yards. In addition, the company buys — and resells — some 100,000,000 yards in the open market each year—mostly the low-priced imported textiles the industry complains so much about.

Cone Mills had sales of \$278.9 million in 1969—and earned \$3.4 million plus the \$10,870,000 it “set aside” for depreciation (which was not taxable). The book value (liquidating value of the assets) of the Cone family 40 per cent interest in the firm is now worth some \$48 million.

In the time-honored tradition of the southern textile aristocracy family members have been mayors of Greensboro, North Carolina, the company's headquarters, members of the North Carolina State Legislature, members of the Greensboro City Council, head of the local social agencies, arts councils and trustees of all the local colleges, universities, hos-

pitals, libraries and orphanages.

Through this kind of domination of the social, as well as economic structure of the South, the textile bosses have maintained a low-tax, *favorable* climate for their industry. As a result there are inadequate public funds for essential services such as secondary schools and health and hospital facilities. The mill bosses then “donate” the necessary funds—either directly or through private foundations and organizations—only in the areas where their operations are concentrated.

One of the highest-paid executives at Cone Mills (Marketing Head Harvey Raymond: \$80,000 a year plus \$30,000 towards profit sharing and a guaranteed pension of around \$30,000 a year) is also on the Executive Committee of the American Friends Service Committee, the Committee of the Friends

World Academy and a former member of the Friends Academy in Locust Valley, N.Y. The Friends operate a major *grassroots organizing* project throughout North Carolina but the bourgeois morality of that pious-sounding group is set more by leaders such as Raymond than it is by issues of conscience. The Friends project has not yet seen fit to involve itself in fighting against the chief problem of the workingclass in North Carolina—exploitation by the state's textile bosses.

#### UNION ABANDONS CONE WORKERS

Workers' organization at Cone Mills roughly parallel that of the industry. TWUA locals were built in most Cone plants in the late 1930s and briefly under the War Labor Board afterwards.

As the bosses launched their post-war offensive, many Cone workers wanted to resist and tried to organize a strike. The TWUA bureaucrats however, refused to support this attempt, so in the early 1950s most Cone locals bolted the TWUA and affiliated with the UTWA (AFL) instead.

The TWUA phonies then promised support of a strike against Cone if the dissident locals returned; some did. Coming in the midst of this split and jurisdictional haggling, the five-week strike that followed was a real disaster for Cone workers. During

## **The Struggle at Cone Mills: Southern Millworkers Story**

it, several locals went under completely and the remaining ones were seriously weakened.

The company then stepped in, charged that the workers were "irresponsible" for striking and ended dues-checkoff. Without dues money coming in, the TWUA misleaders gave up all pretenses of support for the workers, signed a sweetheart contract, and left the workers pretty much at the mercy of the bosses.

The only break came in 1958 when Cone workers briefly wildcatted, the TWUA misleaders moved in on this and broke it up. The situation was so bad that for a time dissident workers were forced to hold their meetings in the woods to avoid company detection and reprisals.

Cone Mills in turn used this opportunity to restructure its rule over the workers. It broke up its company-owned towns by destroying or selling the shacks. It also ended the old in-plant setup which had enabled workers to make personal deals with foremen. In its place a whole new crew of foremen and supervisors were brought in from other areas of the South. They became the "bad guys," uniformly gossiping about workers' family affairs and otherwise insulting and tearing down workers. At the same time members of the Cone family adopted the "good-guy" role—making a point of knowing and talking politely to some workers, etc. The goal of this was of course to focus workers' anger on the foremen.

However, the issues angering Cone workers could not be successfully centered on the foremen: poverty-level pay; \$20-a-week sick pay collectable for only four weeks (and that only after a two-week waiting period); retirement pensions of \$20 a month after working in the mills for thirty consecutive years; compulsory overtime in peak periods and short work-weeks for months afterwards; lack of eating facilities (forcing workers to eat on the job in work areas where the air was thick with lint, or in bathrooms); and stretch-out (speed-up). The same issues exist throughout the southern textile industry.

### THE PLAN OF THE CONE MILLS DRIVE

But organizing workers for a serious struggle against these conditions and the capitalist system which causes them was the last thing the TWUA misleaders had in mind. They were worried about quite another problem.

The controlling faction had for several years been coming under increasing attack from disgusted rank-and-file members. Although no organized grassroots movement had yet formed, various lower-echelon bureaucrats were already trying to use this anger as a lever to unseat the old faction and take the top jobs themselves.

The TWUA misleaders responded, as always, by trying to deflect the heat. Early in 1966 they began issuing militant-sounding "calls" for textile wage raises. These "calls" went out for nearly a

year accompanied by the usual antics of saturation leafleting, advertising, etc.

But by the autumn of 1966 the weakness of their position became clear. Cone Mills operating profits in 1965-66 were running 70 per cent above those of the previous two years—yet the TWUA could not cajole the company into supporting a wage-benefit increase. The mill bosses were not playing their usual game and the old labor-fakers stood more perilously exposed than ever.

This dilemma resulted in the go-ahead for the Cone "drive." As subsequent events would clearly show, it was meant to serve only as a bargaining tool—to be bartered away in return for the bosses' cooperation in bailing out the union heads. The main problem for these fakers, however, was their credibility among Cone workers. From long and bitter experience, southern mill workers have become justly suspicious of TWUA "drives." The degree of cynicism had become apparent two years earlier when southern mill workers gave the 1964 "sign-up" campaign a poor reception.

As part of their attempt to create a "new image" for themselves, the TWUA hired Peter Brandon (a close ally of Steve Max, Michael Harrington, et al), and put him in charge of the Cone Mills operation. Brandon and his cronies in the Young Peoples' Socialist League (YPSL) had been piddling around in the southern textile situation for a few years. Their major accomplishment up to then had been their printing of a pamphlet called *New Hope for Southern Justice*.

In this they presented their analysis of the textile situation:

1) the mill bosses' conduct was reprehensible because they were supporting the "Republican-Dixiecrat Coalition";

2) the alternative was to back the bosses' exploitation of workers all over the world, but give U.S. mill workers a better deal, explicitly asking the question, "Who says we can't have guns and butter both?";

3) they claimed the TWUA was and still is the champion and savior of mill workers; and

4) concluded this totally reactionary package of lies and misinformation with their symbol of the "new hope," a well-clothed preacher leading poorly-clothed strikers, kneeling in snow across from a struck mill, in a "prayer-exhortation" to the scabs breaking the picket lines!

Like his reactionary cronies, Brandon has never favored real class struggle, as he himself periodically has taken pains to make known. His idea of a "victory" is simple: compulsory arbitration by some supposedly "impartial third party" and dues checkoff, which he calls "a rule of thumb used to determine if a company and a union have reached a basic understanding and are reconciled to living with each other." No wonder then why the long-time sellouts in the TWUA felt safe putting him in charge of their scheme at Cone Mills.





Communist-led Nat'l Textile Workers Union rally in Gastonia, N.C., 1929.

Brandon's job was, of course, to convince the workers that this was a "serious" drive, something they "could believe in." And to help Brandon in this task, the TWUA fakers permitted the use of four organizational forms never usually seen in a TWUA drive."

A strike-strategy planning committee, called the Joint Policy Committee, was formed. Members were elected from the seven Cone locals then in existence. This body was recognized by the workers as central to any victory at all. It offered the prospect of providing a forum through which workers could clearly see they all had the same grievances and providing a corrective influence on various locals around critical issues such as overcoming black-white divisions in the workers' ranks.

Another innovation for a TWUA drive was to issue a periodic newsletter in which workers as well as the TWUA staff would be allowed to write.

Furthermore, the drive was geared around periodic "protest walkouts," which were actually intermittent strikes. Besides hurting the company, workers recognized that this weapon would help discover and correct weak links in their organization before a major walkout. Skeptical workers could also be shown that Cone Mills could be stopped, building a base of support for a prolonged strike.

Students from the area's colleges were going to be encouraged into a supportive role to the drive. The presence of students offered the prospect of building broad support for the workers and appeared to break the long isolation of mill workers which has always had a very demoralizing effect on their struggles. Without doubt the use of these forms was

what convinced workers that this time the TWUA was "serious," just as the fakers hoped it would.

Brandon speedily began making this chief point wherever he could. This "drive" with its new forms, he said, proved that the AFL-CIO was "non-monolithic," and that "sections of it can be worked with." To those still wary of a TWUA sellout, Brandon offered assurances that this would not happen, if for no other reason than that the TWUA feared the "public moral sanction" such a betrayal would incur.

Brandon further attempted to disarm and mislead workers by proclaiming that this drive's most powerful weapon was the embarrassment of Cone Mills. The theme of the effort was: "Cone Mills cannot do whatever it pleases regardless of what the law says, just because it is a wealthy corporation with a multimillion dollar profit." Brandon actually told workers: "Perhaps more than the economic loss to Cone Mills that occurs during a strike, public condemnation of the company's labor policies will move Cone to good faith." He claimed it was Cone's "inordinate sensitivity" over its "good name" which "should make the company especially vulnerable to public moral sanction."

Brandon tried to downgrade the importance of the walkouts by gearing them as "protests" against Cone "violations of the 'law'"—rather than rejecting the maze of boss-created legalisms. In a similar vein, the TWUA misleaders tried to constrain the Joint Policy Committee. They attempted to use it as a vehicle to carry out their directives. Workers were to be held together at the lowest level possible, rather than encouraged to take leadership in building an extensive rank-and-file organization.

The JPC's newsletter became to a large extent the mouthpiece and servant of the TWUA's reactionary ideology and its accompanying policies.

Finally, the students were recruited through the reactionary allies of Brandon in the now defunct Southern Student Organizing Committee (SSOC). They were brought in on the basis of helping to "bring the textile industry into the 20th Century" rather than as supporters of a serious workingclass struggle against the U.S. ruling class which runs the textile industry.

Nevertheless, many workers, knowing the real nature of the mill bosses from long experience, took much of the TWUA's propaganda with a grain of salt. Throughout the drive workers pressed in vain for the building of a real class struggle. With halfway decent leadership from a fighting Left the workers undoubtedly could have turned the tables on these TWUA misleaders, developed a potent class struggle and taken the first big step in breaking the bosses' stranglehold over all southern workers.

### THE CONE MILLS STRUGGLE

Things really began with a bang; in late November 1966 the TWUA's organizers issued a call for a one-day walkout and the workers surprised everyone. At least 70 per cent of the workers in the seven mills where locals still existed on paper (about 2500 workers) were out. Most of the company's operations came to an abrupt halt.

The workers marched on Cone's headquarters in Greensboro for a mass demonstration and then left for a rally at a nearby local union hall. One worker described the attendance at that rally. "The union hall was filled, with no standing room and just as many were outside on the sidewalks and in cars." Another worker estimated that at least 500 workers attended the rally.

The weak link exposed by this walkout was the older workers. These were the workers who had been sold out in the 1951 debacle and were now nearing retirement age making up the only significant number of scabs in the seven mills. In contrast, the younger workers, who had not been considered potentially militant by the middle-aged workers, were out by the hundreds. And these young workers, angry but not well organized, were solid as a rock all during the struggle.

This one-day walkout inspired the workers with a great feeling of confidence and it was the springboard for their activity over the next two months. During that time "open houses" were held at local union halls. The locals organized picnics. New union halls were opened up where none had existed and the bases were opened up before and after shift changes for workers to come and have coffee and a place to get together.

As workers got to know one another better and to feel some strength they became more outspoken.

A local committeewoman even wrote a poem about the company and the workers.

For years we labored and did not complain,  
Cone told us we were riding the gravy train.  
Years went by—the pay was about the same,  
But in the workloads there was a change.  
So the people got wise and began to talk,  
There was only one way, and that was to walk.  
We worked and we made our plans,  
Then together we took our stand.  
With our heads held high, we were so proud,  
Most all the workers were in our crowd.

A woman worker who had retired from the mills wrote a letter to the union workers:

I retired from Cone's Edna Plant a few months ago, after 23 years continuous service. I get \$16.40 a month pension from Cone Mills. This is what you Cone employees have to look forward to. Yet Mr. Cone says he is looking after your best interests. Does this look like your best interest, or his? Support your union in every way and make sure you can retire on a decent pension.

The grievances the workers came forward, leading in early January to seven-count demands:

- 1) five per cent across-the-board wage increase and a cost-of-living escalator clause;
- 2) three additional paid holidays;
- 3) accident and sick pay increases to bring benefits to \$27.50 a week;
- 4) vacations lengthened to 2 weeks after 5 years work, and two weeks with three weeks pay after 10 years;
- 5) pensions up 50 per cent from the current rate of under \$1 a month per year of continuous work;
- 6) establishment of a procedure for filing workload grievances;
- 7) dues checkoff if a worker signs for it.

The company merely dismissed these demands claiming meeting them would force them out of business.

A real struggle was going to be necessary to win any of these demands, and one worker explained what she felt was a real obstacle in mounting that struggle.

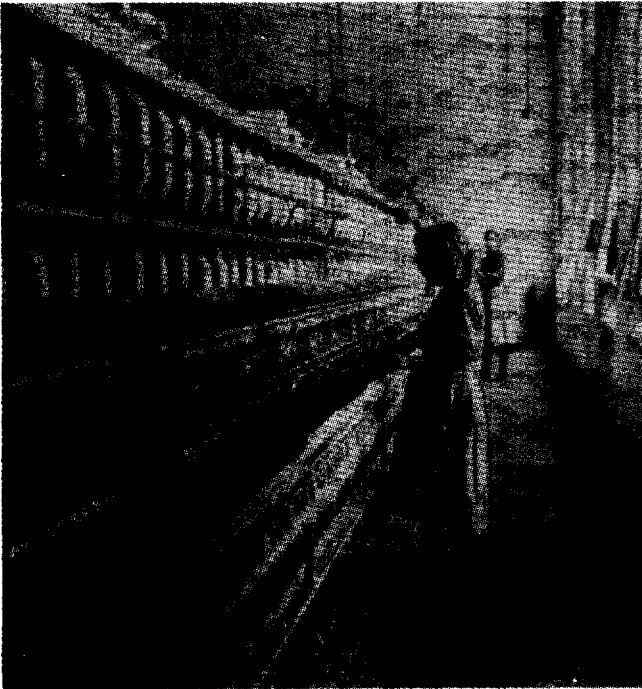
Nothing freezes people like fear. Fear is the guts of every boss-inspired program to bear down union workers who are scared and cannot move. If Cone workers stick together, scare tactics won't work.

The Cone Mills' workers knew they needed real organization to win. In their locals and at the JPC they were pressuring for the TWUA to aid them in building better organization. This resulted in shop steward elections throughout the seven active mills. But shop and department-level committees were not built and the TWUA misleaders managed to turn the stewards' election around. They organized a "stewards' education program" which "showed" the newly elected workers "how to find and report" company "violations of the law" focusing on other trivia.

While the TWUA phonies were trying to head-off serious workers' organization, they were being snapped at by workers on another front. Beginning in mid-January, and with negotiations on their demands getting nowhere, the workers felt it was time to flex their muscles again. The TWUA misleaders had other ideas. They preferred to use the *threat* of a second walkout to get their wage "spiral."

By early February it was becoming "either fly or fall" as far as the workers were concerned. The misleaders finally agreed to a strike vote for a three-day walkout. The workers knew what they wanted, the vote to strike was unanimous.

In the second week of February, 70 per cent of the workers in the active mills were out again. Scabs' cars suddenly appeared with big stripes painted down the length of them, others with big sloppy polka-dots. A few were scratched from front to back, allegedly while passing through picket lines around the struck mills. The scabs themselves



fares little better. Women strikers surrounded them as they were going through the company's gates—shaking their fingers in the scabs' faces, cursing and spitting at them and pulling at their clothes.

Many other North Carolina workers found it hard to believe the vigor of the struggle at Cone Mills. The walkout became big news throughout the entire area. On their off hours, mill workers and others came from miles around, gaping from rooftops or from lots opposite the struck mills. No one had any doubts about what this struggle could mean if it kept on. "When other workers see we are winning, they will want to unite and work together with us for our goals," wrote one worker.

On the negative side, this three-day walkout again saw the older workers trying to scab. And it also showed what was to become the fatal flaw of this struggle—the lack of sufficient organization to override a TWUA sellout and maintain the drive. This was especially tragic because a whole new informal leadership emerged during the walkout, made up of younger middle-aged workers, and characterized by its seriousness, its honesty and its clear understanding of the need for workers' unity. Needless to say, the TWUA misleaders were scared to death of this development and had no intentions of seeing these workers take control of the drive.

The mood of the workers after the second walkout was optimistic and militant.

I feel much better after these three days. This time we really showed them something, and they know now that we are ready to do it again and again, no matter how long it takes. They would be fools to dare us to pull another strike, because next time we'll shut her down tight as a drum.

But there was also a note of wariness. The TWUA's attempt to stall a vote on the walkout was a signal to some workers that their rock-solid strength could be dissipated:

We're ready to go again and I hope the other plants are ready. Let's not wait too long this time before we pull another strike.

Let's all let Cone know that we have just begun to fight for our rights, and that if it is necessary that we are ready to strike as many times as is necessary.

For its part, the company was obviously not sure just what it could get away with. The workers were on the offensive and Cone's biggest fear was that the wrong action could increase still more the workers' solidarity and class consciousness. They used a combination of soft and hard tactics to keep this from happening.

During the three-day walkout the company sent out letters to the workers claiming that all mills were operating at or near normal. They also posted notices and spread rumors that Cone had agreed to all the workers' demands but the dues-checkoff. Both these notices and their claims of full production were lies that didn't fool any workers.

State and local cops were deployed around the mills and company goons were deputized by local sheriffs and added to the force. One striker, hit by a scab's car while picketing, was arrested on charges of "using profanity"; the scab was congratulated and sent on into the mill. In another mill, where the union was relatively weak, nine workers were fired for union activity. In all the plants the scabs were pampered and given special privileges throughout the drive.

The company concentrated its main thrust, however, at the workers' weakest point by trying to develop black-white disunity. The TWUA misleaders and the local leadership had not been willing to demand and fight for the elimination of the company's

Jim Crow practices of hiring and paying black workers on a consistently lower level than whites. This was a serious mistake and resulted in considerable undercurrents of justified resentment among many black workers. Yet black workers had such a strong *class* hatred of the bosses that they bent over backwards to support this drive in spite of their disappointment over this key question.

#### WHITE WORKERS HAD TO UNITE WITH BLACKS

While most white workers failed to see the importance of fighting against the racist policies of Cone Mills, they certainly knew that they would have to stand together with black workers to win a strike. The Ku Klux Klan, which has proclaimed itself as "the last hope for the poor white," has a large membership in North Carolina. Cone workers who were also Klan members ordered their Klaverns to stay away from this struggle—but the Klan chieftains showed up anyway. With some of their followers (*none* of them from the mills), the KKK counterpicketed one of the workers' demonstrations.

At that instant the Klan stood totally exposed for what it is: a tool of the bosses. The Klan's "white supremacy" really meant boss supremacy over divided and powerless workers. Mill workers in the Klan responded by deserting their Klaverns, leaving many of them with only a handful of members.

White workers were put to the test again when the cops arrested a black worker for allegedly scratching a white scab's car while on picket duty. The entire local backed him up, including white workers who were in the Klan for years.

The company hired a Negro scab to attack one of the white organizers right out in front of the mill. The bosses hoped white workers could be goaded into a bloodbath. Workers in the area stopped this scab before he reached the organizer, but they didn't fall into the bosses' trap, the scab was merely sent away from the scene.

Had the TWUA misleaders really wanted to smash racism this would have been the time to do it. At that point most workers probably could have seen the need to fight the company's Jim Crow policies. A strong counteroffensive against the Klan and its boss-serving racist ideology could have gone a long way toward breaking the Klan's hold over many white workers throughout the mill areas. But the TWUA misleaders refused to follow-up the workers' action; they had no intentions of raising the level of struggle.

These events certainly left the bosses clearly exposed. The long-time ploy of apparent benevolence, the usual mill paternalism, went right down the drain. Young workers viewed the company officials as rats, something to be hated. When the company tried to use paternalism during the negotiations, they found the workers unreceptive. "Mr. Marvin," a company negotiator, spoke with deep

reverence of the "responsibility" he felt to Cone Mills, and claimed that this was the reason he couldn't see his way clear to meet the workers' demands. One worker replied:

Mr. Marvin says he feels 'a keen sense of responsibility to the company.' (But) to sum it up, Mr. Marvin, we have an even stronger sense of responsibility to our families and we are determined to win our fight.

Clearly the workers were getting stronger and more determined to win as they beat back one company attack after another. At this point the TWUA national misleaders stepped in and extended their control right down to the day-to-day activities of the drive. They coopted all the real power of the JPC. Fearful that its organizers might honestly be trying to build a stronger drive, the misleaders began transferring all but Brandon to various other "assignments" throughout the South.

Many workers began to smell the same old treacherous sellout—the national misleaders preparing to make another "deal." Now the absence of a Left (communist) leadership to build decisively-needed independent action was sorely felt. The workers' suspicions led instead to demoralization, workers' activity dropped off considerably from this point on.

From February to late April the sum total of the TWUA's effort to support the Cone struggle was a conference for "Textile Workers Rights." Billed as a way to bring textile workers from other corporations together with Cone workers and allow them to talk over their common problems, it was more likely conceived of by the misleaders as a device for putting pressure on other textile companies to secure their "spiral."

Though they kneed back the workers and bottled up their militancy for months, the TWUA misleaders were still unable to get their pay off from the bosses. They finally authorized yet another walk-out, this time for five days, to be held the first week of May. The vote was overwhelmingly in favor of hitting the bricks.

On the first day of the walkout—May 1st, 1967—workers celebrated by pummeling a plant superintendent's car with pop bottles, putting dents in it from front to back.

May 2nd happened to be the date of a scheduled meeting of the directors of Cone Mills in Greensboro. The misleaders announced this would be picketed to "protest unfair labor practices and appeal to the conscience of the stockholders of Cone Mills Corporation." Over four hundred people, (300 workers and a large turnout of students) showed up to picket the meeting. They set up picket lines on each side of the street in front of Cone Mills' offices and in front of the company's parking lot entrances. Many of the Cone workers weren't going along with the TWUA level of "appealing" to the bosses' conscience. Caesar Cone, the company's Chairman of the Board, was greeted with signs read-

ing, "We Come To Bury Caesar, Not To Praise Him!" Before the picketing ended Cone goons (deputized by the sheriff) had arrested six, and the directors hastily announced that they were changing the meeting place to offices in New York City. They caught planes out of town after dark.

On the third day of the strike there were thousands of black carpet tacks scattered all around the point where scabs were ordered to meet in order to be trucked into the mills. Both scabs and foremen-turned-chauffeurs wound up with flattened car tires.

This walkout, like the other two before it, again shut down Cone's operations in most of the seven struck mills. Over 70 per cent of the workers stayed out the week.

Having finally been allowed to use the strike weapon again, many workers wanted to keep right on going, and asked for a vote to continue the strike indefinitely until a clear-cut victory was won. The possibility of this happening terrorized the misleaders. Their response was to point to two other textile plants being struck elsewhere in the South, and this as a flimsy excuse to refuse to back a continuation of the five-day walkout at Cone.

The fight to keep on striking was so strong it finally reached the newsletter, where the misleaders reported,

A number of delegates [to a JPC meeting] pointed out that their locals wanted to go out and stay out now. Other delegates agreed [with the TWUA national officers] that Cone workers would keep building the Union and when the strikes going on now (in two southern mills) are won—THEN, WITH THE FULL SUPPORT OF TWUA, CONE WORKERS SHOULD GO OUT AND STAY OUT UNTIL WE WIN!!! (all emphasis in original—Ed). It was agreed that just as the Clinton [Tenn.] and Whiteville [N.C.] strikers want full support and strike benefits, so would Cone workers.

The same issue of the TWUA's newsletter ran another staff-written piece titled, "Does Cone Want To Try Us?" It began,

In the past there have been both victories and defeats.... Today, however, the picture seems to be changing.... A company that won't obey the Law is in for a fight (emphasis in original—Ed).

A week later, the misleaders stated definitely that they would not support a strike of Cone Mills workers. Displaying the height of cynicism, these rats told the workers to wait at least one year for a big strike, evidently hoping to keep a pawn handy for future "bargaining."

Reaction to this announcement was hard to describe. Many workers present at the meeting where it was announced broke into tears. From then on local union meetings, which had been attended by hundreds, were down to two or three workers. Local activity stopped completely.

Peter Brandon, the pied-piper who had led workers all the way into this betrayal, had only one

more task to perform for his misleader employers. A number of students involved in the strike were organizing for a demonstration in front of the TWUA's headquarters to protest this sellout. Brandon soft-talked them, saying this demonstration "would only strengthen the company's hand." Instead he got the students to write a "strong protest" to the misleaders' offices in New York City. Thus Brandon headed off the only possibility of the emergence of a "public moral sanction" which he had earlier claimed would prevent this sort of a betrayal. Brandon then too went off on a new TWUA "assignment."

The national misleaders moved into the picture to cover up their trail as neatly as possible. They went on a major propaganda campaign, saying they had made the decision because the workers really weren't ready. These class traitors also went on at great length condemning the workers who had pushed for a big strike as being provocateurs, wreckers and saboteurs who did not have the best interests of the workers or the union at heart, and claiming they were threatening the workers' unity by trying to split their movement.

But the "movement" was clearly dead, killed by this obvious betrayal. Workers finally saw what many had increasingly begun to suspect since February—that their struggle had been a pawn in the misleaders' maneuvers. Almost immediately after the drive was killed, the entire southern textile industry finally responded to the 1½ years of "calls" and announced a wage-benefit "spiral" of about five per cent.

At Cone a few grievances in key departments were settled. The bosses also got what was left of the JPC to sign a contract, not granting anything, but serving to make any walkouts illegal.

The bosses have also been working closely with the new business agent the TWUA misleaders assigned to the Cone locals. Shortly after the guy arrived, the company took him on a tour of all the Cone plants; escorting him among the workers were company supervisors, foremen and front-office men. Other than this well escorted tour, none of the workers have seen or heard much from him.

To keep a rank and file movement from growing and to have a ready excuse to fire workers trying to organize such an effort the company has posted and is enforcing new work rules. Workers are prohibited from talking to one another, from going from one department to another, from making telephone calls without a supervisor's permission. Two years later, the workers are still reeling from the TWUA misleaders' betrayal of their struggle.

The young workers have become more cynical than ever. Many go from mill to mill, from job to job, quitting one after another. One union worker said about this, "You don't even get to learn what their names are before they're gone." Still other young workers refuse to work in any of Cone's mills and instead volunteer for the Army.

But it is not just the young workers who are demoralized. Many union veterans and workers leading the 1966-67 drive have also quit the union and refuse to come to any meetings of the locals. Some have quit their jobs and gone to work in mills of other companies; others have left the area all together.

Summing it up, one union worker said of her coworkers, "I think their spirit's broken. That's the rich man's hold on you." One black union worker said, "We were ready. We may have lost everything we had, but we were. There were a lot of people ready to stay out there. Now? That's a different story. It would take a lot of work."

### BUILD A BASE AMONG SOUTHERN WORKERS

There is no question that this betrayal by Brandon and his misleader employers represents a major setback for all workers. It resulted in tremendous cynicism and demoralization not just among Cone workers, but all textile workers throughout the Southeast mill areas. The "spiral" that the bosses initiated was eaten up by inflation within a year. Each day the bosses are attacking the workers, speeding them up, continuing after their only goal—maximum profits. Workers must and will resist this continuously expanding exploitation.

This drive *did* point up a number of encouraging things. Certainly the outflow of grievances proved again that southern mill workers are far from satisfied with their situation. The workers also proved that they could no longer be tricked by the usual mill paternalism. On the contrary, the workers were very militant on the walkouts, which was at least in part due to the emergence of a whole new informal leadership within their ranks.

The workers certainly saw the need for deep organization and broad unity to beat the bosses. That workers were misled on these critical points makes our approach of base building fully applicable, in fact vital, to this situation. From strong ties with workers, we must proceed to build the basic shop and departmental committees and from this begin to move across the industry to develop strong workers' organization.

The most serious obstacle now preventing this is of course racism. Again, the Cone workers saw the need for black-white unity. But unlike the TWUA misleaders, we must win white workers to advance and struggle for the end of Jim Crow practices by the bosses. Special demands for black workers which will effectively end their long-standing special exploitation (especially around hiring practices, wage differentials for work and access to skilled jobs) must be a major part of an overall attack on the mill bosses' system.

No doubt an emerging problem will be the so-called "reformists," types like Peter Brandon who are currently breeding in pockets across the South and elsewhere. These types must be seen for what they are: small-fry imitations of the bigger Meany-

Reuther type sellouts. While usually pretending to *talk* a good fight, these phonies are in fact in favor of the bosses' capitalist system and *not* fighting. Their presence in the workers' leadership has and always will result in the continuation of the capitalist system and in the inevitable defeat of workers' movements. The bare fact is that the only "victories" these phonies ever appeared to lead workers in winning, were given to them by the bosses to prevent workers from following the leadership of communists.

What must bring all of this work together into an unbreakable and final assault on the bosses is the continuous initiation of sharp political struggle aimed at the entire structure of boss rule—not merely at particular bosses. Communists must continuously point out how the ruling class uses the state, laws and politicians to delude workers with promises of change while in fact keeping workers' struggles bottled up. We must continuously show that the cops, the FBI, the national guard, the army and other armed forces of the state are there for the sole purpose of intimidating and coercing workers and for attacking workers when they break out of the self-defeating confines of boss-created legalism.

We must show that no reforms can remain intact for long when the bosses still possess control of the state, and we must take the leadership in launching the working class struggle necessary to smash the bosses' state and follow this up with the building of a state controlled by the working class.

The capitalist class and its system is responsible for all this; it has the blood of millions of workers on its hands. The day when this vicious rule is overturned and smashed, and socialism built in its place, can never come too soon.

We in PL, as communists, should feel encouragement from the knowledge that it is certainly possible for us to build a base among southern workers right now. And we should be strengthened in our work by the recognition that as we are doing this, we will be taking a decisive step in raising the level of class struggle throughout the country.

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### Footnotes:

1. *New York Times*, June 25, July 5, August 4, 24, 1961.
2. *New York Times*, February 9, 1958.
3. The breakdown in 1967 was: \$1.35 billion for cotton (21¢ per pound or about \$102.00 per bale), \$69 million for wool and \$9 million for mohair — *Textile Organ*, October 1968, pp. 169, 181; December 1968, pp. 206-7, 209, 212.
4. The seven are Burlington, J.P. Stevens, West Point-Pepperel, United Merchants and Manufacturers, Johnson and Johnson, Kendall and Collins & Aikman — *Moody's Industrial Manual*, July, 1968.
5. About two-thirds of the new industry entering the South pay wages at or below the region's low prevailing wage scale — *History of Cone Textile Strike*, TWUA leaflet, December, 1966.
6. *New York Times*, April 10, 1966.

**L**OUSY POLITICS BUT A GOOD MOVIE," how many times have we made statements like that to people after seeing a film? Too many, I'm afraid. One so-called "good movie" has finally made its long-awaited appearance: It's *Catch-22*. Before its shooting had even begun *Catch-22* was proclaimed an important movie, and indeed it is. The film is supposed to be a comedy, and it was skillfully directed, but like all ruling class or bourgeois art, *Catch-22* is a weapon that is used against working people, and is nothing to laugh about. In this review I want to argue that the "better" a movie is, the more dangerous -- to the people -- it is.

*Catch-22* is about a group of bomber crews flying missions for the U.S. during World War II from an island off the coast of Italy. The hero is Yossarian, a bombardier who does not want to fly anymore. The picture, like the book on which it is based, suggests that the war is invalid. Yossarian does not want to risk his life for some pointless cause, so he requests to be grounded, and he does so on the basis that he is mentally ill or mentally unqualified. However, there's a catch, "Catch-22," explains the army doctor. Anyone who requests to be grounded is obviously too sane to be grounded, and of course you can't be grounded unless you request it.

*Catch-22* becomes the symbol of the allegedly purposeless violence, destruction and death of the war. It also becomes the symbol of the people responsible for Yossarian and his crewmates being ordered to fly ever-more missions before they can be rotated back to the U.S., the people responsible for the position Yossarian and the others find themselves in. In short, *Catch-22* represents the arbitrariness of the world as painted by the movie -- a world filled with death, destruction and human suffering.

At the end of this surrealistic movie, Yossarian has turned down a previous deal with the commanding officers praising them in exchange for which he could go back to the States. No one else in his bomber group is pictured as interested in or capable of fighting back against the order to fly more missions. Yossarian decides to follow the lead of a previous man in the crew and head for Sweden, to sit out the rest of the war. People warn him that he will be alone, that he won't have anyone to trust. Yossarian shouts back that he lives like

that now. He then heads for the beach, inflates a rubber life raft, and starts rowing to Sweden.

Sound funny? Improbable? Hilarious? Perhaps. But perhaps not.

The world of *Catch-22* is similar to ours in that it too is filled with oppression, suffering, poverty and death. But in *Catch-22* these evils are caused by some anonymous group of people: *They* are out to kill the main character, Yossarian. Of course, as Yossarian tells us, *they* are out to kill everyone else too. But that doesn't suggest anything to Yossarian about how to deal with *them*. He makes no effort to get others in the crew to join him in fighting their top officers.

Well, who are these people causing the suffering, the deaths that Yossarian and his bomber-group friends see, inflict and suffer? *They* turn out to be a bunch of jerk generals, colonels and majors who seem composed of equal portions of stupidity, unfeeling cruelty and arbitrariness. Unlike the real bosses and their top stooges, the movie's top officers are not getting rich off the backs of the men they exploit. Indeed, Corporal Milo Minderbinder, the movie's only representative capitalist-exploiter, is separate and distinct from the blundering officers who continue upping the number of bombing missions. The top officers' actions and the war they are fighting seem utterly pointless. In a sense the movie suggests that *they* are caught up in the arbitrariness of the system as much as Yossarian. And so *Catch-22* tries to hide the fact that the oppres-

sion suffered by the vast majority of people in this world is due to rational, calculated action by a small group of men who directly profit from the oppression.

In fact, I think the movie even suggests that the people, other than the intellectual, sensitive Yossarian, are to blame for the suffering just as much as the officers. First, people can't be trusted, which Yossarian tells us in the movie's last scene. More important, he says, people are sheep. The men let the bombing mission requirement go up without fighting back, except for Nately who flips out and tries to singlehandedly assassinate the colonel. The movie suggests that the men are sheep, with only Yossarian having the sense to see what is going on. And, after learning that an old woman's family was taken away under the authority of *Catch-22* which has now become the symbol of all the ways people get screwed, Yossarian

## "Catch 22,"

### escape with bourgeois movies

takes a walk, wandering along a street seeing kids rolling a soldier, homosexuals, people pictured in an awkward or ugly way and a man beating a horse to death. The connection between the discussion of *Catch-22* and Yossarian's wandering argues that people — yes, plain ordinary people — they are *Catch-22* too. As long as people are sheep, degenerate, ugly and vicious, sensitive individuals like Yossarian won't be able to live decently; that's the real *Catch-22*.

What elitist crap!! Most people in the U.S. Army hate the war in Vietnam and almost all soldiers are fighting back in one way or another against their officers and the men running the army every single day. Companies refuse to go on missions in Southeast Asia, soldiers refuse to fink on GI's handing out anti-war literature, soldiers are rebelling in stockades in Vietnam and in the U.S. and enlisted men have burned down officers' quarters in Vietnam. It is these kinds of actions and ideas that are the way to change things, not the Yossarian poetic loneliness. Working people, inside the army and out, have a very personal and concrete knowledge about who their real enemy is — capitalism and the bosses who grow fat off it.

### ESCAPISM

*Catch-22's* solution flows from its assessment of the problem as being arbitrary, or caused by ordinary people: Cut out. Split. Try to get away from oppression. Turn your back on your friends' problems, on their fight with cops, with shitty wages, with high rents, with substandard health care — in short, with their fight to survive against the bosses' exploitation. Go to Sweden, or at least to your own version of Sweden.

Still funny? Hilarious? Not to a worker who a company is trying to fire for refusing to knuckle under to a speed-up at his work station, especially if other people "escape" by not backing him up. Not to a family in an apartment building who get no heat if we are too busy pursuing our "Sweden" to join with them in demanding heat (or lower rent, etc.) for all of us. A lot of the fights working people are waging every day are not too visible, especially if we try to avoid looking, if we are chasing our version of "Sweden." This is especially true when the media does all it can to hide such struggles and to convince us they aren't going on.

Escapism is one of the best weapons the bosses have. As long as people are trying to *escape* oppression, instead of *fighting* it, the bosses are safe. And even though the increasing struggles of working people the world over means it's tougher finding places to escape to, the bosses will let you internally "escape" with drugs. You can be "safe" in your "Sweden" with your drugs while others are fighting back right next to you — but the bosses will be safe too.

The picture suggests women are dumb and irrational and that men should only regard them as sex objects. Nately's girlfriend is shown so dumb as to try to kill Yossarian just because he was the one to tell her of Nately's death. None of the women shown are people that flyers can share their problems or their struggles with, they are only to be slept with or physically desired. As a matter of fact, the movie suggests it would be foolhardy to share problems or join in struggles with the

women; they are unsympathetic and merely use men to get money. Nurse Duckett keeps kicking Yossarian in the groin to stop his advances, and most of the other women shown are professional prostitutes.

The flip side of the coin is that men are animals, incapable of liking or admiring a woman except as a sex object. This is most clearly depicted when the flyers yearn and whine for General Dreedle's WAC secretary during a briefing session. Let's face it. Both men and women lose from this kind of movie. They are told to hate, fear or distrust people of the opposite sex, or at the least never to consider being friends with them or joining with them against the system responsible for the oppression of both.

Black people are not shown as members of Yossarian's bomber group. It's as if they did not have to carry in fact a high portion of the fighting responsibility of World War II. Or perhaps the movie wants to suggest that the problem of alienation amidst suffering and cruelty that sensitive Yossarian has is not shared by black people. And there are no explanations that fighting units were segregated and that Yossarian was simply in a white one. After all, in *Patton* another "authentic" war picture, all black units were both part of the rescuers and the rescued when the Third Army saved the besieged units at Bastogne during the Battle of the Bulge; yet *Patton* falsely pictured all units involved as white. The point: that black people are exploited the most in the world that *Catch-22* is supposedly representing. Yet they are deliberately excluded from that representation. The movie's implication is that those people who do oppose exploitation and imperialism will only seek out Yossarian types to ally or "escape" with — not working people (especially black and brown working people) who are leading the fight against that exploitation and who are the only ones who can really win that fight.

*Catch-22* also wants us to think all fighting is wrong. That follows from the depiction of the cruelty and suffering of the war as being arbitrary, purposeless. The death of a friend, Snowden, is graphically shown and is horrible. The audience is supposed to conclude from all this that all fighting and any fighting is the cause of suffering.

But that ignores that suffering itself is a form of violence. Hunger is violence; low wages are violence; inadequate medical care is violence. And the plain truth is that workers and peasants all around the world are going to have to fight to end the violence perpetrated by the bosses. Force and violence serve either one of two classes — the bosses or the workers. The bosses' violence is not arbitrary or purposeless — contrary to the movie's depiction. It is used to steal millions for the capitalists. Further, workers' violence is also not arbitrary. Its use is the only way the vast majority of human beings will be able to destroy the bosses' whole rotten system of exploitation and to create a world without suffering. The mass media wants to encourage pacifism because as long as violence is not used against the media's owners, they have nothing to worry about.

"Well," someone says, "OK, so it preaches reactionary ideology. It's still a good movie, isn't it?" That's another way of raising the question we first began with: Can we



really say, "Lousy politics but a good movie."? I think that kind of statement ignores the purpose, the function, and the result *in practice* of bourgeois or ruling class ideology.

The essence of bourgeois ideology is to promote ideas and attitudes that are so necessary for the ruling class to maintain its power: ideas like racism, anti-communism, male chauvinism, pacifism, and selfishness. Racist ideas result in whites letting bosses continue to super-exploit black workers, in large percentages of working people ignoring the militant experienced leadership provided by black workers. Anti-communism keeps working people from seizing Marxism-Leninism, the very weapon necessary for winning the class struggle. Male chauvinism supports the superexploitation of women and divides the working class in half.

The ruling class needs these ideas. At a time when millions of peasants and workers around the world are fighting back harder than ever against U.S. imperialism and their own bourgeoisies, ideas which mislead working people from correctly utilizing the principles of Marxism-Leninism are the best weapons the bosses have. Bourgeois ideas are, in short, often more deadly than bullets. The comparative handful of boss-parasites that live off the backs of the other 99% of us wouldn't last an hour in power if we all realized who the oppressors are, who our allies are, and what to do about ending the oppression of the millions of working people the world over — i.e., if we all saw the need for a revolution and the creation of a state run by and in the interest of the working class. Bourgeois ideas, pushed at us in every way the bosses can dream up, are what prevents the working class from seeing the problem, capitalism, and the solution, socialism and the workers' state, the dictatorship of the proletariat.

*Catch-22* fits neatly into this pattern. It's only one movie, that's true, but it is part of the incredible amount of ruling class propaganda thrown at people every day. To say, "Bad politics but a good movie" indicates that we're not that serious about the class struggle and really ending the exploitation and suffering caused by the bosses. It's like saying, "Oh nice shot," when a cop shoots a striker, or saying "Wasn't that a bright move," when a phoney union head sells out a strike. It wasn't a "nice shot" for the family of the worker; it wasn't a "bright move" to the workers who got sold out.

Take, for example, the scene in *Catch-22* where Yossarian pretends he is a dying soldier, while that soldier's family has come to visit him before he passes away. The soldier died before they got there, but the doctor decides that with Yossarian's help they should not be disappointed after coming 6000 miles to see their son. So Yossarian lies in bed and carries on a conversation with the family. They stand there having a conversation with a total stranger, as if he were the boy they came to visit. No one in the family realizes or wants to realize that Yossarian is not their son (or brother). Anything to successfully carry out the tradition of seeing a relative one last time before he dies, huh? Pretty funny, huh? Like hell. How does that scene look to the parents, brothers, sisters, wives, or children of a guy killed in Vietnam. While we're sitting in the movie laughing our heads off, their guts are churning at remembering the loss of their relative. That scene is an insult to the hundreds of thousands of families who have had men and women killed in imperialist wars. How can we find that scene funny and still hope to point out to those relatives who really was responsible for their loved one's death and what we all should do about it.

Laughing *with* people, sharing the happy times of their experience, is a good thing. But laughing at that family in *Catch-22* is laughing *at* people, and laughing *along with* the exploiters of this world.

The reason we often laugh at this reactionary kind of humor is that those bad ideas or tendencies are strong within us. The ruling classes' media has been encouraging for so long the ideas of escaping or running away from peoples' struggles, of watching those struggles from afar, that those ideas have had an effect. If we seriously intend to change things for the better, we are going to have to fight bad ideas within ourselves, as well as in others.

It comes down to this: Bad ideas are encouraged in movies like *Catch-22*. Bad ideas are the most powerful weapons that the bosses have. They are often as harmful to the people as bullets. If we really are sensitive, if we really care about people, and if we really want to end suffering and oppression, then let's come out of bourgeois movies more angry and committed to fighting the ruling class than ever. And we could even start with exposing the lies in the particular movie we saw, and to ram those lies right down the bosses' throats.

*A Sleeping Giant Is Beginning To Stir*

**HERE'S HOW YOU CAN TAP THE  
VAST EAST-WEST TRADE POTENTIAL...**

**COCA COLA SOCIALISM**

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**СДЕЛАНО В США \***

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# COCA-COLA

## The Most Widely Trade-Marked Product in The World.

### New Bottling Operations Start In Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Hungary And Czechoslovakia



An inspector checks a bottle of the finished product every thirty minutes for carbonation content by piercing the cap with a testing apparatus.

Coca-Cola, the most widely known trademarked product in the world, had its beginning in 1886 in Atlanta, Georgia, USA.

It was at that time that Dr. John Pemberton formulated the syrup from which the carbonated beverage is made. Coca-Cola became very popular, very fast; but, during its early years, the product was available only at the soda fountain. That distribution changed in the late 1890's, however, when the manufacturer of the syrup, The Coca-Cola Company, granted to a group of independent businessmen a contract allowing them to bottle Coca-Cola.

With the product in a bottled package, it had mobility and could be taken anywhere, rather than consumed only at a soda fountain or drug store.

Coca-Cola bottling plants, operated by independent organizations under an agreement with The Coca-Cola Company, soon sprang up throughout the entire United States.

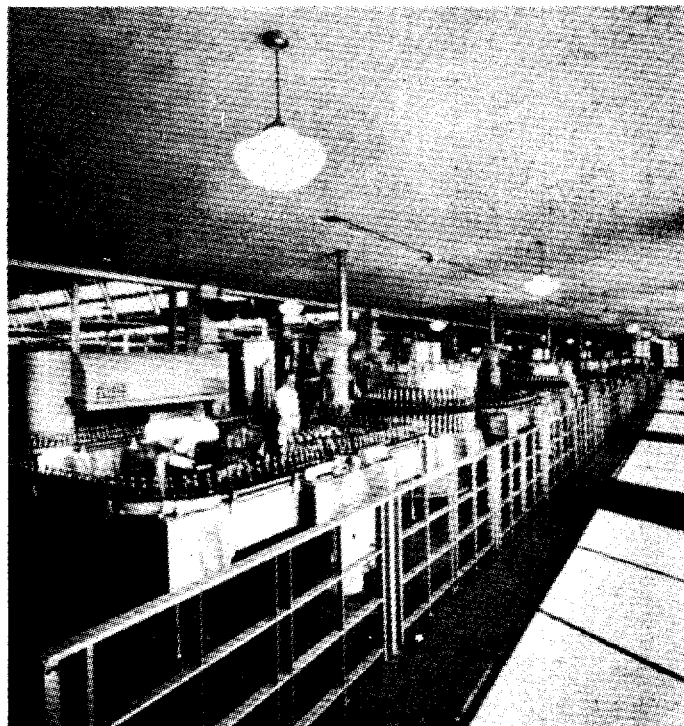
In 1926, bottling operations for Coca-Cola began outside the States. Today, Coke is bottled by some 1,800 locally-owned and managed plants located in 134 countries around the world.

Among the more recent new bottling operations for Coca-Cola are those in Eastern Europe—in Bulgaria, Yugoslavia and Hungary. In addition, a bottling plant is scheduled to begin operation soon in Czechoslovakia.

Whatever its location, a Coca-Cola bottling plant is considered an integral part of the community, and Coca-Cola is embraced as strictly a local product. That attitude evolves from the procedure utilized in setting up a bottling operation in any country; and that is to make it the enterprise of nationals of that country. Local capital, local employees and local goods and services are sought in each case, rather than importing them.

Once operating, a Coca-Cola bottling operation makes an important contribution to the economies of the area it serves. The operation is designed, of course, to return a profit to its operators. At the same time, however, whole new industries are created, in many parts of the world, to supply the needs of the bottling plants. Those include such industries as the manufacturers of coolers, cases, crowns, and bottles. The development of these supplying industries, in turn, serve to upgrade the skills, in many cases, of a large labor force.

Next to the inherent quality of the product itself, the system of locally operated Coca-Cola bottling plants is the most significant factor in the enduring success of the product—a success story that is reflected in the fact that Coca-Cola today is consumed at the rate of 100 million drinks daily.

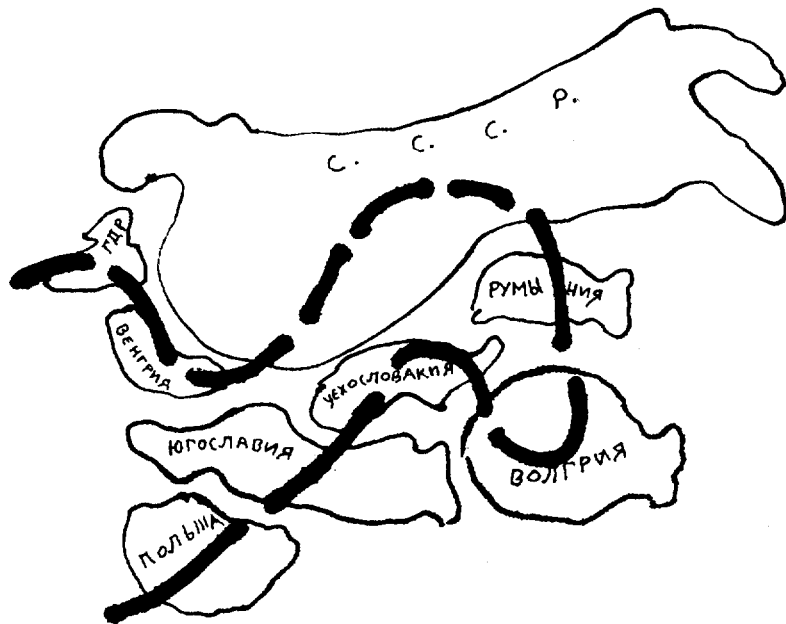


The environment in which Coca-Cola is bottled is one of clean, gleaming tile and stainless steel. In this and other photos on this page, the process of bottling Coca-Cola is shown in a bottling plant in the United States. Returnable bottles for Coca-Cola are first washed and rinsed. As they come out of the washer, the bottles are carefully inspected for flaws by a skilled inspector. The inspected bottles then move along a conveyor to the Syruper which dispenses the exact amount of syrup into each bottle. The bottles then move to a Filler which fills them with carbonated water. From the Filler, the bottles move to the Capper for capping. The filled and capped bottles then pass to the Mixer which turns them upside down so that the water and syrup are thoroughly mixed together. After being mixed, the bottles are electronically inspected and cased for storage until they are moved to the marketplace.



Pipes from storage tanks carry syrup to the Syruper which dispenses the right amount into each bottle.





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Not sure what the above means? Soviet bosses do and Western businessmen keep those ads coming—maybe soon in Pravda? Check out the next page for translation . . .



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# UNION CARBIDE: A CASE STUDY IN SALES TO EASTERN EUROPE

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This presentation bears the rather unprovocative title of "A Case Study in Sales to Eastern Europe" but it might well have been titled "Two Billion Bucks in the Deep Freeze," because that is what we are really talking about — a market frozen in the cold war and not yet thawed out, but estimated by some authorities to have a \$2 billion per year potential for American business. Just to put that number in perspective, West Germany's exports to Eastern Europe are already in the range of \$1.5 billion per year. That is 6.5 percent of their total exports compared with U.S. sales of about one quarter billion dollars to that region which represents barely 0.5 percent of our exports.

Union Carbide's efforts to heat up some portion of that market have been in two areas. The first is product sales where we have been quite successful. These activities date back more than 10 years, and in recent years we have achieved an average 15 percent annual compound growth rate. Today our sales are running from \$10 to 15 million per year —



*M.W. DUNCAN is International Vice President of the Chemicals and Plastics Divisions of Union Carbide Corporation. He became a division vice-president with international responsibility for chemicals in 1964 and chemicals and plastics in 1967. In 1965, he organized and headed Carbide's Moscow International Chemical Exhibition hosting Prime Minister Kosygin's visit. He is a member of the Editorial Advisory Board of The American Review of East-West Trade.*

approximately half of these to the USSR and half to the rest of Eastern Europe. The second area is technology sales where we launched a serious effort four years ago and so far have been singularly unsuccessful in consummating our first sale. I propose to relate to you some of the problems we have encountered in product and technology sales and some of the techniques we have used to overcome them.

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## EXCLUSIVE PRESS INTERVIEW WITH HENRY FORD II (U.S. Embassy-Moscow)

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## HOW AN AMERICAN COMPANY CAN DO BUSINESS IN EASTERN EUROPE

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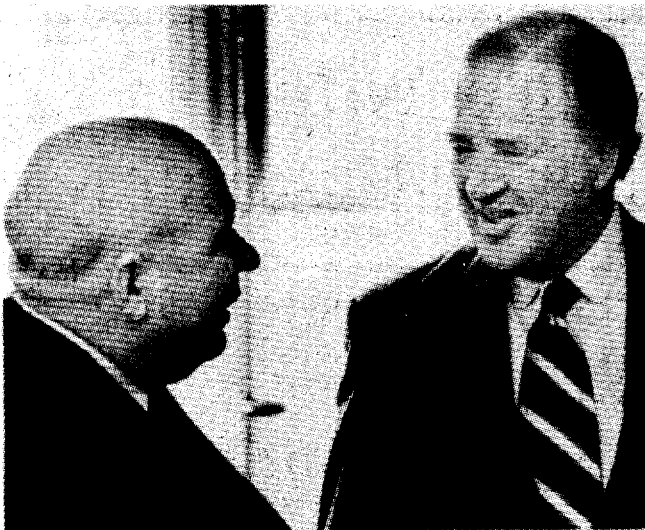
## IS FRANCHISING A WAY TO OPEN MARKETS IN EAST EUROPE?

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**LOVE STORY: with Ali Ford and Ryan Tarasov**



Talks between A.M. Tarasov and Henry Ford II took place at the USSR Ministry of the Automobile Industry.

Henry Ford reviews some of the transportation problems with A.M. Tarasov, USSR Minister of the Automobile Industry.



**T**HE INTERNAL STRUGGLE WITHIN THE Progressive Labor Party is becoming much sharper. Struggle by itself however, is not automatically useful; what is most important is the direction of our work and how it is to be done. We are learning that there can be no parttime communists. Our entire lives have to become devoted to building the Party and serving the working class.

The contradiction between our personal and political lives must be solved. Building bases in the working class cannot be done on an occasional basis, nor can bases be built in half-hearted ways.

As the external struggle sharpens most members and friends of the PLP are strengthened; new members come into the Party on a much higher political level. The workers, students and others with whom we work have more respect for, and understanding of, what the Party is and why it is necessary for them.

Naturally as individualism and political revisionism continue to be fought in this more-sharpened manner in our day-to-day work and attitudes, some people fall to the wayside. Some remain friends who may become strengthened and won back to the Party and we should try to have this happen with them. Yet others become enemies, some organizing against the Party, others fading away. Most members see the usefulness and necessity of this internal struggle as it helps the Party grow among the masses.

As our work grows, there is still a tendency in shying away from the mass line impeding basebuilding. By now it should be crystal clear that there is an objective base for our Party to grow in numbers and influence among all sections of the people, especially among workers.

By simply unleashing a fraction of our energies, Party members have scored a few important breakthroughs in mass work in an independent way. We have probably raised our efficiency level from five to about 15 per cent these past six months. Can anyone doubt the importance of raising our efforts above these limits? It would have a tremendous effect. Most important it would stimulate a qualitative influence on friends close to the Party, on one another's work and in raising the political level of

thousands of workers and others – thus sharpening the class struggle.

Among the advances in the past period of time we note that over a thousand people are studying in PLP groups around the USA, over 1500 people are working in Party literature sellers' collectives and about 3500 contacts – mostly working people – are to varying degrees working closely with the Party. We have reached the point where we are selling 100,000 copies of the Party newspaper, *Challenge-Desafio*. This increased sale of the paper reflects the growing maturity of the PLP and the thirst for knowledge about revolution among workers and students.

However, as comrades have put it quite well, the mere sale of *Challenge-Desafio* is *not* what we want. The paper must become an organizer for the Party and for mass struggle. The growth of the paper must be related to this. We must however not lose sight of the significance of our newspaper, the official organ of our revolutionary communist movement.

For those who unfortunately still cling to the conception that personal lives may be unrelated to politics, the Party has learned a score of lessons this past summer. In most cases where there were sharp weaknesses in peoples' lives, this has tended to weaken their own political work and that of others around them. Personal weaknesses – expressed mainly in acts of bourgeois individualism – have often limited us through members' inaction and in attacks on the

Party. This has happened where extreme selfishness, dope, promiscuity and perversion, etc., have expressed themselves.

We are not a therapeutic organization in any medical sense. While these weaknesses must be dealt with one way or another and each problem has to be evaluated and handled sympathetically, we must not forget *stability* is the name of the game. Unstable people do not make good revolutionaries, dedicated communists. While perhaps some unstable people may remain friends, in the long run instability in personal lives must lead to a political deviation taking the form of attacking the Party in one way or another.

We must consolidate our political base. Every form of

## **An inside view: Progressive Labor Party**

social and political activity must be used to do this. We must win members of sellers' collectives to Party study groups; get sellers' collectives to become action groups and win people in these groups to assume greater leadership and political initiative — bringing them into the Party. Sellers' collectives must participate in consolidating contacts to whom they've been selling. Party members in these collectives must make it their political responsibility to become close to the non-Party people with whom they are working and selling. The Party leadership must spend more time with those members of PL who are doing the best work in this area, rather, than as in the past, spending so much time with the weakest politically and most unstable elements.

We should not underestimate the importance of the development of these basically non-Party sellers' collectives. In New York City alone there are such groups in over a dozen geographic locations and in six industrial concentrations. We have already set up a coordinating committee of non-Party people leading these seller's collectives, with a small number of PL members to guarantee the continuity of the work.

The continuation of this most important work depends on the efforts of the Party's forces to engage in mass struggle; to help build action groups led by non-Party forces; and to build bases on and off the job and school. Previously, members have been won at work or in school. This has taken a great leap forward among hundreds because of the step-up sale of *Challenge-Desafio* among workers.

We have previously discussed techniques of developing closer ties with workers and students who willingly and eagerly buy the Party press. These people are not simply names on pieces of paper. They are people who have expressed interest in talking about the struggles and in the work of the Party. When doing work among these contacts, members and friends must never forget to listen. Everything, from shop and school to personal problems should be discussed and as a result it will become more possible to talk about how to expand struggle and bring the contact closer to the Party.

There have been a significant number of important experiences in this expansion of Party literature sales and popularization in a mass way of our revolutionary communist ideology. This past summer, 1970, named by our friends and members *Challenge-Desafio Summer*, has greatly enriched our Party's experience, influence and political base. We are presenting a number of communications from Party and non-Party groups, from individuals and from area leaderships. Not only do these articles relate the experiences in different areas of political struggle, they point to our Party's strengths and weaknesses. Our hope is that members and friends, readers of *PL* magazine, may in this way become better acquainted with the work and aspirations for the future of the Progressive Labor Party, and that these experiences may enable us to overcome our weaknesses and steel our strengths.

—National Steering Committee, *Progressive Labor Party*,  
(from *Internal Bulletin*, August and September 1970).

## YEAR OF THE WORKER OVER FOR PHONIES

**F**or about a year after the 1968 French worker-student rebellion, it seemed as if all the pseudo Left groups around the country, the Young Socialist Alliance, *Monthly Review*, Revolutionary Union, *Guardian*, etc., suddenly "discovered" the workingclass. All of a sudden, all kinds of coffee shop "communists" who never did a lick of work in their lives were proclaiming "the future belongs to the workers." After years of attacking the working class as "bought off," "corrupt," "disappearing," etc., and years of attacking Progressive Labor for our pro-working class position, this motley crew announced—as the Crusaders of oldentimes on their way to "save" the "savages"—"we must go to the workers!"

And they did. For about a year. Some got jobs. Some of the men sent their wives out to get jobs.

A number of the leading coffee-clatchers used their experience to become local union officials.

But it seems, "The Year of the Worker" has passed, and most of these phony Leftists have returned to the coffee shops (although a few of the smarter ones stayed on as well-paid union bureaucrats). The line today, as put forward most clearly in the Panther paper and by Revolutionary Union guru Bruce Franklin, is that the United States working class is hopeless, and the revolution must be made by the lumpen elements, pot smokers, homosexuals, and other outcasts of society. (Jerry Rubin even visited the lunatic Manson in jail trying to make a revolutionary hero out of him.) Individual terrorism—isolated acts that prove how gutsy you are but don't mobilize anybody to action—is the fad of the year.

As for the working class, well,

they had their chance. "We gave them a whole year of our lives, and they didn't make a revolution ... that proves they're rotten."

In that framework, PL sold well over a quarter of a million copies of *Challenge*—the great majority to working people—all over the country this summer. In that framework, we involved somewhere around a thousand new working class people in selling our communist paper for the first time.

"Ah, but do they know what they're doing?" comes the cynical reply. "Those people just go out there and sell that paper because you tell them to, or because they think it's for better working conditions and higher pay. You still can't win United States workers to become communists."

The proof, of course, will come only with the growth of our Party as a working class organization, and particularly with the working class leadership within and around our Party. But as part of this growth, I am enclosing three letters from working class people who have come close to, or joined

our Party in the Bay Area in the last six months. The three people who submitted these letters are fairly representative. One is a black army veteran (eight years in the service, including Vietnam and Detroit) now working for the telephone company; one is a white former Marine who now works as a cutter-welder in a small San Francisco shop; and one is a Chicano high school student in San Jose.

### AT&T Worker writes

**H**ere are some thoughts about my job and the future:

The phone company, AT&T is the world's largest corporation. Its assets of \$40.2 billion dwarf all other giant corporations.

AT&T, Western Electric and the Bell System are able to keep profits high by paying their workers slave wages, which in many cases are wages under \$100 a week before taxes.

Western Electric is owned and controlled by AT&T. This company manufactures and supplies all the equipment for the Bell System. Western Electric receives \$10 an hour from Ma Bell for each installer. The average salary for an installer is less than \$3 per hour, even for some of those with as much as two years of service with the company. In addition to poor wages, the working conditions are just as bad, if not worse.

Racism is the biggest and best tool the company has and uses to divide their workers for a more effective means of exploiting them. Black and *third world* people are very few at this company. They are the very last to be hired and the first to be fired. Within the San Francisco Bell System, there are women doing the same work as men but their pay is about 20 per cent less.

The bosses have no feeling or respect for human beings. Workers in America are looked on as merely a production machine. They are exploited by every means the bosses can think of to keep their profits high.



Phone workers' unity needed against world's richest corporation.

This society, plagued with racism, inflation, war and tyranny is choking in its own waste.

There is only one choice. You can either live with the rich bosses, the racists and the military brass and the government which the bosses control, or you can line up with the people that treat each other on the basis of equality, the working class, the poor and the youth, as part of the solution.

We can no longer afford to be onlookers, listening to the empty rhetoric of the politicians as they express their "extreme concern" and do nothing except make it worse.

We must take a stand—we are tied together. The working class needs each other regardless of race or color if we are going to defeat the bosses of big business who rule this country.

Before the victory is won, maybe some more will have to be scarred up, lose jobs and maybe some of us will have to face jail or death.

You must take one or the other road. We must strive for social-

ism or help keep imperialism and capitalism in force as they stand in America today. We must change this if we do not want to continue to exist in this dying society.

We cannot sit on the fence any longer. There is no exception to the rule. We must now take one side or the other; there is no third way if we are to defeat the ruling class and we must oppose all illusions of a third road. To stand neutral is merely a camouflage.

This means the reactionaries must be deprived of their right of voice as well as control of the people and the government. Such rights are only for the people.

In speaking and dealing with the capitalists, this may seem to be extreme or repressive. Yes, it may be extreme. But such repression is not for any of the people, it is only for the capitalists. And in regard to reactionaries the question of being repressive or not shouldn't even come up. The bosses of the ruling class believe only in property rights and don't give a damn about human rights and respect. We have to unite to fight them.

## Workers' son writes home

Dear Mom and kids,

This will be the first letter I have written in a long time, as you well know. I send you all my love and kisses. Pam and I are in the best of health and life. We have a very good marriage for the most part but we have our weaknesses. Life has been good to me since I met Pam. In fact life has taken on a new meaning for me. I have come to realize that I am not just one person who has many problems and I am not totally messed up and no good as I thought most of my life. I feel that things can be changed and will be changed. Because I have changed and I feel that things are not as hopeless anymore.

Mom do you know why there are so many strikes and demonstrations? My feelings are that people are getting tired of living the way most people are forced to live because of the class of people they are. It has become clear to me that there are a few people in this country, and all over the world, that run everything. Those are the ones who have all the money, own the land, the factories and everything else.

In all the jobs I've had it's always the same old shit. Do what the boss says, no matter what you think. The thing that really pisses me off is that most bosses haven't worked a day in their lives, so how can he tell someone how to do something when the worker has been working all his life? Just for an example take where I work now.

It's a fairly small shop about 50 men, but it is divided into six different areas: shipping, welding, press, switch cleaning and cut-off departments, and mechanics and helpers areas. No one is supposed to leave his area or department without permission. Anyway, when I started to work there last year I had the impression that workers are to work together to get more done and make it easier on each other.

I am working in the cut-off department in the front of the shop, the mechanics work in the back. My job involves cutting out of 20 and 30 feet of angle iron, flat bar, pipe, tubing and channel ironpieces. All of this stuff is of different thicknesses and widths from 1/8" by 3/4" flat bar to 2" by 6" bar, 6" by 6" by 1/2" angle iron, 4" pipe. I also cut a

lot of stainless steel. We make parts to be put together by the mechanics.

Here's what I do: I get a shop print that shows what is to be done, then I look at the material list and the print and decide what is to be cut. In the lower right hand corner is a small box that gives more information, like make three or make four or one right and one left; also who the thing is for, like Denver Meat or Allen Meat or for stock; then I start cutting the material with the friction band saw or with flat bar.

I do make mistakes but I try not to. Being rather new to this type of work, the mechanics tell me things that will help me do my work better. One thing is the guys tell me to take my time and be sure of what I'm doing. A lot of the times holes have to be put in the parts at certain places. The mechanics ask me to put these holes in, as it's easier for me, since I have the metal worker right in front to use.

Anyway, one day the boss comes up and asks me, "What's Frank doing wasting time punching holes?" I say that he is doing what we have been doing and what the mechanics want and ask us to do. He says, "I am the boss you do what I say and what I say supercedes what anybody else says." So we stop punching holes and laying out parts. Then the mechanics come up yelling why the holes are not in the parts. Of course they are pissed at us. I say it's the bosses fault, but this does not sink in because as you know in this society bosses are made to look good. If I keep telling the real truth about bosses someday people will see this and kick out all the bosses and run things for themselves. Of course my boss is very small in comparison with the real big bosses who run the whole country, like Rockefeller and J.P. Morgan.

To get a job today you must sell yourself to someone who owns the machinery of production and get paid just enough to keep you working everyday and to live on, but it's hard just to do that. At the same time the rich keep getting richer and richer and we keep getting poorer and poorer.

When men go out on strike for better wages and working conditions the bosses say that this causes inflation. But what really causes

inflation is the bosses who must keep getting high profits by raising the prices of whatever they are making. Last year our government spent billions of dollars on space exploration when right here in this country thousands and thousands of people were out of work and there's more all the time. That means that there were a lot of kids going hungry, unclothed and not living the lives they should be living.

Remember when dad used to talk about black people and call them niggers and say they were no good and lazy. On TV the blacks always played the dumb role or the inferior role. All our lives we see this and hear it. This is also something that is used to keep people apart; it is called racism. This is something used by bosses to give black workers the dirtiest and hardest jobs with the least amount of pay they can give. While doing this they, the bosses, tell the white workers, "see the dumb lazy niggers." If the white workers call the boss a liar they might lose their jobs and be called names that you can think of yourself.

The truth is black people are not dumb or lazy but this society makes us think this: again it's the bosses fault. Racism works not only on black and white but on all people: brown, red and yellow, on rich and poor. How many times have you heard poor people are dumb or lazy and no good? Poor people are not poor because they want to be but because they are forced to be. Most of all blacks. Very few people born in the ghetto ever get out of it. The ghettos are not owned by the blacks, but by big businessmen and bosses who only want that money and don't care that there are rats and bugs and that the buildings are falling down. They don't live there, and they damn sure are not going to spend any of the money they get to fix up the buildings and get rid of the rats even though they get the money from the people who live there.

You should see the schools in this city; most are like prisons. Most schools are for poor working class kids. They have cops in some of the schools here to keep the kids in line. In other words, if the kids protest that the teachers are racists, the cops

step in and knock heads.

I can see Mission High School from the window here. I know a guy, a very good friend of ours, who went to Mission. Three weeks before he graduated he quit and went into the Marines. He was kicked out because he couldn't read or write. Frank is his name. Frank is a very good guy but he is forced to work in a factory for \$3.20 an hour. He is a very good mechanic on cars, but to be a mechanic you must pass a written test. Because of our struggles with him, he is, after over a year starting to learn to read. It will be hard for him but he can do it. Because Pam and I care for Frank we got him started in the right direction. The only thing most schools in this society teach you is to get a crummy job or join the service.

Kinky is a pretty sharp kid. Do you think you can send him to college? if he stays super good and gets good grades he *might* get a scholarship. The chances are very slim. College trains you to be a boss or how to exploit people to the best you can. That's why there are so many demonstrations on campus all the time. Students are getting fed up with the shit they are being taught.

The Pope is one of the most powerful and rich men alive. The church and god is something that was thought up to keep fear in people. As they pass around the collection plate they scream "Be good or god will strike you dead." Bullshit! Have you ever seen god, has grandma or anyone that you have known? I have faith alright, but in my wife, you, grandma, the kids and all my friends, to make my life good or bad. Not in something I can't see or feel or touch. I'm alive now and that's what counts. Shit when I die, I'm dead and that's it. The only hell is not having any friends or a wife or family, or a decent place to live. Having no money is hell! If the workers had the power in this country there would be no hell unless you were a boss. Heaven is when Pam and I think about the family we want to have and that someday people like us won't have to worry about where to live or how to get the next meal or pay the rent if they can't find a job.

Well, I have decided to devote my life to fighting the bosses and serve the working class in every way I can. This means becoming a socialist and a communist so that is what I must do. Only the bosses say that communists

are bad because they are the ones who own everything that is by rights ours. I will soon join the Progressive Labor Party if I can.

There is so much more that I

could say, but this is the most important now, so will close with love and kisses.

P.S. Tell grandma and everyone I say hello and I am doing fine.—Larry

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*Here are some examples of how putting our ideas into practice produces results!*

A middle-aged black worker at Ford who bought the paper from a student, said he wanted to get together and discuss these ideas. A couple of us went to visit him. He was eager to discuss everything and we talked for a couple of hours. He said, "I've been going to this same job for a long time and sitting looking out on these same rotten slums for even longer. If this revolution you're talking about is going to change that, I'm all for it!" We talked about how *Challenge* helps workers fight and he agreed to take 10 copies to sell to his friends in the plant. He said, "if selling this paper can help turn around one of my brothers, then it's well worth it." That's the kind of attitude we all should have!

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At another plant, a young black guy came up to a seller. The student gave him the pitch but he said, "oh, it's like the Panther paper. I don't want it." The seller said, "it's not like the Panther paper. It has stories about people really struggling and winning." The worker went into the gates and about two minutes later he comes back out again with 50¢ and said, "I just found out about it. Give me five copies!"

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At Youngstown Sheet and Tube where *Challenge* has never been sold, the response was terrific! On our second trip there, we got 18 contacts and sold lots of *Black Liberation* pamphlets.

This young worker at Youngstown was eager to know all about the Party. A friend of his was standing near by but didn't seem to be taking any interest in the conversation. As I turned to go, the friend spoke up and said, "hey, come back here. Put my name on your list, too. I want to find out what this is all about!" Then he bought two *Black Liberation* pamphlets.

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## Chicano student thanks PLP

I am a Chicano student at W.C. Overfelt High School on the East Side of San Jose, California. In the last two months I have been making close friends with PL members here in San Jose and Bay Area.

Before I met my friends I had fallen into two of the bosses' dividing tools which was drugs and nationalism. The drugs had taken over my mind and I didn't care about anything but drugs. And then around six months ago I had fallen into another one of the bosses' tools — nationalism. When I took the nationalist point of view I started to hate all races but the Chicano and I was still on drugs.

But in the last two months I have begun to take another point of view

which is the communist point of view. By taking this point of view I have begun to see the need to struggle against the bosses' tools of dividing the working class.

For instance I am beginning to see the need for a struggle against the tracking system. From what I am beginning to see the tracking system begins in your childhood. A child in a low income area gets little attention from his parents because of the hard labor that his parents go through daily to feed money into the pockets of the fat, rich ruling class. Therefore since he gets little attention from his parents he has no alternative but to get attention at school where he may be noticed by his friends. While trying to

## BLACK WORKERS FIGHT BACK

As the summer rolls on it is clear working people are not going to twiddle their thumbs in the face of ruling class oppression. While government bladders yapping about how unemployment rates are being reduced—as they admit the number of unemployed grow—black workers have taken to the streets demanding jobs.

Jobs has become the battle cry of Asbury Park, New Jersey. Thousands of outraged black workers took to the streets demanding jobs, housing and other vital needs. Confronted by growing militancy the mayor of Asbury Park and the police chief—urged on by state and national leaders—opened fire on demonstrators. Lying police chiefs talk of how they shot over the heads of the people. But over fifty people have been wounded, and at least four dying. Asbury Park has been sealed off to prevent anyone from seeing the murder of black workers.

Obviously, the police riot in Asbury Park is part of the national scheme cooked up in Washington to prevent the militancy of black workers from spreading. And bosses intensify all aspects of racism to divide black and white workers.

But black workers have no intentions of taking oppression and terror lying down. On the day of the rebellion of black workers in Asbury Park a young black Vietnam vet said: "If they don't give us the demands it's going to be hell. I've been to Vietnam and I don't give a damn anymore." He noted that he recently quit a job with a carpet firm. Asked why he quit he replied. "Would you work for \$66 a week?"

The ruling class and their stooges in various nationalist and so-called Left movements are finding out having black cops or "community control" over the police won't fool the people. The Chief of Police in Asbury Park is black.

Having a black Chief of Police didn't stop anger and protest. We are sure many honest forces in ghettos, or in other areas, realize that "a cop is a cop is a cop."

Cops—whether they are black or white—are paid to defend the rotten, racist, boss system. A man's color isn't the question, the question is which side of the class struggle are you on? Either you are on

the side of the workers, or on the side of the bosses.

It is getting harder and harder to palm off the same old lies that the rebellions are aimless, anarchistic and violent without content. The rebellions are for *jobs*, and improving all conditions of life: It is the class duty of all workers and progressive forces to come to the support of all those who rebel. They are right to rebel. *We support that right in action as well as words.*

If the goals of black workers are secured it will help lead all working people to winning their class aims against the bosses. It only benefits bosses if we don't support one another. For example: New York City is an economic disaster area. Racism has been used in heavy doses to force minority workers' wages down to far less than minimum standards. This has acted to lower wages of all workers in the city. In other words, racist practices by bosses, union leaders, and politicians (liberal or conservative) have made 450,000 garment workers in NYC the lowest-paid organized workers in the country. NYC wages generally are about the lowest in the country. Racism is a blow to the entire working-class—it must be smashed.

"We demand jobs" is a battlecry of the Progressive Labor Party. But we know, as millions are coming to know, that the bosses' system is unworkable for working people. We know this system can only continue to breed more problems, and disasters for working people. That is why we combine all immediate fights with the battle for socialism. And in this battle millions of working people are realizing their ability to grind the bosses' system into the dirt. Wave after wave of rebellions, strikes, student action and anti-war action can unite into a gigantic flood against the bosses. We work for the *unity* of these movements. The bosses work to *split* them. As unity becomes a bigger fact of life—victory against capitalism grows realistic. The bosses cannot stop growth toward unity anymore than they can stop the battles against them. Billions of people all over the world—united against imperialism and for socialism—will toss the capitalists into the garbage can of history. Reprinted from *Challenge*

get attention at school he usually gets into trouble at school and on the streets. By getting into trouble he begins to lag behind in his school work and is immediately marked down as unable to do average school work.

From here on in the bosses begin to prepare the role of life that we the working class are forced to live. After grammar school we go into high school, branded *unable to do average school work*. We go into a high school like Overfelt and we are assigned to woodshop, metalshop, homemaking and other courses of the sort. We are also put into English I-c which is the lowest English class. And there we are kept for the rest of our high school

years.

If we dropout of school (which the bosses like) we will either have a welfare check coming twice a month or the bosses will hit us for cheap labor. And we have another alternative and that is a brand new uniform and rifle with happy greetings from Uncle Sam.

But if we stay in school the teachers will more than likely let us slide even though we are failing. Once we are out of high school we go to apply for a job with the experience of making bookends, cutting boards and knowing how to boil water.

By having this kind of experience we are faced with the same situation as

if we would have dropped out. By seeing this situation I believe that it is very important to build a worldwide revolution to overthrow this racist, fascist, and imperialistic-capitalistic system. I also see the need to win over the working class from the pacifist movements put out by the government to destroy the movement of the working class.

I thank the Progressive Labor Party for bringing forth the communist ideology and the need for revolution by the working class. May many more working class people be won over by PL and may they see the need for a revolution like I am beginning to see. *All power to the working class!!*

## Communism hits Texas

**H**OUSTON, TEXAS — OVERALL THE WORK IS going well. The reasons are obvious. The class struggle is sharp here. There hasn't been any real organization of workers down here by anyone. Even with all the bad aspects of lousy leadership, sellouts, deals, etc., union organizing and union membership hardly exist down here. But when struggles do break out there is a lot of militancy — the Lone Star Steel strike is just one example — and workers are eager for winning ideas. They respond to our line enthusiastically. The sale of *Challenge* and the number of Party leaflets and flyers that are given out all reflect this. But even more important is the response to the ideas. People are generally enthusiastic and want to talk and know more. One black woman who we went to visit liked what we had to say and told us she had so much to learn and wanted us to come back so we could talk more.

There were some problems but they are beginning to get straightened out. The most serious was that no plan was being made to involve the people that we met in the work — there was no plan for consolidation. We had a fairly sharp club meeting about this and the results are already picking up. Alice went to visit one boy who lives in a housing project that we met by selling door to door. She talked to him for a full evening. He liked the line, knows just about everyone in the project where he lives and his apartment is a sort of hangout for all his neighbors. That is, people keep coming over to say hello and to talk. The result is that Alice met and talked to a lot of people, and they want to get into a study group. She and Frank are going to the beach with this guy and his family and a bunch of their friends this weekend.

Selling in housing is really good and if people are not doing it nationally they should be, the response and sale rate is high. Also, you know to whom you have sold it and can very easily follow up on contacts. We began to sell at projects because there are no factories around. Many companies have corporate headquarters here, but essentially the big industry is oil and chemicals. They are way out and involve a long drive to get to. As time goes on we will begin to sell there too. We had to find a way to reach the workers. The projects seemed like a good way, and it seems to have paid off. Some beginnings are being made at the airport. The airlines are laying off all over the place, and the PL airline flyer and our emphasis in fighting layoffs and unemployment is a winner.

Sally has already told a number of people at her job that she is a communist and in Progressive Labor and has given *Challenge* to them. She got a pretty good response to it and is going to move in and share an apartment with one girl on her job. She met the girl's family and showed them *Challenge* and they, too, like it. We had a struggle with her over seeing friends from work more often and she has begun to do it.

Chris has gotten a job teaching and given the busing plan that the school board has worked out and the racism

that they are trying to build, we should be in a good position to do some good work. We had a talk about what he should be trying to do — get to know the kids and their parents, and try to talk to some of the other teachers. We talked about the need to let the kids know that he is on their side as well as to try and expose the tricks of the school board. He was somewhat depressed before we had the meeting but the day after the meeting, and after he put some of the ideas into practice, he began to feel a lot better. We have a study group going here that Alice and Sally lead, but the weakness that showed up was a lack of preparation. The people in the group began to detect it and it also began to show up in their attitude toward the study group. They agreed that there should be a meeting before the study group to figure out what it was they wanted people to get out of the meeting and how to best do that.

One weakness that is showing up in my work is that I am not checking up on what is going on often enough. This also showed up in the leadership that I was supposed to be giving to Atlanta. Fran and I are going to exchange written evaluations on the work with each other weekly, and I am going to call her up at least three times a week to see how things are progressing. I am enrolled at the university but I will probably be going to a mostly black school in the spring. Since it is close to the university, I will be selling *Challenge* there and at the university regularly. We know a number of high school kids who will be selling *Challenge* at their schools soon. The work among the GI's, both here and in Atlanta has suffered because there was nobody to give it the fulltime attention that it needs. I am going to set up a Southern GI meeting in early October and set up a GI collective for the South to lead the work.

I have been meeting with the people in Austin regularly who are close to the Party and we are going to have meetings set up somewhat like candidate's classes to try to develop their work and a perspective about moving to Houston and joining the Party.

The Student Mobilization Committee is planning to have a series of demonstrations in ten cities across the country on October 31 — Halloween (there must be some significance to that) — and the city in Texas will be Austin. I called the Austin people up and told them to mobilize people under Progressive Labor banners. We will be doing it here and we're trying to bring busloads of friends to the demonstration. The high school kids will be doing it at their schools and we will try to get these workers we know to come and have a separate rally there. I also spoke to Frank about doing it in the city that the Student Mobilization Committee picks near Atlanta.

That, in general, is the work. As it begins to get going, more and more things are opening, and the possibility of bringing some of these people into the work and into the Party is giving us all new vigor, solving our manpower shortage. The weaknesses that I showed at the beginning are being defeated. The one of trying to do too much and in reality not doing all that much at all is being rectified. I think slowly I am beginning to give some amount of leadership to the work.

Comradely, Steve



## PLP Club fights in Atlanta on all fronts

**A**TLANTA, GEORGIA—SORRY I WAITED SO long to write. We have been pretty busy but that is no excuse. Thanks to you and the study groups for the money. It bought lots of paper for leaflets for Ford, GM, and other places.

Like I said, it has been busy here. Right now I'm waiting till time for shift change at Ford. We have lots of the *Auto Strikers Fight to Win* papers left so we are giving them out with a leaflet announcing a PL forum.

Selling at Ford and GM has not been exactly easy. I hear that it is the same all over the country although a lot of the workers like *Challenge-Desafio*: It tells what "is really happening". But for some reason the bosses, cops, union officials, and KKK do not like it. The first couple of times that we went to Ford, they took our pictures — and we were hassled by the plant guard and the town cops. I guess they want to decorate their offices. After their threatening to bust us for trespassing and obstructing traffic — that did not work. Actually, it made the workers more interested in finding out what we were selling that had the bosses and the cops so worried. The bosses' next tactic was the goon squad, led by the union president (a former, if not present member, of the KKK) and the union committeemen. The first couple of times they just tried to scare and intimidate us. But when that didn't work they attacked us the next times. Then we waited a few days and went back. They were not expecting us, so we were able to sell a few papers and make one more contact. The next time (a week ago yesterday) we were not so lucky. We were able only to sell a couple of papers before the goons came. Gene and Dick ended up with black eyes, and the goons managed to burn most of our papers. But things are not as bad as it sounds so far. We have managed to make contacts at Ford, some of whom are going to be in a readers' club.

\* \* \* \*

Well, we just came back from Ford, a few hours later. It was a great afternoon. Four of us went out. We had been there only a few minutes when the goons came. They attacked Dick, the only guy who went out today. Then, to the surprise of the goons, the guy who attacked Dick was jumped by Marie and me.

The last time we went we had a lot of pacifist feelings and did not fight back very hard — mainly just pushed a little — did not really fight. But this time all of us fought the goons. After we started fighting back, several other workers came to the fence and the gate. At first they mostly watched — then a few came out and tried to stop the goons. As more workers, especially black ones, began to watch, Dick heard one goon say, "We had better clear out." So with our fighting, and much more important, with the other workers watching and being very clearly not on the side of the goons, the fight ended.

The goons had managed to grab all the papers we had, but then they threw them inside the fence and to their surprise several workers picked up some of them and

started reading. When we saw that we started shouting to the other workers, "These goons are the ones that will help Ford beat your strike. If communist ideas are so bad, why are the bosses so afraid for you to hear them," etc. While we were standing there shouting, the goons did nothing. They were afraid because other workers were there. Several papers were picked up by the workers. What we are counting on now is that some of them will call us and/or come to the forum next week. Until we make more contacts and build stronger ties with the workers we know we probably won't be able to sell at Ford again because the union officials and the goon squads are ready.

Today's overall evaluation is that it was a political victory for us because:

1) we fought back and began defeating our pacifist feelings; it is hard to be a pacifist if you hate the ruling class and its flunkies;

2) the workers, many of whom we did not even know, came to stop the goons; some because of liberalism and not wanting to see women beat up — but some because they had read *Challenge* and knew that it is important;

3) workers saw that we do fight back — that we think the ideas in *Challenge* need to be grasped by the workers and that we will fight to get the paper out. That is a rundown of what happened at Ford today.

\* \* \*

The work at Ford is going well now. As I said before, we have contacts; we have to do more followup and getting to know the workers better and winning them to sell *Challenge* with us and to follow up other contacts.

**Flash Bulletin:** We just got a phone call from a black worker at Ford. He saw what was happening today. He has read the paper and we are meeting with him tomorrow morning to talk about *Challenge* and how we can get it out to Ford workers. We have so much work to do. The working class is ready to grasp communist ideas. We have to get the paper to them, and talk and work with them. Anyone who thinks that the Southern working class is different and can't be won to communist politics does not know what he is talking about.

We are doing a little work at places other than Ford. We have started selling *Challenge* at two of the largest Atlanta hospitals. We made contacts at one of them, and Dick and Gene both work parttime at the other and know several people. Two of the people who work with them are in a readers group, but have not followed up most of these contacts yet. Again, as with Ford, the main problem is not with the workers but with our not getting enough work done.

A couple of weeks after we got down here, we found out that there was a construction laborers' strike going on. It started the first week of July and is still going on with the workers receiving absolutely no strike benefits. The union is just a few blocks from where Dick lives. We made some real mistakes in our work with the union

members. The important one that we did not make politics primary. We told the workers that *Challenge* is a communist newspaper and that we are communists – but the main thing that came across was that we are nice people who supported the strike, helped raise some money (very little) for the strikers, and we were trying to give tactical leadership in the fight against the sellout union leaders. But we could not give tactical leadership, we are not in the union, we are not construction workers and we cannot lead them in their strike. What happened was that our politics became more buried. Our politics were not hidden from the union and other misleaders like the SCLC and Martin Luther King, Sr.

Some of the workers, in trying to raise money for the strike, had arranged a meeting with the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. The workers we knew invited us to the meeting. When we all got there and everyone was waiting for the meeting to begin, the SCLC spokesman came in and said “the meeting is for striking



San Francisco Bay Area PLP on the march.

workers only. Everyone else must leave.” Our friends said that they had invited us. The meeting took place in Martin Luther King’s Ebenezer Baptist Church. While this was going on, Martin Luther King, Sr. came out and said that he did not want communists in his church. In fact he said “he did not want strikers who were striking against their union” meeting in his church. At that point everyone got up and left and there was no meeting with SCLC.

We talked with the guys a while that night about why King and the SCLC did not want them meeting with communists. The next night the union had a meeting in the local Teamsters Hall. We wrote a leaflet about the role of the union leaders to hand out at the meeting. We got to the union hall late and most of the people had already gone in.

When the union officials saw us, they began organizing a goon squad to attack but we had managed to get some of the leaflets inside. A few workers took several leaflets and passed them out at the meeting. So, we saw a lot of the workers looking out the window at what was going on. This made the goons think again and they decided not to attack. After the meeting we handed out leaflets to more of the guys and talked to people about the strike and the union leadership and the need for communist politics. While we have not been able to make up for the poor beginning with the construction workers, we made a few contacts on a political basis. One guy is interested in being in a reader’s group.

About three weeks ago, the MOBE had an antiwar march and rally – based completely on pacifism and relying on liberal politicians – on Hiroshima-Nagasaki Day. The total turnout, including the SWP-YSA forces and us, was no more than 50 people. The SWP-YSA, after a march of at least 1000 people last spring after the Cambodian invasion has managed to nearly kill the antiimperialist movement in Atlanta. After the rally we had a PL forum to which three or four students and one sanitation worker came. The sanitation worker is working with us now and is in a reader’s group. Last week he sold 20 *Challenges* in about four days (completely on his own) and then asked for more. He said he is planning to go to Ford with us and that he does not mind a good fight with the goons. He also told us good places to sell.

We are selling some papers in Summerhill, a black community in Atlanta where a 15-year-old kid was shot in the back and murdered by the cops recently. There has been some fighting back by the people of Summerhill. The cops so far have managed to keep a loose lid on it, and with the help of various liberals and black politicians have kept it from exploding – so far. But the people are mad and when the cops get off – and they will – Summerhill will explode. Mayor Massell’s solution (he is the mayor who fought against the sanitation strike and is still trying to smash the union) to the problems of the people of Summerhill is more “police protection” with a new precinct house to be built right in Summerhill. The people whom we know here do not want any cops in their community and that includes black or white cops. There is very little misunderstanding about the role of the cops by the working people in Summerhill.

Lynne and George (Lynne is a Pler from Boston and George came down from North Carolina to work with us) are teaching elementary school and high school. They and Andy – a high school student we met at an Atlanta MOBE meeting and who is now working with us – are doing work with high school kids and beginning a *Challenge Corps*. Here in Atlanta, high school students have one year of compulsory ROTC. That is one of the things they will be fighting around this year. Also we think (we are not positive yet) that one of the schools is building a gym with scab labor. There seems to be enough for the *Challenge Corps* to fight around.

Gene and Kathy will be in school this year and trying to build an SDS chapter there. There was a chapter last year but it died during the year. It seems that this was basically a hippie group and made no attempt to reach

most of the students. So at this point we are starting from scratch. Some work has already been done this summer — a couple of meetings and a rally in support of the people of Summerhill in their fight against the cops. There is a lot of work that has to be done to get SDS off the ground, but we met some students who seem to be interested in building the chapter.

Dick will be working at one of the black colleges here this year. AAT, for instance, is a working class school where kids go mainly to learn trade skills. We know one student who reads *Challenge* and wants to work with us.

\* \* \*

This morning we started selling at Fulton Cotton Mill (about 1500 workers). We handed out 100 copies of the paper and we made one contact. We already knew a guy who works there. It is one of the largest factories that employs lots of women here in Atlanta. There is no union and the wages and the working conditions are horrible. Most people this morning were interested; we are planning to go back the first of next week with the new paper and a leaflet announcing a forum.

The place that we are having most difficulty in making headway is General Motors. The goons were there the second time we went to sell and we have not been able to get any contacts. We are having to depend on making contacts through others who know GM workers. There are a couple of people that we need to follow up in the next couple of days. Until we do this, we are going to have real trouble trying to sell there.

I guess this gives you a rundown of what we have been doing so far. What I have not mentioned is the great people we are working with — both the people who came down from North Carolina to work and the people we've met here. Everyone's enthusiasm is really great. People are really trying to work collectively, in discussing the work and in helping each other with problems that come up.

We have made a lot of mistakes in our work so far, and I have no doubt that we will make many more. But through criticism, self-criticism and change, I am sure that we can do the work and build Progressive Labor in the South. The working class is ready — the ruling class will not be able to stop them from grasping communist ideas and making those ideas their own. Only our lack of work and initiative and our fear of putting forward communism can slow the building of a communist party among the southern working class.

I could go on but this letter is getting too long already. I hope to hear from all of you. What is going on? How is the work developing? I do miss all of you and want to know what everyone is doing. Please write, and if anyone is coming through the South, stop in Atlanta for a visit — and to help with the work. In Struggle for the Revolution

P.S. (Wed. night). Just came back from the reader's group meeting. Two workers from Ford, two workers from the hospital, and one sanitation worker were there. One Ford worker did not make it because he took his wife to the hospital (their fourth child). All of the people there want to sell *Challenge*. The Ford workers think that

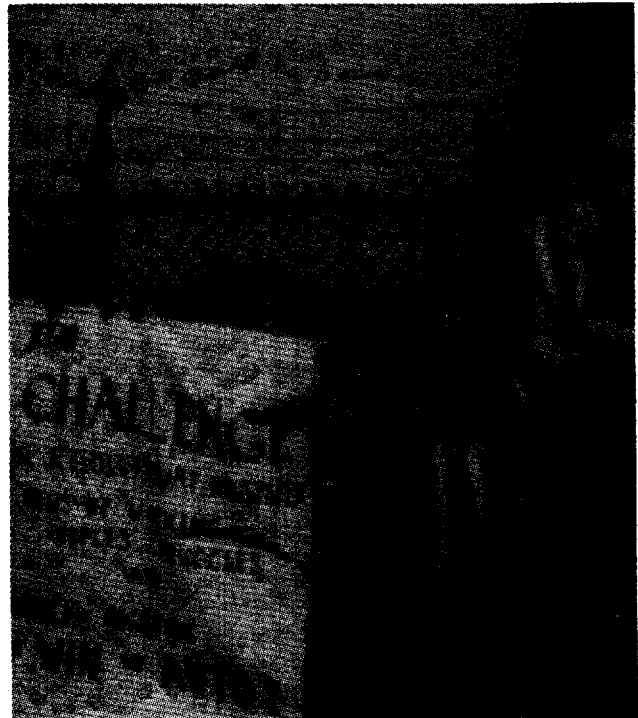
we should go back to Ford tomorrow. They said that the cops were waiting for us today — and lots of workers were there to defend us if the goons attacked. It seems that we are on the offensive at last at Ford. So we are going back tomorrow, with the auto flyer and a leaflet attacking racism and anti-communism.

The two guys at the meeting don't think we have to worry about the goons tomorrow — they think there will be several workers on our side. The bosses are scared because lots of workers read *Challenge* yesterday in spite of the goons. The bosses certainly will not give up, they will try every tactic they can, but they cannot stop the working class from smashing them. Fight and struggle hard.

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This is just a short note to bring you up to date on what has happened since the last letter. The week has been great. Like I said, the guys at Ford thought we should go back on Thursday. We did.

Marie and I went (Dick drove, but since he had already been worked over by the goons, we decided he should



Los Angeles-GM PLP'er addresses plant gate rally.

just put us out and not get out himself). When we got there, the first thing we saw was about 10 or 15 goons ready and waiting. We were scared stiff. But then at least 15 guys led by our friends, came down to the gate and stood between the goons and us. I have never been so glad to see anyone in my life!!! If they had not been there the goons would have really worked us over, male chauvinism notwithstanding.

So we started handing out the leaflet *Racism and Anti-communism — the Bosses' Weapon*. We had been there maybe two or three minutes when the cops came

up the street and ordered us to leave. They had been parked about 100 yards down the street waiting to see if the goons could handle the job. When they saw that the goons could not then they took over. We had discussed this possibility, and decided, if it seemed clear that the cops were determined to arrest us if we continued, then Marie and Gene would stop and go back to the car, and I would continue to hand out the lit. So that is what we did. Only the cops did not see it that way. After getting very excited, one pipsqueak of a cop kept yelling in my face "I have an 18-year-old son," and then, arresting me, they decided to pick up Marie too. It was obvious that they were having trouble figuring some kind of charges — we had gotten their "permit" to sell papers. Finally they came up with "littering," "obstructing traffic," "failure to disperse on order of an officer," and, in my case, "resisting arrest." Dick got us out on bond (\$475. each) Thursday night.

Then yesterday and today we have been talking to some of the guys from Ford about what happened. The results have been great. They are going to take leaflets *Cops and Goons — The Bosses' Tools* into the plant next week and also talk to friends of theirs about the Wednesday night forum. Some of us are getting together Thursday to figure out more about how to get the leaflets and the papers to the other workers at Ford.

To prove how scared they are of communist politics, the union officials called a union meeting Thursday night after we were busted and said that they had passed a new bylaw that anyone working with groups trying to disrupt the union would be kicked out and fired. It was clear to everyone that this meant anyone working with Progressive Labor. With this, the guys still see the need to work with communists and to build a rank-and-file group.

This latest development is forcing us to depend more on the workers we know to get the paper to other workers. The cops are going to be waiting for us at least every day until the strike. To go back now would simply mean that we would be busted again and probably have to sit in jail until the trial. So now the only way for

*Challenge* and other literature to get into the Ford plant is by the guys we know taking it in. When we meet on Tuesday we will talk about that and the importance of getting the paper to other Ford workers.

Our biggest weakness in our work at Ford so far has been our lack of reaching white workers. Several have called and said that they like *Challenge* but so far are too scared to give us their names and get together to talk about it. We are counting on some of them to come to the forum Wednesday night. We have to find some way to reach white workers at Ford and overcome their fear of us and of being baited by their friends. When we overcome that weakness the work will take a qualitative leap forward.

After the forum this Wednesday, the next thing we will be trying to bring people to will be the trial. It will be Monday, Sept. 14, the same day that the auto contract expires. This will be an opportunity to expose the court and the ruling class — that they will break their own laws in order to try to stop workers from organizing to fight back, and especially to try to stop the spread of communist ideas. This will perhaps be the first trial of its kind in Georgia — a trial in which communists and friends of communists put forward their politics and use the courtroom as a political forum in which to help build a movement to smash the ruling class.

We are planning to bring as many people to the trial as possible — high school and college students, teachers, and workers — especially Ford workers. We do not know what this is going to cost, but we are pretty sure that with court costs and whatever fines we may get, it is going to be lots of bread — which we don't have. It seems that making a revolution takes not only work but also money. We are going to raise what money we can here, but it seems certain that we will have to depend on comrades and friends around the country to help us out.

Well, that brings you up to date. It has been a great summer. The class struggle is sharpening.

Write and let us know what is happening. In struggle, Fran

## Chauvinism and the PLP

Generally speaking most of the men in the Party are trying to defeat their chauvinism, but there is still a long way to go. Although, by now the men have enough knowledge of chauvinism to know that they shouldn't chain their wives to the kitchen, or cheat on them, etc., there are many aspects of it which are more important and aren't even being thought about, by women also.

For example, how is chauvinism hurting the work? Where you sell *Challenge*, how many women are

employed there and what effect would it have if the women were all ignored? (This has been raised by the collective selling at the unemployment office where a great percentage there are women.) To not make an extra effort to speak to the women would be stupid and the women in the Party are just as guilty of this as the men.

When deciding where to sell, an extra effort should be made on concentrating on places where most of the workers are women. At Metropolitan Life Insurance

where I am working there are 1700 employees, the vast majority of which are women; in New York City they employ 17,000 people! Most of these employees are young working class girls, in the lowest paying, most boring jobs (such as file clerks) are black, Latin or Filipino. Generally speaking, people working in these concentrations should follow the same "rules" as those in a factory! Concentrate on winning workers to the Party, sell the paper, build a base, etc.

Probably the main weakness within the Party regarding chauvinism (which will be the main one when meeting women who are new) is not being political or struggling

sharp enough. I sometimes get the feeling that the men think that they have it whipped if they aren't telling women to shut up or aren't beating them, etc. Not struggling sharply with women to take on more and cut out the dependency on men is saying we're worthless and that the shit taught us about women is true. There are no "get rich quick schemes" for "curing" chauvinism. Women's Lib groups and "special" meetings for women are usually a crock and make women seem like they're some special freaks.

It's true that women are more oppressed than men so it means more struggle for them to take on political leadership. If we want to win over the masses of women to revolution then we better start struggling with the ones that are around the Party and stop trying to wrack our brains trying to think of some gigantic, all-encompassing group that will win women over in one great sweep. It won't happen that way, it'll never happen if women aren't taking on leadership in Progressive Labor.

Sure the women are going to have to do it themselves, but the men can't forget about their responsibility in the whole thing. If a guy talks throughout a meeting and never gives a woman a chance to speak, unless she demands to be heard; or says "everything" and doesn't give her a chance to figure anything out for herself, then in a patronizing way asks her if she has an opinion; giving the distinct impression that he couldn't care less anyway—well, it's obvious that he's not trying to win women over, and that the most important thing is that his leadership is not threatened, not that the work is done well.

There is a great deal of leadership potential in women, because they are part of the working class and the struggle, not just because they are treated second class. Why are they being treated that way? Because some member of the ruling class doesn't like his wife?

My husband is no genius at defeating chauvinism but he has taught me a lot about defeating it.

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## Use Challenge as an organizing tool

Every worker has seen political papers other than *Challenge-Desafio* being sold, so why should one buy it? One day in New York's garment center I asked a young black worker if he wanted to buy the paper and he said "no." I asked if he had ever read it before, he said he had. Then I asked how he liked it and he replied he thought it was very good. "So why, then," I asked, "don't you want this issue?" He said he was tired of reading and he wanted to *do* something. Naturally I explained that the paper was Progressive Labor's organizing tool, that if he thought its ideas were good and he wanted to do something and learn Marxism-Leninism, we wanted to contact him—he became a *Challenge* contact.

With this experience in mind I set about selling the paper from the point of view of organizing. To almost any worker who seemed interested, I explained that the point of our selling the paper was to organize workers. This led immediately to more interest and more contacts. I now rarely sell without making three to four contacts.

The basis for making contacts should be clear: we are communists, we feel only communist leadership won't sell out in the long run. What's more, we feel the

working class will have to smash the bosses' state and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat under Marxist-Leninist leadership. If people think that this is sectarian, that it's bound to turn off workers, they're wrong, at least in many cases.

Every contact I've made through the latest issue has been made this way. Today I tried to sell the paper to two tired workers but they already had it. I explained the paper was the organizing tool of the Progressive Labor Party, that we didn't just sell it for "good circulation." We discussed it during which I stated the above very clearly, adding that if they wanted the dictatorship of the proletariat and wanted to fight the bosses and agreed *Challenge* is a useful tool for workers, then Progressive Labor wanted to talk with them; they too both became contacts.

The lesson is very clear: *Challenge-Desafio* is a tool for contacting workers and winning them to Marxism-Leninism, only if we use it as such. The higher the circulation, the easier to make contacts. But the way to more sales is to sell the paper as Progressive Labor's organizer, as our way of spreading Marxist ideas and contacting interested workers.—A.S.

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He makes demands of me and other women and won't take our bull. He knows when women are not really trying to defeat chauvinism and fights against it—primarily he's more concerned about winning more people to the line than in protecting himself.

This struck me the most when his mother and grandmother were here to visit us last week. He was struggling with them very sharply over the line—for a long time their main answer to everything was "I'm too stupid to discuss this

with you" or, "I don't understand it enough to have an opinion." He wouldn't take these answers and demanded to hear what they had to say. My first reaction was to cut the discussion short because they weren't ready!! Small things, like learning to play cards—he demands that I learn and become *better* than him.

I really don't think there's too much else to say. The rest becomes tactical. The important thing is the *necessity* to win women to the Party.

## Report from Boston PLP Executive Committee

This report was prepared by the New England leadership collective of the Progressive Labor Party. It's an attempt to help sellers' groups to critically analyze the work we've done so far so that *Challenge* sales and especially winning workers to Progressive Labor can improve.

The general situation is good. The rulers are right to worry: Miami; Augusta; Georgia; Bedford-Stuyvesant in Brooklyn, New York; Asbury Park, New Jersey; Bedford, Massachusetts; etc., have all had serious ghetto rebellions. The strike wave continues. Millions of unemployed—especially black youth—are fighting back. There is trouble in the army. The lid will blow—the only question is, how many ways at once? The rulers wake up screaming from nightmares about auto wildcats on top of ghetto rebellions on top of postal walkouts on top of construction wildcats on top of army mutinies on top of . . .

Most decisive is that communist ideas are getting out to workers. One sellers' group in this area has 100 contacts. We now have several readers' groups including black, white and Spanish-speaking workers and high school students. There are black and white workers, male and female, young and old who have themselves begun doing communist work. Therefore, since nothing happens by luck, we conclude that the sellers are doing better work than any of us could have imagined a few months ago.

Nevertheless there are plenty of weaknesses. Everyone knows this and if we sit on our laurels, our butts will grow, but Progressive Labor won't.

The objective situation presents good possibilities. Winning workers to fight for communism is the way to end the vicious exploitation, imperialist plunder and the revolting U.S. "culture." Winning workers to Progressive Labor is the way to smash racism. Com-

munist workers—black and white—are the ones who can lead the whole class to slaughter that poisonous snake. Winning workers, employed or unemployed, paid or unpaid, as in the case of women homeworkers, winning workers to Progressive Labor is the way to wipe out the rotten male chauvinist ideas and practices. It is the way to create rock-hard unity between U.S. workers and working people all over the world. Winning

proportion. Maybe some technical steps can be taken to change things around. The point to keep in mind is that most people are not hostile.

It is not surprising that the ruling class can mobilize some to intimidate. The main way to defeat this is to further deepen our political links to the people so that they themselves become red Johnny Appleseeds, spreading communism far and wide.



International Solidarity Day, N.Y.C., Oct 24.

workers to Progressive Labor is the answer to the filthy leeches who've been investing in misery so long. We think however two fears hold people back.

**First Fear: Fear of anti communism/fear of losing.**

When you're going to sell *Challenge* this fear means being scared that workers will slam the door, look away, curse you, spit, or maybe even hit you. Of course, if this gets strong enough it can lead to complete inaction and it must be combatted. Frightening situations should be discussed fully. It's possible that the frightening situation is being blown way out of

A small but good step in this direction was taken awhile ago at General Motors. When sellers there were harassed, they won General Motors workers to distribute some leaflets inside the plants: This is the whole point.

**Second Fear: Fear of communism/fear of winning (!!)**

The fear of harassment is licked by deepening our ties with the working class. This second fear, of winning communism, is much more serious for it is precisely the fear of deepening those ties:

Does this sound nuts? "Every-

## "SELL TO WOMEN WORKERS!"

In selling *Challenge* we need to combat male chauvinism. One thing this means is making more of an effort to sell to women workers. Groups which aren't selling places where there are women workers should figure out a new place to sell where we can reach more women.

Another thing that combating chauvinism means is that when workers make chauvinist remarks, we should turn these around into discussions of the need to fight chauvinism. I tried this for the first time last week. Previously, when a guy made a chauvinism remark or implication, I would ignore it or give a curt reply. This time, I started talking about how chauvinist ideas and practices help the ruling class. I pointed out the article in *Challenge* about how chauvinism works in the army and talked about some of my own experiences. The guy said, "You know, I never thought of that before. You've got a point there."

This experience helped combat some of my own cynical attitudes about fighting chauvinism in men as well as some of the chauvinist ideas that this worker had.

body wants to win," you say. But also some want to lose. Many are afraid that if we take the key political step with a worker—the vital step at a particular time—then we'll have to do even better work in the future. We'll have to be *more* responsible in serving the people; our work and life styles will have to become even more geared to serving workers' needs.

Of course there's no one pat way to up the ante in our political struggle with workers. There are many stages in anyone's political development. But, at a particular time, there's always *something* that's key. At times we don't realize what that something is, but more often we realize what it is, the struggle is over whether to do it! The fear of doing the one vital thing that will up the struggle to a new level so that more "crucial steps" will have to be taken, this fear of winning workers to communism, whereupon we know we'll have to make a greater contribution, *this fear of communism* is the very worst corrosive, the most deadly enemy influence on us at this time.

It works quietly, and it's sly, cunning. The "fear of winning" is always working hard, lobbying for its line. "Don't take that step," it says, as you consider whether to

do what you know is vital right now. "Think of yourself." "Think of how much more revolutionary you will have to be later."

Here are some examples.

Jared, a member of the New England leadership collective, was fired from a job. He knew it was key that he contact certain friends from work, people politically interested in Progressive Labor. The aim would be that they help continue the agitational activities he'd done. After taking very limited steps, half-heartedly trying to contact three workers, he stopped trying until now. Why? These guys were interested in Progressive Labor. They like our line. So the fear must have been, as we have said, the fear that if steps were taken, "where will it all stop?"

Another example: A girl in Progressive Labor has been doing good work in Roxbury. Saturday, a worker called three times, wanting to speak to someone who wasn't home. The PL'er knew right away that this worker was lonesome and would like to come over and discuss something with a Progressive Labor person. But she pretended not to get the hint, pretended to take what the worker said literally.

She told him that the person wasn't home and gave numbers

where the worker might be able to find him. What was the Progressive Labor girl thinking? If the worker came over, she'd "have to" talk to him, she "didn't feel like it," if she did it once, she'd have to keep on doing it, etc., etc.—

Another example: A Progressive Labor member and a *Challenge* seller visited a worker they knew. They all had a nice time. The Progressive Labor member knew it was key to discuss with the worker handing out a particular leaflet. She knew he would be hesitant and that it would take a good, serious, unhurried discussion. If this were not done soon, the worker might get much harder to win to communist work. But on the other hand, raising this in a good way would up the ante. In the new situation thus created she'd have two choices,

a) she could struggle in an increasingly good way with him, or;  
b) she could cop out of the struggle at the now higher level with even worse effects than had she copped out before.

She decided to cop out now, but to make herself feel less guilty she did it in the following way: just as she was leaving the worker's house, she mentioned the leaflet and suggested that he hand it out—leaving the *Challenge* seller holding the bag! While fooling herself that she was "doing her duty," the PL'er was really not doing what was necessary at the particular moment to win this particular worker closer to communism.

Yet another example: A guy knew a young worker who'd written a letter to *Challenge*. The guy (a PLP member) did nothing to consolidate this worker's understanding and practice. Nobody ever saw him with his friends. A girl in PL then asked this young worker to help write a leaflet. At first he agreed, but when she actually called to ask him to come over he attacked her saying "everyone hates reds" and "the people you work with are just sour grapes

because they're failures," etc. He probably had mentioned Progressive Labor to some friends and they attacked him; because we'd done *nothing* to consolidate our relations with him, he at least for the time, folded under attack.

We've used Progressive Labor members as examples for one reason: That is—we do not want anyone to think we see this as a problem of non-Progressive Labor members only—although it does affect them. The point is it affects all of us. We are new, inexperienced and all of us have plenty of wrong ideas and bad, pro-capitalist attitudes. There are no angels, just people trying to be revolutionaries; we need to help each other rectify these errors.

### Go Forward—Defeat The "Right"

Perhaps some think they can play around with this problem, keep on taking "half-way measures" you fully screw up the struggle, as we've seen. The struggle can advance only when, to the best of our ability, we take all the way steps. Second when you succumb to the "fear of winning" you create a pattern which gets harder and harder to break out of. Third when you succumb to the "fear of winning" you are helping to win other people, consciously or by merely setting a bad example, to also take "half-way measures." This is how a Rightwing can develop—even in a Progressive Labor selling project.

After awhile it gets disturbing to keep on bullshitting, doing things halfway. It's too corrupt; there's a lot of pressure to try to justify bad practice; we begin to blame others; we invent disagreements. We say things like "selling *Challenge* a lot is bad because it keeps us from base-building."

The potential for such a Rightist development comes out everytime somebody who has been taking halfway measures out of the fear of winning says: "I've been demoralized." The statement clearly implies that some external force—Progressive Labor or the workers—has made this person sad, has ruined his or her life.

The problem isn't that the person feels guilty about having not done things he or she knew were absolutely necessary, but that "things" have gotten him or her down. When this sort of approach is taken, it is impossible to correct errors stemming from these two fears. The first step must be to cor-



rectly understand the source of feeling down which most commonly, but not always, means the two fears are in command.

Some very good people in the sellers' program would probably do better work at this point in a different situation. This would be nothing to be ashamed of, but we do not think this is necessary in any but a small minority of cases. In most cases, the problem is struggling over the two fears.

The situation is posed very sharply: Big breakthroughs are possible and the beginnings have been made. Whenever a situation like that is posed some will go to the Right, become actual opponents of this breakthrough. But, if this two-fear error is handled properly, we certainly do not think this need apply to anyone but a tiny handful.

### Rectify These Errors—Build A Base In The Working Class!

Most people want to correct the weaknesses in the situation which hold back greater breakthroughs. We are convinced this can be done. We suggest a number of steps as part of the rectification—and we're sure people will come up with many others.

1. Read and discuss this report.

This should be done in a spirit of honest criticism and self-criticism. The revolution gains nothing from liberalism, which is really a way of dealing with each other along the lines of the second fear. That is, by not "fighting too hard" we keep our political relations from getting "too sharp" so that nobody will in turn "struggle too hard" with us! This is corrupt and we must defeat liberalism. The best discussions draw on real self-critical examples and figure out real political solutions.

2. In general, sellers' meetings should be improved.

a) there needs to be better organization. Ten to twenty people aren't needed to work out minor technical details, this can and must be done by a small group which then reports to the meeting;

b) this will help make possible having much more political discussion about our actual ties with workers as well as how, in real life, we can revolutionize those relations to improve the workers' and our political understanding and practice. These discussions are the key thing for sellers' meetings.

c) a separate meeting should occur every two weeks or so, for a sellers' group study session. Study has gone on very little and very sloppily. If time is tight, groups could cut back on selling the number of hours the study takes per week. The quality of work will improve much more than if such time were not taken. People want and should be able to develop a much firmer grasp of Marxism-Leninism as well as Progressive Labor's strategic political line. In addition, this makes possible much more thoroughgoing political discussions with workers.

We don't think the situation is crucial because everyone's messing up. *The opposite is true.* The situation makes possible a big breakthrough and that's when you either go up quickly or down faster! That's life. We are not putting down a lot of good work that's been done, but if you rest on your laurels, you get nothing but fatter laurels.



## Los Angeles PLP sets future plans around Challenge

**C**omrades and friends: there are several points that require our immediate attention. *Challenge* is rapidly becoming the most important national party organizer. Over 100,000 copies of the last issue were sold and the sales seem to be steadily increasing. We have not done our best here in Los Angeles to contribute to the revolutionary content of *Challenge* and insure its mass distribution. Many of our articles have been late and lacking in good Marxist-Leninist analysis. Although some clubs and study groups have discussed *Challenge*, most do not regularly prepare articles or analysis for the paper.

The truth is that workers are looking more to *Challenge* as *their* newspaper. This, sometimes despite ourselves. The national Party leadership has called upon every Party member and friend to help further improve *Challenge-Desafio*, its content, distribution and followup work.

As you probably saw in the last *Challenge*, sales in Los Angeles were around 3000 last month. Although this is a reasonable increase over the previous month, it is still much too low. Los Angeles is the largest city in the country. There are over nine million people living in the area. Clearly, we are not reaching nearly enough working people with our revolutionary ideas. True, we are not in a selling race or a numbers game to see how many papers we can sell, but the more working people we reach through the paper, the better our chances of building a real base for Progressive Labor. It is no accident that in areas where the paper sales are high, there are more workingclass contacts, more workers in study groups, and in the Party.

There are between 50-70 people selling *Challenge* in Los Angeles. We should be selling at least 7,000 papers a month. There is no organizational magic that can ac-

complish this goal. The main obstacle to achieving it is that there is still a lot of foot dragging in regard to building the Party through the paper. Some comrades look at this work as a duty that interferes with "their base building" and spend only one or two hours a week selling the paper, rarely making or following up contacts. These comrades should be criticized sharply by their fellow club members. Every club should set a goal that corresponds to each member selling at least 75 papers each issue. Every Party member should be selling the paper a minimum of two or three times a week and spending at least one night every week following up on contacts that he or she met or that were assigned by a concentration club. This means a lot of hard work for all of us, but it also means a real proletarian turn for the Party.

Our main purpose is to make contact with the workingclass through *Challenge* and build the Party. Our main concentration is in auto. There are four plants in the Los Angeles area which employ over 20,000 workers. A *Challenge* readers' group of workers just began. Based on our contact work so far with auto and other workers, we may be able to start another readers' group or two for workers around the time of the next forum. This depends on how we do the followup work. We have the names and addresses of many workers but we need to speed up and improve our style and method of work.

Additionally, although progress is being made, racism still continues to be one of the main internal obstacles for our Party to overcome. Many comrades know black and chicano workers and students in Los Angeles but have not carried out a consistent struggle to win them to revolutionary politics. Where a consistent struggle to win minority workers and students to the Party has been

carried out the results have been good. New York is a good example.

The majority of the 400,000 workers in the garment center are black and Latin. There are several dozens of these workers in Progressive Labor study groups and several of them are ready to come into the Party. Most of the *Challenge* sales and contact work in this area is done by white party members. There exist some anti-workingclass and racist attitudes among these comrades but they are being struggled against.

In other words, a class analysis goes a long way and is generally accepted by many workers. Nationalism is not the biggest obstacle for us at this point. Black and Latin workers and students are being won to revolutionary politics. Most of the places where we sell the paper in Los Angeles have a large percentage of black and chicano workers (auto, steel, hospitals, unemployment, post office, phone co., etc.) and many of the contacts we have are black and Latin. With a serious attitude toward winning these workers to the Party we should see a big change in the composition of our base and Party membership. The national leadership estimates that approximately 100 new black and Latin workers and students will be in the Party by winter. Many of these are in the N.Y. area and mostly from contacts made through *Challenge* sales and followup.

There is a Party group in New York that is preparing a report on male chauvinism and women's liberation using a class analysis. We have been too slow in this area. Progressive Labor led the struggle at the Chicago SDS convention to adopt a class analysis on women's liberation. The current report will be based on that analysis but should include new contributions. These should be forwarded to the Los Angeles leadership. What about some articles for *Challenge* exposing the special oppression of women?

Everyone is being encouraged to make a schedule and follow it, not just go through the motions, but to develop a better revolutionary outlook and discipline. How we spend our time is important in winning workers to our politics. Many of us work a lot of time and generally run around pragmatically. What about planning a time to read, to see contacts, see friends and neighbors, follow up club assignments and two or three slots a week to sell the paper? How many of us run around all week, get very tired and then find it hard to say what our political focus was that week or what we accomplished? The other side is those who don't run around at all; this is worse.

Starting in the leadership, we are launching a full time struggle against parttime communists. Those of us who think of revolutionary work as a hobby to be

workers, our budget is increasing tremendously. By the end of the year the budget will be running over \$1.2 million a year. This is a lot of money for us but it can be raised because our base is also growing. Careful attention to money from literature sales can account for nearly half of our budget and this comes mostly from workers.

The rest of the budget will have to come from Party members and friends. This means a better job and attitude on fundraising all around. Some of us are still reluctant to ask people for money, even people who believe in what the Party is going. This has to change. Also,

- a) Most of us who give regular sustainers could probably give a little more and more regularly;
- b) we can get money from new people who we have never asked;
- c) the secret is to ask, explain the work and importance of the

revolutionary ideas is showing some good results.

1) *Challenge* sales in southern California have increased by more than 1000 for the second issue in a row.

2) Many contacts have been made, especially among auto workers, where a *Challenge* project is concentrating.

3) Our latest forum was attended by 150 including some new worker contacts and it was generally considered a lively and militant affair.

4) This Party week-end, in the first Western Regional Conference of *Friends of the Party* was held in San Francisco. Sellers' groups from San Diego, Hawaii, Sacramento, Seattle, Salt Lake City and other cities were represented at the meeting, where plans to consolidate and build the Party in those cities were made.

5) Our first Party-wide sales mobilization was meager in attendance but long on sales (400) and contacts (6), of whom one came to the forum later the same day. Let's do this every other week-end.

The question is often asked, "is the ruling class going to sit back and let us do all these good things, and let us get away with it?"

Well, if we were trying to win the auto workers to support some ruling class scheme, like community control of schools and cops, the bosses would be giving us free bus rides to the plant, arranging shift times so we would not have to get up too early to sell the paper, and they might even fix it so our fund drive would be handled by Ford (the foundation).

Well, things are not happening like that. Our line is proletarian revolution. We are urging workers to fight racism and all other bosses' ideas with proletarian internationalism. We are urging workers to unite against the boss and capitalism and we have a program for smashing the bosses' agents (union officials) that control every single trade union in the country.

Is our line correct? This will be borne out in practice. The Party is increasingly under attack. This



Los Angeles PLP protests attacks on Canadian workers

conducted at our own convenience must change our ideas and our practice immediately, otherwise, we will be asked to step aside.

With vastly increased printing costs for *Challenge*, flyers, travel and a few more fulltime Party

Party to workers and students.

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The class struggle is sharpening in the Party. Our efforts to reach more working people with

is the best thing that's happened to us in a long time because it proves that our revolutionary ideas and programs are winning support among workers. Witness recent attacks against Party by union officials, police and organized Rightwingers!

a) At General Motors in Van Nuys, the union organized a goon squad of committeemen to stop us from selling the paper;

b) At General Motors in South Gate, the Party was attacked in a professional type Rightwing leaflet distributed in the plant;

c) At Ford in Pico River, an organized group has threatened the sellers.

d) Police continually harass and arrest high school sellers.

e) At Ford a woman seller was arrested and later released after union officials fingered her to the police. These attacks are happening all over the country, wherever there is a major effort to sell *Challenge* and build the Progressive Labor Party. The bosses are organizing and encouraging these attacks because they don't want workers to read revolutionary literature, they don't want us to build the Progressive Labor Party.

At this point, there is a very sharp class struggle inside the Party and among our friends. The focus of this struggle is the attacks on the Party. The outcome of the struggle will determine how we respond to these attacks. As in every class struggle, there are two sides. The majority of our members and friends are on the side of advancing under attack. They are consistent in seeking to sell more papers, making and following up contacts, looking for bigger and better ways to build the Progressive Labor Party. They show up on time, try to make friends among workers and have a friendly attitude toward other members and friends, toward doing political work. They are on the *dare to win* side.

The other side favors retreat. "If we are attacked at Ford, then we can't sell the paper there." A minority of our members and

friends are on the side of capitulating under attack; they don't attempt to meet workers and engage in conversation with them; they don't show up on time; they sell only when they "have" to; they stand around hoping to look more like lampposts than live revolutionaries; they have "urgent" tasks that keep them away from factories, campuses and barracks; their attitude toward political work is to accept assignments and neglect to carry them out, or to carry them out two weeks late; they act like they're doing the revolution a favor when they come around; and what's more, they have an unfriendly, grudging attitude toward Party members and friends—these people are *afraid to win*.

The class struggle between the *dare to win* and *afraid to win* lines in the Party is very sharp. Victory for the surrender line would be a serious setback for us now. It would mean an end to *Challenge* sales to workers, would deprive workers of vitally needed Marxism-Leninism at a time when the bosses are desperately resorting to racism to divide and beat them down, and furthermore, would eliminate the possibility of organizing a national, rank-and-file-based resistance to the sellout engineered in the auto contract talks.

Naturally nobody in the Party is openly advocating surrender or sellout, this would be easily exposed and defeated. The *afraid to win* line is a road paved with good intentions but strewn with broken alarm clocks that don't work in the morning, memories that fail on selling days, papers that do not get delivered or contacts' telephone numbers that don't answer or are always busy.

*Afraid to win* is often found among those elements ready to complain about others, to get angry when another slips up and is foremost with constant, carping criticism about some secondary matter.

*Dare to win* is critical and self-critical, while *afraid to win* makes a career out of complaining and criticizing while ignoring the re-

sponsibility of every Party member and friend to solve problems, take real initiative and get work done.

*Afraid to win* is often concealed behind bravado. Why? Because some people have responded to organized and even spontaneous attack against sellers by advocating Party mobilizations to go down to the plants in numbers to defend ourselves. Individual heroism is neither here nor there. Relying on the people is the essence of our politics and this won't be accomplished today by showing a few workers we can fight. What we need if we are to avoid becoming a Weatherman-like faction with a twisted pro-workingclass line is to urgently win over the masses of workers who need Marxism-Leninism. Workers don't need this ideology in order to keep fighting, because they will do this anyway, but in order to win.

Let's face it. Aside from the fact that beefing up our goon squad directly contradicts our main line of reliance on the people, experience has already demonstrated it won't work. For all those who are dreaming of overpowering the bosses' trade union apparatus at the auto plants with 25 hand picked karate experts, it would be well to remember that Che Guerara got wiped out in Bolivia and Progressive Labor itself came close at New York's Figure Flattery garment shop with ten times 25.

In the long run, without the support of people we are sunk. Better yet, with the people we are invincible. The workers will brush off the union flunkies with a swipe of the hand when they grasp Marxism-Leninism. In the short run this is impossible without immediate support from the workers themselves. That is, we're already at the point when workers' support is the critical factor. With it, we can keep selling and building the Party, without it we must retreat.

This is where the *afraid to win* and *dare to win* lines meet head on. We must go all out to make friends, pursue contacts, form study groups, reader's clubs and win workers to the Party. We must

*build a base!* Enthusiasm for selling *Challenge* without hard work to build a base will soon turn into its opposite. Without a base, *Challenge* sales will wither.

This is the sharpest contradiction in our work. To solve this in a revolutionary way requires an all out effort on contact work. This has not yet been done. Responsibility for this failure to make contact work (base building) the focus of our attention and political energy lies primarily with ourselves, the leadership. First of all, we have not set the lead in visiting contacts and winning their support. Secondly, we have been too liberal in inner-party struggle. We did not see soon enough that *afraid to win* is a dangerous trend, we did not fight hard enough among ourselves or in the clubs to expose and smash all of the various manifestations of this line.

Every one of us will continue to visit at least one new contact every week and take along some other friend or member with us. Naturally, visits are only the first step. Parties, picnics, forums, study groups, paper selling and Party building, that's our real goal. We intend to check up and see that there is good follow up work with every contact so that our goals are met.

In addition, we're trying to be much sharper in inner-party struggle. Concretely, this means a drive to make every Party member accountable for 75 sales per issue and at least one, live contact follow up a week (these are minimum goals). We are not proposing to organize a selling race, but a campaign to build a base, to criticize the reactionary political nature of the real and self-constructed barriers that stand between us and winning workers to Marxism-Leninism.

There are a few members and friends here doing good work. They should help win others to their example. We urge every one to be self-critical. Examine your own attitude and assignments. Make a list of the instances and ways in which *afraid to win* has characterized your work. Present this to your club or sellers group

along with your plan to achieve the two minimums now. Also think of how you can help others to do this.

Remember however, you can't win them all. Recently three comrades here left the Party. We consider them casualties of the sharp struggle that has been going on. Our estimate is that there were two general factors in this situation, primarily individualism. Each of the three felt that his own problems and worries were entitled to first consideration; more so than serving the people or building PL or fighting racism and they all admitted this. Secondly, liberalism. We failed to

wage a sharp political struggle against the weaknesses these three comrades had exhibited for some time. We were afraid to drive them away with too sharp criticism.

These ex-comrades are now friends of the Party, two of them help to sell the paper, they are not attacking the Party. They are self-critical and hope to change (they have nothing at all to do with enemies of the Party, like Epton and Co.). Our attitude towards them is friendly, we should struggle with them and try to win them back to our line of serving the people.

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## WHAT WORKERS SAY ABOUT CHALLENGE

Workers at International Harvester think *Challenge* is great! One worker said, "I'm so glad to find other people who think like I do."

At U.S. Steel a young white worker came up and said, "Hey, I heard that paper is communist. Is that right?" The seller said, "Yes, it's a communist paper that fights on the side of the workers." The guy said, "Well, I don't know about communism, but I'm not just going to believe everything I hear. I'll buy one and read it myself!"

Every person in each group should help think up ways and places to sell old PL's, etc. We can all sell in our neighborhoods and shopping areas near our home. This is a good way to meet your neighbors and get to know them. When we go to the beach or park we should sell for a half hour or an hour before we take a swim or play ball. We should integrate our political ideas into our daily lives and always be on the lookout for new and better ways to spread these ideas around! *Challenge* is a powerful organizer—use it!

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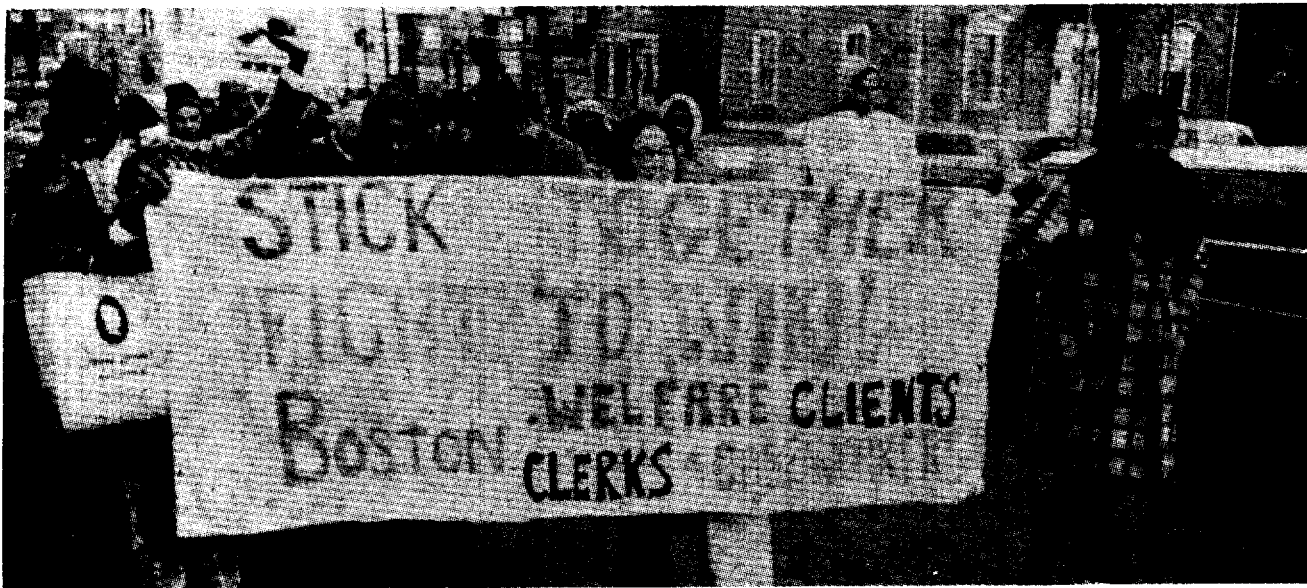
## Go out to the workers with Challenge

**T**hings are getting sharper: As the success of *Challenge* in reaching working people becomes clearer sales are shooting up, the number of workers met, of workers helping to sell the paper, and the number won to our Party is increasing. The attacks against us are picking up too. We think it is a sign of our success that we are being attacked more sharply. When we weren't reaching anyone, when no workers knew of our revolutionary communist position, naturally the ruling class didn't have to bother with us.

The attacks come in two ways. The first attack is from the police,

more arrests and harassment of people selling the paper. So far, these attacks are designed mainly into frightening us into not selling and frightening workers into not working with us. So far they've flopped. At one big steel mill, for example, when the man came out to take pictures of our people selling the paper, 11 steel workers bought the paper within five minutes right in front of the camera. At that plant we sold 130 last issue, the first time there.

The other way of attacking our paper is more incidious. This is the attack from within our ranks and it rises from within our own fears of working people and fears



Boston PLP helped organize march against unemployment in GE-controlled Lynn, Mass.

of struggle. The main target of these attacks is our Party and especially the leadership. In practice, the attacks take the form of four don'ts:

- 1) don't sell the paper;
- 2) don't open a public headquarters;
- 3) don't make contact with workers, or follow up those contacts ("only a select few cadre are qualified to visit contacts");
- 4) don't defend communism or PL when they're attacked.

Our answer to these attacks must be loud and clear: for every "don't" substitute a *do* or *do more!* Starting with a new public campaign headquarters we will double time spent on paper sales and following up on contacts! Every *Challenge* group should follow up contacts, invite as many working people to forums, films and discussion meetings and improve our understanding of communism and the PLP so that we can win even more working people to the line and to the Party.

The more bold we are in selling our paper, the more workers we talk with, the more we will have to understand our line. This does not mean sitting off by ourselves in little groups having endless abstract theoretical discussions. It does mean talking to workers, listening and bringing back these

discussions, and if possible the workers also, to our *Challenge* groups. Most of us can't really know what we should be discussing in our groups until we have talked to people and found out what their pressing problems are, what their questions are. Among those asked frequently are:

1) "What do you mean communist?" "Communism is a dictatorship, isn't it?" "At least now we have the right to speak." "Under your system, would you allow strikes?"

2) "What is this Progressive Labor Party?" "What do you guys stand for?" "What do you people do besides sell papers?" "Why do you call yourselves communists—it might turn people off." "Is this PL the Communist Party?"

3) "Would you like to live in Russia, Cuba or China?"

4) "What about all the welfare chiselers?" "There's going to be a race war here—we whites have to protect ourselves—don't you want to protect your home?"

5) "The only way we can win is if blacks stick together." "Communism is basically a white ideology." "Let's face it, white workers are never going to be won away from racism."

6) "Women don't give a damn about organizing. You can't depend on them. All they are is a second

paycheck and it doesn't matter to them if they get a raise or not, they have a husband to support them."

7) "What your Party ought to do is run someone for office." "Why don't you support \_\_\_\_\_?"

8) "I don't think people should go around burning things down and blowing things up. Those nuts are going to kill some innocent people. What do you hope to get out of that?"

9) "Communism is a great idea but it will never work." "I agree with you but you'll never convince most people." "What's going to make your system or leaders any better than what we've got now?"

10) "What do you think we could do right now?" "What about the unions?" In discussing all these and other questions we in PL would like to emphasize our positions on these key points;

a) The strategic need to defeat racism and male chauvinism within the workingclass and fight for class consciousness.

b) Nationalism is a reactionary outlook that divides workers of one country or national minority against workers of another.

c) Revisionism means working within the system instead of working to smash it. Each system

is a class dictatorship; ours now is of the capitalist class, under socialism under the workingclass.

d) The workingclass needs a communist party (PLP); the Party needs the workingclass as only the workingclass can lead the revolution.

e) The ruling class will never give up without a violent struggle.

f) Build PLP and *Challenge-Desafio*.

There are many vital aspects of our line most of us avoid when talking to people. For example, when workers raise the question of Russia, do you drop it as "It's no longer communist" or do you raise the question of revisionism?

When workers say "the fight is here" do you agree or do you raise the question of internationalism? When workers say that "people on welfare don't like to work" do you talk about the ruling class depending on welfare to supplement their lousy wages, that they are encouraging it rather than trying to stop it?

All of these questions should be discussed in this way, in relation to how they can be used to win workers to the Party. The main thing is to get out and sell, talk to workers, ask them to join collectives, invite them to forums and your homes for further discussions.

by phone. Very interested but says best time to talk is when he gets off work. Would like to listen to a rally at the plant and maybe come to a discussion group. Says there are discussions inside plant, such as where he took the position *Challenge* was socialist and other workers said it was communist. He is Asian, working at a gas station for \$1.75 per hour. He also works in a community center; is interested but felt he disagrees with many things and wanted to know more. He's read *Vietnam* pamphlet.

Bill and Mary were met at an unemployment center. She's out of work and said she is interested in coming to a meeting to discuss organizing against layoffs.

These are just an example of the many workers whom we have met already and who are anxious to find out more about us and get involved in struggles. Already ten workers have begun selling papers and another ten come to discussion groups.

As of now, we have sold about 7000 papers in the Bay Area but we've still got a long way to go. We could double that amount with work. Examine your schedule to see if your group can sell more often. Either sell more often at regular locations or begin secondary selling concentrations.

2. Writing for *Challenge* isn't as hard as it may seem. Write up a discussion your group had, read it to the group, show it to people who are thinking of coming to the group. Interview someone for the paper, many people have a gripe or are involved in a struggle and their experiences are often more important to other workers around the country. Disagree with something in the paper, write a letter. Do you think there should be more articles on a certain topic? Let the editorial board know about criticisms but also write something yourself.

Someone has another discussion topic for *Challenge* groups to discuss and write up: *religion*, "are communists atheists?" "Why don't you believe in God?" "Sure, the church is corrupt so what we need is people's religion and churches." "I'm a churchgoer, communism conflicts with my religion." "Marxism is just substituting one religion for another, one dogma for another."

## Bay Area sellers and contacts

**I**n the next six weeks the Progressive Labor Party will need a minimum of \$85,000. This will cover the costs of publishing *Challenge*, our primary organizing tool. In addition we need more *Black Liberation Programs*, *Vietnam Pamphlets*, etc. It takes money to build a revolution and the money will not fall out of the sky. We are not backed by rich industrialists (that's good!); we do not get money from abroad. So where and how do we get the money and why?

These questions are answered when we see fundraising as a political question. The Progressive Labor Party is the only Marxist-Leninist group in the USA! We are working for the dictatorship of the proletariat. Workers and students judge us by what we do—are we building the revolution, are we winning workers over, are we leading struggles, are our ideas correct?

We have been saying that the ideas in *Challenge* are absolutely essential for the workingclass in their struggles. We have been saying that the Progressive Labor Party is absolutely essential for the workingclass for revolution. How then, can this continue? It won't if we don't meet

our expenses—we live in a capitalist society. Our base, our friends, see the importance of the Progressive Labor Party and want to build their Party. We must overcome our own liberalism and ask our friends for money because of the political necessity of building the Progressive Labor Party! For example comrades and friends in the area raised close to \$4000 in bail in one week; in Boston \$2000 was raised in a few days. All this says is that the support for Progressive Labor is there. People want to help us; we should always have the perspective of relying upon the masses for support.

So what's holding us back? We're afraid to ask people for money; that's liberalism on our part and it's overcome by going out and asking for money for our revolutionary party—in no other way. This question should be raised in every Party collective, study group and class.

1. *Challenge* sellers have met over 200 people in the Bay Area, some are already being visited. For Example:

Gloria on Youth Aid Program at Post Office is coming for dinner. She goes to Lancy and wants to find out what communism is; Larry is in touch with her...

Frank talked to Barry for half-an-hour

## Our responsibility to Challenge sales

Most of us are working with the *Challenge* project because we want to spread communist ideas among the working class. Another reason is that we want to get to know workers and help build a strong, fighting worker-student alliance.

So far, most everyone has been asking the workers we meet how they like *Challenge* and getting their names and phone numbers. Lots of contacts have been made (although there's room for lots more aggressiveness and this is good). But unless we turn these pieces of paper with names and phone numbers into workers selling *Challenge* and coming closer to the Party, we will have a big mailing list at the end of the summer, but that's all.

Lots of times students say, "Well, how come these workers never show up at the forums, etc.?" Well, the workers who do come and are interested didn't drop out of the sky. They are coming around because someone took the time to call them up and listen to their ideas, and talk with them about the Party and *Challenge*. Someone took the time to go to their house and talk with them and their family about getting involved in helping to spread revolutionary ideas among workers. *We can't rely on Challenge to do our struggling for us.* Selling the paper means talking with people and getting to know them. People do want to get involved but we must help open up the way for them. Think about your own experience. Most of us got involved in the movement because someone called us up for a meeting, spent time talking and struggling with us and involved us in activity.

This doesn't mean that we should go out and organize the workers. It doesn't mean that we have to be able to answer all the questions that will come up about the Party and communism. But we can talk to workers, get to know

them and their families and make the Party a real thing for them.

With a minimum of effort on our parts we've seen *Challenge* sales soar and many workers begin to express interest in forums and meetings. If we put out the maximum workers will begin to take these ideas into their shops (which is beginning to happen now where sellers have followed up on their contacts) and the ideas of revolution will really begin to take hold. Once workers grab ahold of this thing they will begin to fight in ways we never thought of. Things

are getting tougher every day for workers and this means they need *Challenge* more than ever. This means that we have to fight harder than ever before to take these ideas to the workers and build the Party among them.

When questions come up we aren't sure how to answer, we should say we aren't sure. Then we can discuss these questions in our sellers' groups. This will help strengthen our political ideas as well as spread revolutionary ideas.

When men or women give you their names and phone numbers, this implies a certain amount of trust on their part. It means that they really like the paper and want to know more about the Party that

## PLP LEADER WRITES FROM PRISON

*Following are excerpts from a letter written by Comrade Levi Laub, leader of the Party in Los Angeles, who was then serving a six-month prison term in Dannemora, New York, growing out of his refusal to "cooperate" with a Grand Jury that was trying to frame Progressive Labor Party members and friends during the 1964 Harlem Rebellion, the first of the ghetto uprisings:*

**D**ANNEMORA, N.Y. — Thanks for your interesting history of the national question... if it wasn't for the class struggle right here and now, one could get very cynical, but that's where things start to look up. Our country seems to be alive with tremendous opportunities for us. I get hopped up reading *The New York Times* — every day there is a new crack in the curtain of corruption and greed that reveals a little bit more of the handwriting on the wall. Friday's early edition has an account of the East Los Angeles Rebellion. We are mentioned by name — must be that the early editor isn't up on the "blackout" policy on Progressive Labor. The article is a pseudosympathetic account that concentrates on pushing nationalism again. Mary's last letter said that we were there and did very well. Good!

As for making friends, jail is second to few. Maybe the army tops it, but not by far. The people are terrific. They have an abundance of ordinary human outrage against injustice and exploitation. This is the universal and indestructible raw material of struggle. When you see all this ammunition that our side has got, you really get excited. Man, you know we cannot lose. Even the toughest problem — racism — is cut down to proper size when the boss here comes down hard on his white and black enemies. I'm just itching to tell you the stories. Love, Levi.

puts it out. Our responsibility goes further than just writing that name down and turning it over to someone. We can help consolidate all these contacts by making calls and getting together with the workers we meet. People should go in pairs, one girl and guy together. We shouldn't go to give a lecture

but should listen to what people are thinking and try to involve them in showing the paper to their friends, selling in the shop, joining the workers' discussion group, writing an article for *Challenge*, etc.

This project will have been a real step forward only if the sales

start happening beyond the plant gates. We will all have to work harder to make this happen. Every group should discuss *concretely* how to follow up their contacts and start doing it. This is what building a worker-student alliance means! There has never been a better time to make this a reality!

## PLP plans the future: Why and how to sell *Challenge*

**A**t this point, the revolution is still far enough around the corner that it is sometimes hard to keep it in view. If we were organizing a Red Army, or even if communist ideas were leading the various mass movements of workers and students, it would seem different. But we are not there, yet. We are quite a few steps back. So when 6:00 A.M. (or 5:00 or 4:00 A.M.) rolls around, we do not always have the revolution on the top of our minds. We do not jump out of bed like Red soldiers going to liberate territory. Instead, we think "Why doesn't it rain?" or "maybe every one else will oversleep" or "fifteen minutes more."

During the first week of the *Challenge* project lateness had been pretty much the rule. Almost all of this was avoidable. People overslept, didn't have good directions, didn't have the literature, etc. All kinds of things that would not have happened if the revolution had been on the top of our

minds. If we were Red Soldiers we would get out of bed, we would sure be hot to get to the battle, we would be sure we had our guns!

It's hard to sustain such a sense of urgency at this point, because what we are doing is not as clear as fighting the ruling class with guns. But what we are doing now is absolutely crucial if there's ever going to be a Red Army. We are now doing what every successful communist party in history has done. That is, we are making Marxism-Leninism as available to the working class as we possibly can. If we do this well they will take hold of it and the revolution will move forward.

We should try to keep this in mind in the wee small hours of the morning. We should try to remember that if we are fifteen minutes late, we might miss one or two workers who have really had it with capitalism, who are up for revolutionary ideas. The more of these guys we miss, the longer

it will be before we have a communist workers' movement that can destroy the war-makers, break the back of the strikebreakers and fight for socialism until they win it! That is what this summer project is about. So if we are sloppy about it, that has very serious consequences for the revolution.

All this doesn't just go for being late. It goes for everything that keeps us from selling. We are all born and raised under capitalism. We have all gotten an extra giant dose of "me first" from its schools. We will have to struggle very hard with ourselves to make the little sacrifices that will allow us to sell as much as we possibly can and we should try very hard.

Nothing succeeds like success, and in spite of the blunders, the response to the *Challenge* project has been tremendous. These great experiences have shown us even more clearly that what we are doing is correct and revolutionary.



San Francisco pages 3, 17 NYC page 14 Boston page 17 Lynn, Mass. page 8 Welland, Ontario page 5

# Rank-and-file CAN Beat Layoffs!

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*The Revolutionary Communist Newspaper*

### On the Inside

NYC PHONE workers battle A.T. & T. Pages 9, 11

WALT DISNEY'S wonderful world of racism. Page 9

ZIONISM. Anti-semitism could destroy Jewish workers. Page 2

FT. ORD G.I.'s rally against racist murder. Page 11

DETROIT workers, students protest hospital murder of black infant. Page 6

CHARITY RACKET—another boss swindle. Page 11

JAN. 30, 1971

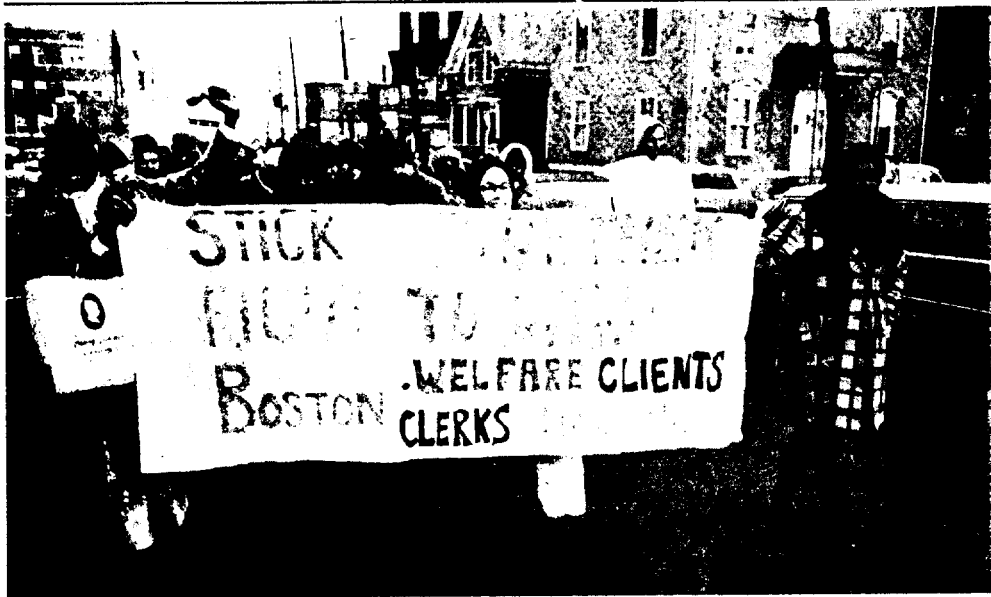
PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY VOL. 7 NO. 13 10c

### Black, Latin Workers Lead Fight For:

# JOBS YES! BOSSSES NO!

— Capitalism Has Got to Go! —

—see pages 2,3,4,5,7,12-13



UNITY OF THE WORKING CLASS... The keynote of a march through Lynn, Mass. by 400 workers and students fighting racist unemployment and protesting layoffs at the huge G.E. plant there. As REAL unemployment approached 20 million (see p. 2).

U.S. bosses were uptight about increasing militance and unity within the working class, and—the clincher—workers' grasping communist ideas to take the offensive.

## **SDS Actions Rip Racist Bosses**

pages 16-17

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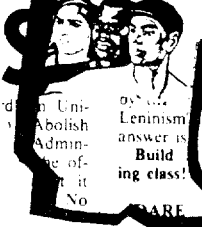
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