

# DETROIT REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT RECORDS

BOX 16 OF 16

FOLDER 14

LAWYERS GROUPS

# National Lawyers Guild

## Mideast Regional Conference



November 4, 5 & 6, 1977

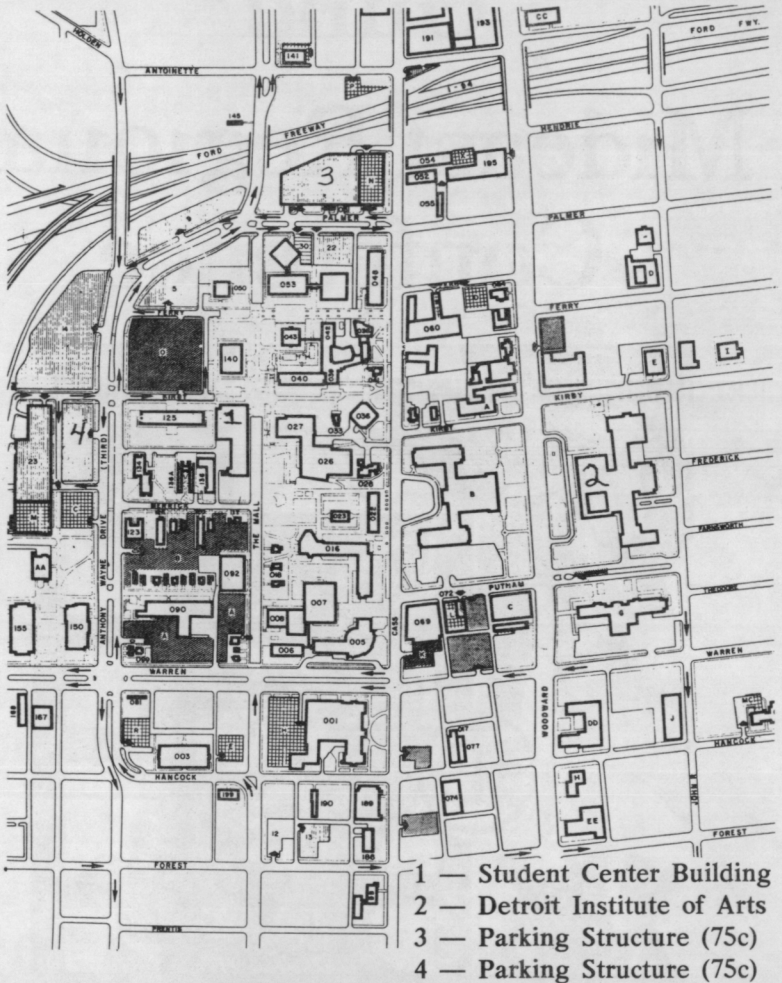
Wayne State University  
Detroit

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## JOIN US!

The purpose of the Mideast Regional Conference is to bring our chapters into closer contact in order to learn about each other's activities and to tie our work together. There will be informative workshops, an exciting plenary, fantastic cultural activities and more. We hope to see you there!



**Traveling North on I-75:** Take I-75 (n) to the Lodge Freeway (U.S. 10) North. Take Lodge (10) to Forest Exit. Turn right on Forest. Take Forest to Cass Ave. Turn left on Cass. You are now in the campus area. Park.

**Traveling South on I-75:** Take I-75 (s) to Warren Ave. Turn right onto Warren. Take Warren to Cass Ave. Turn right onto Cass. You are now in the campus area. Park.

**Traveling East on I-94:** Take I-94 to Woodward/John R. Exit. Turn right onto John R. Take John R. to Palmer. Turn right onto Palmer. Take Palmer to Cass Ave. Turn left onto Cass Ave. You are now in the campus area. Park.

**If traveling by bus:** Once you get into the Greyhound Terminal, get directions to Woodward Ave. Take a Woodward bus to Putnam. Cross Woodward and walk up Putnam to Cass Ave. You are in the campus area.

# WORKSHOPS

**Labor:** The main theme being "organizing the unorganized", this workshop will focus in on the struggles of the J.P. Stevens workers, the Texas Farm workers, and the struggle against section 14 (b) of the Taft Hartley Act.

**Affirmative Action:** Reports on anti-Bakke activity throughout the country and a programmatic approach on how to deal with this important issue.

**Prisons:** A broad overview of NLG prison work past and present. Why prison work needs to be a priority and discussion of the trend toward moratorium work and the increasing movement toward para-legals.

**Welfare Law:** Focusing on Carter's welfare package and its implications for welfare recipients, legal people, etc. (See also interest areas for more on welfare law.)

**Women:** Details of this workshop to be announced in the registration packet.

**Anti-KKK and Anti-right Activity:** Details forthcoming, but in-depth discussion of Kent State Activities will be included.

# INTEREST AREAS

Interest areas will meet at designated times during the conference to discuss and act upon problems of mutual concern regarding the particular topic of interest.

Interest area topics:

**Welfare Law Clinic:** The mechanics of running and setting up a welfare law clinic.

**National Labor Committee:** Discussing the activity of the national and local NLG Labor Committees.

**Unemployment Clinic:** The mechanics of setting up and running an unemployment insurance clinic.

**NLG Organizing:** Self organization and criticism.

**Legal Services:** Discussing a union for legal services workers and the place of legal services in the legal profession.

**Law Students:** Discussion of organizing law school chapters and the role of law students in the NLG.

**Gay Rights:** Current NLG activities regarding gay rights and discussion on developing regional work in support of gays.

# CULTURAL EVENTS

[See Agenda For Times]

**Detroit Blue Grass Opera:** Live music and slide presentation telling the story of poor Appalachian people coming North to work in the factories of Detroit. A truly exciting performance with original music compositions.

**Detroit Institute of Arts Lunch and Tour:** Lunch consisting of omelette, salad, rolls, desert, beverage. A tour of the Diego Rivera frescoes, which depict working conditions and workers on the assembly line follow lunch.

**Middle Eastern Dinner, Slides, Party:** Dinner consisting of stuffed grape leaves, kibbee, spinach and meat pies, rice and gravy dish, taboulee salad, Syrian bread, relishes and more. Middle East slides from recent Guild delegation trip. Party with music, drinks, etc.!

**Detroit Industrial Bus Tour:** Tour of industrial Detroit with a historical analysis by Buck Davis.

For members unable to attend the conference, but wishing to go to some of the cultural events, the following rates apply:

Blue Grass Opera .....	\$3.00
DIA ! .....	\$5.00
Middle East dinner, slides, and party .....	\$10.00
Detroit Industrial Tour .....	\$2.50

# PRESENTATIONS

[See Agenda For Times]

**Middle East:** Slide show and talk by Abdeen Jabara, who headed the recent NLG Middle-East delegation.

**China:** Discussion by Jeanne Mirer and Lynn Gellenbeck who will have just returned from China.

# AGENDA

## Friday, November 4

5:00 - 7:00 p.m.

Registration in Student Center Building, Wayne State University

7:00 - 9:00 p.m.

Interest areas meet

9:00 - 11:00 p.m.

Detroit Blue Grass Opera

## Saturday, November 5

8:00 a.m.

Interest areas meet

9:00 - 11:30 a.m.

Workshops

12:00 - 2:00 p.m.

Lunch at Detroit Institute of Arts, Tour of Diego Rivera murals.

2:30 - 6:00 p.m.

Plenary Session

6:30 p.m. - ?

Middle East dinner

Middle East slide show

Party (drinks, music, etc.)

## Sunday, November 6

9:00 - 11:30 a.m.

Workshops

11:30 - 1:00 p.m.

China Presentation

DETROIT CHAPTER

## National Lawyers Guild

1308 Broadway, No. 704

Detroit, Michigan 48226



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Detroit, MI 48226

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REGISTRATION

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How many children \_\_\_\_\_

FEEES

Students & legal workers...\$20.00

Lawyers.....\$26.00

Registration fee includes Detroit Blue Grass Opera performance; lunch, DIA tour, dinner, slide show & party on Saturday; brunch on Sunday; workshops; plenary; registration materials, etc.

If you are a Detroitter & willing to put up folks in town for the conference, please check here.

Rooms will be available at the Belcrest Hotel located across the street from the conference site. Rates are:

\$11.00 per person - double room

\$18.00 per person - single room

please check appropriate box to reserve a room.

Check here if you wish to have floor space (or some kind of space) in a local NLG'ers home.

PLEASE RETURN THIS FORM BY OCTOBER 26, 1977!



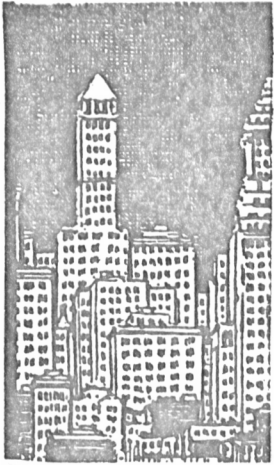
# labor newsletter

National Lawyers Guild

National Labor Committee

Issue #5

June 1973



## HISTORY OF CONTRACT NEGOTIATIONS

On Thursday, April 5, 1973, the Rank and File Coalition of the New York City Taxi Drivers' Union, Local 3036, AFL-CIO, filed suit against the union in the Federal District Court of New York charging Harry VanArsdale, Union President and head of the New York City Central Labor Council, and other union officers with violation of union members' rights. They specifically charged the defendants with denying their union constitutional right to vote on the contract negotiated for them and they asked that the contract be declared null and void unless it is voted on and ratified by the taxi workers.

The history of contract negotiations over the last three years is an incredible story of total disregard by the union leadership of the union constitution and members' rights. The union repre-

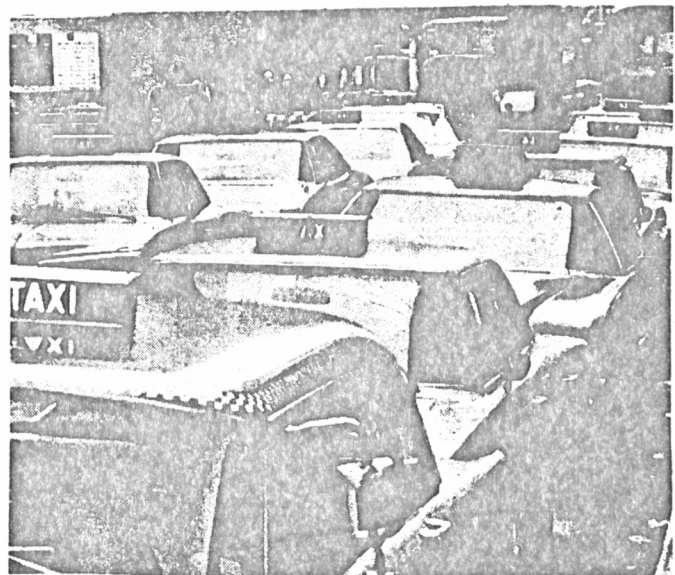
## N.Y. TAXI DRIVERS SUE OVER ILLEGAL CONTRACT

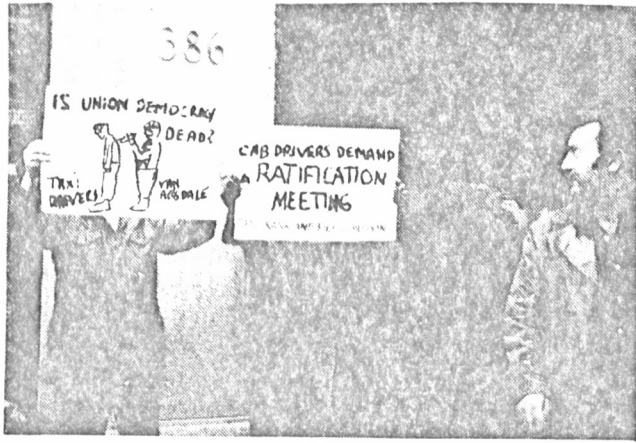
sents approximately 30,000 medallion taxi drivers in the City of New York. It has operated under the leadership of Harry VanArsdale, Jr., since its inception in 1966. The first collective bargaining agreement between the union and the M.T.B.O.T. (Metropolitan Taxicab Board of Trade - an employer organization) terminated on November 16, 1967. The second agreement ran from November 17, 1967 to November 16, 1970. Negotiations on the third contract began during the summer of 1970 but no agreement was reached by the expiration date of the previous agreement and the drivers continued to work under the terms of the old agreement until December, 1970, when there was a two week strike. The strike did not result in a contract, but the drivers went back to work on informal assurances that the City was going to raise the taxi fares and that drivers would share the expected increased revenue. There were, however, no immediate changes in the terms of their employment.

On March 2, 1971, the fare increase went

into effect. At this time, although no contract was signed, there were changes in certain terms of employment, including: 1) the percentage of "the meter" for new drivers dropped from 49% to 42% and 2) the costs of pension and welfare benefits, previously borne by employers, was to be shared approx-

Cont'd. on p. 2





## TAXI DRIVERS

Cont. from p.1

imately equally between the drivers and employers. This was accomplished through "the dime" - the device of deducting ten cents per trip before commissions were figured. Both of these changes were bitterly resented by the membership, who had had no opportunity to even discuss them much less vote on them.

In April of 1971 there was a General Membership Meeting where the members voted to discuss what would be acceptable terms of a new contract. However, VanArsdale refused to permit the members to openly discuss the key wage and benefit issues foremost in their concern. Despite this a few members succeeded in seizing control of the microphone and attempting to raise these issues. VanArsdale repeatedly cut off the discussion until, after several hours, the membership was so frustrated that they drove VanArsdale from the stage.

There was another membership meeting in April 1972 at which time the members voted overwhelmingly to discuss the contract but the Union officers declared that the vote had lost, refused to tally the vote, and adjourned the meeting.

### THE "STRIKE" VOTE

On October 11, 1972 another General Membership Meeting was held at which VanArsdale asked for authorization for a citywide strike if necessary to break the contract deadlock. The discussion from the floor that followed was devoted exclusively to the question of a strike: when it should be called? was it needed? who should call

it? who should set the demands? Nothing but the strike was mentioned and when the question was called the vote was clearly for a strike and nothing else.

The union leadership then took authorization for the most militant action - a strike - and twisted it to say that the membership has authorized the least militant action - binding arbitration! Van Arsdale said that the vote gave him the power to do anything necessary to get a contract - and "anything" included submission to binding arbitration.

Around the beginning of November, the union officers took it upon themselves to submit to binding arbitration the key wage and benefit issues on which the negotiators from either side had not reached agreement. On December 27, 1972, the officers signed a contract with the M.T.B.O.T. which set forth the terms they had agreed upon, including a provision that the parties would be bound by an arbitral award on the principal wage and benefit related issues. The contract was never submitted to ratification although under terms of the Union Constitution and By-Laws a collective bargaining agreement must be submitted to the membership. On January 20, 1973, the arbitrator issued a decision on the submitted issues which was incorporated into the pre-existing contract.

The arbitrator, Vincent McDonnell, did his job well: the bosses are happy - the union fat cats are happy - only the drivers got screwed. McDonnell decided that:

cont'd. on p. 18

## TAXI DRIVING IS A PROFESSION

SUBJECT:- COMPETITION

The difference between a winner and a loser is ability and the manner in which each is determined is known as competition. This is the way that it is in athletics, education, and above all, in the taxi business.

Whether we like competition makes little difference. We must be a competitor -- or we are nothing. Competition governs success and failure, prosperity and depression. Ignoring the competition simply invites disaster

(HANDED OUT BY THE BOSS

AT 55th STREET GARAGE)

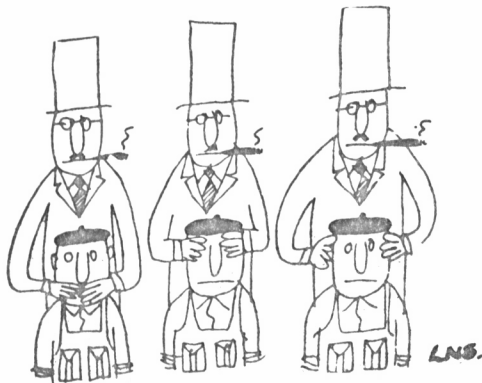
# taxi drivers

Cont. from p.2

1) the contract is to run until November 12, 1973; 2) the percentage of the meter for new drivers is 43% and a driver has to work 240 days to receive 49%; 3) "the dime" is still in effect.

Most drivers seem to recognize that binding arbitration will mean getting stuck with all the things they have been fighting for the last two years. Binding arbitration means getting stuck with the dime rake-off, which means paying half the cost of benefits the bosses used to pay for entirely. Binding arbitration means a lower commission for new drivers - and that means a temptation for the bosses to replace 49%ers with new drivers at lower commissions. Binding arbitration means no increase in the 49% that most drivers have been getting for the last 3½ years, despite the sharp rise in the cost of living. And if the union has its way, binding arbitration on the unresolved items means the rest of the contract is approved automatically without needing ratification.

The reasons the union officers accepted binding arbitration are obvious. The new contract will give the union control of the dime. VanArsdale wants the dime to play around with, to give him the power to disburse favors, hire planners for a medical center, hire architects for a housing project, etc. Money is power, and if you don't have your own then controlling someone else's is the next best thing. If VanArsdale can't get it from the fleet owners then he'll get it from the drivers - as long as he gets it. But the strongest objections to the dime are not over what it's to be used for but rather where it's coming from - the drivers rather than the owners.



## ATTORNEYS FEES AWARDED

The Supreme Court, in a recent decision (Hall v. Cole, 83 LRRM 2177 (1973)), awarded attorneys fees to the plaintiff in a Landrum-Griffin suit. The suit had been brought on behalf of a union member who was expelled from the union because he criticized it. The Court, in ordering his reinstatement, reaffirmed its right to award attorneys fees, and stated that the award was warranted in this case because it was of benefit to the union as a whole.

## THE LAWSUIT

The suit is being brought by Michael Ratner and Richard Levy of the Public Interest Law Clinic and Joshua Roth, New York City attorneys, assisted by Vicki Erenstein, a Rutgers University Law student. This article will summarize the Complaint with the hopes that it will be of some value to legal people bringing suits for unfair representation and deprivation of union membership rights. It is intended for folks new to the area of labor law - so please excuse its oversimplification!

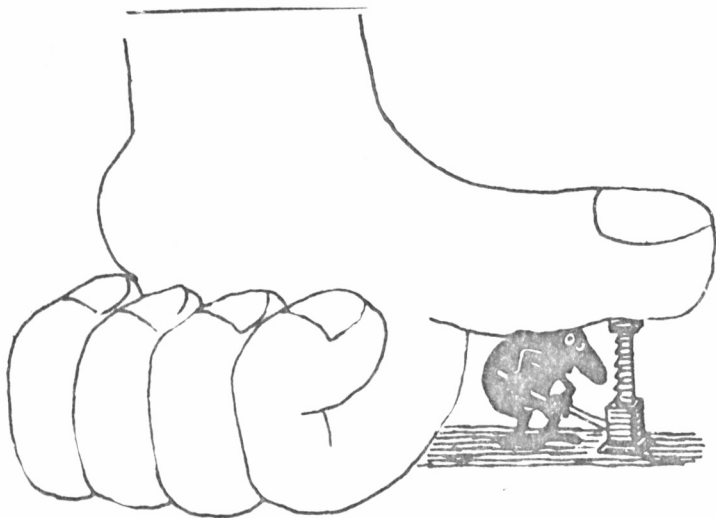
The Complaint first sets forth a brief Preliminary Statement explaining the basis of the suit and relief requested. Jurisdiction is invoked pursuant to Section 102 of the Labor Management Reporting and Disclosure Act (29 U.S.C. Section 412). Declaratory relief is sought pursuant to 28 U.S.C. Sections 2201 and 2201. The fair representation claim is brought under 29 U.S.C. Section 159 a. Rules 23(a) and 23(b)(2) of the F.R.C.P. are invoked as to the class nature of the suit. The parties are plaintiffs Taxi Rank and File Coalition and seven drivers while the named defendants are VanArsdale, other members of the Union Executive Council, the New York City Taxi Drivers Union, and the M.T.B.O.T. A lengthy statement of facts follows setting forth the history of the contract negotiations as in the first part of this article.

There are three main causes of action alleged. The first federal charge is that the union officers violated the plaintiffs' rights under Sections 101 (a)(1) and (2) of the LMRDA (29 U.S.C. Sections 411(a)(1) and (2)) by precluding them from expressing their views, participating in deliberations, or voting upon the business of their union  
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meetings. Specifically, the union did three things: 1) at the April, 1971 and April, 1972 meetings, the leadership simply refused to allow open discussion of the contract issues; 2) at the October, 1972, meeting the union officers, by interpreting the strike vote as a vote for binding arbitration as well, fraudulently deprived the members of any opportunity to discuss, debate, or vote upon the desirability of entering binding arbitration; and 3) the leadership failed to present the contract for ratification as mandated by the Union Constitution.

The relevant sections of the LMRDA clearly protect members' rights to fully participate in union business. Section 101(a)(1) gives members of labor organizations equal rights "to nominate candidates, to vote in elections or referendums of the labor organization, to attend membership meetings,



and to participate in the deliberations and voting upon the business of such meetings..\" Section 101(a)(2) protects union members' rights to freedom of assembly and expression at union meetings. The jurisdictional statute is 29 U.S.C. Section 412, giving the injured party the right to bring suit in a district court of the United States.

Dealing with the first cause of action, the supporting memo of points and authorities cites the following cases as demonstrating the protective concern of federal courts for the rights secured by Sections 101(a)(1) and (2) of the LMRDA: Navarro v. Gannon, 385 F.2d 512 (1967), Gurton v. Manuti, 235 F. Supp. 50 (S.D.N.Y. 1964), Yanity v. Benware, 376 F.2d 197(2d

Cir. 1967) and Young v. Hays, 195 F. Supp 911 (D.C.D.C., 1961).

The second cause of action is that the defendant union officers breached their duty of fair representation to the plaintiffs and the class they represent. This "duty of fair representation" derives from Section 9a of the NLRA (29 U.S.C. Section 159(a)) which states that a bargaining agent shall act as the representative of all of the employees in the bargaining unit. The duty is breached when the union's conduct in representation is "arbitrary, discriminatory or in bad faith". Vaca v. Sipes, 386 U.S. 171 (1967). In this case the Union willfully discriminated against members of the Taxi Rank and File Coalition, and all mem-

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#### ON THE CONTRACT

The fundamental need of every taxi driver and inside worker is a decent standard of living.

The present sellout contract guarantees that only by working very long and difficult hours will we earn what we need. It's a contract that preserves the bosses' rights and the union officials' privileges--at our expense.

We want a contract that guarantees the advances we have made while we prepare to fight for the next step.

The demands that we think are essential in this regard are:

- 1) end the 43% commission; 60% for all drivers.
- 2) end the dime'rip-off; owners to pay all benefits.
- 3) \$150 minimum for all inside workers.
- 4) \$300 a month pension after 20 non-consecutive years.
- 5) proportional benefits for part-timers.
- 6) no productivity clause.
- 7) retroactive payment on the above to 11/16/70.

Obviously, that's not all we need. It's just a bare minimum. We also have to have guarantees of decent working conditions. And one final thing, we need the right to defend ourselves collectively--the right to strike whenever we've been unfairly treated.

from THE HOT SEAT - TAXI RANK AND FILE COALITION, No. 21, Feb. 1973

# taxi drivers

Cont. from p.19

bers who opposed the conduct of the negotiations and the agreement finally entered into by denying the members their rights to discuss and participate in deliberations on contract negotiations. This denial to the opposition members of a voice in the Union and a vote on the contract was deliberate discrimination in representation. Morris, in his treatise The Developing Labor Law, (BNA Washington, 1971) p. 140, n.67 describes just such a suit as this as proper circumstances for joining claims to enforce both the LMRDA and the "duty of fair representation": "...a suit would lie under Section 101(a)(1) of the LMRDA on a claim that members of a labor organization had been deprived of their equal rights under the union's constitution to vote on the ratification of a collective bargaining agreement and also that negotiation and enforcement of particular terms of the agreement violate the duty of fair representation." Relevant fair representation cases cited include: Cole v. Seaboard Coast Line R.R. Co., F.Supp 76 L.R.R.M. 2527 (D.C.Va., 1969) Tunstall v. Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen, 323 U.S. 210 (1944); Cent.Ga. Railway v. Jones, 229 F.2d 648 (5th Cir., 1956) cert. denied, 352 U.S. 848.

The third main cause of action is a state claim for breach of contract due to the failure of the union and its officers to submit the collective bargaining agreement to ratification and their failure to submit the issue of binding arbitration to a vote by the union membership in violation of the constitution and by-laws of the union. Although such a breach of contract is a state claim, the memo argues that the Court has pendent jurisdiction over the claim under the theory announced in United Mine Workers v. Gibbs, 383 U.S. 715 (1966) that there is a substantial federal claim in the case and the relationship between it and this contract claim permits the conclusion that the entire action before the Court is one "case". This section of the Complaint, of course, demands that state contract law be researched. It is established in New York that the constitution and by-laws of a union constitute a binding contract defining the relation of the union and its members, and the rights of its members.

It is further necessary, since injunctive relief is requested, to include allegations as to irreparable injury and exhaustion of remedies. The plaintiffs in this case allege irreparable injury based on the infringements of their rights to free expression, their having to work under the present collective bargaining agreement, which they never discussed or ratified, and the loss of their guaranteed rights to share in the governance of their union. Exhaustion of remedies is demonstrated by the fact that more than one of the plaintiffs wrote to the president and other officials of the union demanding that the entire collective bargaining agreement be submitted to the membership for ratification. After receiving no reply, they wrote directly to George Meany, who referred them to Michael Mann, AFL-CIO Director of Region II. Mann informed them that there was no way the AFL-CIO could compel the union to submit the contract to ratification. The suit anticipates the defendants' argument that the union con-



stitution requires that the plaintiff file charges against the leadership before internal remedies can be said to be exhausted. The brief contends that this section of the constitution does not provide the remedy that the plaintiffs seek as they do not want to remove the officers--they want the opportunity to ratify the contract. And anyway, even if they were seeking removal, it would obviously be futile to ask the officers to sit in judgment upon themselves. (The LMRDA provides that would-be plaintiffs must either spend four months exhausting internal union remedies or prove that such remedies are futile.)

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The plaintiffs in this suit demanded the following relief: an order declaring that the union violated the LMRDA and the union constitution; an order restraining the union from further violations of the LMRDA; an order requiring the union to submit for ratification the contract signed on December 27, 1972 and declaring that contract null and void if the union membership fails to ratify it; compensatory and punitive damages against each named officer and executive board member individually; attorneys' fees and costs of suit; and retention of jurisdiction of the action.

The plaintiffs requested that the court issue a preliminary injunction restraining the union from preventing the plaintiffs from discussing the contract at the upcoming April 11 membership meeting and further requiring the union to submit the contract to the membership for ratification. The court apparently granted relief only as to the first demand. The attorneys for the plaintiffs are about to begin taking the depositions of union officials, preparatory to asking the Court on a motion for summary judgment to order that a ratification vote on the drivers' contract be held.

The Rank and File Coalition has waged a long hard struggle up to this point. They

know that invalidating the present contract is only the first step in the real fight for a contract which improves the conditions they work under and emphasizes the worker's rights instead of the bosses' rights. But maybe even more importantly than that, they realize that it is necessary to confront the arrogance of Van Arsdale and the union officers to let them know that the taxi workers are the union, the union officials only represent them and answer to them.

## TAXI RANK AND FILE COALITION

Note: This article was compiled from the pleadings in the taxi driver suit, and an article by Steven Seltzer, a member of the caucus. Thanks to Gene Eisner and Richard Levy for sending us the materials from New York, and to Diane Middleton for putting them together into an article.

Following is an excerpt from the LABOR LAW BIBLIOGRAPHY--this section deals briefly with Landrum-Griffin and unfair representation law. If you are interested in ordering the entire bibliography, which covers the spectrum of federal labor law, write to the Palo Alto Law Commune, 1263 El Camino Real, Menlo Park, California 94025, Send \$1.50. 50pp.

### THE WORKER'S RELATIONSHIP TO THE UNION

There are many explanations--the corruption which comes with too much power; the fear and cynicism which mark those who successfully survived the McCarthy Era; the paralysis of conservatism which afflicts institutions with large treasuries and with control over gigantic pension funds; the sad but understandable surrender of workers whose economic livelihood is now dependent upon the exploitative policies of advanced imperialism; the very nature of trade unionism.

But regardless of the explanation the fact remains: Unions nowadays are not a revolutionary force; in fact, circumstances have brought them to a point where they have become, in too many instances, the first line of defense for capitalism. Take an everyday example--a worker in a key industry who seeks to bring about serious change



MAR 9 RECD

# the DEMOCRATIC LAWYER

Political Newspaper  
of the Communist Labor Party  
Fraction of the National  
Lawyers Guild

## *The NLG and the International Situation*

Certain political tendencies within the N.L.G., primarily the October League, are attempting to convince the Guild to take a position on the current divisions in the world communist movement, particularly the struggle between the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China. The Communist Labor Party opposes these attempts—first, because the theory of the "restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union" is factually and politically false and, second, because the Guild would betray its historic role as the defender of all progressive forces if it takes on the role of endorsing one or another political tendency.

How have these attempts to politically strait-jacket the Guild manifested themselves? First, at the Columbus N.E.B., the demand was raised that we debate the "role of Soviet social imperialism" in Portugal. Second, the Guild's participation in the Havana Conference in solidarity with Puerto Rico was criticized because of its "Moscow influence." Third, within the context of the proposed Preamble, these leftists say that if the Guild is to call itself an anti-imperialist organization, it must make sure that we include "Soviet social imperialism" in the definition.

Why is this an incorrect policy for the N.L.G.? The social composition of the Guild is petit-bourgeois—that is, it is primarily an organization of independent professionals working in the judicial system in support of progressive change. As such, regardless of the political consciousness or affiliation of its membership, the Guild, as an organization, is an auxiliary support for the working class move-

## WHAT IS SOCIALISM?

A revolutionary Party in the modern world can no longer be a small group of dedicated heroes prepared to sacrifice themselves to bring about the necessary changes in the social order. Frederick Engels, one of the greatest thinkers of human history and with Karl Marx, co-founder of our movement, said as early as 1895.

"The times of surprise attacks, of revolutions carried through by small conscious minorities at the head of unconscious masses, is past. Where it is a question of a complete transformation of the social organization, the masses themselves must also be in it, must themselves already have grasped what is at stake, what they are going in for (with body and soul). The history of the last fifty years has taught us that. But in order that the masses may understand what is to be done, long, persistent work is required, and it is just this work which we are now pursuing..."

For many decades, no political group or Party has made a real effort to introduce the masses of workers to the ideas of socialism, to teach them that it is their system, as surely as the capitalist system belongs to and operates in favor of the capitalists.

We of the CLP see this as a number one task of our fledging Party. We recognize that the process of building the revolutionary movement is the process of imbuing the masses with the spirit of



## INTERNAT'L

ment. The Guild cannot be political arbiter of the revolutionary movement in the USNA or anywhere else. The work of the Guild is important and honorable enough without attempting to place it in the leadership of the working class movement by petit-bourgeois substitutionalism.

But what is involved in the struggle between the Soviet Union and China? This division deeply affects the world revolutionary struggle and creates the utmost confusion among honest progressives. The C.L.P. has carefully studied this situation and finds that this division between the Soviet Union and China is a reflection of the class struggle, which all Marxist-Leninists agree continues under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Unfortunately, this struggle has been twisted by the revisionists in both countries into a struggle between socialist states. Because we are internationalists, we refuse to take up this struggle in its national form (ie.-support either the Soviet Union or China down the line). The CLP position is that we support states conditionally, but support revolution unconditionally. We support Marxism-Leninism everywhere, and oppose revisionism everywhere. Our position on any concrete question will be determined by the application of the principles of scientific socialism to that situation-not our relationship to one or another socialist state.

But what is the concrete struggle between the Soviet Union and China? The Soviet Union says that China has placed undue emphasis on the development of agricultural production at the expense of large scale industrial production, which is the basis of the socialist economy, and that this accounts for the revisionist political distortions within the Peoples Republic. China says that the revisionists in the Soviet Union restored capitalism after the death of Stalin. That as a result, the Soviet Union is state monopoly capitalist and social-imperialist. This line has been further developed to say that the Soviet Union (as social-imperialist) is one of the two "super-powers" whose contention for world hegemony with the USNA is the source of all of the tensions in the world today and is the main source of the war danger confronting the world. In the past year, China has gone so far as to say that the Soviet Union is a fascist state which is the main enemy of the peoples of the world.

cont'd p.5

## SOCIALISM cont.

socialism, teaching them to love socialism, to defend it and to sacrifice for it.

It would be almost impossible to explain socialism unless there is some knowledge of capitalism and the life of the worker under the dictatorship of the capitalists.

Why are capitalists, who don't work, rich and the workers who create all the wealth poor? To answer this question we have to look at what happened in the history of mankind. The 3 systems of exploitation - slavery, feudalism and capitalism - have a common goal. That goal is to make people work and not pay them. Under slavery this was accomplished by simply buying the worker all at once and "paying" him only the necessaries to maintain his health and strength. Aside from these necessaries, everything the slave produced was taken by the master.

Under feudalism, the nobility, because they had armies, simply took the land and the serfs were forced to work for them. Aside from the necessaries to maintain a minimum of health and strength, to labor and produce a new generation of serfs, the nobility took all that was produced. Generally, this meant that the serf worked 3 days for himself and was forced to work 4 days for the nobility.

Under capitalism, the capitalists own all the means of production. They own the factories, mines and mills. They own almost all the farm land, the railroads, grocery stores, most of the houses and apartments. Everything the workers need to live must be purchased from the capitalist. But the worker must have something to sell if he is going to buy these necessaries. The only thing he has to sell is his ability to work. He can't sell his work, because he has no machinery to work with. He can only sell his ability to work, and that only if there is a capitalist who wants to buy it.

Every worker knows the results of his labor power becoming a commodity. First, since the capitalist buys that labor power before the worker starts to work,

cont'd p. 4



# THE CLP IS...

The CLP is a multinational Marxist-Leninist Communist party of militant struggle for proletarian revolution in the USNA (United States of North America). All those who will wholeheartedly join in this struggle can be members. We are a party of militant struggle against all national privilege, a party of militant struggle for the independence of the Negro Nation, regional autonomy for the Southwest, independence for Puerto Rico, freedom for all oppressed nations and peoples especially those oppressed by USNA imperialism. We are a party of militant struggle against the drive towards fascism and war of the USNA imperialists. We are a party of militant struggle for equal rights for women and the youth. We are a party which fights for the immediate needs of the people as we strive toward the historic goal of our class-socialism. We are a multinational party of revolutionaries based in the shops and factories throughout the USNA. Independent communist work in the factories, conducted by our factory nuclei, is the basis of all our activity.

We are a party which studies and puts into practice the science of Marxism-Leninism as a sure guide to action. We are a section of the world-wide proletarian army that is bound to overthrow and destroy all imperialism and reaction. We have picked up the banner of revolutionary struggle of the Third International, which has been discarded by the CPUSA.

The Republican and Democratic parties are both gangs of thieves, office seekers, demagogues and vested interests. They are both parties by and for the rich, united in exploitation and oppression of the people in the USNA and around the world. The rule of either of them is the rule of the bourgeoisie, which has brought war, unemployment, inflation, national oppression, moral degradation and suffering to the people of the USNA and the world, while bringing wealth and power to the rich USNA imperialists. Since Franklin Roosevelt, the Democratic party in particular has put itself forward as the "party of the people,"



## EQUAL RIGHTS NOW!

What is the political role the NLG has to play in the struggle against reaction that is sweeping the land? To paraphrase Lenin, the petite-bourgeois becomes progressive when it abandons its own class interests and adopts the political stance of the proletariat. This is so because it then fights in the interests of the most oppressed and exploited class in society. Consequently, the goals of the Guild, a progressive organization, should be to aggressively defend the democratic and economic rights of the working class, particularly the most oppressed sections of the working class, the national minorities ( For "What Are National Minorities?" see Vol. 2 No. 10, Peoples Tribune ) - Negroes, Mexicans, Puerto Ricans and Filipinos; and also the poor Anglos, especially Appalachians. At this critical junction in the history of our country, the question of working class unity against fascist repression is of paramount importance for all progressives. Recent reports indicate that in 1974 people living below the poverty level of \$5,038 were 30% of all Negroes, 23% of all Spanish-speaking people and 8% of all Anglos. A total of 24.3 million people. There is no reason to believe this situation has improved since 1974.

The Guild is an important element in the struggle against fascism. Incipient fascism is the social force that currently threatens the working class and all social



## Socialism cont.

the capitalist is in a position to drive the worker without mercy and all that is created by him is legally taken by the capitalist. As a class, the workers only receive the necessaries of life and the wealth produced above this, is taken by the capitalist. The only difference between slavery, serfdom and capitalism is the way the ruling class forces the worker to work and not pay him for what he has produced.

The capitalists, while degrading the workers to the level of slaves, become mad dogs. They developed while fighting everything, the feudalists whom they overthrew and the modern proletarians whom they created. They fight each other over markets and raw materials, they cheat and steal from one another, but most of all they fight the workers. In their struggle over profits, they force the workers to slaughter each other. The capitalist system is a system of contradiction and struggle. The capitalist system is a process of the stronger capitalist class robbing and impoverishing the workers and the big capitalists eating up the little ones. As a result, all of the nations' wealth flows into the hands of the biggest capitalists and the vast majority of people become poorer and poorer until they are forced to overthrow the system.

What does this social revolution, led by the working class create? First of all, the workers are forced to treat each other equally since they, through the state they have created, are the owners of the means of production. They immediately do away with the source of their torment, that is that they now sell their work instead of their ability to work. Thus for the first time, those who labor thrive while those who have lived off the labor of others become producers themselves or they do without food. Since every able bodied person is guaranteed a job, and they own the job, no one can take it from them. Money cannot be used to force others to do what an individual may wish. Under such conditions, crime and oppression are bound to begin to disappear. At one time, Russia and China were lands teeming with dope, prostitution and criminals.

The revolutions of the working class changed all that. Now there is hardly any crime in these countries. By taking power and transforming private property into collective public property, the production solely for profit is transformed into production for use.

It is this common ownership of the means of production that create the conditions for the elimination of discrimination against the weaker minorities and nations, against women and the aged.

Socialism is for the little people. It is for the masses, especially the workers whose labor has created all the wealth, but who have no voice in the way they are governed. Socialism is for the Negro whose toil and blood and suffering has created so much of this country. Socialism is for the Mexican who capitalism has reduced to an alien in his own land. Socialism is for the woman whose creativity has been strangled and who has been reduced to a plaything of bedroom despots and parlor tyrants. Socialism is for the youth whose heroic morality and bold dreams are objects of capitalist exploitation. It is for the aged who in hopeless poverty look upon the wealth they have created, a wealth now used to enslave a new generation, even as it casts them aside, as if they were used up instruments of production. Socialism is for the Puerto Rican who understands his individual helplessness before the grinding destructive onslaught of imperialism. It is for the Indian who demands more than pretified stories and photographs in exchange for the seizure of his lands. Socialism is for those who love this country and its peoples, because only socialism can save it!

LONG LIVE SOCIALISM !

*Lean el*  
**TRIBUNO  
POPULAR**

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## INT'L SIT. con't

The danger to all progressive movements in identifying the Soviet Union as the main enemy must be clear to all, but for USNA revolutionaries to follow such a line is to capitulate to the interests of the USNA imperialist bourgeois (which says the same thing). The first task of revolutionaries is to overthrow their own ruling class and for those of us who must struggle against the most powerful imperialist nation in history, this reactionary line on the Soviet Union is a blueprint for defeat, demoralization and war.



Obviously, the lynchpin of this entire line is the question of the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union. If capitalism has not been restored, then we are dealing with revisionism in the Soviet Union, not counter-revolution. There is a world of difference. The CLP has studied this question. Stated briefly, our conclusions are that the Soviet Union is still fully socialist, that the revisionist gang who usurped the leadership of the CPSU and government after the death of Stalin have not been able fundamentally to change the socialist base of the country or to abolish the dictatorship of the proletariat. As a matter of fact, we reject the notion that the Khrushchov-Brezhnev gang even wanted to abolish socialism; rather they wished, and have to a certain extent been able, to skim the cream of socialism, ie, to live like bourgeois within the socialist society. They have been able to do so because they have acted as handmaidens of imperialism within the socialist camp and hence have been aided and abet-

ted by their imperialist masters. Their foreign policy has on the whole been opportunist and destructive to the cause of peace and socialism, but not in the sense of being imperialist. They have compromised the socialist movement by capitulating to imperialism, not by being imperialists themselves.

Obviously, this is not the place for a full analysis of the questions involved. The Party will shortly issue a full paper for public discussion, but here we must at least refute the "restorationists" on the grounds of philosophy and political economy. According to the principles of dialectical and historical materialism, all phenomena are constantly in motion of a developmental nature-i.e. self-motion from the lower to the higher, from the more simple to the complex. This is true of societies and economic systems. Can socialism be turned into capitalism? Are they the same economic system, only differentiated by the class interests of the rulers? As Engels points out in Anti-Duhring, the only examples of retrogression have been the result of a lower order of society conquering a higher by war, that is by crushing it. Never has a higher given way to the restoration of a lower social order by internal, peaceful means, by "negation." Even war, says Engels (International Publishers edition, p. 202), cannot finally hold back economic development.

But if socialism was built in the Soviet Union under Stalin (which everybody admits), what happened? Stalin pointed out the difficulties in his 1952 book Economic Problems of Socialism. But revisionists (or "capitalist roaders", as the Chinese call them) took over. No doubt Stalin or any successor who was a Marxist-Leninist would have confronted essentially the same problems that Khrushchov and Company confronted: the need to raise the productivity of labor, of developing the economy intensively rather than extensively etc. But it is not because they inherited certain problems that we condemn the revisionists. It is because, inheriting them, they blamed them on Stalin and set about solving them in a bourgeois rather than Marxist fashion and, doing so, deepening the problems and creating new ones. Khrushchov's reforms were an attempt to solve in a bourgeois way economic problems of socialism. They came into contradiction with the objective laws of socialism, which operated independent-



## EQUAL RIGHTS cont.

progress. This vicious tool of capitalist rule must inevitably attempt to assume state power as the economic crisis intensifies. To accomplish this the working class, the natural opposite of capital must be driven to a yet lower standard of living. The national minority section of the class is key in this drive of the fascists because it represents the front line of proletarian militancy. The question of equality for national minorities permeates every social question from the right to abortion to job seniority, unemployment, education, women's rights, etc. At present the conscious fascist forces are attempting to disrupt the labor and progressive movement by driving deeper the wedge of white chauvinism that already exists within the working class. Attacks against school integration have been an organizational springboard for the blood-soaked K.K.K., the Wallacite-type populists, and the John Birch Society. The sustained anti-bussing violence in Boston is evidence that these organizations are well organized and financed. Those who have seen ROAR operate can tell you that they are not an ordinary "concerned citizens" community group but a dangerous embryo of Anglo-American facism.

The Guild has played a commendable role in fighting for the democratic rights of national minorities but it's obvious we must escalate our activities in this area. The Guild can become the vanguard of the legal profession in building a solid defense against this fascist repression. We must be clear that although the main thrust of fascism is aimed at the proletariat it also moves to crush opposition by progressive forces in all classes. The Guild must thus start working closely with other progressive-liberal bar associations (ACLU, NCBL, NBA, La Raza L.S.A., ATLA, etc.). With the ugly face of facism showing itself at every corner of the country we can no longer go it alone. Real unity must be forged with these organizations.

It's crystal clear that the front line of defense of everything progressive in our country is the defense of the national minorities, particularly the Negro people. The Negro worker as a section of the proletariat is not only at the heart of industry and production but has

been in the forefront of the struggle for democracy for decades. As progressives we must see the Negro worker as our front line of defense against fascism. If we allow our front line to be penetrated by fascism then we will be persecuted for years.

We of the C.L.P. propose a defensive apparatus against fascism a body comprised of individuals and organizations whose unifying aim is the struggle for democracy and equal rights for national minorities. We propose an Equal Rights Congress (E.R.C.). We envision such an organization playing an important role in the legislative and legal arenas as well as laying a foundation for a mass struggle against the K.K.K. and other fascist groups. The E.R.C. would dissolve the mistrust between Mexicans and Negroes, etc. which is the natural outgrowth of reactionary bourgeois cultural nationalism.

We must be clear that we in the C.L.P. don't want to "build" an Equal Rights Congress from nothing but rather unite those organizations that are already waging the struggle. We reject any contention that such a Congress will be merely a C.L.P. "front" - to the contrary, we will fight all sectarianism that prevents this Congress from becoming a democratic organization encompassing thousands of people struggling for the Constitutionally guaranteed right of every national minority to equality and the "pursuit of happiness".

The time of well meaning words, sweeping generalities and big talkers is over, a look at Boston and Louisville demonstrate the fascists are not fooling around. Fascism has a narrow social base which accounts for its violence but they are attempting to expand with their white chauvinist line. Our opportunities to build a solid defense are ripe, we all have the duty as progressives and revolutionaries to fight for equality for national minorities and not give an inch on that position: Democracy is not a given in this country - it must be fought for. The National Lawyers Guild should join us in this righteous struggle !

**SAVE AMERICA, STOP FASCISM !!**

**BUILD & JOIN the**

**6 EQUAL RIGHTS CONGRESS !!**



## NLG & WORLD con't

ly of his will. He distorted and damaged the socialist economy, but in no way abolished or radically transformed it. Nor could he do so.

Take the question at its most absurd level - would having a "socialist" president of the USNA make this a socialist economy? From the Marxist point of view, such a proposition hopelessly confuses the relationship of the superstructure to the economic base. It is pure idealism. In this regard, our "restorationists" slander the dictatorship of the proletariat, worship the revisionists as all-powerful and ridicule the conscious masses who built socialism in the Soviet Union.

But is the Soviet Union capitalist according to Marxist political economy? No! Facts are facts, and the fact is that the Khrushchov-Brezhnev clique of revisionists have only been able to maintain power by assuaging the workers:

- Standard of living has steadily grown ( 6.2% annual per capita increase in real disposable income since 1965).
- Total savings has grown 32 times since 1950.
- Guaranteed jobs, 40 hour week, retirement at 60 for men and 55 for women, free health care, stable prices.
- Since World War II, all wages have risen, but the wages of the lower paid workers has risen faster.
- Even the CIA admits there is almost no unemployment.

So the "capitalist restoration" of the Soviet Union must indeed be "capitalism of a new type", characterized by: 1) A shortage of capital rather than the capital surplus characteristic of capitalism " of the old type;"

2) A shortage rather than a surplus of labor;

3) Constantly rising living standards of the masses instead of absolute and relative impoverishment;

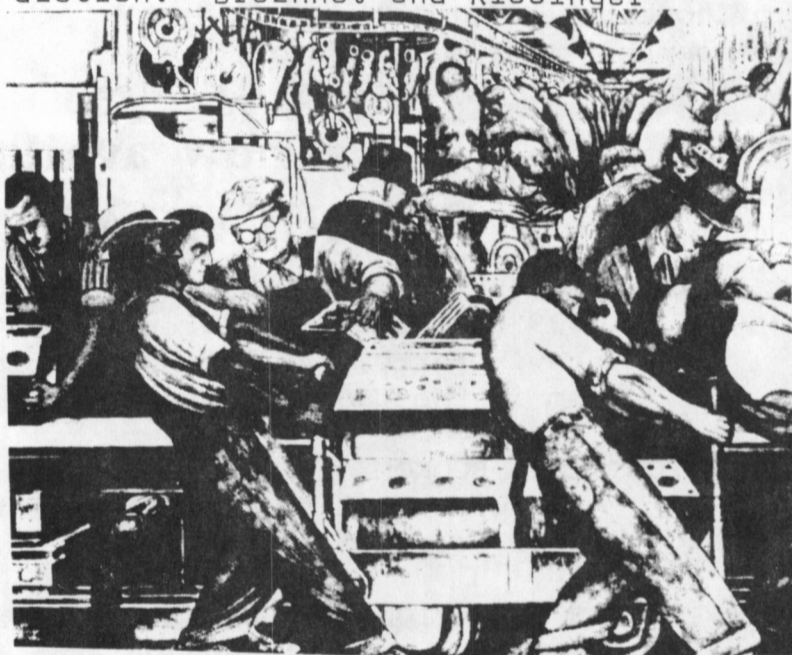
4) A shortage rather than over-production of commodities;

5) A absence of crises, recessions and depressions.

Regarding "social-imperialism" everyone agrees that imperialism is the export of finance capital in order to obtain a rate of profit higher than can be obtained in the imperialist country. Total Soviet aid from 1954-1972 was \$8.1 billion, one-half billion more than USNA aid for one year. Most aid from the capital scarce Soviet economy is in the form of development credits

repayable over 12 years at 2½% interest compounded annually (Joint Economic Committee Report to Congress, 1973). These "imperialists" could export their finance capital to the Chase Manhattan Bank and get more than twice that profit rate compounded quarterly.

On the question of militarism, we know that imperialism needs war and war production is essential to the economy. We also know that military spending disrupts the smooth development of the socialist economy. The revisionists have to satisfy the workers to retain power. Hence their cowardly, capitulationist practices, their socialpacifism. Hence their readiness to promote arms reduction at almost any price. But even this has limits. Aside from being the revisionist philistines, they are, like it or not, leaders of a socialist country which is being attacked by imperialism, which must defend itself and which must even give aid to national liberation movements. We ask the reader to be enough of a dialectician to understand the contradiction. Brezhnev and Kissinger



both say, "I am for peace." Both are thoroughly bourgeois, but one is lying while the other is telling the truth.

These are a few points to be made concerning the theory of the "restoration of capitalism" in the Soviet Union. The CLP has always struggled for the highest clarity on political issues in the Guild. But that is not to confuse the role of the Guild-it cannot constitute or choose the leadership of the revolutionary movement - that is for the working class.

We support the NEC resolution regarding Guild positions on international struggles - viz.- the Guild will not take sides where there are contending left forces and the Guild will in particular expose the role of the USNA imperialists in every international situation.



## CLP is cont

the "party of labor," the "party of the Negro people." But it was John Kennedy who first sent USNA troops to Vietnam who tried to destroy the Cuban revolution with the Bay of Pigs invasion; it is the "Democratic" party that directly dominates the Negro Nation and most of the big city machines; Johnson and Humphrey were the great "liberal" leaders that invaded the Dominican Republic and sent 500,000 troops and innumerable bombs to Vietnam. The Republican party's record with Watergate, Agnew taking bribes in the Vice-President's office and now Ford threatening intervention in Angola and North Korea is no different. Both parties are the servants of imperialism. They have 1001 faces, but behind every one is the iron fist of enslavement.

The CPUSA is a party that has betrayed its revolutionary heritage. The gang of traitors at its head has betrayed its class and the thousands of honest revolutionaries in its membership that were and are attracted to the CPUSA by its false

promises. They have rejected revolution. They have repudiated the dictatorship of the proletariat. They deny that the Negro Nation exists. Their program calls for alliance with the liberal bourgeoisie as the "lesser evil" as the best hope for the working class. Their ranks are riddled with police agents. Their constitution prohibits the membership of anyone who stands for revolution.

There are no other political parties in the USNA today. The Trotskyites in all their many forms are not political parties at all but are the direct agents of the state representing counter revolution everywhere they go and in all they do.

The gaggle of "left " groups in all their variety are weak, isolated sectarians interested mainly in blowing their own horns. They put out much talk but little action, much theorizing, but little theory. They find much greater strength on the campuses than in the factories. They are separated from the historic

cont'd p. 9

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## CLP is cont

Communist movement as can be seen by the fact that they call themselves the "young communist movement" as if a movement 125 years old can be called young. They are incapable of leading the working class to victory.

In 1927 Stalin put forward 12 points by which to measure the Bolshevization (or revolutionizing) of the Communist parties. We are striving to implement these points today. They are a sure yardstick for measuring revolutionary parties. They are as follows:

1) The Party must regard itself not as an appendage of the parliamentary electoral machinery, as the Social-Democratic Party in fact does, and not as a gratuitous supplement to the trade unions, as certain AnarchoSyndicalist elements sometimes claim it should be, but as the highest form of class association of the proletariat, the function of which is to lead all the other forms of proletarian organizations from the trade unions to the Party's group in parliament.

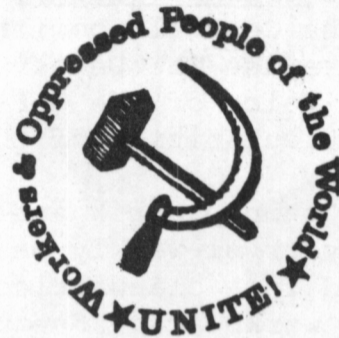


2) The Party, and especially its leading elements, must thoroughly master the revolutionary theory of Marxism, which is inseparably connected with revolutionary practice.

3) The Party must draw up slogans and directives not on the basis of stock formulas and historical analogies, but as the result of a careful analysis of the concrete internal and international conditions of the revolutionary movement, and it must, without fail, take into account the experience of revolutions in all countries.

4) The Party must test the correctness of these slogans and directives in the crucible of the revolutionary struggle of the masses.

5) The entire work of the Party, particularly if Social-Democratic traditions have not yet been eradicated in it, must be reorganized on new, revolutionary lines, so that every step, every action, taken by the Party should naturally serve to revolutionize the masses, to train and educate the broad masses of the working class in the revolutionary spirit.



6) In its work the Party must be able to combine the strictest adherence to principle (not to be confused with sectarianism!) with the maximum of ties and contacts with the masses (not to be confused with khvostism - tailism!) without this, the Party will be unable not only to teach the masses but also to learn from them, it will be unable not only to lead the masses and raise them to its own level but also to heed their voice and anticipate their urgent needs.

7) In its work the Party must be able to combine an uncompromising revolutionary spirit (not to be confused with revolutionary adventurism) with the maximum of flexibility and manoeuvring ability (not to be confused with opportunism!), without this, the Party will be unable to master all the forms of struggle and organization, will be unable to link the daily interests of the proletariat, with the fundamental interests of the proletarian revolution, and to combine in its work the legal with the illegal struggle.

8) The Party must not cover up its mistakes, it must not fear criticism; it must improve and educate its cadres by learning from its own mistakes.

9) The Party must be able to recruit for its main leading group the best elements of the advanced fighters who are sufficiently devoted to the cause to be genuine spokesmen of the aspirations of the revolutionary proletariat, and who



# BY WAY OF INTRODUCTION...

What is The Democratic Lawyer? It is the political newspaper of the Communist Labor Party fraction of the National Lawyers Guild. (Fractions are groups of Communists and close contacts who work within a given organization for the purpose of influencing it.) Just as the People's Tribune and Tribuna Popular are the voice of the Central Committee in general, likewise The Democratic Lawyer is the voice of the CLP addressed to the particularities of the NLG and its members.

Most "shop papers" are produced on a weekly or bi-weekly basis and distributed in a clandestine fashion within the workplace. Frequent publication gives the paper the opportunity to speak often to the workers on not only issues of general political interest but also specifics of the class struggle in the given workplace. We could not follow this general format given that we intend to produce the paper only for national

Guild meetings.

We are not simply addressing ourselves to "Leftists" but wish to provide a Communist analysis for all the democratic forces in the Guild. A shop paper, however, is not to be an abstract treatise on the necessity of proletarian revolution but rather is supposed to inform its readers of issues practically and immediately relevant. Thus, we included "The NLG and the International Situation" and "Equal Rights Now."

We welcome and invite contributions and comments from friends and other interested people. We also urge you all to subscribe to the People's Tribune. For more information about our party and how you can join - or for a subscription to the PT - write to us at :

LAWYERS  
P.O. Box 783  
Linwood Station  
Detroit, Mich. 48206

The POLITICAL PAPER of the COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY of the UNITED STATES OF NORTH AMERICA

## PEOPLE'S TRIBUNE

*"The Communist's ideal should not be a trade-union secretary, but a tribune of the people, able to react to every manifestation of tyranny and oppression." Lenin*



### CLP is cont.

are sufficiently experienced to become real leaders of the proletarian revolution, capable of applying the tactics and strategy of Leninism.

10) The Party must systematically improve the social composition of its organizations and rid itself of corrupting opportunist elements with a view to achieving the utmost solidarity.

11) The Party must achieve iron proletarian discipline based on ideological solidarity, clarity concerning the aims of the movement, unity of practical action and an understanding of the Party's tasks by the mass of the Party membership.

12) The Party must systematically verify the execution of its decisions and directives, without this, these decisions and directives are in danger of becoming empty promises, which can only rob the Party of the confidence of the broad proletarian masses.

In the absence of these and similar conditions, Bolshevisation is just an empty sound.

Our Party, the Communist Labor Party stands for the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. We aim to take up the historic task of the proletariat. We call upon all who are for proletarian revolution to join us!

# People's Voices

VOL. 1 NO. 7 AN ORGAN OF THE COMMUNITY ADVOCATES COLLECTIVE NOV. 1975

From Oct. 10 thru Oct. 18, 1975, 38 North Americans, including two members of Community Advocates Collective, toured Panama under an intensive schedule. The group met with students, workers, farmers, intellectuals, leaders of women's organizations, cultural workers and leaders of both the Panamanian and United States of North American governments. The following is a "DECLARATION TO THE PANAMANIAN PRESS BY THE NORTH AMERICAN ANTI-IMPERIALIST GROUP"

## To the Panamanian People:

We wish to express our sincerest thanks to the Government of Panama and in particular to the Minister of Foreign Affairs for having invited us to Panama. We also thank those local and regional groups who received us with such human warmth and hospitality: rural farm cooperatives, workers unions, feminists groups, cultural workers, communitarian organizations, etc. All of them have helped us appreciate the strength, determination and friendship of the Panamanian people.

We arrived in Panama as United States citizens united in opposition to the existence of the so-called Canal Zone in the national territory of Panama. Our primary task is to create in the United States an organization at the national level capable of raising the consciousness of our people and mobilizing them against our colonial presence in Panama and in support of a new Canal treaty. Along with many Panamanians, we share the opinion that we can only carry out this task through means of a continuing communication and fraternal solidarity between our two peoples.

Our own struggles within the United States have strengthened and inspired us. Among these struggles, we would underline the following:

--The struggle of Black Americans, of Chicanos (Mexican - Americans), and of native American Indian and Latin American communities against the racism that divides the peoples of the United States;

STATEMENT BY A LEADING MEMBER OF COMMUNITY ADVOCATES COLLECTIVE, OPENED DISCUSSION ON A PANEL DEALING WITH THE "ARMS RACE AND ITS AFFECTS ON COLONIAL AND NEO-COLONIAL COUNTRIES", at the International Women's Year Convention, October 25, 1975

As we begin to discuss the arms race and its effects on the developing countries, we should keep in mind that of the over \$200 billion dollars that will be spent for military purposes this year worldwide, 35 billions will be produced by U.S. corporations alone. The colonizing states of France, Britain and West Germany are also among the top leaders in the selling of arms that adversely affects colonial and neo-colonial countries.

Since 1963, the world's military expenditures have soared from 142 billion dollars per year to over 200 billion dollars in 1975. Can this leap in unproductive spending be attributed to greed and the seeking of maximum profits only? I think not. We must include the concept of continuous profits. This conclusion is born out by the events of the last 20 years in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

During that time, the U.S. has intervened, overtly and covertly, in Guatamala, Lebanon, Dominican Republic, Panama, Cuba, Vietnam and Chile to name a few. In all of the countries named, excepting Panama, Cuba and Vietnam, reactionary, neo-fascist regimes have been installed and maintained. By these actions, the U.S. has been able to do two things. One, make the investments of the transnational companies more safe and two, it has given the arms manufacturers willing governments to sell their wares to.

According to the United Nations, the developing countries spend an average of 3.5% of their output for military purposes. At first glance, this may seem to be a small amount, but when we consider the slight dollar amount of their Gross National Product, the

DECLARATION TO THE PANAMANIAN PRESS  
(Continued from Page 1)

--The struggle being conducted by women against sexual discrimination in their workplaces and homes, in seeking full and equal participation in the development and building of a new society;

--The struggle of people in each community for adequate housing, health assistance and adequate nutrition, and for a kind of education that allows the people to be creators of their own history and culture;

--The struggle of workers towards improving their salaries and work conditions, and in obtaining the right to organize labor unions; and the struggle for an economic system that respects the dignity of work, and for a society in which the only privileged ones are the children.

There also exists in the United States various other aspects of our work that have helped us recognize the importance of the struggle of the Panamanian people against colonialism:

Our struggle against the war in Indochina in behalf of the right of self-determination by the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia;

--The movement in solidarity with the Chilean people in their resistance to the present repressive military dictatorship;

--The solidarity movement with the Philippine people in their struggle for national liberation;

--And, finally, the struggle that is growing more intense every day... and one that is directly related to your struggle here in Panama...the movement in solidarity with the independence of Puerto Rico.

So it is that we came here representing different struggles, in order to express our solidarity with the people of this land, the "Bridge of the Americas", knowing that "The peoples united will never be defeated"!

Continued next Column

The United States of North America is:

"The only country that has gone from barbarism to decadence without going through civilization"

George Bernard Shaw

We support the struggle of the Panamanian people for the effective and total recovery of jurisdiction and sovereignty over all their national territory. As citizens of the United States, we demand an end to all the different forms of colonialism that characterize this colonial enclave: administrative, judicial, postal, operational, commercial, cultural and military structures that have been here since the beginning of the century.

The continuing U.S. military presence in the Canal Zone under the pretext of defending the Canal, increases the penetration of foreign capital in the hemisphere and in other places in the world. The so-called Canal Zone functions as a center for military and police training for repressive and oppressive forces throughout Latin America. We are also aware of the function that these military bases had in the war in Indochina when special forces were trained in the Zone through courses of counterinsurgency.

As U.S. citizens, opposed to the continuing interference of our government in the internal affairs of other countries, we demand the complete and immediate withdrawal of this military apparatus: not one single base, not one airplane, not one naval ship, nor one soldier or marine should remain on Panamanian soil.

We also completely support the Panamanian people in their struggle to recover their principle natural resource--the Canal, and its extremely important function in worldwide commercial trade. This recovery should be for the social and economic benefit of the people themselves. This colonial enclave is an affront to the national dignity of the Panamanian people. It is for all these reasons that we have repeatedly said: "The Canal For The Panamanian People".

On the other hand, it is the Government of the United States that even to this day maintains this colonial regimen on Panamanian soil...two hundred years after our country managed to free itself from precisely the same kind of domination. This is an affront to the aspirations of the people of the U.S. For this reason, we demand a "Bicentennial Without Colonies".







STATEMENT ON "ARMS RACE AND ITS AFFECTS ON COLONIAL AND NEO-COLONIAL COUNTRIES".

Continued from Page 1.

3.5% takes on added significance. The tax base in most developing countries is limited and the majority of the revenue that is collected goes to pay civil servants and for the cost of the military forces. Development is thus impaired. Also, the military spending abroad puts a heavy burden on the balance of payments in these countries.

This "business as usual" by the United States military/industrial complex is taking place in societies where education, health care, decent housing and jobs are practically non-existent.

The World Health Organization has projected that 400 million people may die of starvation by 1985, nearly all of whom live in colonial or neo-colonial countries.

There are other disastrous effects caused by the arms race of the developed nations. The most striking example of U.S. imperialism, supported by U.S. government military spending, is the occupied territory of Panama. Not only have we annexed 500 sq. miles of that country, but we maintain 14 military bases on her soil. The over-all development of Panama, because of our occupation, has become distorted. Instead of developing her natural resources consistent with the Panamanian reality, Panama has been forced to become a service-oriented state coupled with the imposition of a foreign and degrading culture on its inhabitants.

An article in the Cleveland Plain Dealer (10-20-75) sheds some light, "The arms lobby is huge and powerful. Surrounding the White House and the Pentagon are offices of 221 companies producing weapons. In his first year as President, Gerald R. Ford entertained at the White House, the leading executives of 23 large corporations

Continued on next column

involved in arms production." The article went on to name former government officials who are now sitting on the boards of these very same corporations. It is only with United States government collusion that the arms manufacturers are able to maintain their continuous profits and their economic rape of the peoples of the world.

This conference, during International Women's Year, can be a turning point. With unity of action, we can defeat the merchants of death and march confidently towards a more sane and peaceful world.

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Mothers make up the largest number of welfare recipients, but legislation requires Work Incentives Programs to give priority to men.

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In 1955, the average female worker earned 64% the wages of a male BUT by 1970, she earned only 59% the wages of the average male.

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Rape is the only crime where the VICTIM is humiliated by police and doctors. In some states, a victim who is bruised and whose clothing is torn is considered to have contributed to the rape, but rape cannot be proven unless the victim is bruised and has had her clothing torn.

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"To know the position of a people, it is only necessary to know the condition of their females."

Martin R. Delany, 1852

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