



The ORGANIZER

Pennsylvanians Suffer... State Budget Finally Passed



Once upon a time in a city called 'Brotherly Love' there were day care centers and schools for the children, a public hospital for anyone sick or hurt, buses, parks...

by JACK OWENS

On Friday, August 19, the Pa. House of Representatives -- finally succumbing to political arm-twisting and the marching feet of angry state workers and welfare recipients -- passed the state budget they had voted down six previous times since the State Senate passed it on August 10.

The passage of the budget ended a seven-week deadlock which saw the state government grind to a halt at the end of stop-gap funding on August 3. Thousands of state employees were thrown out of work and untold hardships caused for the bulk of the 800,000 welfare recipients who received no money at all for three weeks or more.

Meanwhile in Harrisburg--while bars did a booming business, the capitol dispensary ran out of aspirin and we were treated to the spectacle of two dozen representatives slugging it out on the floor of the House after the budget was voted down for the fifth time on August 17.

BOURGEOIS POLITICS AT ITS WORST

It was an example of bourgeois politics at its absolute worst with legislators frantically looking out for their own careers and ignoring the needs of their constituents.

The crux of the disaster was the unwillingness by a majority of both Democrats and Republicans to fully fund the bankrupt Phila. schools with its two-thirds Black majority -- a clear example of racism. While many legislators questioned the right of Phila. school children to have a decent education, none questioned the right of the banks to profit from school loans.

This political bankruptcy is further shown by the budget which has passed. While the \$5.1 billion budget calls for no immediate tax increase, it neatly leaves out the \$300 million originally earmarked for various colleges and universities -- a

deficit everyone agrees will have to be corrected by new taxes come September. The new taxes most frequently mentioned are an increase in the sales tax and an increase in the state income tax from 2.0 to 2.3% -- both of which fall heaviest on the working class.

EFFECT ON THE SCHOOLS

The new state budget calls for \$64 million in increased state subsidies to Phila. schools. Added to the \$10 million from City Council and a proposed \$50 million bank loan, the \$124 million total still leaves a \$50 million deficit which will be translated into loss of programs and approximately 2500 layoffs. As of the end of August, however, no one seems sure which programs will be cut or which employees will be out of work come the opening of schools on September 9.

One thing is sure -- the Philadelphia Federation of Teachers (PFT) will be a major target. Supposedly the teachers' union will be asked to postpone scheduled salary increases and to give up the one free period per day preparation time won by elementary school teachers in the bitter school strike of 1974.

Although PFT president, Frank Sullivan, has stated his union will strike before accepting these terms, his weak-kneed response to the school crisis so far has to leave his members more than a little nervous about his willingness to take on the combined forces of the city, state and the banking establishment.

UNITE TO FIGHT

The budget crisis with its higher taxes; cuts in school programs; layoffs; and increased bank profits show the fundamental racist and anti-working class stance of our politicians. Only an independent and united movement led by the working class, the national minorities and their progressive allies can put the machinery of government where it belongs -- in the hands of the people!

Bell Workers Sold out

CHILE: p. 4
4 Years After the Coup p. 10

School Crisis over... Or Is It?

--Even with the \$64 million in new state aid; a proposed bank loan of \$50 million and \$10 million from city council, the Phila. school district will be \$50 million short of its "bare-bones" budget submitted last year; the remaining cuts will surely affect inner-city minority children the hardest.

--The resulting 2500 layoffs represent 9.6% of all school employees; most of those to be laid off will be teachers and nonprofessionals. Nonprofessionals (classroom aides, cooks, library aides, cleaning personnel) earn between \$4500 and \$12,000 per year.

--Besides personal hardship, the 2500 layoffs will mean an estimated loss in revenue of \$22.5 million including lost taxes, unemployment compensation, food stamps and welfare payments.

--Philadelphians pay *twice* the taxes of citizens in 341 of 505 other Pa. school districts.

--Phila. wage and property taxes went up spectacularly last year, BUT...

--NO wage tax money goes to the schools

--only \$1.00 in \$34.00 of new property taxes goes to the schools

MEANWHILE THE CITY:

--hired 250 more policemen at a cost of \$3 million

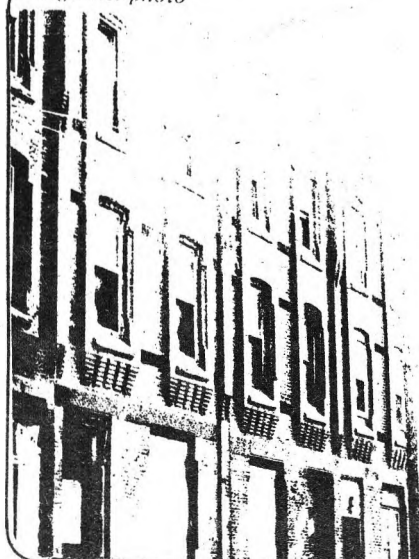
--spent \$4.7 million more than last year to buy new cars and trucks

--stepped up tree-trimming on city streets to the tune of \$500,000

And to Top it All Off . . .

INTEREST AND DEBT SERVICE TO AREA BANKS COST THE PEOPLE OF PHILADELPHIA \$50 MILLION..... THAT'S \$ 50 MILLION TAKEN AWAY FROM OUR CHILDREN AND GIVEN STRAIGHT TO JOHN BUNTING AND COMPANY!!!!!!!

organizer photo



Who's Destroying Philly Housing?

pp. 8,9

Letters To The Editor...

More on Party-building and Revisionism

Dear Organizer,

The *Organizer* is being very well received here in Cincinnati. Generally, people have commented on the depth and clarity of analysis in most of the articles. Isolated as we are from communists in other parts of the country, the *Organizer* is valuable in presenting a creative application of Marxist-Leninist ideology to critical problems in the working class movement.

As part of the developing anti-revisionist, anti-dogmatist communist trend, I was particularly interested in the series on dogmatism, and thought it represented an excellent critique of that all too prevalent problem. Dogmatism, however, is being increasingly understood and discredited, and our theoretical focus should be shif-

ting to a more subtle, complex problem in our movement toward building a Marxist-Leninist party. So, we're looking forward to the next series of articles analyzing different approaches to party building.

Finally, we'd very much like to see a thorough critique of revisionism, its sources, historical development, and implications for concrete struggle. My experience is that the struggle against revisionism is much more subtle and difficult than the struggle against dogmatism, and our struggles against revisionism are often hampered by our lack of understanding of it.

In Struggle,
S.D.
Cincinnati, O

Dear PWOC,

I find myself uniting more and more with your newspaper and overall political line. Keep up the good work.

In Struggle,
Oakland, Calif.

TO OUR READERS-- A CORRECTION

In evaluating the article on Dogmatism and Black Liberation in VIII no. 2 of the *Organizer*, one of our units identified an error in the article which they have called to our attention.

The article distorts the position of the OL (now the CP-ML) by misrepresenting their stand on busing. While noting the OL's opposition to anti-busing forces and racist attacks, the article incorrectly described the OL's position of being one of neutrality in relation to the advocacy of busing and desegregation.

As our unit pointed out, in a number of articles in the *Call* the OL has supported busing. It is true, as the article pointed out, that the OL has failed to link the question of busing to quality education,

has generally been weak in carrying agitation for desegregation to the white workers, and has on one occasion boycotted a demonstration to support the Boston busing plan on the grounds it was "assimilationist."

However, the misrepresentation of OL's line on busing could only serve to weaken the credibility of the overall analysis in the article.

The *Organizer* has always deplored the tendency in our movement to twist the truth in order to score polemical points. While our mistake in this instance was unintentional, sloppiness of this sort only feeds this tendency. Thus we are grateful for this criticism and hope our units and our readers generally will maintain this sort of vigilance.



the class of '76

Maybe you just graduated from high school and you're looking for a job. And maybe you haven't found one yet. You're not alone. A school district study shows that the class of '76 had a rougher time finding jobs than the class of '75 despite the supposed improvement of the economy. In November, five months after graduation, 13.7% of the class was unemployed as compared to 11.9% for the class of '75.

The problem was most serious for Spanish and Black graduates. 29.2% of the Spanish speaking graduates and 15.8% of the Black graduates were jobless as compared to 8.5% of the white graduates. In '75, the figures were 15.8%, 6.7%, and 7.1%.

All through high school you're told: "Stay in school if you want a good job." Then you get out and you can't get any job. Then there are those subway ads about equal opportunity and how things are getting better and better. At this point there are a lot of graduates of the classes of '76 and '77 who are probably asking: "Better and better for Whom?"

Philadelphia Workers' Organizing Committee

Who We Are



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

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

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

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

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

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

Subscribe!

Enclosed is

- () \$5 for a regular one-year subscription.
- () \$3 for unemployed or retired workers.
- () \$1 for prisoners.

NAME _____
ADDRESS _____
CITY _____
STATE _____ ZIP _____

Enclosed is

- () \$5 for a GIFT SUBSCRIPTION

NAME _____
ADDRESS _____
CITY _____
STATE _____ ZIP _____

Send to:

The ORGANIZER, c/o the PWOC
Box 11768
Philadelphia, Pa. 19101

(All orders must be prepaid).

Bulk, bookstore, institutional, airmail, first class, and foreign rates are available upon request. Back issues are \$.50 a copy.

CHANGE OF ADDRESS: Please send us your new mailing address along with your current address label.

In this Issue:

STATE BUDGET CRISIS	p. 1
LETTERS TO THE EDITOR	p. 2
CARTER AND OSHA	p. 3
SUN SHIP CITED	p. 3
UNION-BUSTING AT PENN.	p. 3
TELEPHONE CONTRACT	p. 4
ALAN WOOD CLOSING	p. 4
POLICE INVESTIGATIONS	p. 5
OTHER SIDE OF THE WALL	p. 5
PHILIPINA NURSES CONVICTED	p. 6
CROWN CORK STRIKE	p. 7
RIZZO'S HOUSING PLANS	p. 8
EL COMITE OFFICES BURNED	p. 9
HUMAN RIGHTS IN CHILE	p. 10
AFL-CIO AND CHILE	p. 11
WOODCOCK ESCAPES!	p. 11
PARTY BUILDING DEBATE	p. 12
PAGINAS EN ESPANOL	p. 15-16

I'd like to sustain the *Organizer* at \$5, \$10, or \$25 a month.

NAME _____
ADDRESS _____
CITY _____
STATE _____ ZIP _____

Send to:

The ORGANIZER, c/o the PWOC
Box 11768
Philadelphia, Pa. 19101

Carter May Kill Job Safety Law

life and death stakes for U.S. workers

The Carter administration is getting ready to break another promise to working people -- this time by eliminating Federal health and safety protection for American workers. A recent memo to Carter from three top aides advised him to "totally eliminate" most health and safety regulations, "replacing" them with larger workmen's compensation payments. After the memo was leaked to the press, the AFL-CIO and a number of individual unions issued statements protesting the action. Carter has yet to say publicly whether or not he will adopt his staff's suggestion.

POOR BARGAIN

Such a change would be a disaster for workers. The government estimates that 115,000 workers are killed each year by injuries and disease caused by their jobs. That's a dozen workers killed every hour, every day, 365 days a year. If Carter succeeds in eliminating OSHA, that death toll will certainly go much higher. A workman's compensation check would be a poor bargain for the worker who loses a hand in a power press, or for the family whose father or mother is killed by a falling crane load. More importantly, most workers who are maimed or killed in industry would get no compensation at all under such a system.

This is because nearly 90% of those workers killed by their jobs die from long-term diseases, *not* from sudden accidents. Exposure to chemical dusts, fumes, and liquids are the cause of these diseases, often mistakenly blamed on cigarettes and liquor. These diseases are silent killers, slowly poisoning the worker before they or their doctor knows what's happening.

Occupational cancer, for example, seldom shows itself until 10 or 20 years after the worker is first exposed to a deadly substance. Under the present legal system proving that your cancer was caused by a job you held 20 years ago would be nearly impossible. Corporation lawyers with bottomless expense accounts could easily wear down the average citizen by endless legal maneuvering. Even if you could prove it, it would be too late for you and thousands of others. Real protection against occupational disease can only come through prevention *before* it sets in. No other way can ever work.

STRENGTHEN OSHA

If any changes are to be made, OSHA needs to be strengthened, not eliminated. The Federal Occupational Health and Safety Administration (OSHA) was



Newsweek/cpf

created in 1970 with power to set health and safety standards, send inspectors into the nation's 5 million workplaces to see that the standards were being enforced, and to fine companies that violated the law. The OSHA law also gave workers certain rights, such as the right to know what hazards they were exposed to, the right to file complaints against their employer without reprisal, and the right to refuse to do a job that threatened to cause death or serious injury. To this day, most of these rights remain nothing more than paper promises.

While the first set of standards OSHA adopted regulated the height of toilet-stall dividers and the shape of toilet seats, by 1977 only 17 cancer-causing chemicals are regulated. Yet the National Cancer Institute lists 1,200 chemicals as possibly causing cancer among workers regularly exposed to them. Before any new standard can be set, a 22-step procedure must be followed, giving industry plenty of opportunity to delay and obstruct new standards. So-called "economic impact statements" are also required before a new standard goes into effect; their purpose is to delay or stop any standard that might cost the corporations large sums of money.

dealing with inadequate scaffolding and railing.

While it's good that the company was finally cited for the violations, it took two months, pressure and publicity to accomplish, and the \$6,360 fine means little to the company. The newly elected leadership of Boilermakers local 802 has stated it intends to make the yard safe, but it is relying entirely on OSHA to accomplish this.

A rank and file group that came together following Janet's death feels differently; that not OSHA but an organized rank and file and contract rights concerning safety are the real solution. The rank and file group is demanding that the company immediately enforce all federal and company safety standards, and that the union leadership militantly defend the right of workers to refuse an unsafe job. The group has also raised that the union must fight for the right of stewards to shut down an unsafe job and the right to strike over health and safety grievances in the next contract.

OSHA Cites Sun Ship

On August 11, two months after Janet Sloan, a welder at Sun Shipbuilding, fell to her death, OSHA finally cited the company for the safety violations that caused her death.

Even though the company quickly tried to cover up by putting up the missing backrails the same night she died, co-workers testified that no backrails were up when she fell. OSHA also cited the company for 59 other safety violations found during the inspection, mostly

FEW REAL RIGHTS

Even these weak standards aren't really enforced. There are so few inspectors now working for OSHA that it would take nearly one hundred years for every workplace in the U.S. to be inspected just once. There are far more game wardens protecting the nation's ducks than OSHA inspectors protecting workers. A 1974 Government study found that the average fine given OSHA law violators was \$25.87, hardly enough to deter a reckless driver, let alone a billion-dollar corporation. If a company is cited by an inspector for violations, the company may appeal the citation; most of these appeals have led to the citation being reduced or thrown out altogether on a technicality. Neither workers nor their unions, however, have the same right to appeal if the inspector rules against them.

Workers have very few real rights under OSHA. Since no one -- neither OSHA nor the major unions -- has made a serious attempt to educate the rank and file about their rights under the law, very few know enough to use these rights effectively. The corporations have nearly erased workers' right to know what dangerous substances they're exposed to -- a right guaranteed them by OSHA -- by claiming that the chemicals they use are "trade secrets" and the private property of the Companies. Thousands of workers, particularly non-union workers, have been harassed and even fired for filing OSHA complaints, and have gotten away with it in many cases. About 1500 workers have complained to OSHA of being fired, demoted, or harassed by their employer for filing complaints. Only a dozen of these complaints have been prosecuted by OSHA, and none of the fired workers has yet to get their job back through OSHA. This policy renders the law almost meaningless for the 3/4 of the workforce that is non-union, and a gamble for the rest. OSHA also guarantees workers the right to refuse to work a job that might cause serious injury or death; if this right were enforced, it would give

valuable legal protection to workers taking direct action against job hazards. This right to refuse would be one of the best tools for the job, giving those most directly affected the right to stop production (and therefore profits) until a hazard is cleaned up. But the Federal courts have added so many limits and conditions to this rule that it's almost useless as a legal defense for fired workers.

PROFITS OVER PEOPLE

So it's a great system, "free enterprise." If you kill a rabbit out of season you're in big trouble. But if you're a big boss you can kill hundreds of workers -- poison them, maim them, choke the life right out of them with your machines and chemicals. And you probably won't even have to pay a fine!

And Jimmy Carter -- a real great friend of working people. Never mind strengthening the OSHA law. We'll get rid of that and instead give ya'all a few more bucks if you happen to lose an arm or leg. Thanks Jim.

As long as its profits over people the death march in America's mines, mills and factories will continue.

Know your Rights -

The Philadelphia Area project of Occupational Safety and Health (PHILAPOSH) is one organization that is working hard to protect and extend our rights under the law and organize to combat bad working conditions. PHILAPOSH is made up of concerned trade unionists and health professionals. If you've got a problem on the job contact them: PHILAPOSH, 1321 Arch St., Rm. 607, Phila., Pa. 19107.

Penn Workers on Strike

Members of Teamsters local 115 are on strike as a result of the U. of Penn's attempt to bust their union.

In the beginning of August, the U. of Penn fired the housekeeping staff, 343 workers, many minority and women workers who had worked there for over 20 years, replacing them with teenagers being paid minimum wage imported from New York City by subcontractors.

The firings came shortly after the workers had voted to replace their independent union local 1202 with Teamsters local 115. One striker said that the leadership of 1202 told them to vote for the Teamsters because the University was walking all over the union and taking away the workers' rights. When representatives from local 115 met with the University to negotiate a new contract they were asked to accept a wage cut from \$4.13 to under \$3.00 per hour. When local 115 refused, the University called up the housekeeping staff and told them not to come in.

Many of the fired workers feel that the University had been planning on pulling this ever since the Teamsters were voted in in June because the University doesn't want a strong union in there. The union has filed unfair labor practice charges against the University and the strikers have set up picket lines on campus since August 9 to keep the subcontractors out and force the University to bargain with their union. The University has failed to get an injunction against the picketing. One striker said that the trash collectors at the University were refusing to pick up trash and that the other two unions on campus were most likely going to join them in their struggle.



organizer photo

The present union busting attempt is one more example of Penn's long time hostility to national minorities and labor. While the university tries to cultivate a liberal public image, it behaves as viciously as any other monopoly corporation. In the sixties Penn evicted thousands of residents in West Philadelphia to make way for the University City Science Center, much of which remains uncompleted. The university has vigorously opposed unionization and last year provoked a protracted strike by maintenance employees. Now in the midst of massive unemployment among local youth the university is cynically bringing in teenagers from New York to work for the minimum wage and play the role of strike breakers. Penn is once again providing the working class with a "higher education" in the nature of the modern capitalist university.

Bell workers sold out



They're Still Mad As Hell!

by SUSAN COHEN

On August 6, 1977, shortly before midnight the last of three unions negotiating with AT&T signed a memorandum of agreement cancelling what could have been the largest strike in history against one company. Phone workers in Philadelphia describe the national contract settlement quite simply -- SELL OUT. Telephone workers are still "mad as hell."

Faced with the most favorable bargaining position imaginable, the unions managed to secure only a fair wage increase and almost no improvement in benefits. The unions' big push for Job Security resulted in no provisions. The pension improvements were insignificant. The unions did not win "30 years and out." Phone workers still do not have any excused sick days.

LOCAL AGREEMENT

On the local level, bargaining was extended one week. In several cities where an agreement was not reached by the midnight deadline, workers were on strike. Almost all returned to work by Monday morning. In Philadelphia negotiators were unable to reach an agreement with the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (representing operators and clerks) before the midnight deadline but the clock was stopped to avoid a strike. An agreement was not reached until after one a.m.

The local agreement is a step backwards for operators in the state. Taxi cab service now provided for shifts ending at midnight and later has been eliminated in the contract. Standard shifts can be eliminated at the company's option so that operators might have to work different hours from one day to the next. The union did not win an end to split shifts. And the union demand to upgrade the operator wage rate resulted in an insulting \$1.00 more per week -- and only for those making top salary!

Phone workers were "mad as hell" going into negotiations. Now they are mad at the company and the unions. The unions did not even win enough wages and benefits to maintain the current level of its members. Saddled with this contract for three more years, they will fall behind even more. Bell gave with one hand and took away with the other.

RUSHED RATIFICATION

Fearing the reaction of operators in Philadelphia to the sell out contract, union officials for the IBEW pushed through a ratification vote in a matter of days. An agreement was reached Sunday, August 14, notice of a voting meeting was posted Monday, a copy of the agreement posted September 1977 p. 4

Tuesday night, and the voting held Wednesday from 11 a.m. to 7 p.m. This happened despite union assurances at a June union meeting that the rank and file would have more than enough time to consider the tentative agreement.

Most workers were outraged that they were expected to vote on a contract they had not had time to study and consider. Many were unaware of the ratification vote due to the short notice and lack of publicity. Many more were denied their right to vote because of the limited voting hours -- many offices have an 11-7 shift.

NO VOTE IN PHILADELPHIA?

Angry at the sell out settlement and union indifference to workers' needs, some operators demonstrated in front of the voting area. They carried picket signs urging a NO vote. These operators were joined by others who walked out of the union hall when union leaders refused to answer their questions on the contract.

The future looks bleak for the workers at Alanwood Steel. The family owned Steel company is hovering on the brink of bankruptcy. Some 1500 workers have already been laid off and by the end of August the plant is expected to close. A court hearing is scheduled for sometime in September and unless a buyer is found the company will be placed in receivership.

Earlier this summer management had asked the workers to take a paycut. This was not the first time the company had tried to get the workers to carry the financial burdens of the aging Steel mill.

Last Christmas the company tried to get workers to take a 15% cut to save the facility's hot strip mill. And the year before that the management pushed for a \$2.00 an hour cut in wages and benefits. Both times the workers refused. Workers were skeptical about the company's hard luck story. And besides, as one rank and filer put it at the time: "When the company made big profits two years ago, we didn't get any of that money. The foremen got big bonuses then, we didn't."

But this time around the union (Local 1392 USWA) agreed to a ten percent pay cut with the stipulation that the workers be paid back this money later. If the

Votes are scheduled to be counted September 15. The national deadline for the ratification vote is September 16. Many believe that in Philadelphia operators in the IBEW turned out an overwhelming NO vote.

Regardless of the final outcome of the ratification vote, workers in Philadelphia are even more committed to unity in fighting the company. They are not accepting this sell out contract as a defeat. Feeling sure they have the upper hand, the company has already stepped

up harassment in offices around the city. Those workers who have been the most vocal are being singled out by the company and harassed. Now more than ever Bell workers must stand strong and support their fellow workers because the company will back down.

The one thing that the company fears is a united, fighting groups of workers. This contract settlement will not mark the end of a fight, only the beginning.

200 Protest Abortion Cuts

As several hundred people picketed the Health, Education and Welfare department office at 36th and Market Sts., a tall, green, monster smeared with blood leered at demonstrators and passerbys and gestured threateningly with a coat hanger. This bit of theatrics symbolized what the protest was all about -- the return of the back alley abortionist, made possible by the federal government projected cut off of federal funds for abortion.

The demonstration was part of a "Day of Outrage" organized in 11 cities by the August 11th Coalition, a broad spectrum of women's rights organizations. Speakers hit on the threat the cutback poses to poor and national minority women in particular. While better off women will continue to be able to have safe abortions, poor women will now be forced to turn to the back alley abortionist because they will no longer be able to afford a safe abortion.

Alanwood Steel on the brink of closing



company goes bankrupt, which seems likely, the workers will be third level creditors. In other words, they will get paid back the money owed them only after all the other creditor's claims have been met. Given this, workers can expect to see very little of the money lost in the wage cut. While rank and filers were naturally not happy with the wage cut, most saw no alternative under the circumstances.

Many workers are unhappy over the union leadership's decision to work without a contract. The old contract expired at the beginning of August and since then only a verbal agreement with the company to honor the terms of the old contract is in effect. Many workers are complaining that they are not getting their full wage checks, and some attribute this to the union's softness on the contract issue.

Police investigations stalled

Three years ago police officer Gerard Salerno assaulted a businessman in a narrow alley in Frankford. Perhaps because of who it was he assaulted, Salerno was indicted and convicted in Common Pleas Court in June of '76. Salerno stayed on his beat anyway. Judge Joseph Braig reversed his conviction on a technicality. And on September 2 of this year the Pennsylvania Superior Court upheld Braig's decision.

Salerno meanwhile shot and killed Jose Reyes on July 2. In spite of intense protest by the Puerto Rican community, Salerno remains on the job. The D.A.'s office wants to talk to Joseph Salerno and eight other cops involved in the Reyes case. They've subpoenaed the police officers but Salerno and his fellow officers won't talk. Salerno's lawyer argues that the D.A. has no right to issue such subpoenas without official court proceedings. The Common Pleas court on August 18 sided with the D.A. Now the issue is before the Pennsylvania Supreme court. Meanwhile the citizens of Philadelphia are being protected by the likes of Joseph Salerno.

LAW AND ORDER FOR WHOM?

Frank Rizzo, the Fraternal Order of Police and all other advocates of strict "law & order" are very critical of the courts. They argue criminals have too many rights and the courts are too slow to act. They talk about "revolving door" justice. Convicted criminals are let back on the streets. Indicted criminals get out on bail and commit more crimes while waiting for months and even years for their cases to be resolved by the courts.

But when it comes to the cops, Rizzo and Company change their tune. They sound like "bleeding heart" liberals and go to every length to take advantage of the

"permissiveness" of the courts. Of course, it's very rare for a police officer to be brought before the courts. Under D.A. Arlen Specter not one single police officer was ever indicted for police brutality. And it hasn't been any different under Emmett Fitzpatrick until now. Exposure of police abuse and growing public pressure have forced the D.A.'s office to act. On September 2 two policemen were charged in the beating of William Cradle, a Black man who was insulted, dragged from his car and hit with nightsticks until he was unconscious, in full view of witnesses. Cradle's crime was running a stop sign. The U.S. attorney, David Marston, has also begun to take action. A federal grand jury in July indicted three cops in the Cradle incident.

THE INVESTIGATION

Some people expect a great deal from the current wave of investigations and the action taken by the D.A. and federal attorney. But experience in the past shows that the criminal justice system truly is permissive and soft when it comes to dealing with violent street crime on the part of police. The "revolving door" has turned once again for Joseph Salerno. What if an ordinary citizen was convicted of assault and then committed murder?



At the very least he would be indicted within a matter of hours. Yet Joseph Salerno has not even been interrogated by

the District Attorney two months after shooting Jose Reyes to death. Salerno, that staunch defender of civil liberties, is claiming his rights under the Fifth Amendment are being violated by the D.A.'s subpoena.

Demonstrate - end police abuse

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 24
Gather 12 noon at Broad and Girard -
March to City Hall. Rally on West Side

The People's Delegation Against Repression, a broad city-wide coalition of organizations, is calling for a march and rally on the 24th. The only way to fight back against police criminality is to organize ourselves. A big turnout on the 24th

will be a message to Rizzo, O'Neil and the cops on the beat that the people are not going to take it any more . . . that we are fed up with racist attacks and contempt for the rights of ordinary citizens on the part of the police. It will put the local and federal prosecutors on notice that we want the cops who are guilty off the streets.

BE THERE ON THE 24th.

While there has been much ballyhoo about the Marston investigation into police abuse and the federal grand jury, the results are slim indeed. Only three cops have been indicted. In the Goode case, a gas station owner who was beaten by police, Marston has backed away from seeking indictments after a witness changed his testimony. The witness later charged that federal investigators had

(continued on page 9)

from
the
other
side
of the
wall



CHICANO/LATINO CULTURAL GROUP DISBANDED

The following article submitted by two Chicano prisoners at the infamous Marion Federal penitentiary where prisoners and supporters on this side of the wall are intensifying the struggle to close the prisoners behavior modification unit, end the policy of indefinite solitary confinement and the sort of harassment described in the article here.

Since the construction of the Marion Federal Penitentiary which replaced the infamous Alcatraz in the early 60's, no cultural group has existed to serve the Chicanos and Latinos here. Due to the low percentage of Chicanos (10%) within the prison population of 500, the administration in the past has always been able to neglect this small group and assimilate them into other groupings, such as the Jaycees, or groups originated by them. Or if nothing else, the Chicanos were left on

their own with no recourse nor direction - so that no cultural group has ever managed to surface or develop itself.

CULTURAL GROUP FOUNDED

Recognizing the need for a Chicano cultural group, Tony Cordova and Fred Bustillo (myself) dedicated ourselves to the task of founding and organizing one -- with the clear understanding that our culture and language must be preserved and continue to develop if we are to go on existing as a people. We also recognized the absolute necessity to function in close relation to other peoples' struggles outside the prison where the same objectives were being pursued.

In January, 1975, the department of education, after repeated requests from us, partially approved a cultural group. But

due to the 6 month trial period stipulated by the prison administration, after which we would be given formal recognition, our group never became anything more than a tool held threateningly over our heads...only to be dissolved whenever the administration deemed it convenient. Such a decision would be made at the slightest indication that real unity among Chicanos was developing.

UNITY BUILT

In our short period of existence (16 months) the unity achieved far surpassed that of our own nucleus, and in fact expanded, reaching other groups such as the Black Cultural Society, the Nation of Islam and others. Through the collective efforts of the leadership in each group, Black-Brown unity was forged under a common understanding by all of us of our class and cultural oppression. This united us into one fist and would carry us forward in struggle together.

REPRESSION FOLLOWS

Upon seeing this unity, the warden quickly moved his foot soldiers into action against us, increasing the repression. Our correspondence with various Chicano organizations, newspapers and other publications, as well as with certain printing houses which had offered us educational materials free of cost, was almost entirely cut off. One of our committee's most active members was suddenly locked up in the solitary unit for allegedly possessing strike materials -- something which they were later not able to prove. Another charge which was fabricated against him was that he possessed a simple nail which the prison officials claimed was in violation of the prison regulations. He was left in segregation for more than five months because of these fabricated charges. The

monthly meetings of the Unity Bazaar held by the Black Cultural Society, were quickly suspended and the Society itself was threatened with complete liquidation if they continued with the unity meetings. There are many other events we attribute to the prison's efforts to sabotage our group which for the sake of brevity, we will not include here.

THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES

After the six month trial period ended, several members of our committee went to the supervisor and assistant supervisor of education to see whether or not our group was approved. We were told the following after several minutes of discussion:

"The administration has determined that the Chicano-Latino Cultural group is not a cultural group, but rather a revolutionary political organization."

Our next question after hearing this was what constitutes a cultural group? The question was rebuffed without the least response and the meeting was ended without their ever listening to us.

Due to these and other actions since the time our group was dissolved, we have undertaken to challenge the arbitrary and reactionary policies of the prison officials. With the assistance of the National Prison Project and other legal aid organizations, we hope to file a civil suit this year.

Those who wish to help us and those who desire more information on this matter, please write the following address:

National Committee to Support the
Marion Brothers
6199 Waterman
St. Louis, Missouri 63112
(314) 862-4878

Filipina Nurses Convicted.... Free Narcisco and Perez!

by ANN BILY

On July 13th two Filipino nurses were convicted of poisoning their patients in a case that has received nationwide attention. Over 500 protesters (many of them uniformed nurses) gathered outside the Detroit courthouse chanting: "Stop unjust discrimination" and "Stop the FBI frameup." Three days later 800 people rallied in front of the Ann Arbor VA hospital, site of the mysterious rash of breathing failures during the summer of 1975. A movement all over the U.S. and in the Philippines as well is building to demand justice for Filipina Narciso and Leonora Perez. Why are the supporters of the two nurses convinced that there has been a frame up? The facts of the case make it clear.

ELEVEN PATIENTS DIE

In June of 1975, more than 60 patients suffered respiratory arrests allegedly from poisoning with the powerful muscle relaxant drug Pavulon, killing an estimated eleven patients. Many hospital workers, including nurses Perez and Narciso, reported the incidents to the hospital administration which took no action on the matter. In July, after a visiting doctor publicized the incidents, the FBI began an investigation into the cause of the poisonings.

FBI officials directed the investigation toward incriminating the Filipino nurses rather than researching all leads related to the poisonings. Unfamiliar with this country's legal system and not aware of their being considered suspects, Narciso and Perez talked openly with the FBI and later testified willingly before a grand jury. In testimony during the trial, Julie Porter, a co-worker of the two nurses stated that in September 1975 she was questioned by the FBI for four hours. When Porter asked why only nurses were being interrogated, she said the FBI replied: "Because we have orders from Dr. Lindauer (chief of the hospital's staff) that he doesn't want to have his doctors harassed." The FBI and hospital administration continued to target the two Filipino nurses with long interrogations, trying to pressure them into admitting some kind of guilt. Simultaneously fellow nurses and patients protested, offering statements to vindicate Narciso and Perez.

THE FBI'S EVIDENCE

During the course of the investigation the FBI turned up a piece of paper with "PIA" written on it, which they say was written by John McCrery just after he suffered a respiratory attack. This note supposedly implicates Filipina Narciso (whose nickname is "P.I."). In later questioning, however, McCrery could not positively identify anyone. Richard Neely, 62, another respiratory attack victim, submitted the only evidence pointing toward Leonora Perez. Neely claimed that Perez had been in his room just before the attack. But he gave this person various descriptions at different times, e.g. a bearded man, according to a defense witness who is a former patient at the VA hospital. Under hypnosis, Neely later stated that he could "positively identify" Perez as the nurse in his room shortly before his breathing failure. But during the pretrial hearings a hypnosis expert stated that Neely's testimony was "confabulation," constructed from suggestions made by FBI agents. The defense witness also testified that Neely was convinced the 1800 Filipino nurses are involved in an elaborate conspiracy to murder U.S. veterans.

In June of 1976 Narciso and Perez were arrested and charged with 5 counts of 1st degree murder, 10 counts of poisoning patients and one count of conspiracy to commit murder. They were jailed. Narciso was held for 2 weeks without bail; an outrageous \$500,000 bail was set for Perez. Bail was finally reduced to \$75,000 each and the nurses were released on bond. They were suspended without pay from their jobs.

In January - February of 1977, during the pretrial hearings, Judge Philip Pratt ruled that the prosecution had failed to comply with his order to submit all vital evidence to the defense. Not only were extensive materials indicating the nurses' innocence withheld, but it was also revealed that the FBI had edited certain documents, deleting parts favorable to the defense. In order to keep the damaging information of the hypnosis expert out of the trial, the prosecution dropped the testimony of Neely against Perez. The court also ruled that McCrery's "PIA note" could not be used since it was heresy. Thus, the only 2 pieces of evidence, supposedly the direct links between the Filipino nurses and the poisonings, were declared faulty and legally inadmissible.

THE TRIAL

In March, the trial began. Sixteen jurors -- 10 women and 6 men, along with 4 alternates -- were selected. In the Philippines the case gained extensive publicity and the support of the people; the Philippine Government sent representatives to observe the trial. In the U.S., as a result of wide support for the nurses, Narciso - Perez Defense Committees in New York City, Seattle, Ann Arbor, Chicago, and San Francisco raised \$90,000 for legal costs.

In his opening remarks, U.S. Attorney Richard Yanko admitted that he had no direct eyewitness testimony, no direct evidence and no confessions; he presented no motive. The prosecution's case rested solely on the argument that the poisonings resulted from a direct injection of Pavulon into each victim's intravenous tubing -- causing immediate respiratory arrest, and that the Filipino nurses were on duty when the breathing failures occurred. However, Dr. Marcelle Willock, the prosecution's Pavulon expert, admitted under cross examination that the drug could have been injected into the intravenous bag, not the tubing, raising the possibility that the murderer was not in the vicinity of the patients during their breathing attacks -- thus expanding the range of suspects almost limitlessly.



Supporters demonstrate for justice for two Filipina nurses convicted in the death of patients. The racist convictions have implications for all health care workers.

In response to the prosecution's case, the defense argued the following: 1) There were at least 3 other possible suspects that the FBI failed to fully investigate: Betty Jakim, a former nurse supervisor and terminal cancer patient who confessed to her psychiatrist and stated in a note before her Feb. 3, 1977 suicide that she was responsible for the deaths and that Narciso and Perez were innocent. (This testimony was considered inadmissible due to the mental instability of the supervisor -- apparently the court is more inclined to believe that sane people conspire to poison patients!) Other suspects were a man in a surgeon's scrub suit reportedly seen near two patients just before their deaths and a mental patient allegedly seen near one of the victims at the time of death. 2) There were several shocking examples of substandard security and safety procedures in the hospital, making the patients and the drug Pavulon easily accessible to anyone. 3) The incomplete, selective way the FBI conducted the investigation indicated that the Filipino nurses had been singled out. For example, the FBI failed to conduct a comprehensive investigation including researching the possibility of drug contamination, and the causes of the respiratory failures in patients whose urine samples did not contain Pavulon. (Pavulon was detected in the urine of only 2 victims.)

After 41 days of testimony from 78 witnesses there was still no direct evidence, no eyewitnesses, and no motive.

In June, Judge Pratt dismissed half the charges due to insufficient evidence. Perez remained accused of 3 poisonings and Narciso was charged with one murder and 5 poisonings; both were accused of 1 count of conspiracy to poison.

THE REACTION

Nationwide the Filipino community expressed outrage. Hundreds of shocked backers, including many hospital work-

ers rallied in Detroit and Ann Arbor. Narciso responded: "I'm very disappointed with American justice. I feel like the victim of this system... I can't believe this happened to us. I'm not convinced we were convicted because of the evidence. It had to be something else." Perez, the 33 year old mother of 2 asserted: "I thought I was discriminated against. I think it was racial prejudice."

Many figures close to the case have publicly declared and organized support for Narciso and Perez. Alternate juror Kathleen Robinson stated: "Reasonable persons naturally assume that the jury must have known something that everyone else did not. As one who was a "juror" up to the point of deliberation, I say this was not the case. THERE SIMPLY WAS NO PROOF IN THE COURTROOM. Twelve people can be wrong, as this sorry situation proves." Mr. William Loesch, one of the VA Hospital patients whose breathing failure has been attributed to the nurses, said: "They saved my life and now I'm going to do whatever I can to save them from going to jail even if it means going from door to door to beg for nickels... God help the justice system in this country if this could happen to Leonie and P.I. I wonder what's happening to other trials going on at this time." Ms. July Polacheck, staff nurse at the VA hospital resigned in protest of the trial's outcome: "... I will not work for a hospital which I believe has contributed to the predicament in which Leonie and P.I. find themselves today... If that's (an example) of what a jury can convict on, nurses are not safe to practice nursing."

ONE MORE RACIST ATTACK

The conviction has resulted in a number of racist reactions. A Filipino nurse from the Phila. area VA Hospital reported to the hospital administration that she had received a phone call threatening that Filipino nurses would be killed. One woman in a Detroit hospital refused medication from a Filipino nurse saying, "I want to wake up in the morning." These racist responses provide some key parts to the puzzling question -- "Why were these nurses singled out during the FBI's investigation and how could they be convicted on such shaky evidence?" It is not yet clear exactly for whom Narciso and Perez are the scapegoats -- a negligent hospital administration? cover-up for the errors of a giant drug company? an FBI pressured to solve at least one of the recent national health mysteries?

FREE NARCISO AND PEREZ!

DEMAND A NEW TRIAL!

1. Circulate and sign the petition calling for a new trial for Narciso and Perez.
2. Distribute the brochure to your friends and organize meetings to inform people about the case.
3. Send money to help the legal defense and publicity efforts around the case. (Narciso/Perez Trust Fund, c/o Atty. Thomas O'Brien, 210 E. Huron St., Ann Arbor, Mich. 48105)
4. JOIN THE NATIONWIDE DEMONSTRATIONS ON THE DATE OF SENTENCING! (to be announced)

For more information and materials: Philadelphia Support Group
418 S. 43rd St.
Phila., Pa. 19104
387-1487

(continued on page 13)

In Puerto Rico

Crown Cork workers fight to save their union

The following account of the Crown Cork strike in Puerto Rico was contributed by one of our readers on the island. The strike is a key struggle in the efforts of Puerto Rican workers to break the hold of the AFL-CIO internationals over the Puerto Rican labor movement.

The AFL-CIO unions are generally prone not only to collaborate with the employers at the expense of the workers as they do here in the U. S., but to work hand in glove with the U. S. government to maintain the colonial regime in Puerto Rico. The independent union movement marks both a manifestation of growing militancy on the part of Puerto Rican workers and a deepening political consciousness of the whole question of independence.

Struggles like the strike at Crown Cork have a critical importance for workers here in the U. S. We have every interest in supporting the attempts of Puerto Rican workers to organize for better wages and working conditions, to undercut the power of the U. S.-based monopoly corporations. It is these same corporations, like Philadelphia based Crown Cork, who have sought to turn Puerto Rico into a cheap labor business paradise, who also export our jobs or use the threat of the runaway shop to impose low wages and lousy conditions on us. International labor solidarity is the only way to defeat their attacks on workers both here and in Puerto Rico.

As they stand on the picket line day after day under the hot sun of Carolina, Puerto Rico, the 140 workers of Philadelphia-based Crown Cork and Seal Co., now in their ninth month on strike, are learning who are their friends and their enemies. As one striker said, "We're fighting the millionaires and their corrupt international unions."

In many ways the strikers are the success stories of the island's poor. They were relatively well paid by Puerto Rican standards, earning \$3.50 to \$4.00 an hour on an island where the average manufacturing wage is \$2.80. In an area where official unemployment runs over 20%, prices are skyrocketing and 70% of the population qualifies for food stamps, these seasoned workers, mainly middle-aged, are the last one would expect to find involved in a picket line — let alone a May Day march and police skirmishes.

Yet these are the workers who have taken on a David-Goliath struggle against one of the island's major U. S. corporations, which has the backing of the AFL-CIO, FBI, and local police. Crown Cork makes most of the cans and bottle caps used by soft drink and beer producers on the island.

INDEPENDENT UNION MOVEMENT

The workers are not striking for higher wages, but rather for the right to organize and keep their own union. They are part of a growing movement among Puerto Rican workers to organize independent, Puerto Rico based unions free from the domination of pro-management and often corrupt AFL-CIO locals.

The events which led to the Crown Cork strike began in May, 1976, when a group of workers decided to form an independent, democratically run union. At the time they were members of the AFL-CIO Seafarers International Union, which had successfully broken a number of strikes in the 1960's, and helped break the independent cement workers' union at Ponce Cement in 1975. An overwhelming majority of the workers voted in May to establish an Independent Union of Crown Cork Workers (Union Independiente de Trabajadores de Crown Cork — UITCC). They filed a petition with the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) in Puerto Rico demanding that an election be held to determine which union would represent the workers.

Luis Nigaglioni, president of the UITCC, explained why the independent union was formed: "The SIU was not interested in the problems which we were encountering in the plant. For example, the doctors in the area refused to honor the SIU medical services for our families. But the SIU did not even know what our problems were because they never came to the plant to talk with the workers. When we want to talk to them, they would listen, but then nothing got done."

"We finally realized," said Nigaglioni, "that only a union really run by the workers ourselves would be interested in providing the best services possible. Once we had discussed the alternatives, everyone agreed that we had no other choice but to start our own union."

Thousands of Puerto Rican workers share this conclusion and by organizing independent unions they have eroded the influence of the AFL-CIO "internationals" on the island. But the fight has not been easy. The Ponce cement workers were defeated by the combined efforts of the millionaire Ferre family, the SIU, the strikebreaking agency Security Associates, the NLRB, and the police. The Crown Cork strikers are now up against the same forces.

ROLE OF SIU

In June, the SIU challenged the UITCC's petition to seek an election and later charged that the UITCC had accepted money from the company. The SIU tried to delay the election as long as possible

since their contract would expire in August and they hoped to win over the workers by increasing the medical benefits in a new contract.

In August, sure enough, the SIU signed a "sweetheart" contract extension, with a 50% increase in the company's contribution to the medical plan, all behind the workers' backs. The extent of collusion between the company and the SIU was made clear during last month's NLRB trial when it was revealed that the plant manager sits on the board of directors of SIU's medical fund.

A union which does not represent the majority of the workers is prohibited by labor law from signing any contract on behalf of the workers. The NLRB does not let a union sign a contract or let the employer give benefits to one union after a rival union has filed for an election.

Meanwhile, the provocations continued with the transfer by the company of some of the UITCC's leaders to the night shift or to lower paid positions. The plant was tense, and management complained of increasing incidents of sabotage. Finally, on Sept. 23 the UITCC's vice-president was fired for "insubordination".

Although the union's lawyers advised against striking at that time, without the date for the NLRB election set and with the independent union under attack, the workers had no alternative but to go out on strike. As if it had been waiting for the company's signal, the NLRB set the date for the election a few days after the strike began.

On September 24, 30 Security Associate thugs appeared at the plant, and strikebreakers were brought in police vans. Strikers reported that the scab contingent included two sons of the police lieutenant in charge of plant security. The company agreed to hire only scabs referred by the SIU, and it proceeded to hire double the regular number of workers to ensure an SIU victory in the election. The company also used the services of the Criminal Investigations Corp. — a special police task force — as supervisors after the strike began.

A week before the election, the executive secretary of the SIU sent a letter to all scabs reminding them that they owed their jobs to his union and that "your job security depends on the results of the coming election". Despite the company's extreme security measures and restrictions on entering the plant, the SIU leadership had free access throughout.

NLRB AIDS COMPANY

In the election held on October 19, 1976, 118 regular workers voted for the UITCC and only 15 for the SIU. The election remains in doubt, however, since more than 200 additional ballots remain unopened; these votes were cast by scabs in an effort by the company to out-vote the UITCC. Under the rules of the NLRB, strikebreakers are not eligible to vote if the employer has committed "unfair labor practices", the NLRB term for violation of U. S. labor laws.

In February the NLRB issued an order saying that the company was guilty of such practices by harassing members of the UITCC and by signing an illegal contract with the SIU. The company was given until the end of the month to reach an informal settlement with the UITCC.

The deadline passed with no effort by the company to settle, but the NLRB refused



to take the next, usual, steps of issuing a formal complaint and holding a trial. Causing extended delays in the resolution of a case is one way in which the NLRB has always helped companies to break unions. Also, powerful corporations are often able to "influence" NLRB decisions, and the workers of the UITCC began to fear that the Board had thrown its weight behind Crown Cork and the SIU.

Finally the complaint was issued and a trial was held in May. For two weeks the strikers packed the NLRB hearing room to hear the case against the company and the SIU and to support the UITCC members who testified. Tension filled the room as the striking workers listened to their former supervisors recreate the fabrications used to justify company attacks on the union. The FBI harassed UITCC members during the trial, attempting to create disunity under the pretext that company witnesses had received anonymous telephone threats. Hector Laffitte, the lawyer who designed the attack on the strikers at the Puerto Rico Cement Company in 1975 served as Crown Cork's attorney.

The NLRB decision is not expected until
(continued on page 14)

September 1977 p. 7



photo credit: NACLA

Rizzo's Housing Plan : Destroy No

by JOE LEWANDOWSKI

In the midst of the brutal Vietnam war, a small rural village was totally levelled in a matter of minutes by U.S. bombers. When questioned by reporters as to why it was necessary to bomb this tiny village off the face of the earth, a U.S. Army officer responded that, "We had to destroy the village in order to save it."

As strange, and contradictory and even demented as this statement may sound, it neatly sums up the housing policies of Philadelphia's own Frank Rizzo.

RECYCLING AND REDLINEING

Frank is trying to "save" North Philadelphia and large portions of West Philadelphia by turning them into vast, glass-littered no-man's lands. This "scorched-earth" policy was clearly laid out in a 1973 newspaper interview with Bernard C. Meltzer, Rizzo's chief real estate advisor. Meltzer said that large areas of the city should be "written-off" and "recycled" because it was not worthwhile to spend any more money in these neighborhoods.

In plain English, Meltzer's proposal, which is now being put into effect, consists of leveling vast tracts of land in North and West Philadelphia by demolishing existing abandoned buildings, by encouraging further abandonment of property, and by cutting off all community funds to the area. These areas would eventually be developed for middle and upper-middle class housing similar to the way Society Hill was developed. This is what is meant by "writing-off" and "recycling."

The areas Meltzer referred to are almost exclusively Black and Latino communities. The planned demolition of these communities is the final act in a series of racist housing practices which evolved over the past thirty years.

North Philadelphia, along with other Black and Latino neighborhoods, has been condemned to destruction for a long time. As its Black population grew, banks and lending institutions drew a "red-line" around the area, making it difficult for families to secure mortgages. Insurance companies refused fire insurance and charged premium rates on regular home insurance.

Slumlords and speculators moved in and bought the properties that many low-in-



organizer photo

come families could not afford, charging high rental rates while doing little or nothing to maintain the buildings. When these buildings were no longer fit for habitation they merely became tax write-offs and were abandoned by their owners.

City administration after city administration cooperated with this planned decay by withholding city services -- street cleaning, rat control, L & I inspections -- which were common in other sections of the city.

For decades North and West Philadelphia have been bled by the banks, real estate speculators and the politicians, but it is only in recent years that city planners have talked openly about their wholesale destruction and "recycling". Why now?

CITY'S STRATEGY

Here are a few of the reasons:

a) In the past ten or fifteen years, hundreds of small sweatshops have either folded or left the city. The Black and Latin communities were a main source of cheap labor for these shops,

many of which were located throughout North Philadelphia. With the decline of small industry, the city rulers no longer need so many national minority workers.

b) With the loss of this industry, the city faces a shrinking tax base. It can't tax shops which aren't there and it can't tax workers who are unemployed.

c) The strategy of the city's rulers now is to attract corporate headquarters and service industries to the city -- more financial institutions, commercial enterprises, business industries. In other words, white-collar and executive jobs.

The idea many city planners have is to turn the area around Temple University in North Philadelphia into another University City. Demolition of large parts of North Philly would allow additional room for Temple expansion and would provide sites for academic and service-oriented industries with good access to center city. There would also be room for new housing catering to predominately white suburbanites who presumably would want to live close to their work.

This is not a startling new idea. Eight or nine years ago, John Gallery, the new city planning chief, was the architect of a planned Bicentennial world's fair type exposition right in the middle of North Philadelphia. If this plan had been carried out, North Philadelphia would be well on its way to being "recycled" to the upper-middle class haven that is still the object of Gallery's dreams.

The Bicentennial expo site was rejected by the federal government largely due to opposition from the North Philadelphia community which had exposed key figures on the Bicentennial planning commission as major landholders in North Philly who stood to make windfall profits from the Disneyland-like exposition which was planned.

d) Another significant reason to try to disperse the North Philadelphia community is its growing political potential. For years politicians of the Democratic Party regarded the Black community as controllable hip-pocket votes. But the past few years, especially the Rizzo administration years, have witnessed an increase in independent political activity by Black and Puerto Rican voters and community

activists. The prospect of a well-organized, unified and independent force in the Black and Latino communities scares the bejeezes out of both the Democratic and Republican Party regulars.

TOO FAR GONE?

The claim by Rizzo & Co. that North Philadelphia is "too far gone" and "impossible to rehabilitate" is ridiculous.

There certainly is no shortage of available labor -- the rate of unemployment in North Philly hovers at around 50% or better. Tens of thousands of unemployed Black workers would leap at the chance to be trained in construction skills, to provide decent housing in their community and to take home a decent paycheck too.

Is the problem lack of money? How can a nation which spends over 30 billion dollars for advertising annually and another 90 billion dollars yearly for the Pentagon's deadly toys claim that it cannot house its citizens in homes with hot and cold running water, heat in the winter, and fresh paint on the walls?

What *is* bankrupt is the whole system of capitalism itself -- an economic system which turns a basic human need like housing into a money game for high stakes manipulated by the vultures in banks, insurance companies, mortgage companies, real estate speculators, slumlords and politicians. It is a system capable of sucking millions of dollars of profit out of the bare existence of a poor community for decades and then capable of rewarding its victims with destruction when there is no more blood to suck.

WHAT HAPPENS TO THE PEOPLE?

What will happen to the residents of North Philadelphia if it is leveled and "recycled"?

Four years ago, Meltzer, fidgeting slightly in his chair, said that he thought they should be "relocated". The word "relocated" sounds a lot like the familiar Vietnam war double talk. Remember? Vietnamese peasants, no longer trusted by their own government, were removed



organizer photo

North Philadelphia has been the victim of racist housing practices for decades -- "red-lining" and slumlord speculation leads to the abandonment of thousands of buildings.

North Philadelphia To Save It

by gun point from their villages and "relocated" in camps. Or perhaps it brings to mind the plight of Black families in Rhodesia and South Africa who have been "relocated" to compounds far removed from their husbands, fathers and brothers who toil daily in the city's factories and in the mines.

But in the case of Philadelphia there is not even a camp, a compound, or a project to which "relocation" is planned. Rizzo opposes low-cost housing in predominantly white neighborhoods and the white populated suburban communities are opposed to it too. Without new low-cost housing being built in sufficient quantities, thousands of North Philadelphians have nowhere to go. The truth is that Rizzo and his city planners haven't got the slightest idea of where and how to "relocate" the families that are being displaced by the demolition of housing and they could care less.

FIGHTBACK GROWING

With their backs up against the wall, the residents of the neighborhoods under attack are beginning to organize a resistance to the powerful forces they face.

The Spring Garden-Fairmount section of the city has been an area "in transition" for some years now. A working class area with a large Puerto Rican and Black population, Spring Garden is one of the first target neighborhoods the city planners have chosen for "recycling". A number of speculators and developers have bought and renovated blocks of houses to be sold to middle and upper middle class buyers - usually young, white and professional people who want housing close to their center city jobs.

With this influx of affluent homeowners, the poorer residents of the community find that they are being forced out of the homes and apartments they've had for years because of increased taxes, higher rents, and unscrupulous real estate speculation.

The present residents have no intention of moving and have organized a group called El Comit  del P.U.E.B.L.O. (The Committee of the People) to deal with government officials, agencies, landlords, and real estate developers. (see accompanying article)

A multi-national organization which has broad support in the community, El Comit  is capable of mobilizing several

hundred people to a meeting. It is now drawing up its own plan for the development of the community which would remove housing from the hands of the speculators and absentee landlords and turn it over to the community to be supervised and developed.

SQUATTERS MOVEMENT

Another important development is the formation of a coalition of city-wide and neighborhood groups which has been formed around the squatter movement organized by Milton Street.

The North Philadelphia Development Corporation, which Street heads, has

moved nearly 100 homesteaders into abandoned housing to prevent the buildings from being further vandalized and to allow poor people to have a chance at home ownership.

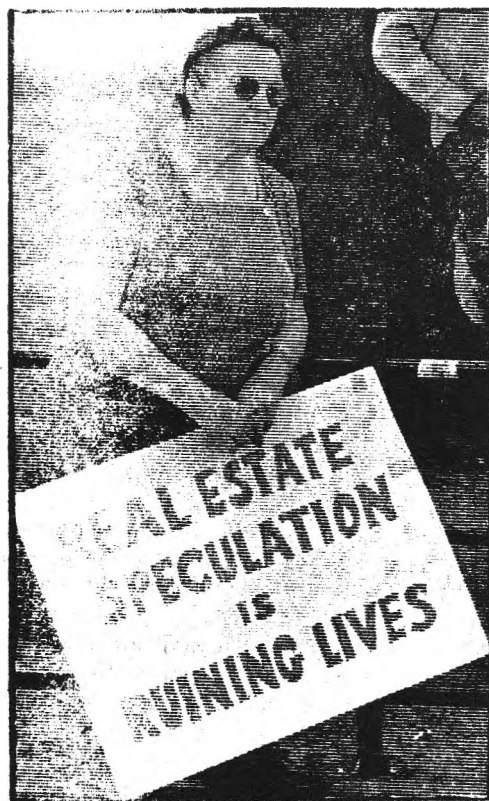
Street has been negotiating with the U.S. Dept. of Housing and Urban Development (HUD), the owner of many of the properties, for the legal transfer of ownership to the new tenants.

Street and other community activists are also turning their attention on the city housing policy and how that policy is being implemented through the dispersment of federal community develop-

ment funds.

What is needed now is a city-wide movement that can respond to the inhumane Rizzo housing policy with unified, militant action. The development of El Comit  in Spring Garden and the visible strength of Street's squatters movement, together with long-standing organizations such as the Tenant Action Group (TAG) and the Housing Association of Delaware Valley, may signal a new stage in the creation of a movement that could bring better housing to Black, Latino and white working class Philadelphians despite the best laid plans of Bernard Meltzer, John Gallery and Frank Rizzo.

Fire Still Burning in Spring Garden



Residents in the Spring Garden - Fairmount area are being forced out of their apartments and houses by speculators and developers who are trying to convert the area to an upper income neighborhood.

On August 22 a mysterious fire was set in the offices of El Comit  del Pueblo in the Spring Garden Street area. Who would want to burn out this organization? Most residents of the largely Puerto Rican and Black area were quick to point the finger at the real estate speculators and developers who are busy "recycling" the Spring Garden/Fairmount area, moving poor Latinos and Blacks out and middle class whites in. As one person put it: "El Comit  has been building a fire under the developers who are putting us out." Now many think the developers have turned to fighting fire with fire -- the fire of the organized people with the fire of the arsonist's torch.

RECYCLING

The overwhelming majority of people in the neighborhood are tenants. 13% of area residents own their own homes as compared to 59% for the city as a whole. The three-story deteriorating town houses house apartments for three or four families. Over the last several years developers have bought these houses and converted them into luxurious single-family homes which have then been resold, largely to white upper-income families. Landlords, knowing their property values are rising, have allowed their properties to deteriorate, confident that they will be able to

sell to the speculators and developers at handsome profits. Banks encourage this process by loaning money to the "new pioneers" to rehabilitate these homes, while denying loans to enable the tenants to buy their own homes. Thus area residents are being squeezed from all sides. They are being pushed out of their apartments while at the same time their apartments are allowed to fall apart.

STRUGGLE CONTINUES

El Comit  del Pueblo is the people's response to these conditions. Last May the group was formed by neighborhood residents. Since then it has led the fight against the unfair evictions, illegal rent increases and the recycling plans of the developers. In one instance agitation by El Comit  resulted in Municipal Court fining a landlord \$4,800, the biggest fine ever charged a landlord.

Somebody besides the area tenants think El Comit  is effective. But if they think the fire will stop the people they have another thought coming. "The fire in this building is not as strong as the fire in my heart", one tenant said. A spirited rally was held right after the blaze and plans are in motion to reopen the office. As one El Comit  del Pueblo leaflet said: "Here we are and here we will stay."



Police Investigations

(continued from page 5)

frightened him with warning about perjury and returned to his original story. A lie detector test by the *Philadelphia Inquirer* upheld his original story. Goode was the subject of a hatchet job by the *Philadelphia Bulletin's* Adrian Lee, who with the aid of police files brought to light earlier charges against Goode for disorderly conduct and assaulting a po-

lice officer. Marston apparently has decided his prospects for conviction in the Goode case are poor. Marston is probably right in that federal juries tend to be predominantly white and suburban and are not exactly easy to convince that police are capable of wrongdoing. But this is no excuse. When the police violate our rights they should be prosecuted.

In a meeting with local clergymen in Washington, Drew Days, head of the Justice Department's Civil Rights Division, said the Department was committed to a "meaningful and sustained attack" on police brutality.

But when it came to the specifics of the Philadelphia problem, Days refused to commit himself beyond saying the investigation will continue. Marston, who also attended the meeting said he was satisfied with the performance of the Civil Rights Division although he could understand the clergymen's complaint that things "weren't going quickly enough."

TOKEN ACTION OR REAL JUSTICE?

The likely outcome of the local and federal investigations is that there will be a few token indictments. Cases where there are "difficulties" like Al Goode's (and most cases fall into this category since it is always hard to get convictions given the pro-police attitude of the courts) will be dropped. And an indictment is not a conviction as the Salerno case shows. In the end we will be surprised if any police officers end up in jail.

There is only one way to get any results

from the investigations and the courts. Only if the masses of people organize and make clear to the prosecutors and courts that we will not settle for token "justice" will we get anything more than that. Police crime is nothing new in Philadelphia. There is no evidence to suggest that it is any more or less a problem than in the past. What is new is that police abuse is being exposed now. And people are taking action to demand an end to it. But more intensive, sustained mass mobilization is needed to get the prosecutors off their butts. But this fightback movement cannot limit itself to pressuring the politicians and courts. We have to fight for accountability of the police who presently govern themselves and are largely beyond civilian authority. A Police Control Board, popularly elected and with the power to prosecute would be such a step. And the movement must develop the understanding that police violence and criminality is a necessary feature of the rule of the capitalist class. The issue of police brutality is part of the larger question of the oppression of the oppressed nationalities and the working class by the monopolies. No mere reform will "solve" this problem. Only in a socialist U.S. can we expect that the police will genuinely be our defenders and not tools of our exploiters.

FOUR YEARS AFTER CHILE

Democrats...

Human Rights and Corporate Profits

by JENNY QUINN

Everybody knows that Jimmy Carter ran for President as Mr. "Human Rights", the guy who would work for freedom and democracy all over the world. Of course, most of this was just so much hot air to float Carter's election balloon. But in one way Smilin Jim meant what he said. Since he has moved in on Pennsylvania Ave. he has been busy with his international human rights campaign.

He spanked Leonid Brezhnev in public for violating the Helsinki accords. He unleashed Andrew Young to halfheartedly condemn apartheid in South Africa. Rosalyn Carter was allowed to talk to some tortured priests while on a state visit to Brazil. While all this has a clear propaganda value and is after all pretty tame stuff, underlying these actions is a new direction in US policy. Chile is a case in point.

A FACELIFT FOR CHILE REGIME?

No less than seven times in his debates with Jerry Ford, did Carter deplore US involvement in the overthrow of the Chilean government of Salvador Allende and the brutal suppression of human rights by the military regime of Augusto Pinochet. Now that Carter is actually in the drivers seat he appears to be steering US policy in the direction of a human rights facelifting for Chile. The Pinochet regime has added a pinch of civil liberties and a dash of democracy to sweeten the foul brew of military dictatorship. And the Carter administration is feeling out "democratic" alternatives like "moderate" Eduardo Frei for the return of civilian rule.

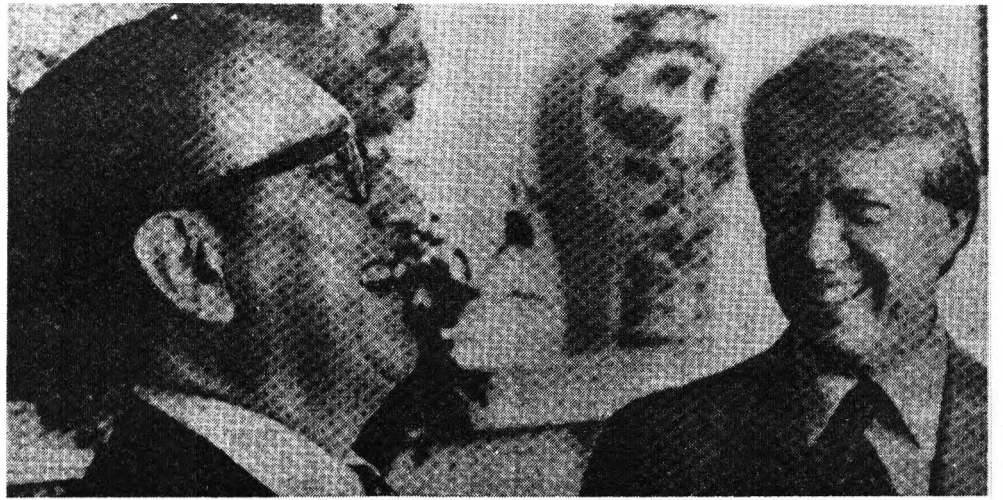
Does this signal a fundamental change in US policy? NO it does not. It is part of the overall tactical adjustment of the US ruling class to the changed situation in the world. For the same reason Nixon saw fit to seek to subvert the Chilean election of a Socialist president, overthrow that President once elected and

then adopt a policy of "non-interference" while a military dictatorship smashed the trade unions, killed 30,000 people, and turned the country into a concentration camp, Carter now sees fit to get Chile to clean up its image.

Both Nixon and Carter, as loyal servants of the monopoly corporations, are motivated by the need for "a healthy investment climate in Latin America." They need cheap labor and a government which opens its doors to foreign domination without legal constraints or taxation. And the boys in the Pentagon need to have some help in keeping their strategic military control over the waterways of the South Atlantic. But they also need to have allies which are somewhat less embarrassing than self-proclaimed "Supreme Chief of the Nation" Augusto Pinochet. Carter is taking the same defense strategy for business interests in Chile that he is taking in Southern Africa. Just as he is looking for a Black Vorster, he is also looking for a civilian Pinochet.

Neanderthal-like fascist ideology of the regime with its nationalism, militarism and racism (the government controlled press recently protested Washington sending a Black Ambassador to Chile) coupled with a repression that routinely terrorizes all opposition has created an international revulsion toward the Pinochet government. The U.N. has condemned the junta in a series of resolutions. Chilean goods have been boycotted. Investors in Chile have also been the target of boycott action. Thus ironically the Pinochet regime has by its "excess", to a certain extent, had a negative impact on potential investors. The corporations also fear Pinochet's policies will in the long run create political instability and the rise to power of a revolutionary left. The growing strength of the Chilean resistance does nothing to discourage these fears.

The promises of record-high foreign investment has not materialized. The companies are taking a wait-and-see attitude on the juntas ability to clean up its



Carter seeking Kissinger's approval for Panama Canal Treaty last month. "And while we're on the subject of Latin America, Hank, do you think I'm handling Chile alright?"

image and promise greater stability. This has not been the case for some of the major US companies, however.

GM LIKES CHILE FINE

General Motors, for example, won a bid in 1975 to reopen the plant it had closed shortly after Allende took office in 1971. GM placed the bid right at the same time in 1974 when it layed off thousands in the US. It had refused to pay the increasing union wages and refused to supply demanded benefits to organized workers under Allende. Today it happily pays just above minimum wage to an industrial workforce which has no negotiated contract and no right to strike. The minimum wage does not even buy a basic food basket, let alone cover utilities, shoes or other necessities.

What is to stop GM from continuing to put its most modern machinery into its Chilean plants where they are unfettered by union muscle against speed-up or nasty details like health and safety? Why should they operate plants in this country at full capacity when they can triple their profits by expanding Chilean operations?

The disadvantages of government taxation on goods produced by foreign companies in Chile have been almost entirely eliminated by the Pinochet government. Old protections for local manufacturers against competition, however ineffective they were, have also been eliminated. The newly appointed Minister of the economy recently said that "the fact that 90% of the people are against our policies is proof that the model is working, that it is affecting everybody, that it has privileged nobody." The old slogan used during the

Popular Unity years "the only privileged are the children" now could be turned into "the only privileged are the multi-nationals."

PINOCHET OUT, FREI IN?

What does this mean for Carter policy towards Chile? In order for a stable investment climate to be established, the human rights situation has to change. In order for the human rights situation to change, Pinochet has to be ousted. Carter is doing his best to negotiate a transition to a more "democratic" government.

Eduardo Frei, President before Allende and yes-man for US interests was recently in Washington talking to Vice-President Mondale. He is the same Eduardo Frei that didn't hesitate to call out the national guard against militant worker demonstrations during his administration. He is the same Frei whose party accepted CIA funds for its election campaigns. He would certainly be better than Pinochet, but he would probably take over the existing government without fundamental changes in its repressive policies against the working people and poor.

Regardless of the faces in high-ranking positions, the dilemma remains the same for Chile's working and unemployed. No answers to their problems have ever come from Washington, only subversion and funds for open attack on their standard of living and political power. As one Chilean pressman in an industrial supplies plant said, during the Frei government "The only power capable of giving justice to the people is not government A or government B. It is the organized people themselves."

Bureaucrats...

AFL-CIO Resolution: Smokescreen for Union Busting

by JENNY QUINN

In 1976, the AFL-CIO passed a resolution condemning the military dictatorship in Chile. The resolution tells the truth about the junta... the torture, the terror and the complete destruction of the trade unions. But at the same time, it lies about the Popular Unity government of Salvador Allende which the military overthrew with the backing of the US. According to the AFL-CIO leadership:

-- A majority of the people of Chile accepted the coup as a necessary act.

-- Trade union rights were taken away by Allende.

-- Free trade unionists did not mourn the departure of a Marxist regime in Chile.

The AFL-CIO would be hard put to provide any evidence to support their claim that a majority of the Chilean people saw the coup as necessary. It is true that the Popular Unity parties never received an absolute majority of the votes cast. But it is also true that the Popular Unity gained in every election between 1970 when Allende was elected and the coup in 1973. The Popular Unity broadened its base of support. When in 1973 Allende was reelected, it was the first time in Chilean history that a president had actually widened his margin of support over his opponents. Nor were the votes cast against the Popular Unity by any means votes for fascism and military dictatorship. The extreme rightwing parties could only claim a small percentage of the electorate. Some people undoubtedly welcomed the coup -- the big landowners, businessmen, US corporations, and some elements of the middle classes.

But did the workers welcome a coup that

crushed their unions, and left them defenseless before speedup, inflation and unemployment, that destroyed the political parties that they voted for and left them with no political rights? Why would the workers want to see the government they had elected overthrown? A government that cut unemployment from 7.2% to 3.9% (Today it is 20% in the major cities). A government that when it nationalized companies brought the elected representatives of the workers in each shop, section, or office into administration of industry on an equal footing with government representatives. A government that raised wages and cut the disparity between the highest and lowest paid workers. A government that insured that every child and nursing mother received free milk. In short, a government that worked to improve the conditions of the working people.

And what trade union rights were taken away by Allende? The Central Workers



COUP: What are they up to?

Confederation (CUT) was organized by the same workers political parties that organized the Popular Unity, along with Christian Democrats, who formed the major electoral opposition. The basic aim of trade unions, to improve the conditions of the workers, were aggressively pursued by the CUT with the result that membership increased from 800,000 to 2,000,000 (1/5 of the population of Chile) during the Allende years. If this represented persecution of the trade unions and violations of their rights, it is odd that the bulk of trade unionists (rank and file and leaders alike) supported it.

In fact, within the CUT, both Christian Democrats on the right and MIR (Movement of the Revolutionary Left) were free to argue for alternative strategies by the trade unions. The MIR argued that the illegal activities of the bosses made it clear that the time had come for workers to step outside of capitalist legality in order to defend their interests. MIR's membership in CUT grew from 2.5% in 1970 to 7% in 1973.

And just what is a free trade unionist anyway? George Meany put it this way: "Labor believes in the capitalist system. We are dedicated to the preservation of this system, which rewards the workers, but... the investors in risk capital must also be rewarded." Perhaps the AFL-CIO is right in saying that no "free" trade unionist mourned the passing of the Popular Unity. The Popular Unity and the Chilean trade unions did not make a principle of "rewarding the investors in risk capital." These investors had gotten quite enough "rewards" from their exploitation of Chile's land and people. The Chileans have a saying. "They take the copper and leave us the holes." The Popular Unity violated George Meany's concept of free trade unionism by wanting more than the holes.

BUILD LABOR SOLIDARITY WITH THE WORKERS OF CHILE

In 1934, during the San Francisco General Strike, scabs loaded a ship full of porcelain toilet seats bound for Valparaiso, Chile. When the ship arrived in Valparaiso, Chilean dock workers smashed hundreds of toilet seats, walked off the job and called a sympathy strike in support of the longshoremen of San Francisco.

Today, Chilean workers, who have seen their wages, working conditions and unions cut to pieces by the Pinochet government, stand in need of the same kind of militant solidarity. In Europe, workers have rallied to support the international boycott of Chilean products called by the now underground Central Workers Federation, (CUT), the Chilean trade union organization. But in the US, the trade union leadership has done little beyond pass a few weak-kneed resolutions. The rank and file has to take the lead.

We should pressure our unions to actively support the boycott. We should join campaigns for freedom for political prisoners. Many of these prisoners are ordinary workers who have been arrested for making "trouble" on the shop floor or holding secret meetings to try to rebuild their unions. US workers might want to focus on freeing a prisoner who worked in their particular industry. Write *the Organizer* if you are interested!

We also urge our readers to support and participate in the activities of NICH (Non Intervention in Chile), a national organization with chapters in 10 cities which is playing a leading role in building solidarity with Chile and support for the Chilean Resistance. The NICH national office can be contacted at NICH, P.O. Box 800, Berkeley, California 94701. Phone (415-548-3221)



There is more than lies and distortion in the AFL-CIO's version of events in Chile. There is gigantic hypocrisy in their wringing their hands over the crimes of the junta. The AFL-CIO was in fact part of the whole US strategy to bring about the fall of the Popular Unity. The AFL-CIO actively sought to subvert the Chilean trade unions and impose their brand of "free" trade unionism on the Chilean workers.

At the time the CWT was organizing over a million unorganized workers into its ranks, the AFL-CIO was cutting its staff of paid organizers in the US from 600 to 330 and pouring 6 million dollars into Chile to foster the creation of "free" trade unions. AFL-CIO organizing in Chile was no more successful than their organizing here in the US. Most Chilean workers turned a deaf ear to the overtures of Meany's Chilean friends. Their only success was in organizing among highly skilled, well paid workers and professionals.

Given the role of the AFL-CIO in "destablizing" the popularly elected government of Chile, we have to take their denunciations of the junta and their praise for democracy with more than one grain of salt.

And meanwhile, the Chilean working class is reorganizing and rebuilding. The Resistance in the mines, mills and factories, in the fields, in the towns and the cities is growing, gathering its strength. In spite of the repression, in spite of all the obstacles, the Chilean workers still do not want to be left with the holes.



by BOB CLARKE

The following article was written by an autoworker. It is one UAW member's reaction to the appointment of Leonard Woodcock as Ambassador to China by the Carter administration.

Leonard Woodcock, former President of the United Automobile and Aerospace workers, is finally a free man. As part of his program for human rights Jimmy Carter has granted Woodcock political asylum in China.

For over thirty years Leonard Woodcock has been a political prisoner of the American labor movement and the UAW International Executive Board. Like other political prisoners, Woodcock, in the naivete of his youth, was attracted to the revolutionary movement for industrial unionism of the 1930's. In 1936 he joined the UAW as an organizer and began his rise in the ranks of the chairwarmers at Solidarity House. In 1947, in order to qualify to run for elective office, Woodcock was forced to take a job in an auto plant for six months. He then was elected a regional director and took his place in the top leadership of the union as a leading lieutenant of Walter Reuther. But as the years went by his enthusiasm for the working class began to wane. The more removed Woodcock became from rank and file autoworkers the less could he identify with their interests and as-

Woodcock Takes Peking Duck from UAW

pirations. The higher up in the UAW hierarchy he climbed the more he began to admire and respect the owners and chief executive officers of the auto corporations. By 1950, his conscience torn between two worlds, Leonard Woodcock was a captive of the very union he helped create.

WOODCOCK TURNS TO BOSSES

There seemed no way for him to escape. The UAW does not hold direct elections for its top officers, so the electoral process was ruled out as a possible escape route. Woodcock decided that his only recourse would be to faithfully serve the capitalists, whom he so admired, and their political allies in the Democratic Party. In this way, he reasoned, maybe he'll be able to secure their help in his struggle for freedom.

The fifties and sixties were difficult years for Leonard Woodcock. He did everything he could for the auto manufacturers. He helped promote labor peace in the industry, he curbed the demands of the rank and file during contract negotiations, he gave the corporations a green light on speed-up and the elimination of jobs and all the while he said not a word about the rampant racism and sexism within the industry.

What tormented Woodcock the most during those trying times were the heated interrogations and torture sessions at the hands of unmerciful autoworkers. At mass gatherings, held every two or three years, rank and file workers who somehow managed to get elected as delegates, interrogated Woodcock under the bright lights in smoked filled convention halls.

No thought or action went uncontested. The rank and file demanded to know everything. Delegates tortured him with resolutions calling upon the Executive Board to act on behalf of the workers. But Woodcock, the freedom fighter that he was, refused to budge. He never divulged one secret, nor did he ever take any meaningful action against the auto corporations.

GOLDEN OPPORTUNITY

In the Spring of 1976, Woodcock, now President of the UAW, seized upon an opportunity to arrange for his escape. Jimmy Carter, underdog for the Presidency, was facing a critical primary test in the state of Michigan. A few weeks before the primary, Woodcock, without the approval of the Executive Board, publicly endorsed Carter. Carter went on to win the primary election and ultimately the Presidency.

In one sense Woodcock's endorsement of Carter was a gamble. The peanut farmer claimed that he was not a typical politician. He seemed reluctant to trade off positions of prestige and fortune for support of his candidacy. However, once Carter assumed office, Woodcock began to breathe more easily.

Carter campaigned as the spokesman of the working people, yet once in office he did nothing to deal with the problems of unemployment and inflation. Every piece of labor legislation brought before the Congress -- minimum wage, repeal of right to work laws, and national health insurance -- have either been watered down or sabotaged by labor's "friend" in the White House.

Carter spoke as the champion of human rights around the world. Yet he does nothing to alter the support given by the U.S. government and U.S. corporations to every fascist government and military junta in the world. The U.S. continues to

be the biggest supplier of military hardware, economic aid and police training to the worst offenders of human rights, countries like South Africa, Chile, South Korea, and Thailand.

Carter claimed to be a fighter for equality and for the "unity of our people." Yet during his brief tenure in office we have witnessed the erosion of many of the gains made by the Black liberation movement and the women's movement, in the fields of quality education and desegregation, housing, abortion, and job discrimination.

FREE AT LAST

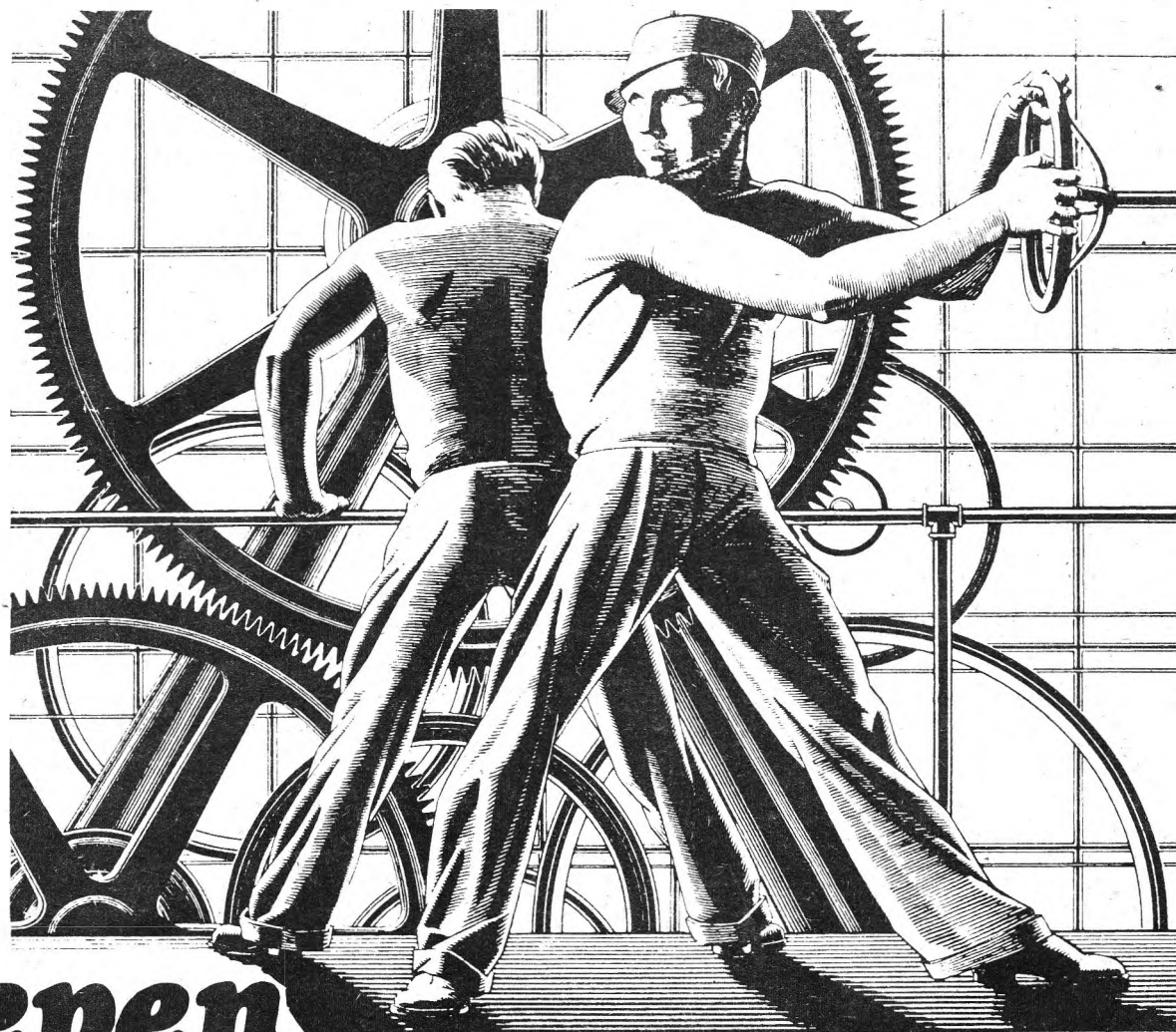
Nothing could please Woodcock more than to learn that Carter was in fact a quite typical bourgeois politician. Everything now seemed to fall into place. Secret contacts with Carter aides were opened. Negotiations took place to determine the timing of his escape and his ultimate destination. Soon after his retirement from the Presidency of the UAW last May, the plan went into effect.

Woodcock hurriedly packed his bags, collected his dearest mementoes, a book of autographs with the signatures of all former Presidents of General Motors, and raced to the airport where he boarded a plane for China.

When it was announced that Woodcock was in the air and outside the borders of the U.S., celebrations on his behalf broke out spontaneously in many auto plants around the country. Some autoworkers in Philadelphia even wrote a little poem to celebrate Woodcock's flight to freedom.

Leonard Woodcock
Free at last, Free at last
Of Leonard Woodcock
We're free at last!

an analysis of the Guardian's party-building views (part 1)



deepen the criticism of dogmatism

by RON WHITEHORNE

In June in a much heralded supplement, the *Guardian* newspaper put forward its "views on the key party-building tasks confronting Marxist-Leninists in the US today." The supplement outlines 29 principles of unity that are to serve as the basis for Marxist-Leninists "uniting... at their present stage of organizational development and moving on to a higher stage." The proposed form of this unity is a network of *Guardian* clubs which would engage in "party-building, local political action, and work directly connected to building support... for the *Guardian*."

In our view, the *Guardian's* party building views are seriously flawed. The heart of our differences do not center on the 29 principles of unity. While we have disagreements with some of these principles, for the most part they express the common ideological orientation of our movement and as general formulations serve to draw lines of demarcation with both revisionism and dogmatism. It is the analysis which accompanies them and the perspective in which they are placed where our principle differences lie.

THE FUSION CONFUSION

The *Guardian's* errors flow from a mistaken conception of party building that sees unity of the existing Marxist-Leninists around ideological principle as the only precondition to party formation. In our view, the unity of our movement around what Irwin Silber has termed "the ideological legacy of scientific socialism" while clearly necessary, is not sufficient.

The essence of the party building process is the attempt to fuse Marxism Leninism with the working class movement. It is only in conjunction with the effort to win over the advanced workers to Marxism Leninism and build a Communist current in the workers movement that

the full range of our tasks... theoretically, politically, and organizationally... become clear. It is only in conjunction with the struggle for this fusion that revolutionary theory and political line acquire any degree of validation. It is only the imperatives posed by fusion that provide urgency and reality for the efforts of Marxist-Leninists to unite. But the *Guardian* insists that the task of fusion only can be taken up after the formation of the party and this point of view profoundly influences their analysis. (For a full discussion of our differences with the *Guardian* on the question of fusion see Fan the Flames, 3/16/77 and 5/4/77, Radical Forum 4/13/77 in the *Guardian* and last month's *Organizer*.)

The *Guardian's* attitude toward fusion, its liquidation of the role of the advanced worker in party building runs like a thread throughout the errors in their party building analysis.

In its introduction to the supplement, the *Guardian* makes many points that we along with most other Marxist-Leninists would certainly second... the need for a party, the bankruptcy of revisionism and the degeneration of the RU and the OL as tendencies which could resuscitate Marxism-Leninism.

In its analysis of the OL and the RCP, however, there are some significant errors. First of all in relation to both organizations, the *Guardian* analyzes their errors almost solely in terms of political line and largely in relation to their international line at that. Certainly the political line of these organizations and their repudiation of proletarian internationalism especially, are central to their degeneration. We agree with the *Guardian* wholeheartedly when they say: "The problem with these organizations was not that they emphasized political line but the political line that they emphasized."

VOLUNTARISM IN PARTY-BUILDING

Nevertheless there is a certain oneness in this analysis. While it is true that errors in political line were central to the failures of both groups, we also have to look at their party-building approach as part of the effort to learn from the mistakes of the past. Both in relation to party building and political line the RCP and the OL were guided by ultra-leftist assumptions rooted in a dogmatist misunderstanding of Marxism-Leninism.

In essence both organizations pursued a voluntarist approach to party-building. Their mere desire to form the party overrode any considerations of the actual readiness of the conditions for party formation. Both organizations in somewhat different fashion ran roughshod over the key preconditions by either ignoring them or inventing their realization out of thin air. Neither organization succeeded in uniting the Marxist-Leninists but instead only united a handful of sympathizers with the existing pre-party organization. To represent this as "uniting the Marxist-Leninists" necessitated reading the rest of the movement out of the anti-revisionist camp. Neither organization succeeded in achieving any real degree of fusion with the working class movement. Instead the recruitment of a handful of advanced workers who were as isolated as the rest of the RCP-OL cadre was conveniently substituted for a genuine communist current in the workers' movement.

This approach to party-building cannot be separated from the political line of these organizations. It was in large part their political line which prohibited them from making progress toward meeting these preconditions. Their failure to elaborate a revolutionary theory and politi-

cal line capable of addressing the real questions facing the revolutionary movement prevented them from winning over the advanced workers in real numbers and expanding the influence and prestige of Marxism Leninism in the workers' movement. Such a failure was readily apparent to the bulk of Marxist-Leninists who were thus unwilling to unite behind their banner.

While party building and political line are inseparably bound up with each other, they are also distinct parts of a whole. The failure of the *Guardian* to treat the party building efforts of OL and RCP as distinct aspects of their overall degeneration is a significant oversight. The reason is readily apparent. The *Guardian* itself subscribes to the same voluntarist approach to party building and thus has no real critique of this aspect of OL or RCP's work. In fact the *Guardian* even goes them one better. While the OL and RU at various points paid lip service to the line that fusion is the critical element in party building, the *Guardian* does not even pretend that it is a requisite to party formation.

The *Guardian* argues that the unity of Marxist-Leninists on the basis of political line must precede taking up the task of fusion. In other words, this is a task that can only be seriously addressed after the formation of the party. The attempt at winning over the advanced workers and the development of a communist current, however embryonic, are viewed as largely incidental to the process of party-building. Laudable activity perhaps, but only if it does not divert us from the real business at hand... the building of unity among Marxist-Leninists. This is the essence of Irwin Silber's "Which comes first" logic on party building (see Fan the Flames 3/16/77).

While the RU and the OL both attempted to fabricate a bit of fusion with the advanced workers and puff their influence in the class struggle, the *Guardian* simply says we do not need the advanced workers... we do not need to have established any degree of Communist leadership in the working class... in order to form a vanguard party. All three organizations rest their approach on the same voluntarist assumptions -- that our will to form the party is sufficient and can overcome all else. Never mind that such a party will not have established its vanguard character in any respect. Our intention to be the vanguard will suffice. But as the experience of OL and RU shows, the road to sectarian isolation and impotence is paved with such good intentions.

VIEWS ACCOMMODATE DOGMATISM

The *Guardian's* rejection of the task of fusion in relation to party-building in favor of voluntarism represents an accommodation with dogmatism. Unfortunately the failure to break decisively with dogmatism is not limited to this point alone. The *Guardian* is fond of reminding us of its contributions to the fight against dogmatism. And we readily acknowledge them, particularly in relation to forthrightly opposing the line that the USSR constitutes the main danger with all its offspring in Portugal, Puerto Rico, and Angola.

At the same time, we think the *Guardian* has vacillated in its willingness to extend and deepen its criticism of dogmatism and has shown a reluctance to burn its bridges. Its party building document reflects this. First it fails to identify dogmatism as the main danger within the anti-revisionist movement as a whole.

Instead, "class collaboration around international line" is seen as the main deviation. This is certainly a central expression of the opportunist line, but it is a symptom and not the root of the problem. We agree this is a necessary line of demarcation but it is not sufficient. We have to be clear that dogmatism represents a definite trend, and is not simply a deviation on one or more questions of line.

(continued on next page)

The partial and shallow nature of the *Guardian's* anti-dogmatism is also present in their treatment of the RCP. Like the dogmatists, the *Guardian* argues the "principle errors of the RCP have been right opportunist." The *Guardian* is able to arrive at this determination because it completely ignores the voluntarist nature of the RU's rush to the party (clearly a left error) and the ultra-left character of its practice in the working class movement. Seeing fusing Marxism Leninism with that movement as largely incidental, the *Guardian* does not regard the failure of the RCP to provide communist leadership in the trade unions and win over significant numbers of advanced workers as having any special import.

Certainly the RU-RCP has made right errors. (The *Guardian* correctly cites their stand on busing and the ERA -- we would add their fetish-like separation of Communist propaganda and agitation and aversion to the ideological development of the advanced workers). Nevertheless,

...This is the real danger, that our movement in spite of a promising beginning, will because of its failure to understand the character and depth of dogmatism, end up falling prey to it."

in the main, the RCP is characterized by left opportunism as evidenced by its voluntarism in party building, its dogmatist international line and its relentless sectarianism in the workers' movement. These errors have the same theoretical roots in dogmatism that characterize the OL, WVP, etc. The *Guardian* fails to recognize this because it too has not completely broken with dogmatism.

THE QUESTION OF THE MAIN DANGER

Another illustration of the same point is the *Guardian's* attitude toward the attitude of what is the main danger within the anti-dogmatist trend. The *Guardian* sees the "principle opportunist dangers" as pragmatism, economism, and conciliation with revisionism. It talks of the danger of "an extreme swing to the right."

In our view this is not only incorrect, but a dangerous characterization that could seriously hamper the effort to consolidate a Marxist Leninist trend. Certainly there are right tendencies in our movement and we do have to combat them. We do have to face right tendencies in our movement.

In large part, these tendencies are expressions of our backwardness -- they grow out of our fragmentation and isolation -- they reflect the uneven and generally low level of ideological development in our movement -- and they are in some degree an immature reaction to dogmatism. At this point in time, we do not think there is a consolidated right trend within our movement although if we do not combat these right tendencies undoubtedly they will congeal into such a form. To combat the tendency toward right opportunism we must raise our movement's ideological level, deepening its grasp of dialectical and historical materialism. And we must transcend the narrow, local quality of our practical work, giving our activity broader political scope.

However, if we do not place these right tendencies in proper perspective, we will not succeed in correctly combatting them. The main danger come not from the right but from the left. The dominant problem is that our movement has not yet completed the break with dogmatism.

Its critique of dogmatism remains in many respects shallow and uneven. There is not agreement on what the content of dogmatism really is or even if dogmatism

accurately characterizes the roots of the ultra left deviation. Both in relation to party building and political line, the influence of dogmatism has hardly been routed. Its roots in our movement are very deep and the process of pulling them out will be necessarily protracted and difficult. In light of this to pose right errors as the main danger represents a dangerous diversion from our most pressing task -- the struggle against dogmatism and ultra-leftism. If our main focus is to be on our right errors, we will not succeed in uprooting dogmatism and we run the danger of strengthening its hold. This is the real danger, that our movement in spite of a promising beginning, will, because of its failure to understand the character and depth of dogmatism, end up falling prey to it.

PARALLEL IN HISTORY OF CPC

The history of the struggle against ultra-leftism in the Chinese Communist Party provides us with some instructive

parallels. In *A Resolution on Some Questions in the History of our Party*, adopted at an enlarged plenary session of the Central Committee in 1945, the Party analyzes the struggle against the "three left lines" which plagued the movement from 1927 to 1935. While the details of this struggle need not concern us here, its broad outlines have a definite relevance for our movement.

In the wake of the crushing defeat suffered by the Party in the cities at the hands of the Kuomintang reactionaries, both left and right deviations arose in the Party. The right line represented a capitulation to the reactionaries, calling for the liquidation of illegal work, opposing building the Red Army, claiming that the bourgeois democratic revolution in China had already been concluded and that the proletarian revolution was postponed to the far distant future. In the course of the fight to overthrow the right line a left deviation developed. The left line stood for an adventurist military policy, blurred over the national democratic character of the Chinese Revolution and took a sectarian posture toward middle forces among the Chinese people. In its internal manifestations this line was characterized by a

militant factionalism and deviation from the practice of criticism - self-criticism.

The left line triumphed briefly in the party but was repudiated by the 6th National Congress in 1928. But almost simultaneously it re-emerged in the form of the 2nd left line, associated with Li Li San. The 2nd left line retained all the essential features of the first, only in a more refined and sophisticated form. This line too was briefly dominant in the Party during 1930 but was rejected that same year. Once again the left line re-emerged.

The third left line, whose leading exponent was Ch'en Shao-yu, was even more successful in hiding its essence, and thus was not so easily routed. It remained dominant in the Party until defeated by Mao Tse Tung in 1935. Both the second and third left lines paid lip service to the struggle against the left deviation which had preceded them. And both in fact re-created the left line in all its essentials in the name of aiming the main blow against the right danger.

PERSISTENCE OF LEFT LINE

Why had the struggle against the left line failed to correct the deficiency? According to the Party resolution: "The defect in these struggles was that they were not consciously undertaken as a crucial step to rectify the petty bourgeois ideas which existed in the Party to a serious extent and consequently failed to explain fully the ideological essence and source of these mistakes and to indicate the proper methods to rectify them, thus giving them a chance to crop up again."

And what was the "ideological essence" of the left line? In its most mature expression, again according to the Party resolution, the left line took "the form of doctrinairism. . . starting not from actual conditions but from certain words and phrases torn at random out of books." The resolution also identifies empiricism "as the main collaborator and accomplice of doctrinairism." Empiricism, the infatuation with narrow practical experience, shared a common ground with doctrinairism in that both rejected dialectical and historical materialism. The empiricist's "lack of independent, clear and comprehensive views on questions concerning a situation as a whole" either made them easy prey for the doctrinaires or enabled them to play "second fiddle" by adopting their view-point on different questions.

The Party Resolution locates the social roots of these ideological flaws in its own predominantly petty bourgeois composition and in the fact that the Party is "externally surrounded by this enormous social stratum." Given this, it was "inevitable that petty bourgeois ideology of

various shades should often be reflected in our Party." The Party's response, of course, was not to turn away from the peasantry, which constituted the main force of the Chinese Revolution as well as the largest source of the Party's cadre. Instead the Party stressed the need for a conscious, protracted struggle against petty bourgeois ideology in all its varied forms.

LESSONS FOR U.S. MARXISTS-LENINISTS

The parallels with our movement are not exact but they are striking none the less. The history of the anti-revisionist movement in the U.S. has its own version of "the three left lines" in the form of first the Provisional Organizing Committee, secondly the Progressive Labor Party, and thirdly the RCP and CP-ML, each of which has covered it's own refurbished, more refined brand of leftism in a repudiation of the leftism that preceded it. We see too how in our movement, like the Chinese movement in the period covered by the Party Resolution, the slogan: direct the main blow at the right line has served as a cover for left opportunism and has fed it's rise.

To date our movement too has failed to rout this left deviation, in spite of the fact that each individual variant of the left line has in time been discredited. The continual "cropping up" of the left line in our movement also has its roots in a failure to get at and rectify the "ideological essence" of this line. And of course the social basis of left opportunism here as in the Chinese situation is the predominantly petty bourgeois composition of our movement.

We also have considerable experience with empiricism acting as the handmaiden of doctrinairism. How many times have we seen collectives dominated by narrow practicalism and economism go over, often within a matter of months, to the standpoint of the most hidebound dogmatism?

In light of all this the implications of saying that the main danger within the anti-dogmatism trend comes from the right should be clear. Will this not serve to divert us in getting at the ideological roots of dogmatism and digging them out? Will it not encourage a continuation of the kind of "rectification" of rightism that results in a caricature of leftism? And finally will it not ultimately carry the risk that our movement, having failed in it's self-diagnosis, will fall victim to the very disease it seeks to cure in others?

In the next issue of the *Organizer* we will appraise the organizational side of the *Guardian's* party building views and plans.



(continued from page 6)

What is clear however is that the criminal justice system in this case as in so many others functions to serve the wealthy and powerful at the expense of the working class and the oppressed nationalities. It comes as no surprise that the FBI aimed its investigation at the Filipino nurses and avoided investigating the hospital administration and the big doctors. And its no surprise the prosecution pursued the case and the court accepted such flimsy evidence.

It is no coincidence that the frame-up has occurred in an atmosphere where aliens are fingered as the cause of rising unemployment and a variety of social problems. Racism is particularly familiar to foreign medical graduates. According to a member of the Union of Democratic Filipinos which has been actively defending Narciso and Perez, there have been several attempts to discredit foreign medical personnel in the last year. Foreign trained doctors are now required to pass an exam "that is discriminatory

Perez and Narciso

because it is far stiffer than the exam for U.S. graduates," related the spokesperson. Moreover, culturally biased licensing exams for R.N.'s have led to a 90% failure rate for foreign-trained nurses -- 85% of whom are Filipino. The above are only a few of hundreds of inequalities that foreign medical and minority health workers in general confront in the U.S.

Hospital workers increasingly understand that an injury to one is an injury to all. The attempt to scapegoat the Filipino nurses is part of a larger attempt to scapegoat health workers for the declining quality of health care in the U.S. And workers generally increasingly see that the racist attacks directed against minorities are attacks on the whole working class, aimed at diverting us from the real enemy and robbing us of our unity. The Filipino community will not be alone in demanding that Leonora Perez and Filipina Narciso receive justice and that the true cause of the *unsolved* poisonings be discovered.

Crown Cork strike

(continued from page 7)

September. Even if it is favorable to the workers, in which case the UITCC members would be reinstated and would receive a total over one million dollars in back pay, legal maneuvering by the company could delay enforcement for at least another year.

After the year-long cement workers strike, the final resolution came down to an NLRB decision on whether or not strikebreakers could vote. Despite the illegal actions of the company, the NLRB decided against the strikers and the SIU won the election which took place.

MOU SUPPORTS STRIKE

It is no coincidence that the Crown Cork strike has so many parallels to the Puerto Rican Cement strike. Hector Laffitte, the SIU, and Security Associates have fought strong, militant, independent unions at many other plants throughout Puerto Rico. The NLRB has consistently sided with U. S. capital against the struggle of Puerto Rican workers for a living wage and decent working conditions.

The Crown Cork workers have received support from the United Labor Movement (MOU) which has mobilized the island's most responsible labor leaders to join the picket line. Although financial support for the strikers from other unions has not been as consistent as it was during the cement strike, moral solidarity has contributed to the continued high spirits of the strikers after nine months in the streets. The MOU dedicated this year's May Day march to the Crown Cork strikers.

The strikers are concerned that what happened at Puerto Rican Cement will happen at Crown Cork, but there is little sign of defeatism. Some of the strikers have found other jobs, and most of those on the picket line are getting food stamps and unemployment checks, but unemployment has begun to run out for many and they are having a hard time making ends meet. But the union recently raised \$2500 to pay for a trial transcript and other expenses, and the picket line will be maintained indefinitely.

Luis Nigaglioni summed up the sentiment on the picket line: "We knew the possible consequences when we started the strike, but we had to take the risk. We think we are going to win this strike no matter what the NLRB decides. But even if we don't win this year — even if we lose our jobs — we know that we made the right decision. Each time workers at one plant in Puerto Rico decide to take a stand, all of us come a little closer to achieving our goals. Since we've started picketing, workers from five or six nearby plants have asked us to help them form independent unions in their plants. All of us on the picket line agree that we've made the only choice and that it is the right one."

LONG, HOT SUMMER IN STORE

Whatever the outcome of the strike, the struggle has taken on added importance because of the broader Puerto Rican context. First, it is the latest test of the survival ability of the "independent unionism".

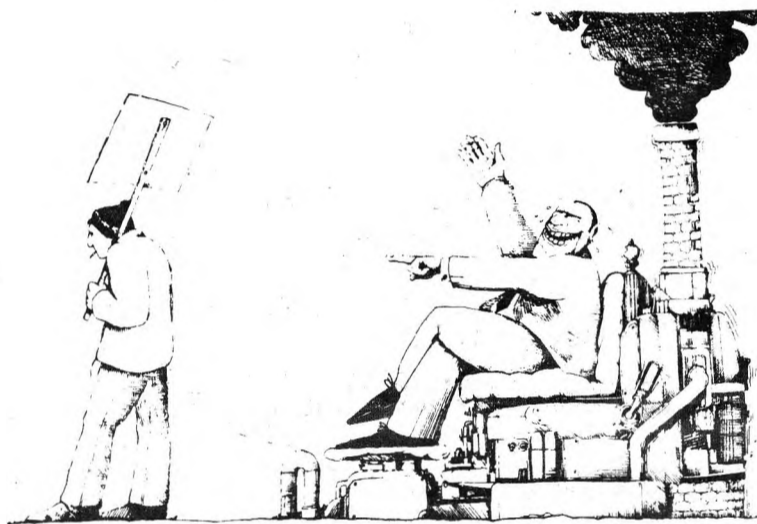
Second, the strike comes at a time of economic recession, rising unemployment, and skyrocketing inflation. Puerto Rico's famous economic "miracle" based on \$14 billion of U. S. investment is clearly in trouble. As the effects of the continuing economic slump in the U. S. hit a dependent economy, the meaning of economic colonialism becomes clear. The island is feeling the oil crisis acutely, and

CORCO, the largest petrochemical plant, has threatened to shut down if it is not given additional tax breaks.

Many of the U. S.-owned light industries which came to Puerto Rico in the 1950's because of the tax incentives and the cheap labor are now moving on to still cheaper labor havens in the Caribbean and Central America. As a result of a serious budget crisis and a \$250 million deficit, the government has also had to cut back services and lay off employees. Unemployment has reached an official figure of 20 per cent — but, as admitted in the U. S. press, it is at least double that, counting those who have stopped looking for work.

These conditions have resulted in an increasing number of strikes in recent years. Several thousand workers at the Puerto Rican Telephone Co. were on strike for more than three months in 1975, and defeated an attempt by the government to break the independent phone workers union. San Juan bus drivers won a two-month strike last summer. In all, more than 100,000 Puerto Ricans have participated in strikes during the past few years.

And the island is bracing for more strike activity this summer. June 30 is the contract expiration date for Puerto Rico's largest and most militant union, the 7000 member Electrical Workers, led by Luis Lausell, a member of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party. Water and highway workers contracts also expire during the summer, which promises to be long and hot.



Support the Monthly!



Become an Organizer sustainer. As a sustainer you will receive a subscription to the Organizer, plus copies of other PWOC publications. You may join the sustainer program at \$5, 10, or 25 per month. We welcome sustainerships from individuals, groups, and organizations who want to help build the Organizer. The monthly Organizer depends on your support.

I'd like to sustain the Organizer at \$5, \$10, or \$25 a month.

NAME _____
 ADDRESS _____
 CITY _____
 STATE _____ ZIP _____

Send to:
 The ORGANIZER, c/o the PWOC
 Box 11768
 Philadelphia, Pa. 19101

STOP READING BETWEEN THE LIES ON AFRICA

and the struggles here at home.

SUBSCRIBE TO THE GUARDIAN,
 America's No. 1 Independent Marxist Newsweekly —

- ★ on-the-spot reports from around the world
- ★ in-depth news and analysis
- ★ incisive political commentary
- ★ film, book, TV and drama reviews

SPECIAL OFFER 6 weeks—\$1

Guardian 33 West 17 Street New York, N.Y. 10011 \$17/yr.
 (Foreign subscriptions add \$5)

