

The ORGANIZER



# Police Abuse Struggle Heats Up

Over the last month the question of police abuse has moved back into the center of Philadelphia politics. The following events have put the spotlight on the police:

\*\*\*The indictment, by District Attorney Rendell, of the police officers responsible for the beating of Delbert Africa brought a swift and frightening reaction from the police. FOP President Gallagher announced: "They ought of killed him (Africa)." 500 cops demonstrated at the Roundhouse and Police Commissioner O'Neill came out and spoke in sympathy and support of their action.

\*\*\*The Justice Dept. brought suit against the Philadelphia police department and the Rizzo administration charging it with tolerating and encouraging brutality and violation of the civil rights of Philadelphia's citizens. The suit notes that police abuse has affected all sections of the community, but has been directed particularly against minorities. Frank Rizzo has seized on the suit as a means to resurrect his fading political career. Rizzo has held press conferences and is making the talk show circuit, denouncing the suit as "hogwash."

\*\*\*Officer Thomas Bowe was acquitted of third degree murder in the Cornell Warren case. Bowe shot Warren in the head in view of a witness while he was handcuffed and prone on the pavement. Bowe said it was an accident in spite of testimony that he stomped Warren before taking out his gun and placing it at the victim's head. The jury, aided by the instructions and rulings of the judge, believed him.

In short, in the city of Philadelphia the police are out of control and can literally get away with murder. The Bowe case is nothing new. Cornell Warren joins a long list of victims of police violence — Jose Reyes, Thomas X Hood, William Cradle, Michael Carpenter and countless others who have been beaten or killed and in every case the perpetrators are not only at large but are legally armed to kill again.

## HOGWASH AND WHITEWASH

Behind Rizzo's charge that it's all hogwash is a systematic attempt to white-

wash the behavior of a police force that he has molded in his own image. In a performance that brings to mind the Rizzo of the April '78 "white rights" speech, the mayor told a national TV audience: "I've got five more months as mayor of this town, and I'm going to be a voice across this country, God willing, to let the people of this city and country know what we're facing and what we're doing battle with."

The problem, according to Rizzo, is that "this is no longer a democracy because the criminals and the ultra-liberals control the media." The police, Rizzo acknowledges, "are equipped to fight a war." The Philly cops, he bragged, "could invade Cuba and win." The Rizzo-line is that this massive army is necessary because: "You're dealing with barbarians. You're safer in the jungle." Since the majority of suspects taken into custody by the Philadelphia police are Black or Hispanic, the racist overtones of these remarks should be clear.

Rizzo simply brushes aside the overwhelming evidence of systematic police brutality. In effect he justifies police terror, by arguing that rising crime requires that we do nothing to "interfere" with police. Rizzo projects a conspiracy of liberals, the media and permissive judges to coddle criminals and undermine law and order. With his slogan "break their heads" Rizzo encourages the police to be judge and jury.

This notion of justice goes against the most basic democratic traditions. At the same time, the threat of crime is real and Rizzo counts on the fear of crime to fuel his racist law and order campaign. It is a telling statement that Rizzo and his kind believe the only way capitalist society can offer any "security" is by giving the police free rein to club and shoot. Crime feeds on poverty and inequality and no amount of repression can eliminate these causes.

What Rizzo sidesteps is the simple fact that the victims of police brutality are not "criminals." A suspect in a crime does not, according to the Constitution, become a criminal until tried and convicted. Moreover, many of those brutalized by the police, are not guilty of any crime. What was the "crime" of Alves-



tus Goode, a Black gas station owner in West Philadelphia? Goode asked a patrolman to move his car out of the driveway and as a result was beaten to a pulp by 11 police officers.

How about Jose Reyes, shot to death in his doorway, after a pattern of police harassment? Or William Cradle, who ran a stop sign? These, and many others, are not the murderers, thieves, and rapists that Rizzo says the police protect us from. They were all productive, law-abiding citizens. In a police state the license to deal with criminals rapidly becomes the freedom to terrorize others as well.

## THE BEST IN THE NATION?

In defending the Philadelphia police, Rizzo henchman Sheldon Albert points to the fact that the police department has received only 21 complaints and of these only three have resulted in any disciplining of police personnel. Albert concludes on this basis that the amount of police wrongdoing is statistically insignificant and that indeed, the Philadelphia department is the "best in the nation."

Albert leaves out a few important facts. Number one, very few people take complaints to the police department. They know that nothing will come of them and fear reprisals from the cops. What Albert "forgot" to mention is that the DA's office and the federal attorney have received 1100 civilian complaints per year, a far more accurate barometer of the problem.

Albert is right that few police have been disciplined by the department. But this is not evidence that there is no problem. Rather it indicates the police department's complicity in covering up and encouraging police abuse. Similarly, the fact that few police have been indicted and fewer still convicted indicates that the prosecutors, the courts, and the whole criminal justice system is unwilling to punish police for their crimes.

The Justice Dept. suit is a welcome step because it brings the real facts about police brutality to light and it points the finger where it belongs, at the Rizzo administration and top police officials who have allowed and encouraged abuse. This suit, as Sister Falaka Fattah of the Black United Front pointed out, "... is a people's victory in that many community organizations have worked hard trying to bring attention to the problem."

At the same time the suit, even if it succeeds, will not solve the problem. It's an illusion that the courts can provide the remedy, even when we are able to wring important concessions from them. Only mass organization by the people can insure that real reforms are brought about. A civilian review board with powers to discipline police offenders would be such a reform. The Human Rights Agenda, endorsed by mayoralty candidate Lucien Blackwell and the Human Rights slate, calls for a civilian review board. The police question will be an important issue in the present election. The fight against police brutality and for a civilian review board should be a major element of the independents' campaign.

In  
This  
Issue



<b>Chrysler Corporation</b>	<b>p. 7</b>
<b>Birth of Big Oil</b>	<b>p. 8</b>
<b>Independent Pol. Action</b>	<b>p. 10</b>
<b>Local Elections '79</b>	<b>p. 11</b>
<b>Latin America</b>	<b>p. 12</b>

# Letters To The Editor...



## More on the SALT II Debate

Dear Friends:

I am suprised that such an astute, communist newspaper as the *Organizer* would print the Quinn-Griffin article on the SALT 2 debate. One purpose of a communist newspaper is to unmask the ruling class by digging to the roots of an issue and exposing the myths that blind people to the truth. In this case, the myth of democracy was reinforced by the *Organizer* instead of being exposed as a sham.

It should be quite obvious that there is no split in the ruling class concerning the issues behind the SALT 2 Treaty. Let's look at the context.

A few years back, President Nixon began to develop the nuclear weapons needed for a surprise attack against the Soviet Union. The plan included the Trident missile and submarine, the Mobile-X intercontinental missile in trenches, and the cruise missile in bombers. Each of these systems have the accuracy to wipe out the Soviet Union's retaliatory forces with the exception of their nuclear missile submarines. But Nixon also began development of the necessary anti-submarine sensors and weapons to eliminate them as well.

Of course, President Ford followed in Nixon's footsteps, but so has Carter. This should have given Quinn and Griffin an inkling that there was no conservative/liberal (or Republican/Democrat) split. All three presidents were following the same plan - the ruling class' plan for nuclear superiority. How do the SALT Treaties fit into this plan?

Neither of the SALT Treaties have limited the nuclear arms race. All of the nuclear weapon treaties negotiated by the US and the USSR (including SALT 1 and SALT 2) have had the function of restricting the arms race to agreed boundaries. As your article pointed out, SALT 2 will not restrict the Trident missile submarine, the cruise missile, nor the Mobile-X missile in trenches. Nor will SALT 2 restrict the Pentagon from developing the capability to wipe out Soviet nuclear missile submarines.

So where is the split in the ruling class? If the conservatives manage to whip up enough anti-Soviet sentiment to stop the SALT 2 Treaty, they will have no problem getting the money for their surprise attack weapons. If the liberals manage to stop the conservative drive, it will only be done by paying them off. The cost of SALT 2 ratification will be the cost of the nuclear weapons needed by the ruling class.

It is like watching a perverted football game in which the teams (liberals and conservatives) are both racing for the same goal line (a nuclear, surprise attack against the Soviet Union). It really doesn't matter which team makes the touchdown because there is only one name on the scoreboard: "The Ruling Class."

So for the life of me, I can't see why Quinn and Griffin want to help either side carry out the wishes of the ruling class. It would be more in keeping with the role of a communist newspaper if the *Organizer* were to educate its readers about the charade called "democracy" taking place in Washington, D.C. It would also help the cause if the *Organizer* would agitate for a solution to the real problems: in this case, the huge Pentagon budget, the nuclear, surprise attack strategy; and the weapons being purchased for the Pentagon at the expense of the people's needs.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

Chris Robinson, Editor, RECON

*The Organizer responds:*

While we respect Chris Robinson as a knowledgeable analyst of the arms race, we don't understand how he can conclude there is no split in the ruling class over SALT II. If there is no split then what is all the contention about? Of course this split is limited to tactical questions of how to pursue the arms race as opposed to a division between those who are for peace and disarmament versus those who are for military build-up as the article made perfectly clear. But the split

is real nevertheless. Otherwise we would have to conclude that the heated debate in Congress is simply a charade, an attempt to fool us by pretending there are differences where there aren't. Certainly we should expose the pro-SALT II wing of the bourgeoisie which claims to be for "real peace." But we also must exploit the tactical differences between this wing and the anti-SALT lobby.

We agree with Robinson that there is a dangerous likelihood that SALT II will only be passed through "concessions" which will significantly escalate arms spending and production. Our response to this is to support SALT while simultaneously opposing measures like the Nunn amendment calling for a 5% increase in the military budget. We also made clear we think SALT does little to cut existing levels of weapons production. But again support for SALT in no way ties our hands, or anyone else's, in agitating for genuine reduction of weapons spending and opposing the deployment of both existing and projected weapons systems. The demand for Congress to ratify SALT should be accompanied by the demand to scuttle the Trident Submarine and the MX missile projects.

## Prisoner Writes

Dear Comrades,

Just a note to thank you for running my letter in the June issue and to tell you the latest developments. The Dept. of Corrections withdrew the inciting a riot and restored 240 days of the 360 good time I lost. In retaliation the administration of the prison refuses to release me from the hole so I've been here over 75 days and no relief in sight, but they won't break my spirit. I intend to oppose the fascist slave system until the people are victorious.

Again thanks and I'd like to let you know I enjoy the *Organizer* and look forward to it each month. My best to all there.

In Struggle,  
JP, Ft. Pillow, TN

## The Super Seniority Self-Criticism

Dear *Organizer*,

Hearty congratulations to the PWOC for the stunning self-criticism of its position on super-seniority. It is the mark of a mature organization when its sharpest, most biting polemics are directed toward its own past mistakes.

Ironically, a struggle around a similar question has surfaced in the union local in which I am active. The self-criticism you just published helped us understand the crucial importance of the struggle for equality with much clearer insight.

However, the practical struggles we've taken up, as well as your self-criticism, indicates just how far our move-

ment has to go in deepening our struggle against racism and developing our theoretical understanding of the question.

The *Organizer* could provide a valuable service to our entire movement by initiating a systematic analysis of racism in our movement and suggesting some possible ways for developing our understanding of pressing theoretical questions.

Having talked to a number of comrades on this question over the past few months, I sense that once again our practice is far outstripping our level of theoretical understanding. A serious study of the question by Marxist-Leninists is long overdue.

In struggle,  
S.D.  
Cincinnati

## Philadelphia Workers' Organizing Committee

### Who We Are



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

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

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

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

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

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

## Subscribe!

Enclosed is:

- \$5 for a regular one year subscription
- \$10 for a first class mail subscription
- \$3 for unemployed or retired
- \$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 PWOC  
Box 11768  
Philadelphia, Pa. 19101

All orders must be prepaid.

Bulk and foreign rates available on request. Back issues \$.50 each.

### CHANGE OF ADDRESS:

*Third Class Mail is not forwarded!*  
To keep getting your *Organizer*, please send us your new mailing address along with your old address label.

## In this Issue:

Labor Round-Up.....	p.3
Public Housing Cutbacks.....	p.4
Clothing Workers Union.....	p.5
PFT and the Community.....	p.5
SALT II Interview.....	p.6
Chrysler Corporation.....	p.7
Birth of Big Oil.....	p.8
Rockefeller.....	p.8
Andrew Young Affair.....	p.9
Fight Big Oil.....	p.9
Independent Political Action and Socialism.....	p.10
Election Campaign.....	p.11
Human Rights Agenda.....	p.11
Latin America.....	p.12
Nicaraguan Solidarity.....	p.13
Declining Productivity Myth.....	p.14
Other Side of the Wall.....	p.14
PRSC Convention.....	p.15
Pollution.....	p.16
Racism on TV.....	p.17
PWOC Debates the CP-ML.....	p.18
PRSC Convención.....	p.1
Guatemaltecos sobre Nicaragua.....	p.2

### SUSTAIN THE ORGANIZER

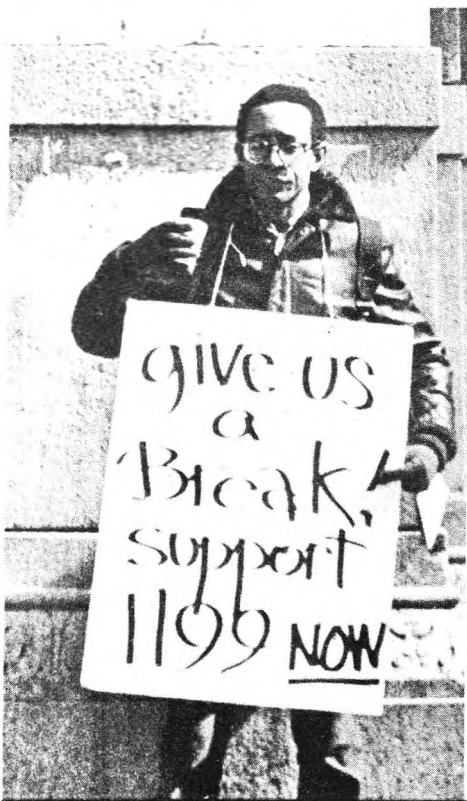
Sustainers receive their *Organizer* first-class mail and may send a free sample to a friend each month. (Beginning in August the *Organizer* will initiate a sustainer's newsletter)

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

NAME.....  
ADDRESS.....  
CITY.....  
STATE.....ZIP.....

# Labor Round-up

## 1199P Wins Victory in Chambersburg



At Chambersburg Hospital, 450 1199P members who have been on strike since July 1, settled with a victory on July 26. The hospital's management was out to force a strike and bust the union. They did not seriously negotiate, and almost completely evacuated patients from the hospital the last two days of negotiations.

But 1199P was determined to be prepared for this strike, and they were. For the past two years since the hospital became organized, the leadership along with the rank and file have been working hard to unite the entire hospital, including the RN's. And at the time of the strike, only a fairly small minority remained outside of the union. During the strike, about 20 new members were signed up.

Organization during the strike was outstanding. Picket captains were responsible to the strike committee. Three gates were covered for 24 hours, workers pick-

eting in 4 hour shifts. There was also a strike headquarters committee, strike kitchen committee, publicity and fundraising committee, and an ad hoc education committee. The education committee attempted to combat the widespread anti-union sentiment in the community, talked to individual hospital workers, and was largely responsible for signing up new members.

Support came not only from 1199, but other unions in the county. The UAW donated their union hall in Chambersburg for strike headquarters. Other support came from Teamsters, AFSCME, and the building trades. 1199 locals in Harrisburg, Pottsville and State College supplied manpower, food and money. And there was a good turnout at a rally held at the end of the second week of the strike.

On July 28, 1199 members from Philadelphia, New York, New Jersey, Bal-

timore and D.C. were planning a big rally in Chambersburg, and the threat of that was what probably forced the hospital to settle.

The union did not win a 2 year contract in the settlement, but did win a wage reopener in the third year. They also won a "much improved health and welfare plan" and kept the policy of every other weekend off. And they defeated the hospital's attempt to turn the present agency shop into an open shop.

The union did not get everything it wanted. But in the face of heavy anti-union reactionary right-to-work sentiment and press in the area, and the hospital's attempt to bust the union, it was widely felt that they came out ahead with significant contract improvements and maybe even more importantly, with a stronger, larger, more organized and spirited union.

## Friends Support Frank Corso's Anti-Racist Actions

Over a hundred people gathered on August 17th to salute Frank Corso and demonstrate support for his stand against racist violence. Corso, a young white worker from Southwest Philadelphia, put up a \$1500 reward for the killers of Black youth Tracey Chambers. Thirteen year old Chambers was shot to death from a nearby rooftop by white vigilantes, an incident that has further polarized the already racially tense neighborhood. Corso has suffered harassment, both on the job and in the neighborhood, for his action. Recently his home was broken into and sacked. His pet gerbil was stomped to death on the rug and most of his property destroyed. The police reaction has been to subject Corso to a lie detector test, the implication being that he wrecked his own house. No suspects have been arrested in the case.

Corso's stand has also attracted support, both from neighbors and progressive people across the city. Speaking at the Corso event, Candace Newlin, a resident of the area and a member of the PWOC, described the efforts to create a pole of opposition to racial violence in the neighborhood. Newlin targetted the demagoguery of Frank Rizzo and city councilman Francis Rafferty as major factors in creating the climate among whites in which

acts like the murder of Tracey Chambers can occur.

Rosemari Mealy of the Third World Coalition talked about the importance of Black-white unity and Corso's actions as a demonstration of the possibility of such unity. The audience included city councilman Lucien Blackwell, who has played an active role in trying to bring about a progressive resolution of the Southwest Philly crisis. Mayoralty candidate Bill Green was also invited but did not even bother to send a representative.

In a brief but moving speech Frank Corso made clear that he is not intimidated by the effort to silence him. "If I had it to do over again, I'd do the same thing" Corso said. "I think there are people who are trying to keep Black and white divided in this country", he added. In thanking those who attended, Frank said: "At first I thought I was alone in this - now I realize I'm not." Corso has received many cash donations to help him put his house back together. However, since the damage is covered by insurance, he has taken the money and started a fund for the victims of racial violence. A collection of several hundred dollars was taken at the event.



## Retail Clerks Winning the Battle Against Genuardi

Since mid-June, Retail Clerks has been picketing a newly opened non-union supermarket in the Northeast. Genuardi, the largest non-union chain in the five county area, bid on the former Penn Fruit store in the spring. With 14 more stores outside of Philadelphia, Genuardi is trying to move into the city. And the union is trying to stop them.

Genuardi had promised to rehire laid off Penn Fruit workers and only hired 2 out of 100. They offered more people jobs, but below union wages. So the union has filed charges against Genuardi with the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) for unfair labor practices. But the real danger is a non-union chain moving in and undercutting the union's strength, paying lower wages and less

benefits. Union chains will invariably complain about "competition" and try to hold down wages and benefits.

The union realizes now is the time to nip the problem in the bud. At the store in the Northeast, Retail Clerks, Teamsters, Meatcutters, and construction workers have been picketing. Retail Clerks is asking all members to commit four hours a week to picketing. And to make sure Genuardi knows the union means business, Retail Clerks is planning on picketing two other stores outside of Philadelphia.

And the union is winning. The picketing is effectively hurting business. And Genuardi has backed off from bidding on another store they had planned on buying.

## Young Worker Killed at Sun Ship

A 24 year old electrician was electrocuted on Thursday, August 2, when he cut through a live 110 volt wire. He was working second shift that night, when it rained heavily. Working in rain soaked clothes contributed to his death. A co-worker, who witnessed the accident, was treated for shock.

The story around the shipyard is that both men knew that they were working in dangerous conditions. They discussed whether to refuse the work, but decided not to because of fear of being pink slipped and sent home. The company uses this system to intimidate workers from voicing their legitimate complaints.

OSHA was allowed into the shipyard to investigate the next day due to pressure on the company from Boilermakers Local 802. From accounts of what happened it's inevitable that OSHA will find serious violations of its safety

rules which caused this worker's death. But OSHA fines and citations can't bring him back to life, and government regulations have not been able to stop the death toll at Sun Ship.

Both the company and the union claim to have beefed up their health and safety programs since Janet Sloan's death in the summer of 1977. Janet, a young woman welder, was killed in a fall while air arc welding alone on unsafe scaffolding, one of the hardest assignments in the shipyard. She got this hard assignment because the company was harassing her for being a leftist and an active rank-and-filer.

The death of this young electrician points up the fact that the safety of rank and file workers can only be protected when their right to refuse unsafe work is fully protected. This includes adequate job and safety training so workers can recognize hazards, and job protection



when they refuse the work. The electrician who was killed was new on the job, was insufficiently trained, and should not have been assigned to work where he was in the first place.

This death reminds us that the rank and file and their local have a long, hard struggle against the corporate murderers ahead if they are going to win safe working conditions at Sun Ship.

# Fighting Cutbacks in Public Housing

by Judi Baker

Public and subsidized housing, begun during the depression but largely developed since World War II, is being increasingly attacked by federal and local policy makers as too expensive, wasteful and "unsuccessful."

Nationally, "liberal" Senator Proxmire is leading the attack, threatening Congressional cutbacks on funding for public and subsidized housing and at the same time, fighting for a rent increase for all public housing tenants. Right now, public housing residents pay 25% of their income on rent and Proxmire has proposed this be increased to 30% of a tenants' income — a 20% increase for tenants who are mainly on fixed incomes!

Locally, Philadelphia Housing Authority (PHA) officials have simply stopped making repairs on many units, leaving them to rot in the predominantly Black and Puerto Rican communities where they are located. An unwritten PHA policy is that when a unit costs more than \$2500 to repair, it just isn't repaired at all. Since no attempt is made to keep the apartment in good condition when it is occupied by a tenant, by the time a tenant leaves, the apartment costs "too much" to fix. There are currently 365 empty "scattered site" units (individual houses not part of a project), while 225 have been demolished over the past years.

Instead of building new housing the city has done all it can to prevent public housing from being developed — such as Whitman Park. But this administration has taken its racist "benign neglect" even further than in most cities by forcing predominantly Black tenants out of developments located in white communities. Schuylkill Falls high rise in East Falls — once a showcase high rise — now stands abandoned after 579 families were forced out.

In South Philadelphia, Martin Luther King has over 100 apartments vacant, and Wilson Park is being vacated quickly. Tasker Homes, the scene of recent demonstrations, has several hundred empty apartments. Southwark Plaza is also on PHA's "hit list" and few new tenants are being moved in at this development.

As the waiting list for public housing increases to an estimated 20-30,000 families, the actual supply has decreased under the Rizzo Administration, not to mention the terrible shape of the apartments that are occupied.

Since many public and subsidized developments in urban centers are comprised of Black and Latino people — largely families headed by women — the

blatant racism and sexism of this attack on low income housing is evident. However, white unemployed and working people are also affected, particularly in rural areas and in many New England cities where a good number of white families live in public and subsidized housing. Also hard hit are senior citizens who in recent years have been forced to live in federally subsidized buildings.

## THE FIGHTBACK

The movement for low income housing is using a variety of tactics in fighting for decent housing. On the national level, the National Tenants Organization has been lobbying against the cutbacks by bringing tenants to Washington.

One important aspect in this struggle was the role the State Tenants Organization of Pennsylvania played when it mobilized tenants on July 10, 1979 from across the state to pressure Proxmire to increase funding for low income housing and to stop pushing for a rent increase. Proxmire is famous for his "Golden Fleece" awards given to people he feels waste taxpayers' money. So Pennsylvania tenants responded to Proxmire's housing program by presenting him with his own "Golden Fleece" award for ripping off low income tenants.

At the meeting with Proxmire, the tenants brought the good Senator down to reality by explaining how public housing tenants simply couldn't and wouldn't pay a rent increase, given the rising cost of food, clothing and transportation. Tenants suggested Proxmire find funds for housing from the Pentagon and corporations who could afford it, instead of placing the economic crisis on the backs of the poor. Proxmire's responses reflected the Congressional drift to the right and his lack of concern for those he felt weren't really the "majority taxpayer." He tried to trick the tenants by stating his rent increase would only affect new tenants and that present tenants would be exempt, and he questioned why the group would be therefore concerned.

Tenants, knowing that a blow against one is a blow against all, refused to be comforted by this tactic. They expressed unity with those waiting for public housing who would be hit by the increase, and understood that once new tenants had their rent increased, all tenants would be next.

The immediate impact of the trip on Proxmire is not known, but the tenants did "convince" Senator Schweiker of Pennsylvania, a close personal friend of Proxmire's to vote against the rental in-



MTU News/cpf

crease and for *more* money for public housing.

Locally, PHA tenants continue to fight back by withholding rent for a series of demands in a "No Repairs, No Rent" movement.

Other tenants are simply moving into abandoned or empty PHA houses and are being defended by the community. In a recent mass action, on July 23 in the Puerto Rican community, two leading activists, Rafael Acosta and Altagracia Oppenheimer were arrested when they tried to block the police removal of a squatter family. After they were arrested, about 100 people gathered at the house and moved the family back in. In the face of such militancy, PHA capitulated and agreed to give the family a lease.

The lack of decent low cost housing has also prompted several community groups including the Kensington Joint Action Council (KJAC) and the Association of Community Organizations for Reform Now (ACORN) to move families into vacant houses which are owned by the City's Gift Property Program run by Councilman Janotti. It is common knowledge that Janotti uses this program of "giving away" vacant houses for \$13.50 for political purposes.

Under the leadership of housing activists Barry Parker from the Raymond Rosen Projects and Nellie Reynolds, head of the Resident Advisory Board, plans are being made to fight against the evacuation of the city's high rises.

This winter, in the face of worsening economic conditions, the rent strike, the squatters movement, and direct action against the planned removal of tenants from high rises should expand and grow.

Other forces must also begin to take up the housing struggle and to fight the racism inherent in present government cutbacks. Trade unions which sponsor many subsidized housing programs, especially for senior citizens, should also join the fight back, with the understanding that working and retired members of unions are also victims of the housing crisis. Activist men who understand that it is the single parent family that suffers most from lack of low cost rental housing should also take up this struggle.

It should also be clear that the housing movement cannot rely on either the Democrats or the Republicans to develop housing programs that speak to the needs of the people. Democrats like Sen. Proxmire, California Governor Jerry Brown and President Carter are all behind cutting housing funds, and the Republicans have been even more conservative in this area. Under Nixon, most federal housing programs were completely frozen out of funds.

Only a housing movement linked to independent political action can prevent the demoralization and confusion that comes about when leaders place their hopes in Democratic or Republican politicians.

*Next article: Is Public Housing Workable?*

## The PFT and the Community ... Building a Better Relationship

In September, 1980, the contract of school employees organized in the Philadelphia Federation of Teachers (PFT) will expire. With all social services now under attack there is little reason to believe that school employees won't be threatened with lay-offs which will result in cutbacks of programs and larger classes.

The demands of school employees and demands for quality education are bound up with each other. After all, fire trap schools are as dangerous to the workers as they are to the students, and it is as difficult to teach in a class with 33 students as it is to learn. Yet historically, school employees and the Philadelphia community have generally failed to fight together for the needs of workers and students.

### THE HEART OF THE PROBLEM

As the number of minority students in our public schools increases, it becomes more and more difficult to find the funds that will adequately staff and service the schools. Many schools, particularly in Black and Hispanic communities are plagued with mice, faulty heating systems, and bathrooms that aren't functional. Some are acknowledged "fire-traps". All the classrooms are overcrowded and understaffed.

But the School Board and city, particularly under the Rizzo administration, have repeatedly cried, "No Money!" to both community and school workers when these problems are raised. In a school system where 70% of the student

population is Black and Hispanic, the failure of Rizzo and company to prioritize improving schools is rooted in racism. Especially when we take into account the money that has been available for projects like the Commuter Tunnel and Gallery II.

On the other side lies the PFT. Most PFT strikes have been characterized by the School Board, city, and media as teachers denying children their right to an education so that they can increase an already adequate salary. It was summed up in a newspaper article in September, 1972, as, "... If there are pecuniary gains made by the teachers (during this strike) they cannot escape the fact that they have failed to meet a moral responsibility

of dedication that is an integral part of their profession."

Yet the demands of school workers have included smaller classes, preparation time, no lay offs, and controls on temperatures of classrooms — all of which affect the ability of teachers to teach and students to learn. And it is a responsibility of school workers to insure these demands are met so that they are able to provide the kind of service they are expected to. But it is no mystery why the PFT has failed to rally the support of the community it serves to help win these demands. Again, racism underlies this failure.

*(continued on following page)*

## Clothing Worker Speaks Out ...

# "Why Can't Our Union Work for Us?"

The Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU) has done a lot for clothing workers in Philadelphia. We are aware that our pay raises, insurance coverage, the clinic — are all results of union action. But we are also aware and often frustrated that our union doesn't support us on the shop floor and in negotiations with management. Sometimes when shop chairpeople are presented with a problem, they act as if the workers are just bothering them and they wish they'd go away. Other times shop chairpeople and our business agents take stands that are not in the workers' interest. Why is that? Why can't we always count on the union to work for us?

We have to dig a little bit for the answer. ACTWU, and some other unions, operate on the assumption that what is good for business is good for workers. If shops threaten to close, our business agents hustle around and find orders for them and report proudly to us at the next local meeting that once again they have saved the day. Our union has allowed beleaguered companies to pay only a small part of their obligation to our insurance fund, and even loaned shops like Daroff money from our funds.

These actions might have kept a shop in business for another year or two, but when a shop finally does close, they pay back only a small amount of what they owe us, and we are left in the hole. Meanwhile, the union has spent its time running around putting bandaids on business' problems while we're left with unanswered grievances and deteriorating working conditions. Sometimes you'd think our business agents were being paid by the Chamber of Commerce, not by us!

We know from many years experience working in clothing shops that if the company is for something, that same thing is no good for us. Businesses are out to make money first and foremost. And they can make more of it the more they speed us up, cut our rates and benefits. This contradiction between the bosses and the workers always exists in an economic system based on profit. The main way businesses get ahead is by ripping off the working class (both as workers and as consumers), and the only way the working class can get ahead is by fighting the bosses for what we deserve.

We are told that maybe our interests are contrary to the bosses but we still need each other. We are equally dependent on each other, right? Wrong! The only way clothing workers (or any other

workers for that matter) can earn money to feed, clothe and house themselves and their families is to work for wages, to sell our labor power. None of us has enough money to buy all the machines necessary to produce a lot of clothes fast and cheap enough to compete with those clothes produced in a shop.

So, under capitalism, we have no other choice but to work for people who own such machines. But they need us too, you might say. Yes, shop owners need workers because we produce the goods. Nothing is made without us. But when you look around Philadelphia and the whole US, who is more in need of whom? Are there more people looking for jobs or more jobs looking for workers?

The answer to that question makes it quite clear that we are *not* equally dependent on each other. Factory owners can pick up and go South to find cheaper labor or automate to reduce the number of workers employed, thus increasing their profits. The working class is always in a more vulnerable position in an economic system based on profit. And that's why we need a union that takes a class stand. A union that represents *only* us. Because of this contradiction between the working class and the bosses there is no middle ground. When our union gives a clothing shop a helping hand, we can be sure that in the long run we will be worse off for it.

### A FIGHTING UNION

All right, we need a fighting, democratic union to represent us. What does that kind of union look like?

First of all, its officials would be elected. Our by-laws allow for the election of shop chairpeople, but how many have actually been elected? Most all are appointed. And even though our business agents are elected, it is very difficult for anyone but the union leadership's choice to run. Union officials' salaries are also important. In progressive unions like the United Electrical Workers the top salaries can't be any higher than those of the best paid workers in their locals. We can be sure that if that were the case in ACTWU, Jimmy Marx wouldn't have negotiated wage cuts for workers at Freeman's.

Secondly, workers would participate in contract negotiations. Contracts would be discussed and ratified at mass meetings. The union would have translators so that non-English speaking workers could



Clothing workers must pull together to build a democratic union that will fight for them. What's good for business is NOT good for workers.

participate fully in these discussions and decisions. Contracts would deal with runaway shops, racial and sexual discrimination, health and safety, unemployment and the right to strike.

Thirdly, our meetings would lend themselves to the participation of workers. We would have committees concerned with safety, grievances and arbitration, civil rights, legislation, community relations, etc. Shop problems would be discussed openly on the floor, motions made and voted on — because the most essential ingredient of a working class union is democracy.

This kind of union is possible because there are other unions which already have these features. But wishing

won't make it happen, only we can because we are the ones who need these changes. Clothing workers are often pessimistic about the possibility of mobilizing people around shop issues. But just last month large numbers of workers walked off the job because of intolerable heat.

We can do it. It won't happen all at once, and there will be times when we are many, and times when we are few. But if we wait until everyone joins us, we will wait too long. We need to push our union to represent our best interests now. The ACTWU rank & file committee is already working for a more democratic union. We need to join the fight and turn the ACTWU around.

## PFT and the Community ...

(continued from previous page)

The 1972-3 teachers' strike provides us with a perfect example. Some of the reasons school workers were striking were smaller classes, preparation time, more money, and parity for Get Set workers, the majority of whom are Black. The threat of schools closing in April of that year was also hanging over everyone's head. Clearly, many of these demands are in the best interests of teachers, students and community. But not once during this period did the PFT attempt to make those links with the community — not once were working conditions and quality education put forth as the same fight.

In an open debate between the PFT and the Board on KYW-TV, the PFT failed to mention the issue of class size. And it wasn't until the last few days of the strike that the PFT, through an ad in the newspapers, made any of its demands clear to the community. In fact, it wasn't until the end of the strike that the PFT even bothered to mention that "teachers hated to see students miss school"! When, in the final settlement, reduction in class size was won, it clearly stated that this

wouldn't occur for another 2½ years. Quality education was put on the back burner.

The PFT never even raised the issue of full funding for schools and most importantly neglected to target the racism of the Board as the chief obstacle to quality education and good working conditions.

### THE PRICE OF DISUNITY

This failure to take up educational issues publicly has obscured the community's interest in working with and supporting the struggles of school employees. It has even weakened the union itself. Black school workers are faced with the contradiction of either supporting their union in the fight for a decent standard of living or supporting the right of children in their communities to a decent education. Not until the rank and file understands that they and the community are allies in these fights will we be able to win these common needs.

The School Board knows this is true. That is why their tactics are aimed at further dividing the community and school workers. In the 1972-3 strike the Board's rationale at the injunction hearing for enjoining the striking PFT was well spoken: "Inasmuch as the strike was an attack upon poor, underachieving Black and Puerto Rican students it must stop." (Ironic, given that it's precisely the Board's racism which has led to the deterioration of the schools!)

While the divisiveness illustrated in the '72-3 strike has typified most PFT struggles, some of the rank and file recognized that their interests are in common with those of the community and worked on building this relationship. In 1972 the Education Action Coalition was formed. The Coalition included the Black Caucus of PFT, the Progressive Caucus (now the School Employees Action Caucus), Parents Union, Mt. Airy Neighbors, Black Political Forum, and the Urban Coalition. At one point, 700 people jammed into City Council chambers to bring pressure on Rizzo and council members to alleviate the school crisis.

The Progressive caucus also mobilized a number of teachers, students, and parents to picket Nixon's campaign head-

quarters showing how our inflated military budget has disastrous effects on education. While these are certainly positive steps, the rank and file of PFT must put pressure on its leadership to build from and expand these efforts.

Next month the *Organizer* will take a closer look at what needs to be done in Philadelphia, so that when September 1980 rolls around, school workers and community are fighting together, in defense of our standard of living, to build quality education, and in defense of public education.



# Local Trade Union Leader Talks about SALT II

Thomas Paine Cronin is the President of AFSCME Local 2187 and a leader of the rank & file movement within District Council 47 which represents the city's white collar workers. Cronin recently visited the Soviet Union for a week to better understand that country's position on SALT II. The following are excerpts from an interview.

**ORGANIZER:** Who organized the trip and who went?

**CRONIN:** The trip was put together by the National Preparations Committee, the same people who organized the US delegation to the World Youth Festival in Havana. The Soviet youth organization provided much of the funds and handled the Moscow end of the trip. All the people who went, eight of us in all, had some sort of constituency. We had a fellow who was head of the Michigan Young Democrats, a Minister from Harlem who headed up a jobs program, a woman from National Mobilization for Survival, an officer of the National Urban League, a staff member of ASPIRA, a Puerto Rican organization, somebody from the Young Workers Liberation League, a woman who was the head of the Pennsylvania Students Association and finally myself. It included people with all types of political views, most of whom were much more conservative than I expected. All in all a pretty diverse and representative group.

**O:** How did people view SALT prior to the trip?

**CRONIN:** For the most part, people on the delegation were favorable or at least open towards it, but most also had any number of reservations or questions.

## HOW THE SOVIETS SEE SALT

**O:** It's obvious the Soviets see SALT as having a critical importance. On the basis of your discussions in Moscow could you talk some about how they see the treaty.

**CRONIN:** You can't help but be impressed with the deep desire of the Soviet people for peace. They lost millions of people in both world wars, 20 million in the last one alone. As Senator Edward Kennedy pointed out, the destruction to their country was as if every town and village west of the Mississippi was leveled. You had probably one person in every single Soviet family during the last war who was either killed or wounded. This experience has left deep scars and a hatred of war.

The Soviet people know that a thermo nuclear war would surpass even the destruction that was characteristic of the last war. And they know that the nuclear arsenal capable of inflicting such destruction exists. They know that the next war would be the last war and it's only common sense to want to prevent that. The Soviet Constitution has a specific provision outlawing any propaganda encouraging or glorifying war, a reflection of how people see it.

The other thing is that military production, just like it's a heavy burden on the people of the US, is likewise a burden on the Soviet people. They talked a whole lot about how the money they now spend on nuclear weaponry could be and needs to be spent on social needs and domestic peaceful projects. They want to invest more in education and to provide more constructive leisure time activities for youth, just to give a couple examples. But it takes resources.

**O:** Did they talk about the actual negotiations themselves and what they saw as the obstacles in coming to an agreement?

**CRONIN:** The SALT talks have gone on for over seven years. They've been complicated and difficult. As the Soviets see it, they've made major concessions and compromises to get this agreement.

They felt it was important to compromise because they see SALT II as a step toward SALT III and further arms reduction. Their aim, they say, is towards total disarmament. They're realistic. They recognize that a treaty would have to be something the US could buy.

They were also well aware of the problems the treaty would encounter in the ratification process. They were extremely sophisticated about who would support it and who would oppose it and what reasons would be given.

**O:** One of the things the right wing critics of SALT raise is the exclusion of any limitation on the Backfire Bomber, generally regarded as one of the Soviet's most effective new weapons. Yet as I understand it, the Soviets were willing to negotiate this but the US was unwilling to negotiate around the Trident submarine, a roughly equivalent new weapon in the US arsenal.

**CRONIN:** That's correct. The right and the military establishment have raised a couple of objections. One is the verification issue. Here you have two countries with incredible intelligence systems and technology. Both countries have satellites, for example, that can take pictures on the ground of something as small as a license plate. So the verification issue is really a joke. It's a smokescreen for opposing any real checks on military spending. Nobody on the right will come out and categorically oppose the concept of arms limitation or SALT II. Their strategy is to weaken the treaty through the amendment process to make it unacceptable to the Soviets and thus insure rejection. Sam Nunn, for example, wants to tie his vote to a 5% increase in the military budget.

## THE OBJECTIONS TO SALT

**O:** The centerpiece of the anti-SALT argument seems to be that this treaty represents an unequal exchange, that too many concessions have been made to the Soviets and that this, in fact, institutionalizes US inferiority.

**CRONIN:** Total bull. Everytime this question comes up the cry is "we're falling behind" — this has been the case for 20 years, when the fact is that the US has always been ahead. It's the standard way the Pentagon and the military lobby to get a bigger defense budget.

**O:** Part of the way they put it across is by just talking about quantities of weapons with no reference to their qualitative differences.

**CRONIN:** Exactly! Underlying all the different provisions about ICBMs and ACBMs and so forth is the principle of parity or equality. You can bet that the Carter Administration and the Joint Chiefs aren't going to give the Soviets "the edge" and keep in mind that every word of this treaty has been hotly debated and chewed over for years.

**O:** For some SALT critics equality is unacceptable. The US, the argument goes, must have the edge to "deter" Soviet aggression, the underlying assumption being that the USSR is the source of aggression in the world.

**CRONIN:** Regardless of what these cold war types think, the polls show a majority, 75% I believe, of the US people favor SALT and want peace. In the Soviet Union the figure is much higher. The day the treaty was signed there were copies of it available all over the country. I met a guy, an American who had lived over there for four years studying music. He told me: "Listen, I'm not a politician, I don't belong to any party or anything like that, but tell the people back home that these people want peace." And I felt

the same way. There is absolutely no interest in a thermonuclear war with the US.

**O:** Let's talk about the arguments against SALT from the left. These critics point out that SALT II really doesn't limit arms production but rather ratifies existing projections. They argue that the weapons systems that are cut back are already obsolete and that the newest and most potent systems are left outside the treaty. Finally they point out that the Carter administration in order to buy votes for SALT is appeasing the military lobby with support for increased spending on weaponry including items like the MX missile system. So what you end up with is SALT II passed, but not a reduction in the arms race but an actual escalation.

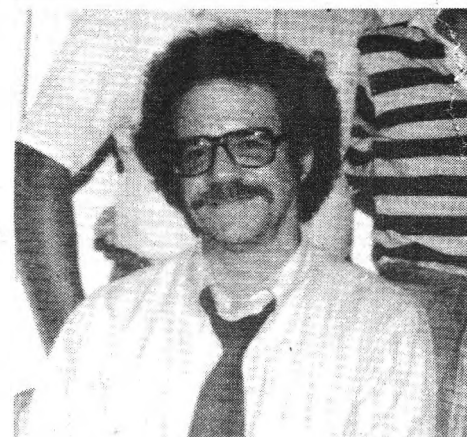
**CRONIN:** It's a very good question. For anyone to equate SALT II with disarmament is ridiculous. SALT II is a step, a very small step towards detente and arms control. There were problems with SALT I, just like there are with SALT II and there will undoubtedly be problems with SALT III. But it's a step towards real arms control, which is a necessary condition for real disarmament. That's the way the Soviets, I believe, see it. And that's the way we should see it as well. It does set definite limits and rest assured if it is not passed arms production will exceed these limits.

## IMPERIALISM AND DETENTE

**O:** How is arms control that leads to disarmament consistent with the existence of imperialism, a system that necessarily is aggressive and tends to war?

**CRONIN:** Another good question. I think it's quite true that the tendency of a capitalist or imperialist system is very definitely towards war. But what has to be looked at is that thermonuclear war will lead to the destruction of capitalism as well as socialism. It's absurd for the capitalists or anyone else to think that such a war will serve their aims. That some people think otherwise just proves that Ricardo Montalban and ABC have no corner on fantasy island. It's crazy.

On the Soviet side they don't believe that socialism needs to triumph over capitalism through war. They see its



Thomas Paine Cronin, President of AFSCME Local 2187, recently visited the Soviet Union to learn more about SALT II.

success being proven through peaceful competition. Through economic competition and so forth. And I think it's a damn good idea.

**O:** The trouble is the US imperialists have a different idea...

**CRONIN:** Well, let's talk about that for a second. I think that it's generally true that they do have a different idea. But I also think that there are conflicts within the capitalist system, even differences between capitalists, over foreign policy, defense vs. domestic spending and war and peace. There are important elements who don't want war...

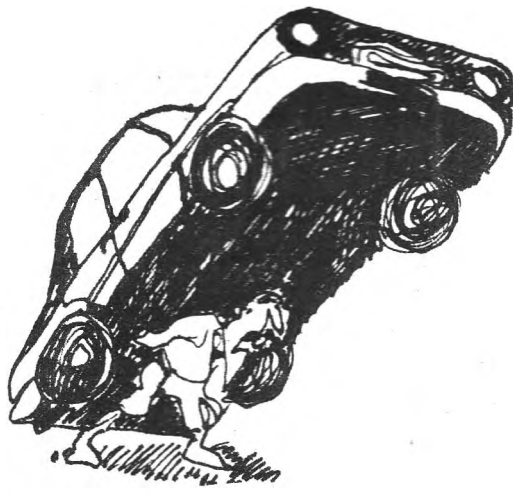
**O:** Subjectively, perhaps, most of the monopoly capitalist class does not want war. The problem is the whole logic of the system leads in the direction nevertheless. As a class, in order to maintain their international position, they're compelled to take certain actions. They disagree tactically on how to best pursue those interests, and those differences should certainly be exploited, but fundamentally they're united on pursuing a course that does lead to war. I think here is where there is a political question involved in how we view the Soviets' perspective.

We certainly would not fault them for seeking an arms control agreement, something that in and of itself is in no way incompatible with a revolutionary position. On the other hand we have problems with the notion that there is a section of the monopoly capitalist class that can be won to detente as a durable expression of their interests and can accept the kind of peaceful competition you outlined as the framework for realizing their class aims. Yes, a socialist country can operate on this basis because it has no need of war, no need to exploit other countries.

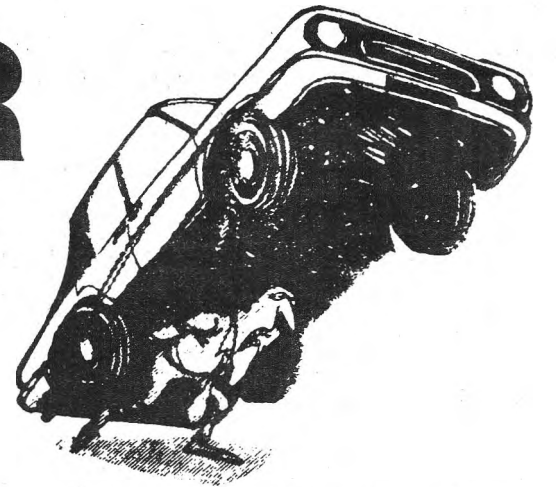
(continued on page 18)



Alain Nogues—Sygma



# CHRYSLER America's Richest Welfare Client ?



by Duane Calhoun

"Other auto manufacturers have a fall clearance, but Chrysler follows a different strategy: instead of trying to move customers into its showrooms, it keeps trying to move part of the US Treasury to Detroit."

— an anonymous auto executive, commenting to the *New York Times* on Chrysler's appeal for over a billion dollars in government loans, and exemptions from mileage, pollution, and safety regulations.

Chrysler Corporation, the 14th largest corporation in the world, lost over \$200 million between April and July of 1979. Chrysler will probably lose around \$700 million for all of 1979, the biggest loss for one company in one year in history. In August, the corporation had \$700 million worth of unsold cars (mostly big gas-guzzlers) sitting in parking lots. And they owe Chase Manhattan, and other big banks, several hundred million dollars in loans that come due in 1979, with many millions more due in later years. In short, Chrysler is in big trouble.

Chrysler's response to the crisis has been to change as little as possible, as late as possible, and put on the heat for a government handout. With the threat of 131,000 Chrysler employees possibly losing their jobs, most Senators and Congresspersons from Michigan (and other locations with large Chrysler plants) have lined up behind the company's request for over a billion dollars. Jimmy Carter has agreed to guarantee a loan of about \$750 million, which Chrysler would get from the banks, and the taxpayers would pay back if the company goes under.

Chrysler has also asked the union to accept a freeze on wages and benefits, which would mean a cut in real income of about one-quarter, by the end of the 1979-1981 union contract. Doug Fraser, United Auto Workers President, has indicated that the union will be "flexible" in negotiating with Chrysler, but so far has rejected the idea of a wage/benefit freeze.

## MISMANAGEMENT AND MONOPOLY

How did they get in such a mess in the first place? First of all, they made a series of bad management decisions over the last ten years. Back in 1969, Chrysler decided not to build a small car to compete with the Ford Pinto and Chevy Vega, which turned into big sellers in the '70's. In the 1975 recession, Chrysler decided to cut costs by laying off 80% of its engineers, just when they were needed to design the new small cars the public was demanding.

Now, they have over \$700 million worth of big cars stocked up, while customers have to wait up to six months to get a Plymouth Horizon or Dodge Omni, Chrysler's two sub-compact cars. At the last minute, the company finally started a \$400 rebate program to help sell all those cars. Ray Cohen, a Chrysler dealer in Yonkers, New York for 31 years, says, "When the public was buying big cars, Chrysler built small ones. When the public was buying small cars, Chrysler built big ones."

Chrysler also invested huge amounts of money in buying up foreign companies, instead of modernizing their US plants and investing in gas-mileage and anti-pollution equipment. Chrysler lost at least \$200 million in England alone, when it bought the nearly-bankrupt Rootes Motor Company. In 1978, Chrysler was forced to sell all its European companies to Peugeot. And this year, it sold its Latin American, Asian and African companies to Volkswagen, GM and other companies.

Chrysler's problems also reflect the inevitable trend toward monopoly under capitalism. The big fish eat the little fish. Chrysler as the tenth largest corporation in the US and the fourteenth largest in the world, is no little fish. But it has become progressively weaker in the face of its gigantic rivals. Chrysler's share of the market has steadily declined from a high of 25% in 1940 to under 10% today. And while its holdings are greater than the gross national products of dozens of countries, it is capital poor compared to General Motors and can't cut the competitive pace.

## CHRYSLER'S POOR MOUTHING

Chrysler claims that government regulations are the cause of most of its problems, and admits to only "some secondary" management goof-ups. The company claims (with Ford and GM backing them up) that safety, gas mileage, and pollution regulations have cost it over a billion dollars in the last few years, much more per car sold than these regulations cost GM or Ford. Studies sponsored by the auto industry claim that government regulations cost Chrysler over \$300 more per car than GM, while Barry Felice of the National Highway Traffic Safety Administration puts the extra cost to Chrysler at more like \$50 per car.

Chrysler's troubles are being used by all three auto companies as a front to attack any kind of government regulations. According to *Business Week*, "Chrysler is fast becoming a *cause celebre* with which the industry hopes to effect a re-evaluation not only of future automotive standards in the US, but also, ultimately, of the process of government regulation itself."

In spite of Chrysler's propaganda, Chrysler workers are in no way the cause of its troubles, and shouldn't have to make the sacrifices to pull the company out of the ditch. While GM spent 19.6% of its 1978 income on wages and benefits, Chrysler spent only 17.5%. While each GM worker produced \$103,000 worth of cars last year, each Chrysler worker produced \$114,000 worth.

While GM spent 22% of its payroll on white-collar and supervisory salaries, Chrysler spent 43% (nearly double) of its

payroll on supervisors and white-collar workers. Any way you cut it, Chrysler workers are already costing the company less and producing more, while the company is overloaded with bosses that get paid too much.

When Chrysler began to run short of cash a few years ago, it began borrowing more and more heavily from the banks — Chrysler's interest payments have doubled twice in six years. Even though Chrysler lost over \$200 million last year, the company paid out \$65 million (in borrowed money) to stockholders.

Chrysler could easily raise the money it needs to stay alive by selling its Marine Products Division, its Military (tank) Division or its millions of dollars worth of stock in Mitsubishi Motors of Japan and Peugeot Corporation of France — all without harming its position as an auto manufacturer. Eugene Jennings, management consultant and professor at Michigan State, told *Business Week* that Chrysler will do this if it has to, but is waiting to see if "enough aid can be pried out of Washington to make it necessary."

So what should Chrysler workers do? The company is trying to use its troubles to blackmail the UAW to take a step backward in wages, benefits and working conditions. This attack on the union is aimed especially at Black and other minority workers, who make up a larger portion of the workforce at Chrysler than at GM or Ford, and who are concentrated in the old inner city plants. These are the plants Chrysler is most likely to close.

The number one aim of Chrysler workers (and of every other worker who sees how the same thing could happen to them) is to save every job. It is this concern that Chrysler management speaks to when it calls for a handout from the taxpayers. But subsidizing Chrysler's overpaid, incompetent management and enabling the company to go on paying dividends to its stockholders at the expense of the rest of us is a lousy way to save jobs and there's not even any assurance it will work.

Instead of bailing Chrysler out, the government should take it over. We should demand that Chrysler be nationalized, with democratic controls over

decision making and management. Moreover, Chrysler's operations should be converted into production for mass transit,

an area where there is a crying social need and a definite market if the government were to shift its spending priorities in this direction. A nationalized Chrysler, unlike Amtrak or Conrail, would not be a constant drain on the taxpayers. A properly managed Chrysler could compete and not require subsidies.

Chrysler management and the monopolists generally staunchly oppose nationalization as an infringement on their property "rights." For Chrysler's owners it would mean an end to the goose that has laid so many golden eggs over the years. If the company were to go bankrupt and there was no prospect of a bailout, Chrysler's owners might well acquiesce or even favor nationalization if they were to receive "full" compensation. This is what occurred when Conrail took over Penn Central. The government acquired the assets of the bankrupt railroad on terms that were extremely favorable to its owners, terms they never could have gotten if the railroad had simply been liquidated and its property sold off on the open market.

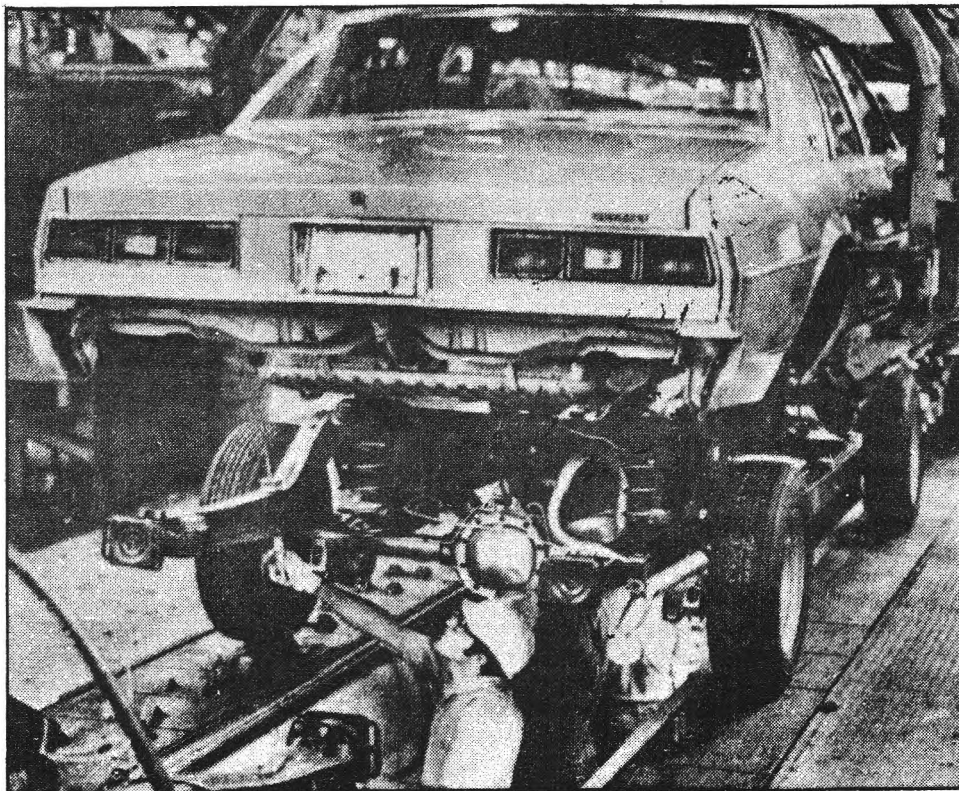
Thus the question of compensation becomes important. In principle these owners don't deserve a dime. They have profited off the labor of Chrysler's workers for years. They have gotten back far more than they ever put in and what they put in in the first place wasn't their own labor but the wealth they acquired from exploiting other workers in other industries. Finally it is their mismanagement and their "free enterprise" system that got them in the hole. As one Wall Street analyst admitted, "...free enterprise rewards the efficient and punishes the inefficient. You can't have it both ways, taking the rewards but rejecting the punishments."

At the same time the working class does not have the power at present to force the outright confiscation of Chrysler and the best that could be won is some limited form of compensation. What must be fought against is the idea of a bailout — that the company owners and their bankers are entitled to 100% or better compensation.

## AID TO WORKERS, NOT CORPORATIONS

Short of this the union must fight for a number of intermediate demands and guarantees. This means guaranteeing "bridge" benefits of full wages and insurance coverage to every Chrysler worker who is or will be laid off, until they go back to work or find another job at the same wage. This kind of guaranteed wage was won a few years ago by California redwood loggers who were put out of work by conservation laws. Most European countries already have such laws on the books. Laid-off workers should also be paid to attend trade school or college, to get a skill and be better able to get another job.

Chrysler shouldn't get any kind of government handout — if they need money, let them sell their foreign stock or their highly-profitable defense business. If Chrysler does go bankrupt, the company will *not* go out of business: they will go into temporary bankruptcy (Ch. 11 of the bankruptcy law) until they can pay back their debts. The company would continue to operate, but would be temporarily protected from its creditors while a payment plan was worked out. This payment plan, and the company's



Instead of bailing Chrysler out of their "financial crisis" the government should take it over. It is workers, not corporations, who are in real financial trouble.

(continued on page 14)

# Short History of Big Oil ... Birth of the Big Seven

by Jim Griffin

The world's oil industry is dominated by seven international companies which among them account for well over half the non-Communist world's oil production and refining and dominate marketing and transport as well. These corporations have held this position of pre-eminence for over 30 years. The Big 7 consists of five US-based companies (Exxon, Gulf, Standard of California, Texaco, and Mobil) and two foreign-based corporations (Royal Dutch Shell, owned by British and Dutch interests, and British Petroleum). In the recent binge of profit gouging the Big 7, led by the Big 1, Exxon, have continued to outstrip their smaller competitors.

All of the five US members of the Big 7 rank among the top ten corporations in the country. Their total assets are one-eighth of the assets of the *Fortune* 500's biggest corporations taken together. Even before the 1974 profit boom the profits of these five companies amounted to one-seventh of the nation's total manufacturing profits. Nor are the so-called minors, the fifteen smaller oil companies, exactly hurting, as the accompanying table indicates. But these companies, with 75% of the assets of the Big 5, make little more than half the profits of the super giants, a reflection of the advantages of monopoly.

## THE RISE OF STANDARD OIL

The modern oil industry is almost synonymous with the name of Rockefeller, and with good reason. It was John D. Rockefeller in the years following the Civil War who built the first great oil trust pioneering the methods that became a model for his successors.

In 1859 Edwin Drake, modifying the technique used for drilling salt wells, successfully extracted crude oil from the ground. High quality crude was discovered in Western Pennsylvania. Refined into kerosene and lubricants, oil found a rapidly growing market.

Meanwhile, John D. Rockefeller was acquiring his first fortune as a trader selling shoddy goods to the Union Army at high prices. Rockefeller's business philosophy came from his father who proclaimed: "I cheat my boys every time I get a chance. . . I skin 'em and I just beat 'em every time I can." In 1862 John D. got in on the ground floor of the oil business. He wasted no time in applying his father's advice.

Rockefeller concentrated on securing a monopoly of the transport, refining and distribution of oil, leaving the more hazardous and risky business of exploration

and extraction to others for the moment. Founding Standard Oil in 1865, Rockefeller rapidly established a monopoly over refining. He was able to force the railroads to pay him secret rebates on not only Rockefeller-owned oil but oil shipped by his rivals as well. Thus Rockefeller was able to deliver the refined product for 40 cents a unit less than his competitors.

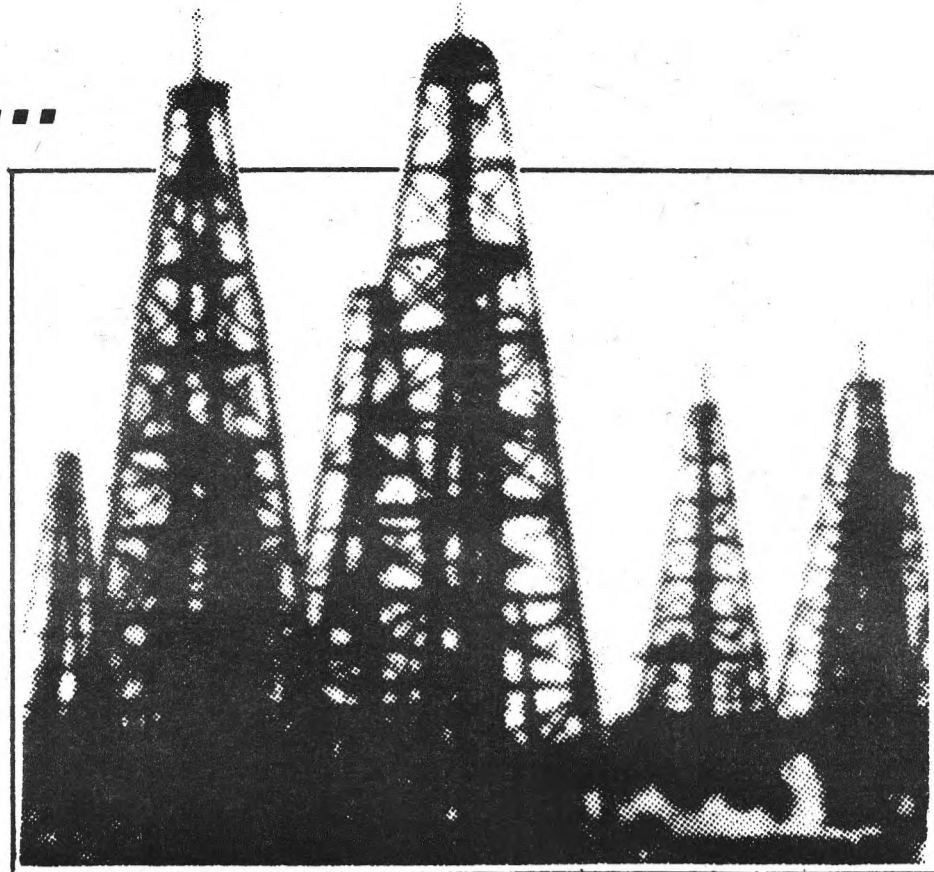
With this advantage Rockefeller was able to ruin those rivals who refused to submit. If they refused to sell to him at his price he drove them out of business. In this way, when other companies tried to by-pass the railroad by building pipelines, Rockefeller was able to either buy them out or crush them. Another ingredient in the Standard-Oil recipe was massive bribery and political corruption. Standard Oil bought up state legislatures at will in order to get laws favorable to the trust. These practices prompted fellow robber baron Andrew Carnegie to dub the owner of Standard Oil "John D. Rockefeller."

Rockefeller rapidly branched out, devouring utility companies, interurban transit, railroads, pipelines, copper and iron ore mines. By 1879 Standard Oil was returning dividends of \$3.15 million on an investment of \$3.5 million — an incredible 90% rate of profit.

Standard Oil's operations were not limited to the US. The company rapidly captured the international market for kerosene. In the 1880's the Rothschilds and Nobels, French and Swedish capitalists, developed Russian oil in order to challenge the Standard monopoly. With the discovery of oil in the Dutch East Indies, Royal Dutch Petroleum was organized and rapidly emerged in the 1890's as Standard's chief international competitor. Nevertheless, by the end of the century, Standard could count two-thirds of the British market, four-fifths of the European market, and virtually all of the Far East and Latin America as its province.

## EMERGENCE OF THE BIG 7

Two developments put an end to Standard's near total monopoly and led to the emergence of its present monopolistic rivals. The first was the discovery of the Spindletop Oil field in Beaumont Texas, in 1901. Standard had neglected to secure a monopoly on Texas oil production and the development of the vast Texas field was quickly grabbed by others. Out of the big gushers of Spindletop three great oil companies grew. Andrew Mellon, the powerful Pittsburgh-based financier, took the lead. The Mellon interests had the kind of capital to buck Standard. Starting the Gulf Oil



Company, Mellon by-passed Standard by building his own refining and distributing network, thus creating the first "integrated" oil company — handling oil from drilling rig to pump.

To secure the cooperation of Texas politicians, the Mellon interests were forced to share the Spindletop booty. They sold part of their lease on Spindletop acreage to a syndicate headed up by former Texas governor Jim Hogg. The Gulf company got plenty of "cooperation" from the State House in return, and Jim Hogg and his Texaco syndicate became rich.

Spindletop oil was not suitable for kerosene or lubricants given its asphaltic and sulphurous content and the primitive refining techniques of the day. It was sold mainly as fuel oil. An English company, Shell Transport and Trading, landed a lucrative contract to supply the British Navy with Texas fuel oil. Shell rapidly built up a fleet of tankers and then merged with Royal Dutch, becoming what remains the largest and most powerful oil company not owned by US interests.

The other major development which changed the corporate map of the oil industry was the breaking up of Standard Oil in 1911 as the result of an anti-trust action. The trust was divided into several major oil companies the most important being Standard Oil of New Jersey (Exxon), Standard Oil of New York (Mobil), Standard Oil of California (Chevron), Standard Oil of Ohio (Sohio), and Standard Oil of Indiana.

The first three of these companies became giants in their own right, far surpassing the size of the original Standard Oil. The break-up of Standard Oil along with the rise of powerful domestic and international rivals, while it ushered in a period of ruthless competition among these giants, did not put an end to the monopolistic structure and practices of the industry.

## COMPETITION AND MONOPOLY

The coming of the Model T Ford and the era of the automobile produced a dramatic rise in the demand for oil. The big companies, particularly Standard of NJ and Royal Dutch Shell waged a fierce struggle for new markets, aided by their respective governments. Price wars, bribery and violence were the staple tactics of this war. The oil barons forced their way into the oil-rich regions of the Middle East and Mexico, pushing aside reluctant governments when necessary.

In 1928 the main antagonists in the oil war reached agreement on an armistice. Standard, Royal Dutch Shell, and BP negotiated what was called the "as is" agreement. The agreement replaced competition with collusion as the dominant aspect of the relationship between these companies. It ruled out new production facilities until the old ones were being used at capacity. It fixed the share of the market of each company as that which existed in 1928.

It put an end to price wars by arranging for each market to be supplied from the nearest source with the world price being based on high cost Texas oil. This meant huge super-profits from oil produced at low costs elsewhere. On top of this the agreement called for each company to simply add a dollar per barrel onto the price as their "profit" As this agreement clearly illustrates, the advantages of monopolistic collusion far outweighed those of competition.

The discovery of the East Texas oil fields and the onset of the depression combined to momentarily threaten the monopolistic structure of the industry. The vast East Texas find was two to six miles wide and 40 miles long, lying under the land of countless poor Texas dirt farmers. Small producers as well as the majors rushed in to tap the field. Small primitive "coffeepot" refineries sprang up to convert crude into gasoline. The glut of East Texas oil arrived on the market at the same time as the depression was causing a sharp drop in demand. The cheap gasoline produced by the so-called "poor boys", the new small producers, threatened the monopolistic price structure erected by the majors.

The answer of Big Oil to this threat was government regulation and "conservation." Up until this time the oil companies had opposed any government regulation as an infringement on their God-given right to the biggest possible profit. As for conservation, these companies had wilfully wasted the natural resource on which their profits depended. They had refined only the most profitable petroleum products and discarded or burned off the rest.

But now, suddenly, limiting production came to be in their interests. As industry expert Harvey O'Connor described it: "Most people conserve when there is too little; the oil industry only 'conserves' when there is too much. . . 'conservation' came into its own — not to conserve the oil but to conserve the industry's profitability."

In 1931 the governors of the western oil producing states joined in a compact to limit production, setting quotas for each state. When the "poor boy" producers simply ignored the quotas the Texas and Oklahoma National Guards were called out to enforce them. But the small producers managed to successfully challenge the quotas in the courts.

Senator Tom Connally of Texas and the federal government then rushed to the aid of the oil giants. The Connally "Hot Oil" Act outlawed interstate transport of any oil produced in defiance of state measures controlling oil production. This was the beginning of the end for the "poor boys". One by one, their coffeepot refineries shut down while Standard, Texaco, Gulf and Shell reasserted their control.

With the active cooperation of the US government both at home and abroad, the major oil companies had consolidated a position of privilege, power, and profitability which they enjoy to this day.

## Oil Companies: Second Quarter Results

Company	Revenues	Net Income	Net Income Percent Change From '78
Exxon	\$19,614,000,000	\$830,000,000	+ 20.3
Mobil	10,600,000,000	404,000,000	+ 37.9
Texaco	8,532,000,000	365,400,000	+132.1
Standard Oil (Calif.)	7,000,000,000	412,000,000	+ 60.9
Gulf	6,108,000,000	291,000,000	+ 65.3
Standard Oil (Ind.)	4,600,000,000	401,200,000	+ 36.4
ARCO	3,731,485,000	260,400,000	+ 23.5
Shell	3,500,000,000	277,000,000	+ 54.7
Conoco	3,000,000,000	215,800,000	+ 67.6
Sun Company	2,530,000,000	158,500,000	+ 56.6
Phillips Petroleum	2,160,300,000	214,600,000	+ 44.0
Union Oil	1,866,300,000	128,200,000	+ 48.0
Standard Oil (Ohio)	1,820,000,000	201,400,000	+ 70.1
Marathon Oil	1,590,000,000	84,800,000	+ 67.6
Cities Service	1,446,200,000	76,700,000	+ 30.5
Getty Oil	1,150,000,000	139,500,000	+149.1
Pennzoil	493,200,000	58,000,000	+ 89.9

The New York Times / July 30, 1979



# Casualty of US Foreign Policy ...

## The Andrew Young Affair

Andy Young's parting speech at the United Nations, where he has served as US ambassador for over three years, drew cheers and applause from many Third World and non-aligned delegates. That a representative of the US could achieve such popularity and respect in these quarters is unprecedented. This was the immense value of Young to the Carter administration. Young's greater sensitivity to the peoples of the underdeveloped nations, his identification with many of their goals gave him a credibility that no other US diplomat could even approach.

Why then, was Young sacked? The standard explanation is that his "indiscretions" which regularly "embarrassed" the State Department, had become a greater liability than his acknowledged assets. The informal contact with the representative of the PLO, which jeopardized Washington's relationship with Israel, was the straw that broke the camel's back, according to this view.

### YOUNG — CASUALTY OF U.S. FOREIGN POLICY

The real answer is somewhat more complex. Young's habit of candidly speaking his mind, often saying things that were in sharp contradiction to official US policy, is widely believed to have diminished his effectiveness. Actually, this candor was the source of much of his moral authority with Third World nations.

When Young talked openly about the racism of Great Britain, a loyal ally of US imperialism, when he suggested that Cuban troops in Africa might not be such a bad thing, when he said that there were thousands of political prisoners in the US, he infuriated powerful elements in the US ruling circles, but he also struck a responsive chord among the peoples of the Third World. This was the contradiction that plagued Young in the role of US ambassador. To be "effective" he had to at least appear at odds with elements of US policy. But this pose increasingly turned off those with a stake in that policy, both at home and abroad.

Young's dilemma reflects a larger contradiction. On one hand, the US government is courting the Third World, seeking to convince these countries that it is a genuine friend. On the other hand the needs of US imperialism objectively oppose the aspirations of these nations for greater independence, for control over their own resources and national destinies.

In Africa, the US has tried to associate itself, in words, with these aspirations. Yet US imperialism has a stake in the survival of South Africa's white ruling class, and in the perpetuation of the neo-colonial regimes throughout the continent. Continued strong ties with South Africa, support for counter-revolution in Angola, underwriting imperialist intervention in Zaire and the search for a neo-colonial solution in Zimbabwe — these US actions reveal the actual aims of US policy, regardless of anything Andy Young has said or might say.

Similarly in the Middle East, to buy better relations with the oil-producing countries, the US has had to abandon, at least in words, its total intransigence toward the national rights of the Palestinian people. But even the slightest move in their direction jeopardizes relations with Israel, long the most reliable policeman for imperialist interests in the Middle East.

When Andy Young talked to the PLO he helped create an impression that the US was "moving" on the Palestine question, an impression that greatly aids the conservative Saudi and Sadat regimes which fear isolation as a result of their ties with US imperialism. That Young was fired for this indiscretion indicates that what is fundamental and enduring in US policy is support for the Zionist, expansionist regime.

In short, the firing of Andy Young rips the mask from the face of US imperialism. Young was part of the cosmetic effect the Carter administration has sought to create — a US that is sensitive and responsive to the concerns of the Third World. Underneath the make-up are



Former Ambassador Andrew Young addresses the United Nations. Young lost his job, caught up in the dilemma of US imperialism.

the marks of the will to dominate, control, and exploit. These ugly features now stand out in sharper relief as a result of the exit of Andy Young.

### ON THE HOME FRONT

Young's departure exposes another feature of US imperialism — racism. Young was the only Afro-American in the high councils that shape and execute US foreign policy. Along with Patricia Harris, Young was alone as a Black voice in the Carter cabinet. His ability to relate to the peoples of the Third World owed much to his being Black. This was not so much a matter of skin color. Rather, Young as a product of the civil rights movement in the US could better understand the aspirations of peoples victimized by white colonialism and racism outside the US.

In the eyes of many Afro-Americans the firing of Young indicates that the Carter administration considers the appeasement of Israel more important than relations with African countries and above according Blacks a role in the US government at home. The Young incident occurred in a context of Black organizations rethinking their attitude toward US policy in the Middle East, including the US posture toward the PLO, which Young himself denounced as "ridiculous".

Leaders of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) recently held discussions with representatives of the PLO and issued a statement supporting "self-determination for the Palestinian people." The statement drew immediate fire from both the Israeli government and from prominent Jewish organizations in the US, which were also vocal in demanding Young's resignation.

The Young incident and its aftermath have touched off a reappraisal of the increasingly tense relations between the Jewish community and the Black movement. At a recent conference of 200 Black leaders, Julian Bond, after noting that the Jewish community has traditionally been an ally in the struggle against racial discrimination, went on to say, "... in the past ten years, some Jewish organizations and intellectuals who were previously identifiable with the aspirations of Black Americans have become apologists for the racial status quo."

Bond pointed to opposition to affirmative action by "powerful Jewish organizations" in relation to the recent Bakke and Weber "reverse discrimination" cases. Bond argued that "realism demands that the burden of resolving the Jewish/Black tension which has been brewing for years, cannot be placed disproportionately on the backs of already overburdened Blacks; Jews must show more sensitivity and be prepared for more consultation before taking positions contrary to the best interests of the Black community."

Bond is right. The glib equation of any manifestation of support for the Palestinian cause with anti-Semitism by many Jewish spokespersons is nothing but demagoguery. Blacks and other Americans as well are coming to understand the essential justice of the Palestinian people's fight to regain their homeland. This progressive sentiment poses no threat to the legitimate interests of the Jewish people. Indeed, it is the political sway of a Zionism that is expansionist and racist which poses the real threat to the Jewish people by dividing them from their real allies.



## Fight Back Against Big Oil

A recent demonstration in Philadelphia called by POCO — a coalition demanding public ownership and control of oil.

## Rockefeller ... a name that lives in infamy

When Andrew Carnegie with the aid of federal troops and armed Pinkerton guards smashed the five-month old Homestead Steel Strike, John D. Rockefeller wrote Carnegie "approving his course and expressing sympathy". Rockefeller's "sympathies" were naturally on the side of capital against labor, and this became a pillar of family tradition.

John D. Rockefeller Jr. personally took charge of an army of scabs, Pinkertons, and National Guard to break the strike of the Ludlow coal miners, evicted from their company housing in the midst of winter by the Rockefeller-owned Colorado Fuel and Iron Company. One man, six women, and 13 children were murdered when John D. Jr. ordered his militia to machine gun the strikers' tent city. Rockefeller described his actions as "a principled fight" against trade unionism. This fight was continued and waged with such ferocity that the Rockefeller-owned refineries were not organized until the 1950's.

Racism is another component of the Rockefeller legacy. As late as 1950 less than 1% of the workers in the crude petroleum and natural gas industry were Black. Chicanos were concentrated in the lowest paying and most dangerous jobs. Metropolitan Life, a Rockefeller-dominated insurance company, financed the building of large segregated housing developments. Not only were Blacks kept out, but whites who tried to help them gain entry were evicted.

Rockefeller atrocities are not just ancient history from the days of the "robber barons". Nelson Rockefeller continued the family tradition in supervising the Attica massacre of Black prisoners. The Rockefeller interests were influential in shaping US policy in Vietnam which produced the My Lai massacre and saw thousands of Vietnamese children and civilians maimed or killed by Rockefeller-produced napalm. The name of Rockefeller personifies the brutality and hypocrisy of the monopoly capitalist ruling class.

# Independent Political Action and the Struggle for Socialism

In the wake of the charter change struggle and with the emergence of an independent political movement, thousands of people are moving outside the orbit of the Democratic and Republican parties. The Black Political Convention, the Puerto Rican Alliance and the new prominence of the Consumer Party are all expressions of this. All these organizations have adopted programs that go against the grain of the capitalist-controlled two parties. All of them in varying degrees have pledged to fight for demands that reflect the interests of the broad majority of working people versus the narrow interests of the bankers and monopolists. And all of them have organized independently of the two parties to achieve their demands.

Another reflection of the growth of this independent sentiment is the response of the two party politicians who have been forced to seek the support of this movement and make concessions to it. The decision of Lucien Blackwell to accept the draft of the Black Political Convention and the Consumer Party and run for mayor is yet another expression of the growing power of the independent movement.

The PWOC supports this movement and is an active part of it. We support it because it represents a real step toward independence from the two capitalist-controlled parties. We support this independence because we believe these parties can never meet the needs of the masses and will never do anything but mislead and betray the people.

## THE MOVEMENT OF THE PRESENT

At the same time we recognize that the present movement for political independence is uneven and still immature. Many still retain illusions about the Democratic Party and see working outside it only as a tactic to reform this party. Others see this particular campaign as everything and give little thought to utilizing the present contest for building permanent independent political institutions. Still others see independence simply as a matter of organization and fail to grasp the centrality of an independent program — that independence is first and foremost a question of politics. Finally traditional notions of how to build a political campaign still hold sway. The need for grass roots organization and mass mobilization, for linking up with the day to day movements of the people, as the way to wage and win an independent campaign is only partially understood within the broad movement.

These weaknesses are inevitable in a movement that is young and charting a previously untried course. They indicate what the tasks are for ourselves and others who have a conscious commitment to independent political action. We have to translate the present independent sentiment into a conscious political understanding that an independent party must be built in Philadelphia and across the country. We have to combat the idea that the aim of our efforts is to pressure the Democrats or the Republicans to throw us a few more crumbs. We have to insure that the platform of the present campaign, the Human Rights Agenda, is not pushed onto the backburner in the name of getting more votes. And we have to work to make this a genuine people's campaign — with the grass roots involved in the key decisions facing it.

At the same time, as Marxist-Leninists, we seek to bring to the independent movement, particularly its most advanced sections, our understanding that only a socialist revolution can resolve the fundamental problems of our people. The struggle for reforms, if it is not connected to the fight to build a revolutionary movement for socialism, is a treadmill. The workers' struggle for better economic conditions, the struggle for racial and sexual equality, the battle for more democracy and the fight for peace — on all these fronts we see how the capitalist class can give with one hand and take away with another.

We have seen how reforms are turned into their reverse. We see how what we win one year is taken away the next. Reforms, while they can temporarily and partially alleviate our problems, cannot resolve them. They cannot because they leave the source of those problems, the monopoly capitalist system, intact. Thus the struggle for reforms must be connected to the struggle to abolish capitalism. The reform struggle must be developed as a school that teaches the masses the source of their oppression and arms them with the political knowledge and organization to emancipate themselves.

Those who are presently being drawn into the independent political movement already understand some of this. They are drawn to political independence because they see from their own experience that the Democrats and Republicans represent big business, that these parties stand for racism and discrimination, and that their pledges and promises are just demagoguery to mislead the masses. Those who are coming to the need for independent political action are also increasingly open to looking at a socialist alternative.

## SOCIALIST SOLUTIONS TO PHILADELPHIA'S PROBLEMS

How would a socialist United States make a difference in terms of the concerns that underly the present campaign?

Philadelphia's people presently see that the wealth of the city is being invested in projects that benefit downtown commercial interests while housing, education and health care are all being shortchanged. This is not just a matter of an unjust policy on the part of the Rizzo administration. It is a reflection of the laws that govern capitalist society. The greatest profit for the few dominates over the social needs of the many when it comes to where money is invested. The profit margins of the corporate and financial interests downtown are well served by the Gallery and the Center City Commuter tunnel, while construction of needed public housing offers a lower return. Good schools that can educate our children are sacrificed in the interests of the banks securing a high rate of return on their loans. Under capitalism it is always profits before people.

Socialism abolishes private ownership of production and replaces investment to make bigger profits with investment to meet human needs. For this reason the great wealth created by our labor can be and is invested in the things people need. A socialist US could rapidly rebuild the cities with decent housing for all, expand and improve the schools and insure everyone the health care that is a basic human right.

Jobs are probably the single biggest need of our people right now — especially Black and Hispanic youth. Only last week Goodyear shut down the Lee Tire plant, adding 800 more lost jobs to the thousands that have been lost over the last ten years. The owners of these factories are not accountable to their workers or the larger community. They take their plants to where they can make the biggest rate of profit, be it South Carolina or Taiwan. This is the jungle law of capitalism. Workers here are thrown out on the street. Workers down south or abroad get low wages, lousy working conditions and no unions.

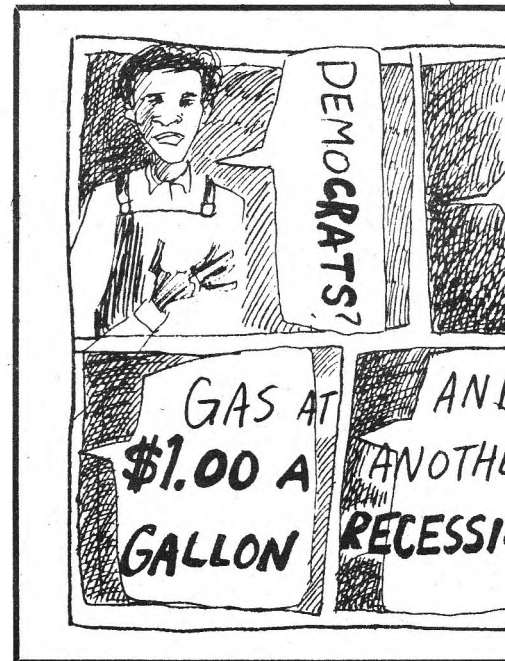
By way of contrast, a socialist economy is a planned economy where unemployment is unheard of. There is no incentive for runaway shops, lay-offs and maintaining a pool of unemployed labor to keep wages down. The working class, as the rulers, seek to employ all in an effort to constantly expand production and raise the standard of living.

Police brutality is a big issue in Philadelphia. Again police abuse is not simply a matter of poorly trained or bigoted individual cops. Nor is it just a question of the policies of Frank Rizzo. Police brutality serves a definite function in capitalist society. Police brutality is no problem for the Thatcher Longstreths and the John Buntings. Police terrorize the poor and the oppressed in order to keep them in line. The police exist to protect the privileges of the rich and propertied. When workers engage in mass picketing during a strike the police round them up and put them in jail. The police jail workers for fighting for better economic conditions. But who has ever heard of them rounding up big businessmen for price fixing, violating pollution laws or maintaining unsafe working conditions?

Under socialism, with the state belonging to working people and with everyone sure of a job and an adequate standard of living, there is no longer a need for a huge police apparatus aimed at repressing the masses of people. To the extent there is repression it is aimed not at the working people, but at the former exploiters who refuse to accept the verdicts of the socialist revolution.

Underlying so many of Philadelphia's problems are the facts of racism and inequality. Systematic discrimination against Blacks and other national minorities is a necessary feature of capitalist society. The employers benefit by making extra profits off the backs of the labor of oppressed nationality workers. They profit from the division between Black and white because as long as we remain divided, their power and privileges are secure.

With the winning of socialism, the economic and political logic that perpetuates racial and national oppression is eliminated. The socialist economy does not require maintaining one group of workers in a subordinate position to another. It does not need division. On the contrary, socialism needs racial equality and unity. Backward racist ideas do not disappear over night and would survive a socialist revolution. A systematic educational effort would be necessary to root out these ideas and lay the foundation for a society truly and genuinely free of



racism. But under socialism, unlike capitalism, these ideas go against the grain of the social order. Thus there is a firm foundation for the struggle to eradicate them.

## THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE PRESENT CAMPAIGN

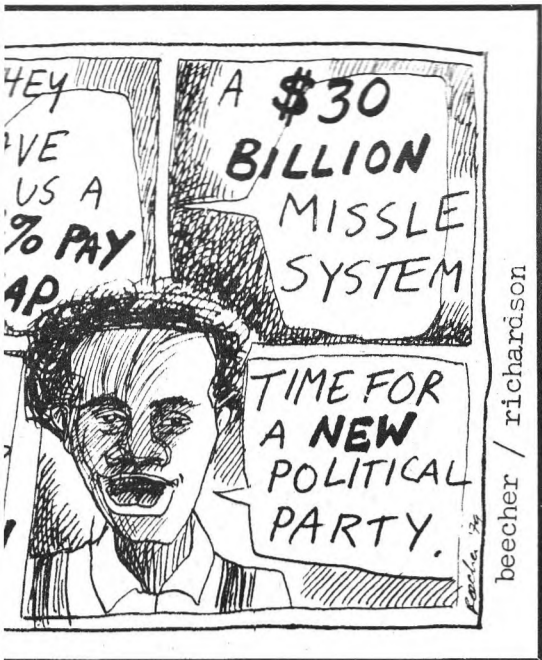
Of course the present campaign does not aim at bringing socialism to Philadelphia. The masses of people presently do not see socialism as the fundamental solution to their problems. And even if they did, socialism cannot be won in a single city. Socialism can only be achieved by the working class and oppressed peoples taking power nationally. The political and economic power of the monopoly capitalist class must be broken before socialism can be built.

But this does not mean that the present campaign has nothing to do with the winning of socialism. This campaign, by breaking the grip of the capitalist parties on thousands of people and by taking the first steps toward the forging of an independent political instrument, aids, if only in a small way, in the preparation for socialist revolution. To the extent the campaign exposes capitalist domination of the city's political life and aggressively fights for reform demands in the interests of the working class and oppressed nationalities, it strengthens the political consciousness and organization of the masses in their struggles with the rulers.

Should Lucien Blackwell and the independent slate win election this fall, they will not be able to solve all this city's massive problems nor do we expect them to. What we do expect is that they will provide leadership and active support in the struggle for such solutions. For example, no city administration in the present period can "solve" the problem of unemployment. Any serious jobs program will require action in Washington. But a progressive mayor could use his office to mobilize the masses both here and across the country for the fight for jobs and for demands like the shorter work week with no cut in pay. This kind of activity is what we must expect and demand from genuinely independent elected officials.

To insure that this occurs we must guard against the assumption that the role of the mass movement is over once the ballots are counted. It is only the power of the mass movements that can provide the clout to win our demands over the determined resistance of the bankers, big businessmen and political hacks. This is true no matter who becomes mayor.

We must see electing the Human Rights Slate not as an end in itself, but as part of process — a component of building an independent movement that will push forward the struggle for the elementary demands of the oppressed nationalities, the working class and all progressive forces. And this, in turn, is an element of an even larger process — the development of revolutionary consciousness and the understanding that a socialist transformation is our only way out of the present crisis.



## Election Campaign '79...

# They're Off and Running

As Labor Day draws near the city's fall election campaign is taking shape.

Bill Green, acknowledged front runner, has continued the tactics that secured him the Democratic nomination for mayor — saying as little as possible and trying to offend no one. Republican opponent David Marston, in a bid to stake out a distinct position for himself and appeal to the Rizzo constituency, went on record denouncing the recent federal suit of the city administration and

police department for condoning "systematic police brutality."

Frank Rizzo, having launched a search to find a surrogate for himself to run in November, now appears to have moved on to other things. The only public figure willing to consider running with Rizzo's backing, Judge McDermott, announced he would not make a bid after polls and a check with Rizzo financiers indicated he didn't have a prayer. The city will thus be spared a Rizzo-style campaign.

Blackwell, running for mayor on the Consumer Party line and for council in the 3rd district as a Democrat, Valerie Lane, running for City Commissioner as the candidate of the Human Rights Party, John Anderson for city council at large as the nominee of the Democratic Party, John Street for council in the 5th district, also as a Democrat, and David Fattah, in the 4th district on the Human Rights Party line. These candidates all expressed support for the Human Rights Agenda, the platform of the Black Political convention and won the support of two-thirds of the Convention's delegates.

The new organization, which drew several hundred people to this initial public meeting, has formed 12 committees to get down to the business of organizing the campaign. Those interested in volunteering should contact Samira at 849-3153 or Celia at 924-1682.

### PROBLEMS FACING INDEPENDENTS

The independent campaign at this stage is not without serious problems. The principle problem is a failure of all the forces involved to come together and agree on a common slate and then forge a single organization to elect that slate. The leadership of the Human Rights Coalition, while it has pledged to cooperate with other progressive candidates, believes it must restrict its activity to those candidates endorsed by the Convention.

Others have argued that loyalty to the Convention process does not preclude coalescing with broader forces who support these five candidates and the Human Rights Agenda, but back other progressives as well. A united effort of this sort with a broader slate is essential to maximizing the chances for victory in the campaign and realizing its potential for developing the broadest possible base of support for independent political action in the city.

Lucien Blackwell could contribute to a favorable resolution of this problem but to date has not done so. While Blackwell is reputed to favor a broader slate, he has not responded to the initiatives of the Consumer Party in this regard. The time has now passed for the addition of new candidates as the filing and substitution deadlines have come and gone. If Blackwell is going to back a slate of his own it will have to come from those candidates currently running. Blackwell also has not taken any initiatives to form a broad-based coalition of all his supporters, but rather has proceeded to develop his campaign organization independently. Hopefully this situation will change for the better in the month to come.

If it does not then the independent campaign is in trouble. Instead of a clear, independent and progressive alternative the voters will be faced with a confusing spectrum of slates. Instead of a unified campaign we will have a fragmented effort with several organizations who share common objectives duplicating activities and making poor use of scarce resources. Some of the same problems existed during the Stop Rizzo campaign, but the margin of opposition to the charter change was so great that these organizational and political shortcomings made little difference to the outcome.

That is not the case in the present campaign. Blackwell and the independents are underdogs. They must campaign harder, longer, and better than their opponents. The prospect of a confusing, fragmented campaign in this situation spells defeat, pure and simple. It is not too late to forge the kind of campaign that is needed. This must be the number one objective over the next few weeks.

# The Human Rights Agenda

*(This article was developed for use by the Trade Union Committee of the Committee to Elect the Human Rights Slate.)*

In the first week of this year the Black Political Convention representing over 100 grass roots organizations adopted the Human Rights Agenda, a program reflecting the aspirations of Philadelphia's Black community. The candidates who sought the endorsement of the Convention were judged on the basis of their response to the various points of the Agenda. The candidates currently running as the Human Rights Slate, with the support of the Convention, have all expressed support for this platform. The following are some highlights of the Agenda.

### JOBS, LIVING STANDARDS AND TAXES

The Human Rights Agenda targets the "racist and exploitative nature of the US government and economic system" as the source of the economic plight of the Black community. It calls for a series of measures that will improve the economic well-being of all Philadelphia's working people.

To provide more jobs the Agenda calls for expanded housing construction in the neighborhoods as opposed to the present focus on the downtown commercial district. To stem the exit of manufacturing jobs from the city it urges legislation forcing employers to give two years notice before relocating. To check discrimination in hiring and upgrading the Agenda demands affirmative action programs be instituted by the city, private employers and unions. The Agenda also calls for aid to small, minority-owned businesses.

In recognition that the jobs question must be addressed primarily at the national level, the Agenda demands the federal government cut military spending, beef-up job producing social programs, and pass legislation for a shorter work week with no cut in pay. It opposed Carter's wage guidelines as an attack on the living standards of working people.

To pay for needed programs and shift the tax burden from poor and working people to the rich and the corporations, the Agenda calls for restoration of the corporate net income tax, replacing the present city wage tax with a progressive income tax, and for reduction of property taxes for senior citizens living on fixed incomes.

### HEALTH, EDUCATION AND WELFARE

The Human Rights Agenda demands more and better social services. In relation to education it calls for an elected school board, full funding for the schools and the firing of Rizzoite Supt. Michael Marcase. It opposes the blackmail of the city's school children by the banks and

demands low interest loans for education. It calls for upgrading basic learning skills, bi-lingual and bi-cultural education, curriculum changes including incorporating the history and contemporary experience of the Black community, and work study programs. The Agenda calls for the school system to expose children to other social systems through trips to Socialist Cuba and China.

The Human Rights Agenda demands that the city's health clinics and home nursing services be maintained and expanded. It calls for strict enforcement of existing laws relating to pollution and on the job safety and calls for the passage of legislation to combat speed up. It targets the abuse of Black and Hispanic women in particular by the health care system and demands an end to involuntary sterilization. Finally the Agenda calls for the creation of institutions to give consumers and the community control over health care.

The Agenda indicts the present welfare system for its destructive effects on the living standards and family life of Black people. It calls for public assistance to be raised to 100% of the minimum standard (presently payments are 70% of the state's estimate of what it takes to provide the bare necessities of life for a family of four).

In relation to public transit and SEPTA the Agenda demands no fare increases, restore all night services, and upgrade services to the Black community.

The Agenda condemns "the capitalistic system" for its treatment of the elderly and demands increased health service, transportation and housing for senior citizens. It also takes up the special concerns of youth and calls for youth to be represented on all city policy making boards.

### HOUSING

The Agenda condemns the practice of "recycling", removing the poor and minorities to make way for upper income residency. It specifically demands an end to the demolition of existing housing, rehabilitation of deteriorating units, and aid to low income home owners. It favors construction of scattered site public housing as opposed to high rises, but demands that existing high rises be maintained and improved until suitable substitute housing is available.

The Agenda calls for the city to confiscate the properties of absentee landlords who are in arrears on their taxes. It calls for the confiscation of abandoned

Most of the early action has come from the independent forces backing Lucien Blackwell's mayoralty bid. The Consumer Party, with Blackwell heading their ticket, has announced further additions to their slate. Herb DeBeary, who nearly bested incumbent Joe Coleman in the primary race, is running again for council in the 8th district. Juan Ramos, a well known activist and President of the Puerto Rican Alliance, has been added as a candidate for Council at Large. Ramos is running with the backing of the Alliance, a broad united front of the Puerto Rican community.

The Party has also placed Ken Galloway, a Black transit worker, on the ballot in the 9th Councilmanic district. Galloway, as the chair of Driving Force, a rank & file organization in the Transit Workers Union, has been a long time fighter for militant unionism. He was also an active member of the Stop Rizzo Coalition during the recent charter change battle. Finally, the Consumers have been seeking another trade unionist to run for council at large but to date have not found a candidate. These additions, joining candidates endorsed by the Black Political Convention and Consumer Party regulars like Max Weiner, Lee Frissell and Ralph Winder, make for a broader and stronger slate — the best slate yet to emerge.

On August 12th the Organization to Elect the Human Rights Coalition Slate held a meeting in West Philadelphia to kick off their campaign. The Human Rights Slate consists of those candidates running with the endorsement of the Black Political Convention — Lucien

housing with these properties to be sold to those who are willing to repair and occupy them for the sum of \$2.00. In regard to banks who engage in redlining, the Agenda demands the city take all its funds out of such institutions.

In relation to tenants the Agenda stipulates strict enforcement of L&I codes, rent stabilization with annual increases limited to 5%, a requirement that the landlords give notice before entering a tenant's premises, due process and just cause for eviction and no termination of heat during the winter months.

### SOCIAL JUSTICE

The Agenda calls for the city to end political repression, respect the rights of prisoners and create a citizen's review board with the power to curb police abuse. It stresses the need for education and community involvement to reduce crime. It calls on the US government to sign and enforce the UN Declaration on Human Rights, outlaw capital punishment and end all ties with South Africa.

To realize the Human Rights Agenda the Black Political Convention calls for organization, education and direct action to further its aims. It calls for the community to judge candidates for office by their willingness to support these resolutions. Finally, in recognition of the unresponsiveness of the two major parties, the Agenda calls for steps to be taken toward the formation of an independent Black Political Party.

# Latin America ... Democracy on the Rise

by Kate O'Hare

In August, Bolivians held presidential elections after eight years of right-wing military dictatorship. At the same time a 38-year-old lawyer, elected last April after defeating decisively the candidate supported by the military, was being installed as president of Ecuador after seven years of military rule. Peru is planning for elections next May, after eleven years of military rule.

Brazil, under military control since 1964, is preparing to legalize new political parties and has declared an amnesty for many of the leftists banned, exiled, or jailed in the last 15 years. And of course, in Nicaragua a revolution not only forced a military dictator from office but destroyed his army and created a new revolutionary army and revolutionary government.

## A DECADE OF REACTION

After a decade or more of repression, torture, exile, and the end of all civil liberties, Latin America is once again the scene of militant mass struggles. Military dictatorships backed by the US have run most countries in the region for many years, crushing the mass movements with a reign of terror. But now these same military regimes are on the defensive, retreating to the barracks and handing over the government in several cases to the politicians. Behind the trend towards elections is a strong mass movement led by the working class. In the last two years Peru has seen six general strikes. General strikes have also occurred in El Salvador, Guatemala, and Nicaragua in the past year.

In Brazil 200,000 metal workers in the Sao Paulo area have led the wave of strikes this year, despite the fact that strikes are generally illegal and that many of the unions involved are themselves illegal, organized independently of the government controlled company unions. While the metalworkers were on strike, teachers shut down 3600 of 4000 public schools in the Sao Paulo area. The strikes were the first major ones since the military took over in 1964.

On May 1st in Chile, 10,000 workers took to the street despite government warnings to the contrary, in the largest demonstration by workers since the military coup of 1973. At the same time workers in Argentina went out on a general strike despite the brutal military repression against all forms of protest.



Peru has the strongest mass movement in Latin America. Above, the general strike in 1977.

Latin America in the last decade has been the victim of extreme repression. To take just one recent example, let us consider El Salvador, a country of 4½ million people in Central America. According to a recent declaration of the Catholic Church in El Salvador, 406 people have been assassinated between January and June of this year for political reasons. Almost all of them have been union leaders and leftists. Another 44 have disappeared, kidnapped and possibly murdered by right-wing terrorists.

Although this level of repression is particularly intense, many countries in Latin America have suffered similarly. Brazil in 1968, Chile in 1973, Argentina in 1976, Uruguay in 1972, and Bolivia in 1971 did not look that different from El Salvador today. Yet increasingly the military are politically isolated and on the retreat.

The main reason for the isolation of the military regimes is the economic disasters they have imposed on their people. The opening of the country to foreign investment, the cutbacks of all social services, the huge inflation accompanied by a severe loss of real earnings by the working class, the mounting foreign debts and dependence on outside loans — this has been the model for many Latin American countries over the last decade. The "Brazilian" economic model, imposed by the Brazilian military at the point of a bayonet in the sixties, has characterized most Latin American governments in the seventies.

In the sixties in many countries in Latin America the mass movements were on the rise. The national bourgeoisie succeeded in making inroads against the old oligarchies, and economies were expanding moderately based on new national production substituting for goods previously imported. World wide, capitalism was still growing at a healthy rate, still riding the crest of a prolonged post-war boom led by the economy of the US.

This picture changed in the early 1970's. A world-wide recession slowed the expansion of capital. The US was tied down in a war it would eventually lose in Vietnam. The economic slowdown in the capitalist industrialized countries also affected the underdeveloped countries. The military stepped in. The US encouraged military takeovers, no longer even formally calling for Latin American democracy as had been the policy in the sixties. Kennedy and his Alliance for Progress were replaced by Nixon.

The military imposed extreme free market policies, ending all protection for national industry and drastically reducing the income of the working class. The internal markets were weakened, and the military encouraged those industries which exported. Inflation soared. The rich grew richer, and the poor grew much poorer. Industrial concentration grew and those industries producing for export or for the upper classes prospered, while overall the internal markets collapsed. Extreme political repression accompanied this economic restructuring.

Although a general pattern can be discerned, Latin America is composed of many countries, and each has its particularities. Here we will focus on Peru where the mass movement has played an important role recently.

## PERUVIAN MASS UPSURGE

Peru has the strongest mass movement in the area. In Peru a military coup



Tricontinental News

in 1968 put General Velasco in power. Velasco took over in response to military impatience with civilian rule, but unlike many military regimes, Velasco promised progressive policies. The government did carry out an extensive land reform, and increased the role of the state and national industry at the expense of the traditional ruling class. Peru also adopted a progressive foreign policy. Velasco however, was overthrown by another general, Morales Bermudez, in 1975.

Morales set out to undo most of the progressive features of the Velasco regime. The limited gains of the peasantry and working class were attacked. Morales decreed in June of 1976, for example, that gas prices would go up 100%, food prices 50%, and salaries would be held to 10-15%. Labor contracts were to be maintained for an extra six months with no bargaining, and all cost of living clauses were nullified. The income of the working class dropped to the level it had been in 1968. The workers responded with a series of important strikes, and the government then decreed a state of siege for one year and declared all strikes illegal.

In May of 1977 the government decreed yet another rise in prices. As a result the unions declared a general strike in July, 1977. The peasant unions, the Communist-led Peruvian Workers Federation, the Miners Federation, and the teachers union (SUTEP) came together for the general strike on July 19, 1977. The strike was almost 100% effective and isolated the government politically. As a result, the military regime authorized the firing of 5000 labor leaders, and at the same time called for future elections to gradually turn the government back over to the civilians.

The dismissal of the labor leaders was a severe blow to the working class. A second general strike called in September, 1977 failed because of the lack of participation of the Peruvian Workers Federation. As a result, a split occurred in the Peruvian Communist Party, with the rank and file condemning the leadership for having failed to back the general strike of September.

In 1978 conflicts continued. A February general strike failed to halt the restrictive economic policies of the government. The military regime revised the

labor law to enable all militant unionists to be dismissed more easily, and negotiated agreements with the International Monetary Fund to get new loans in return for a further reduction of the salaries of the working class. Peru has an enormous \$8 billion foreign debt, and was facing bankruptcy last year when the government agreed to a drastic plan to reduce spending, a plan put forward by the International Monetary Fund. Much of Peru's debt is with large US banks.

Increases announced in May, 1978 led to yet another general strike, this time successful in that almost all the workers in the country went out, and that it led to a strengthening of the left. The left obtained 30% of the vote in the June, 1978 elections to a Constituent Assembly which has the job of drafting a new Constitution and preparing for presidential elections in May of 1980. The right-wing APRA party received 25% of the vote, and the slightly more centrist Christian Popular Party received 25%. From these figures it is clear that the trade unions have not yet been able to translate all rank and file sentiment against the government, as shown in the strikes, into votes for the left.

The struggles have continued this year. In January another general strike failed, with only about 30% of the workers participating. The government had withdrawn some price increases and had occupied working class sectors of the big cities militarily the day before the strike. However, a recent general strike on July 16th attracted widespread support despite the army's use of troops and tanks. At least two people were killed and more than 2000 arrested. The strike was marked by the unity of all left forces and of the trade unions controlled by the left. It remains to be seen if the left can agree on a single candidate for the presidential elections next year. Meanwhile, the 130,000-strong national teachers union, SUTEP, remains on strike in one of the most bitter conflicts of this year.

Inflation was 80% last year, and was 30% in the first six months of this year. Prices have gone up five times what they were in 1974, adjusting for the inflation. The working class and the peasants have responded to this attack with a wave of strikes and a degree of mobilization that goes beyond anything seen before in Peru, and perhaps in Latin America.

# In Solidarity with the Nicaraguan Revolution ...



The revolution in Nicaragua has been a stimulus to all progressive forces in Latin America, and especially to those forces in neighboring El Salvador and Guatemala which are fighting in guerilla wars against their own tyrannical military governments. In Guatemala the Guerilla Army of the Poor has been playing a major role in the struggle against the military dictatorship. Here the Organizer reprints part of a recent document of the Guerilla Army of the Poor, commenting on the significance of the Sandinista victory in Nicaragua.

"The triumph of the Nicaraguan revolution in its present anti-Somoza phase will provoke important changes in the Central American situation. And these changes will be favorable for the development of our own popular and revolutionary struggles.

"In Central America the ruling classes and the military dictatorships have lost their oldest and most powerful representative: the Somoza tyranny.

"The defeat of Somoza is also the defeat of the most reactionary and anti-communist positions. Now US imperialism is looking for new forms to confront the advance of the people towards freedom, and it has abandoned some of its most reactionary allies of yesterday.

"The struggle in Nicaragua has weakened the Central American Defense Council (CONDECA), which was organ-

ized by US imperialism and the Central American regimes in order to repress the popular democratic struggles in the area. CONDECA is at present incapable of intervening in Nicaragua.

"But above all, the triumph of the anti-Somoza revolution teaches us two political lessons. The first is that armed revolutionary struggle, in whatever form it takes, is the only road that poor and working people have to destroy the power of the rich and construct their own political, social, economic and military power. The second is that each people and their revolutionary organizations must find and develop their own way to victory, according to their particular conditions, thinking with their own head and thinking concretely.

"But along with their example of revolutionary heroism and commitment, the Nicaraguan struggle shows us the high price that our people must pay for our liberation. The Nicaraguan National Guard, trained and equipped by US imperialism and its Israeli allies, and with the secret support of the reactionary governments of El Salvador and Guatemala, has carried out an abominable genocide against our Nicaraguan brothers and sisters. This genocide has caused a worldwide protest. And we know that such genocide will be the tactic used in other countries by all those who are capable of living from the labor of others and of crushing the liberty of others to maintain their privileges and their reactionary social system. That social system is capitalism, a capitalism dependent on US imperialism."

## Nicaragua AT A GLANCE

### Geography

Nicaragua, the largest in area and the least densely populated of the Central American countries, is about 15 percent larger than New York State, having a land area of 57,143 square miles. It is bordered by Honduras on the north and Costa Rica on the south. Its Atlantic coastline is 336 miles long and the Pacific coastline is 219 miles long. The main cordillera, or mountain range, of Central America, rising as high as 7,000 feet, runs through the middle of the country and includes many volcanic peaks. The capital is Managua, a city of nearly 500,000 situated on a lake of the same name. In December 1972 more than 10,000 people were killed in an earthquake that destroyed nearly 75 percent of the city.

### Population

Nearly half the country's 2.3 million people are under 14 years of age. About 70 percent of the population is of mixed Spanish and Indian extraction. The other major ethnic groups are Caucasians, 17 percent, blacks from the Caribbean islands, 9 percent, and those of native Indian descent, 4 percent. Over 95 percent of the people are classed as Roman Catholics. The dominant languages are Spanish and English. About 48 percent of the population lives in urban centers and 52 percent in rural areas.



The New York Times / July 18, 1979

### History

After three centuries of Spanish rule, Nicaragua was united for a short period with Mexico, then with the United Provinces of Central America, before becoming an independent republic in 1838. To protect America's considerable interests there, the Congress sent United States Marines to occupy the country several times during the early 20th century.



## Tomorrow, My Son, Everything Will be Different

Tomorrow, my son, everything will be different  
Anguish will exit by the back door  
which the hands of the new people will bolt forever.

The peasant will reign over his own piece of land  
— just a piece, but his own —  
and it will flourish with the kiss of his happy labor.  
The daughter of the worker  
the daughter of the peasant won't have to prostitute herself  
— bread and work will come from her honorable labor.  
No more tears in the homes of the workers.  
You'll rule happily over the laughter  
of paved roads, river-waters, country lanes. . .

Tomorrow, my son, everything will be different: no whips, jails, bullets, rifles  
will repress ideas.  
You will stroll through the streets of all the cities  
with the hands of your children in your hands  
— like I cannot do with you.

Jail will not shut in your young years  
as it does mine;  
and you will not die in exile  
with your eyes trembling  
longing for the homeland's landscape  
like my father died.

Tomorrow, my son, everything will be different.

Edwin Castro, Nicaraguan poet murdered in the jails of the Dictator Somoza in 1960.

# The Myth of Declining Productivity

by Kate O'Hare

Productivity means the output of goods and services per hour of labor. Productivity has been increasing too slowly lately, we are told, and this is one of the key causes of inflation. For example, the July 31st business section of the *NY Times* carried a lead article entitled "Production Index Sags." In the article the *Times* explains "as productivity falls it increases the cost of producing goods and services and increases inflation." Politicians and businessmen have joined together over the last few years to warn about dropping productivity. Jimmy Carter stressed the theme in his annual economic report to Congress last January: "If we ignore the realities of slower productivity growth our inflationary problem will worsen."

At first glance the argument seems to make sense. After all, if we make less goods in the same amount of time, then there will be less goods to go around and prices for them would be expected to rise. On the other hand, if we produce more in the same amount of time, it should help keep prices down. Using this seemingly logical argument, the bosses have called for more production per hour to fight inflation. Translated, this means speed-up and lay-offs after the introduction of labor-saving machinery.

But the argument is false for two basic reasons. First, productivity has been increasing, not decreasing. Second, in-

creases in productivity have not held down inflation, but have only contributed to higher profits.

Let's look at the figures, taken from the US government. If we use 1967 as a starting point, productivity (output per man-hour) has gone up 16% through 1978. Meanwhile, real wages have gone up only 2% after adjusting for inflation. So the workers have produced a lot more goods and services for just about the same wages. What have the capitalists done with this increased output? They certainly haven't lowered prices since 1967. Instead the capitalists have either pocketed the difference, or spent more on new investments and advertisements.

In an economy like this one where a few monopolies control production, there is little competition to cause big corporations to lower prices significantly in search of a broader market. In 1978 according to *Fortune* magazine, profits of the top 500 corporations were rolling in at a rate greater than at any time since *Fortune* started collecting statistics in 1955.

## PRODUCTIVITY— IN WHOSE INTEREST?

In fact, greater productivity is simply not in the interests of the working class in this country. For example, workers in manufacturing have been working them-

selves right out of their jobs. They have been producing more for the same wages while watching their jobs disappear. From 1967-1978 productivity in manufacturing industries went up 40%, compared to 16% for the economy as a whole. Meanwhile, if we look at employment by type of industry, we see that less and less people were employed in manufacturing industries and more and more are employed in service industries.

Whereas employment in goods-producing industries increased only slightly in the last 28 years, the work force in private service industries and in government has more than doubled. In fact this shift to service industry has accounted for the often-cited decline in productivity. Increases in productivity are harder to come by in service industries, while labor-

saving machines have been introduced massively into manufacturing industries.

The problems we face are due to capitalism, not a lack of productivity. The capitalists can't sell the goods the workers are already making. Rather than lowering prices to increase sales, they keep them high and try to sell more by sinking billions into advertising campaigns. The call for increases in productivity is really a call for more profits for the capitalists. Meanwhile, there are millions of unemployed while in 1978 manufacturing firms were operating at only 84% of capacity. If more goods are needed, the unemployed should be put to work. But this can only happen under socialism, where production is based on the needs of the whole population, not on profits for the bosses.

Statistics from the January, 1979 Economic Report of the President to Congress show the following:

### Employment by type of Industry, in millions of people

Total	Goods-Producing Industries	Service Industries	Government
1950 - 52.3	29.7	16.6	6.0
1960 - 59.7	29.9	21.4	8.4
1970 - 74.4	31.6	30.2	12.6
1978 - 89.0	33.5	40.0	15.5

from  
the  
other  
side  
of the  
wall

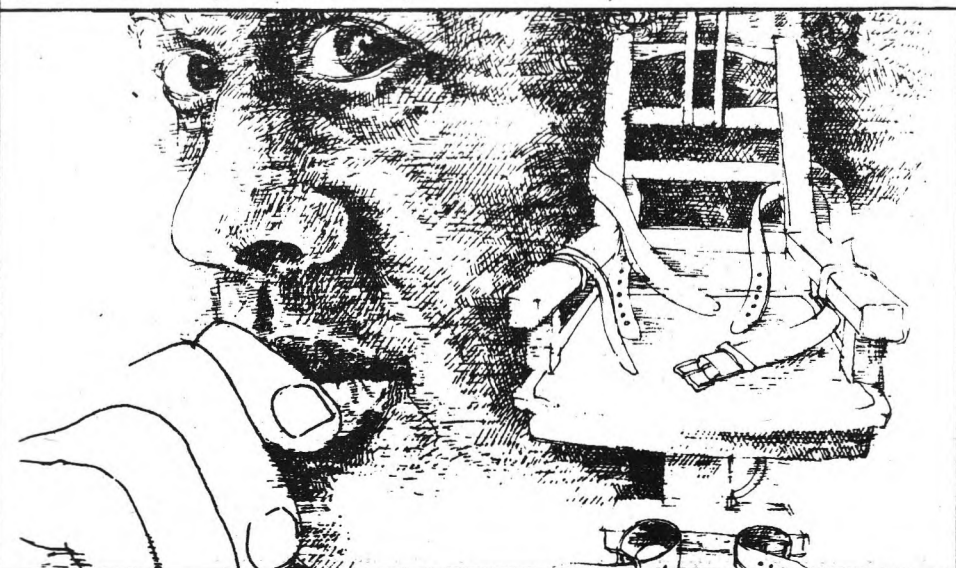
## John Spenkeliink on the Death Penalty

John Spenkeliink was a white drifter who killed another man in a barroom fight. Earlier this summer the state of Florida executed him for this crime. Around the same time, Dan White, an ex-cop politician who shot to death the mayor of San Francisco and gay city councilman Harvey Milk, was convicted for manslaughter and can expect to be paroled in five years. Meanwhile the state of California has filled its prisons with thousands, most of them Black and Chicano, who are serving "indeterminate" sentences for lesser crimes. The contradictions of the criminal justice system were not lost on John Spenkeliink. In his last statement Spenkeliink said:

"I always had a lot of faith in this country, in its leaders and its courts. I guess you'd have to say I've lost some of that. Not that I don't love this country - I do. I just find it hard to believe that there were people who would not, or do not have the courage to, face not only the

issue of the death penalty, but the issue of discrimination as well - economic and racial. I've learned a lot since I've been in prison, with all the reading I've had time to do and the people I've gotten to know. The things that were said in my legal papers were not just issues brought up by my lawyers - they had to do with facts about the death penalty and discrimination in this country, that I can see, that I know about.

"I would like Governor Graham to come see me. It seems to me that if he is to judge me, he should know me. He cannot know me through papers or the words of my lawyers. That's just common sense. If he had investigated my case, he wouldn't be doing this. If he's so sure of himself, he wouldn't be afraid to come. I know who I am, I know the changes I've made since being here. I want him to know who he is killing - the real person, not some idea."



Organizer, September 1979, page 14

## THE NATIONAL MARCH ON WASHINGTON FOR LESBIAN AND GAY RIGHTS

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



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

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

## CHRYSLER ... (continued from page 7)

operations, would be directed by a judge, who also has the power to order changes in the union contract.

The union has the right to propose solutions and to take part in all of the hearings, and can still strike legally if they don't approve of the judge's ruling. For this reason, a bankruptcy judge can be influenced by union pressure. The biggest threat in this event is that some plants may be sold or closed down to cut costs.

The UAW should get a guarantee from Chrysler and from the government that no plants will be closed. If necessary, excess plants now making cars can be converted to bus or railcar production. Plants that might be sold to other companies (both GM and Volkswagen are said to be interested in buying some Chrysler plants) should have a beefed-up "successor" clause: the union contract and local union wages and conditions go along with any sale.

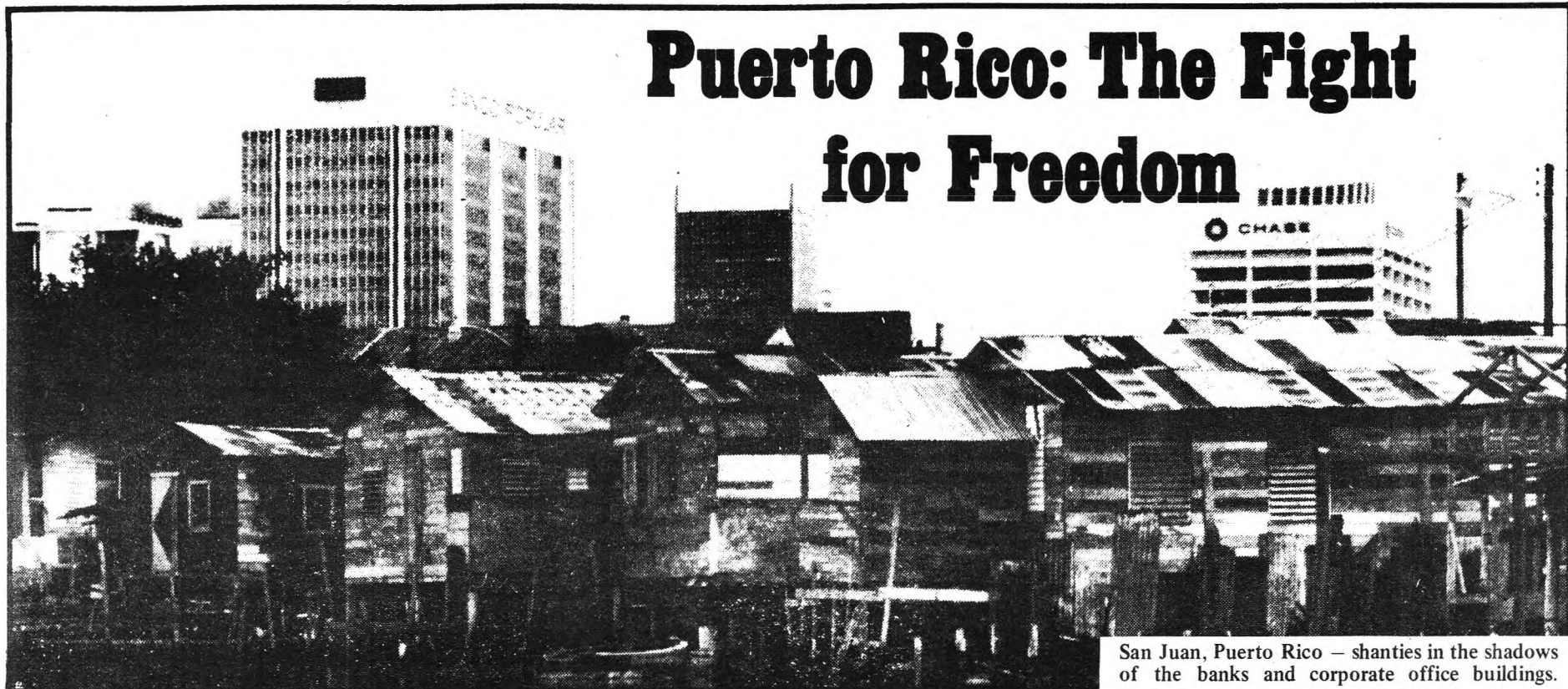
Chrysler workers should reject any attempt to break them away from the Big 3 pattern: labor costs aren't the cause of Chrysler's trouble, and there are plenty

of other ways for Chrysler to raise money. If the union were forced to make any concessions, they should be in the form of a deferred wage increase: workers could give up their increases for the next year, getting this money back the first year Chrysler makes a profit (probably 1981).

The UAW leadership has already given some sign that they intend to give Chrysler at least some of what it wants. Marc Stepp, head of the UAW Chrysler Department, recently said, "Our members have not fully accepted the fact that they will not be part of the Big 3..." There's no reason for the members to "accept the fact", because it doesn't have to be a fact at all, if Chrysler workers make their voices heard.

While there's no doubt that Chrysler is in serious financial trouble, there's also no doubt that Chrysler workers have the power to save their jobs. Neither Chrysler stockholders, Chrysler's banks, Chrysler's suppliers, nor the government wants the company to fold; if the union refuses to be steamrollered, Chrysler workers will be able to protect their jobs and their income in 1979.

# Puerto Rico: The Fight for Freedom



San Juan, Puerto Rico — shanties in the shadows of the banks and corporate office buildings.

## The PRSC Holds National Convention

by Clay Newlin

The Puerto Rico Solidarity Committee (PRSC) took an important step forward at its third national convention. The convention, held in New York City on the 27-29th of July, accomplished two important goals. It served to solidify the gains made by the PRSC in the two years and several months since its second convention, and it provided a firm foundation for building a broader and stronger basis for solidarity with Puerto Rico in the coming period.

Convention discussion was organized around three major documents: a political report, an organization report, and a two-year plan of work. The crisis of Puerto Rico's colonial status and the response of various political parties on the island to that crisis, the moves by US ruling circles to further their domination over Puerto Rico, the new opportunities open to our people to build opposition to US domination — all were analyzed in the political report.

The organization report summed up the strengths and weaknesses of the PRSC organizationally and set forth proposals designed to strengthen its effectiveness. The workplan outlined a program of activity for the PRSC in four main areas: 1) transfer powers to the people of Puerto Rico, 2) US Navy out of Vieques, 3) freedom for the Four Nationalists and 4) defend the Puerto Rican labor movement.

### STATEHOOD DANGER DEBATE

The sharpest debate developed during the discussion of the political report and was concentrated on the danger posed by statehood. The 70 or so convention delegates were just about evenly divided between the position advanced by a bare majority of the PRSC's national leadership and that of its minority. The majority position was that statehood is "the most serious danger facing self-determination and independence for Puerto Rico at this time." The minority argued that there was not sufficient evidence to identify any main danger.

The minority won a close vote in favor of its position (36-29-3). Two of its arguments were particularly persuasive to the swing delegates. Short of a "definitive expression of US foreign policy," they argued, it is incorrect to identify any status option as the main danger. A premature identification of the main danger

would tend to strip the PRSC of the flexibility necessary to oppose any imperialist maneuver.

In addition, several minority supporters asserted that a position on the main danger would be unprincipled. Since some sections of the independence movement disagree that statehood poses

the gravest threat, taking a stand would violate the PRSC's tradition of being in solidarity with the independence forces as a whole rather than just a section of them.

While the PRSC's failure to face squarely the danger of statehood will weaken its ability to respond to the US ruling class in the coming years, most of the delegates did endorse substantial parts of the majority's point of view. The minority's view of the status options was amended in three key areas.

First, a statement was incorporated identifying the statehood movement as clearly on the offensive in Puerto Rico and recognizing that "statehood is the culmination of colonialism deepening US domination to the fullest degree possible and threatening the Puerto Rican nation with extinction." Thus the serious and rising threat posed by statehood was explicitly highlighted.

Second, the delegates added a strong expression of support for the 1978 UN resolution on Puerto Rico. Expressly endorsed was the resolution's call for "a transfer of powers to the Puerto Rican people as the basis for genuine self-determination." The particular significance of this amendment stems from the fact that the "transfer of powers" clause cuts most sharply against the statehooders.

Finally, a neo-colonial solution to Puerto Rico's status (granting formal independence) was specifically determined to be less a danger in the present period than either statehood or a continuation of the present commonwealth. Given that some PRSC members have tended to view neo-colonialism as an equal or greater danger than statehood, this addition was also important.

Only a narrow section of the PRSC delegates expressed any opposition to these three essential amendments. The opposition came from forces with strong Trotskyist leanings and unfortunately from leading representatives of the National Network of Marxist-Leninist Clubs and El Comité-MINP as well.

On the organization report there was more unity. All were in agreement that there had been significant strengthening of the PRSC organizationally — particularly at the leadership level. All united that there had been real advances in the ability of the organization to translate its political perspective into effective plans of activity.

### NEED FOR AN ACTIVIST NATIONAL BOARD

There was also unity that the PRSC had still not effectively consolidated an activist National Board. Composed of both chapter coordinators and at-large members representing important political or mass organizations, the Board has proven unable to successfully integrate the at-large members into its ongoing

activities. Few of the at-large members devoted substantial energy to building the PRSC and fewer still, to developing active solidarity with Puerto Rico in their own constituencies.

Debate focused on how to solve this problem. The PRSC leadership suggested that the solution lay in regular review of at-large board member activities coupled with the power to remove inactive members. The New York City chapter proposed that almost all at-large members be drawn from within the PRSC, and be individuals who have already "demonstrated commitment" to the PRSC and its work.

The New York proposal was rejected. Most delegates recognized the value of maintaining the united front character of the National Board. The at-large positions have allowed the PRSC to draw a few important organizations into active solidarity with Puerto Rico. The problem has not been with the concept of at-large positions itself but with the failure of the PRSC to use these positions effectively.

A second point of contention was over the PRSC leadership's proposal to develop a two-tier membership. Here again the New York chapter was the main antagonist. They argued that dual-level membership would only create additional barriers to recruitment.

But the leadership proposal was adopted. The bulk of the delegates supported its perspective that a "supporting" member would allow the PRSC to broaden, better define itself, and stabilize its periphery.

The workplan discussion evoked little controversy. There was broad unity that the four targeted areas (transfer of powers, Vieques, the Four Nationalists, the labor movement) were the appropriate focal points for the PRSC in the coming period. This was the case despite the fact that the incorporation of activity around transfer of powers represented a real step forward for the organization.

When the UN resolution was passed in September of 1978, the PRSC proved unable to take it before the US people. Within the organization's leadership there was much resistance to actively promoting the resolution's call for a transfer of powers for fear it might be used by the Commonwealthers to advance their "new" version of "free association".

As a result of the conference preparation process as well as the discussion of the political report at the conference itself, this fear was overcome. The delegates were won to the view that while the PRSC opposes anything short of genuine independence for Puerto Rico, our primary duty as North Americans is to fight for the right of self-determination. And no one but US imperialism (and the statehooders!) disputes that a transfer of powers must precede any genuine exercise of the right.

### PLAN OF WORK

Having put aside its apprehension, the PRSC did adopt a multi-faceted plan of action on the UN resolution. In addition to broadly popularizing the UN decision, it was agreed to organize a mass campaign calling on Congress to implement the resolution generally and particularly its transfer of powers clause. A perspective of building active support for the upcoming Second International Conference in Solidarity with Puerto Rico, of which implementation of the UN resolution will be an important theme, was also adopted.

Concerning Vieques, the conference agreed to continue the PRSC's effort to get the US Navy off the island. In addition to continued pressure on Congress directly organized in its own behalf, the organization decided to attempt to initiate a broad network of anti-military, peace, anti-nuke, human rights, church and environmental organizations coordinating activities and cooperating in initiatives designed to support the Vieques fishermen.

The conference also declared that the freedom of the Four Nationalist prisoners was within reach. It decided that closer cooperation with interested church and Congresspeople and with such important organizations as the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression could provide the necessary pressure to force the unconditional release of these, the longest-held political prisoners in the western hemisphere.

New assaults against the Puerto Rican labor movement were anticipated, assaults which would call for clear PRSC opposition. The delegates also agreed that it was of critical importance to mobilize opposition to the use of Taft-Hartley and the NLRB to tie the hands of Puerto Rican workers.

The final working session of the conference was the election of a new National Board. Although marred by some unfortunate red-baiting from the "left" during nominations, the elections did yield a strong new Board for the PRSC. Particular advances were made in incorporating academic, church, and Black liberation movement representatives.

The closing session of the conference was an open one. Attended by many interested observers and friends of the PRSC, it featured speeches by a representative of the Vieques fishermen; Luis Lausell, President of the UTIER; Eneida Vazquez, President of the Puerto Rican Peace Council; and Lally Lopez, Executive Secretary of the PRSC.

Spirited, strongly committed to Puerto Rico's self-determination and independence, and confident that the US people are prepared to move more decisively in Puerto Rico's behalf — it was a fitting conclusion to the PRSC's third national convention.

# WARNING :

## Capitalism is Dangerous to Your Health

by Tom Mooney

Almost daily we hear that a water supply has been poisoned with chemicals, a dangerous chemical dump has been discovered, or that radiation is threatening the health of a community. These are not isolated incidents. They result from a pattern of deliberate environmental abuse by US companies. Companies resist pollution control because it cuts into their profits. And as usual, the companies are squeezing these profits from the workers. Besides being ripped off directly by low wages, workers also are exposed to the highest amounts of industrial pollution. It is in our interest to fight for stronger enforcement of environmental laws.

### THE STUFF WE BREATHE

In many cities, working class neighborhoods have the worst air pollution. Many of these neighborhoods grew up around heavy industries. In Philadelphia for example, the Bridesburg area includes chemical plants and smelters and South Philly has miles of oil refineries. The dust and grime that settles on our windowsills in these areas also settles in our lungs! In some cities, such industrial neighborhoods have been shown to have higher rates of cancer and other respiratory diseases such as asthma.

Federal and local laws in past years have resulted in improvements in air quality of some communities. However, often industries use the potent threat of moving and abandoning their old plants rather than install anti-pollution devices. This threat has often driven a wedge between workers and environmentalists because workers feel that environmentalists are risking their jobs in pushing pollution control.

However, when you compare the cost of pollution control with the company's profits it is easy to see that most companies can easily afford the anti-pollution devices. The company may have other reasons for wanting to move — to get higher profits by lower taxes, by exploiting unorganized labor or by building a more efficient, modern plant.

The quality of drinking water in our cities is also a matter of increasing concern. The treatment of drinking water

is designed to kill small organisms that cause infectious diseases such as cholera and typhoid. But increasingly our sources of drinking water are polluted by chemical wastes. Minute quantities of some of these chemicals can cause cancer. Two things can prevent this danger — industries can be forced to stop polluting the water or expensive new methods must be used to treat the water so it is safe for drinking.

People who live in Philadelphia may remember that last winter heating oil leaked from a tank into our water supply. Although the health authorities assured us the water was safe to drink, the water smelled so foul that many people were forced to buy bottled water for \$1.00 a gallon. They had the right idea. It turns out that in 1977, Exxon Corporation, which manufactures the No. 2 heating oil we drank, warned that it could cause cancer. Aside from spills of heating oil, the Philadelphia water supply contains a variety of other chemicals that may cause cancer.

One of the most dramatic examples of environmental abuse that has come to light recently are the chemical dumps. The chemical industry generates large amounts of waste chemicals which it tries to dispose of as cheaply as possible. The cheapest means of disposal is usually hauling the chemicals to a dumpsite to be buried. What often results is that a deadly mixture of toxic, cancer causing and explosive chemicals ends up in a working class neighborhood — literally in our backyards. In New York State's Love Canal, 300 families had to be evacuated after their homes were contaminated by poisons leaking from a chemical dump site. It was too late for many of the families, who had been suffering birth defects and miscarriages as a result of the chemicals for years.

Unfortunately, there are probably thousands of Love Canals all over the country. Just recently, a spill of PCB's in the Kensington area of Philadelphia caused one child to be hospitalized, and a whole street had to be dug up to get rid of the chemical. Residents were advised to bring their contaminated shoes wrapped in plastic bags to be disposed of by burning! Last February, 1700 barrels



of unidentified chemicals were found in a 60 acre city-owned landfill in Southwest Philadelphia. Some of these barrels were found to contain dangerous chemicals such as benzene, which causes leukemia. The origin of the barrels was unknown.

### CORPORATIONS BUCK STANDARDS

In the present period of inflation and energy crisis, resistance by big business to the enforcement of environmental standards is growing. But environmental problems and pressure on government to control pollution are also growing. In response to mounting pressures on both sides, the government's record on the environment in the past few months has been inconsistent.

Occasionally the mass movement for a clean environment gets the federal government to act after years of delay. The United States Steel Corporation has finally been forced to spend over \$400 million over the next three and a half years to clean up air and water pollution. This will affect 9 plants in western Pennsylvania. The steel industry has been a major source of air and water pollution. It also has a history of resistance to clean air and water laws. In the past, several steel producers, including US Steel, warned that they would close existing mills and lay off workers rather than meet the costs of complying with the anti-pollution rules.

In another challenge to big business, the federal government is preparing to sue Hooker Chemicals and Plastics Corporation for its dumping of toxic chemicals in the Love Canal and other sites in New York State. It remains to be seen whether the government will be able to recover any of the \$20 million in tax money it has already spent to clean up Hooker's mess at the Love Canal.

The Carter administration has also been backing down on some environmental stands. One decision, made in response to the energy crisis, was that rules limiting the lead content of gasoline will be eased, and a ban on the gas additive MMT will be lifted. Lead in gasoline pollutes city air and soil. Lead contamination around major roads is so bad that it may be unhealthy to eat fruit and vegetables grown there. Lead is most dangerous for young children.

High exposures to MMT cause a serious and permanent disease of the nervous system. We know this because some workers involved in producing this chemical fell victim to the disease. It is possible that long term exposure to lower doses in auto exhaust may also have serious effects. So as we sit on gas lines and the oil companies sit on their profits, the air is less and less fit to breathe.

In another decision to weaken environmental standards, President Carter announced that air pollution standards for Ohio would be relaxed to permit two Cleveland power plants to burn dirty coal mined within the state. Carter claims to have made the decision to save jobs for Ohio miners who faced lay-offs if the utility had to buy low sulfur coal outside the state.

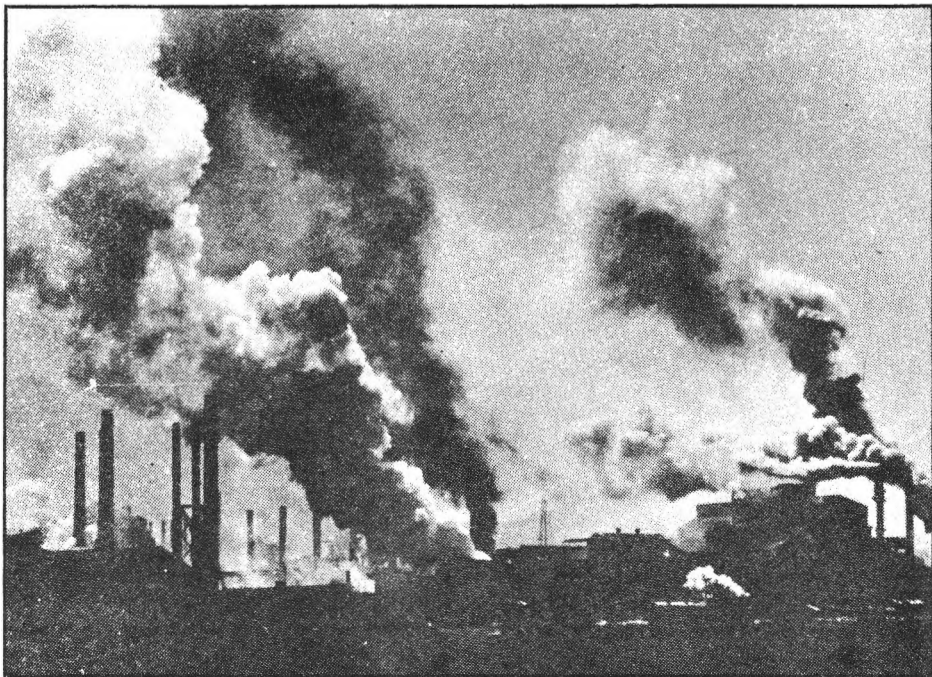
Environmentalists claimed that both jobs and air quality could have been saved if the power plants had been required to install scrubbers to remove the high sulfur content of the Ohio coal. Government economists rejected the idea of forcing the company to install scrubbers because they were expensive and would have an "inflationary impact." The power company could have been allowed to pass the costs on to the consumer, creating inflation, rather than accepting a loss in profits. Here we see the government and big business working hand in hand to safeguard corporate profits, ignoring the health of people in the area of the power plants. High levels of sulfur dioxide in the air around power plants can cause lung irritation and chronic bronchitis.

To some of us it may seem that the pollution problems we face are an inevitable result of the growth of the chemical and other industries — the price we must pay for our "affluent society." To others it may seem that increasing government control of industrial pollution will solve the problem.

It's just not so. The environmental problems stem largely from our economic system, where the drive for profits outweighs any consideration of health and welfare. Our government, which is largely controlled by business interests, will not consistently curtail environmental abuses by those interests.

Pollution control requires long term planning and careful allocation of social resources. In this period of expanding chemical technology, society needs to carefully balance the usefulness of a chemical or industrial process with its hazards to workers and the environment. Technology can be developed to control pollution. But only a planned socialist economy, in which decisions are based on social need rather than profit, will utilize chemicals and technology safely and for all our benefit.

In Philadelphia, there are several groups working on environmental issues. E.C.P.C. (Environmental Cancer Prevention Center) is working on a campaign for safer water. They can be reached at 1315 Walnut Street, 16th floor, Philadelphia, Pa. 19107. A coalition of community and labor people was formed last spring (the Toxics Coalition) to take legislative and political action on the problems of toxic chemicals. They can also be reached c/o E.C.P.C.



U.S. companies resist pollution control, because it cuts into their profits. Most companies could easily afford anti-pollution devices.



# Police Story : TV's Racism - Blatant and Subtle

by Oliver Law

The other night I came home from work and decided to watch some TV before going to bed. I started watching this program, and it snapped me back. I remembered watching it when I was younger, and I remembered the impression it had made on me. It was a *Police Story* episode starring Don Meredith, called "The Jar". Watching it again brought back things I felt as a kid, and helped me understand why I felt the way I did. Let me explain.

The program starts off by showing two Black guys holding up a store. They have a shotgun on the store owner when they notice the police are outside. The two Black guys start to leave when, for no reason, the one with the shotgun turns and fires it into the store owner, both barrels. First impression - Black man murdering a white man for no other reason than he wants to.

## GOOD GUYS ARE WHITE, BAD GUYS ARE BLACK

The search begins, with two white cops (Dandy Don being one of them) after the murderer whose name we learn is Oscar Floyd. They learn Oscar's address, and our two heroes go to see if he's home. Oscar's mother answers the door, a thoroughly nasty lady. Oscar isn't there, but you get the feeling that his mother is hiding him. We learn from a neighbor that Oscar has no father and that the neighbors don't like Oscar's mother and feel that she is dangerous.

Up to now we have a Black man murdering a white man, without any feelings, without a father, and with a mother who is nasty and dangerous. Not a real good picture of Black people.

For a while the cops can't find Oscar but then they get a tip. Dandy Don and his partner go to the address and learn that someone fitting Oscar's description is in an apartment. The landlady, who is white, describes the man in the apartment as being noisy, dirty, and having parties late into the night. The two cops sneak into the apartment and find this guy on the bed, asleep.

It is 6:00 AM. With gun pointed at the guy's head Meredith shakes him awake. Half asleep, seeing two white men in his room with their guns pointed at him, the guy on the bed grabs the hand and gun of the nearest cop. They struggle for a second, whereupon our heroes pump five shots into the guy. He dies, and justice triumphs, except it ain't Oscar Floyd, but some guy named Randolph Mims who looks like Oscar. (They all look alike, remember that one?)

The story makes no attempt to make you feel sorry for Mims, whose only "crime" aside from being Black, was that he tried to defend himself when wakened at 6:00 AM by two unknown men with guns. No, the story doesn't try to make you feel anything for Mims, he is forgotten. But the story does try to make you feel for our two cops, because they are in trouble.

We saw all the shooting, but no one in the show believes that it happened the way we saw it. People believe that Dandy Don and friend shot Mims while he was still sleeping, from five feet away, and into his back, a definite no-no. The Police Department believes this, and starts to harass the two cops.

The grand jury is after them, because Oscar Floyd's mother (that nasty so and so) testifies that when our two heroes came to her place they said that they were going to shoot Oscar for killing that white man. Add liar to the list of qualities given to Black people in "The Jar".

The D. A. is after them because he wants to protect the city from cops like our two heroes. All of the cops' neighbors are after them, and the neighbors' kids are beating up on the cops' kids. Throw in a couple of "Black militants" with signs saying death to the pigs, and you begin to wonder what the hell is going on. After all, we saw how the shooting went down. The cops didn't execute Mims, they just accidentally murdered him.

## WHY WE ROOT FOR THE COPS

So what begins to happen is that we at home start to root for Dandy Don and his partner, hoping that truth and justice will come out. And sure enough in the end it does. A special investigation shows that the shooting happens just the way we saw it, the first degree murder charge against the cops is dropped, and everyone is happy.

Yes, everyone is happy and congratulating Dandy Don and friend for getting off, meanwhile Randolph Mims is still very much dead. Hell, they don't even care that no one has found Oscar yet. It's almost as if they feel that they got one for one, Mims for the white store owner. Who cares about Oscar anymore?

When I was a kid I sucked this kind of program in. I didn't know any better, I was real glad the two cops got off, that the system must work, and didn't understand why all those people were out to get the cops. Seeing this show again brought home to me how TV can change the truth, how it can try to make us believe things that aren't real and how it can reinforce racism.

In "The Jar" all the Black people are bad. Oscar Floyd is a cold-blooded killer, and a robber. Now some Black people do kill and rob people. So do some white people. Often the reasons are the same. If you grow up poor, the jobs aren't there, and you see no future, some people take that road. It isn't the right road, but most people, white and Black, never go that way. Did "The Jar" go into this at all? No, it just showed a cold-blooded killer, a Black murderer.

And what of Oscar's mother? She is a liar, is nasty and unfriendly to Dandy Don who is as friendly as can be to her, and is thought of as dangerous by her neighbors. The Black "militants" who show up at the cops' trial come off as fools who are calling the cops pigs and murderers for no good reason.

Randolph Mims is dirty, noisy, and should not have struggled with the cops who invaded his apartment. Nothing is said about the poverty of Black people, of their harassment by the police, nor of the real executions that do occur by the police against Black people. Remember Fred Hampton and Mark Clark, the two Black Panthers murdered by the Chicago police while they slept?

And is the rest of the story true? Do the cops and courts try to protect the city from cops that murder? The cops in the show are friendly, law-abiding, good guys who are just doing their job, fair and square. They are accused of murdering someone, but we know that from the way they are shown that they wouldn't murder anyone. They are just too nice for murder.

This show plays with your head so that whenever you read or hear about a cop being charged with murdering someone (a charge that almost never happens in Philadelphia) the show will flash into your mind, probably without you even thinking about it and make you question whether the real-life cop murdered someone, or is it just like it was in "The Jar"?



We are shown the dedicated grand jury, the dedicated District Attorney, and the dedicated Police Dept. all trying to get at the truth. When they believed our heroes were guilty of murder they went after them and tried to send them to jail. But is this true?

In Philadelphia, cops are almost never brought to trial on brutality charges let alone murder charges. If they are, the D. A. rarely does a good job in presenting the case, and the Police Dept. almost never helps the D. A. gather evidence which will help convict a cop. Cops almost always get off. This is the real world, not the world shown in "The Jar".

## T.V. MAKES A DIFFERENCE

But the TV world can make a difference in the real world. I remember having a discussion about a year ago with a friend about a police brutality case in Philadelphia. The Cradle case involved a Black man beaten by white cops. During the trial many people who didn't know each other or Cradle testified that they had seen him beaten for no reason by the police. The cops had only their own testimony that they hadn't beaten Cradle. The jury, which was made up of people who lived outside Philadelphia, found the cops innocent. My friend couldn't under-

stand how the cops could be found innocent since the evidence clearly pointed to their being guilty.

Well, if you grow up in a poor Black neighborhood, a poor Puerto Rican neighborhood, or a poor white neighborhood, you learn that cops aren't always truthful, and that they sure as hell break the law. But if you grow up outside Philadelphia, if you have no experience of what the Philadelphia cops are like, then images like those in "The Jar" can flash through your mind when you're trying to figure out who is telling the truth.

These images take you in the direction of believing and supporting the cops, as in the Cradle case.

Does TV purposely try to make us think a certain way? Well, when was the last time you saw a program where a cop murders someone, and the D. A., the Mayor, and the Police Chief protect him by lying, and he gets off?

You won't see many shows like this, but you will see ones like "The Jar" which promote racism, and a belief in the fairness of American justice. I think I'll stick to *Gilligan's Island*.

## INDEPENDENT POLITICAL ACTION



### a Marxist Leninist Perspective

INDEPENDENT POLITICAL ACTION, A Marxist-Leninist Perspective  
(Reprints from the *Organizer*) \$1.25

published by Inkworks, Oakland, California

order from: PWOC, P.O. Box 11768, Phila. Pa. 19101

include a 10% postage fee  
All orders must be prepaid

# CP-ML and PWOC

## on International Line

by Ron Whitehorne

Breaking a long silence, the Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist), CP-ML, has turned its polemical guns at the Organizing Committee for an Ideological Center and the PWOC with a center spread piece by Carl Davidson in the July 2nd issue of *The Call*. The article is an implicit admission on the part of the CP-ML that the hegemony of "left" internationalism faces a serious challenge. The focus of the polemic is the debate over principle 18 (the OCIC's principle of unity which identifies US imperialism as the main danger to the world's peoples) which occurred within the OCIC and resulted in the consolidation of an overwhelming majority of its forces on the correctness of this principle as a line of demarcation with "left" opportunism.

According to Davidson what was really at stake in this debate was not whether we carry out our responsibility to fight US imperialism but rather what is our attitude toward revisionism and "Soviet Social Imperialism". Echoing the OCIC minority, Davidson holds that a general statement about the responsibility for US revolutionaries to overthrow US imperialism adequately guards against the danger of class collaborationism and social chauvinism. Principle 18, he argues, is really a cover for capitulation to revisionism and an attack on "Mao Zedong Thought".

### THE CLASS STRUGGLE, ACCORDING TO THE CP-ML

For Davidson there simply are no phenomena of class collaborationism in the anti-revisionist movement. He appears to think that it is self-evident that the CP-ML discharges its revolutionary, internationalist duties. "The CP-ML", he writes, "and other Marxist-Leninists are known for waging class struggle against the US bourgeoisie on all fronts — from the auto factories in Detroit, to the anti-Klan fight in the South, to building solidarity with the Azanian freedom fighters and the anti-Somoza upsurge in Nicaragua." We regret to have to inform Davidson that this flattering image of his party is not broadly shared outside the ranks of the CP-ML and its circle of supporters. Even among many who subscribe to the theory of the three worlds, the CP-ML is seen as something of an embarrassment for its defense of the Shah of Iran, its urging of the Pentagon to stand up against the "appeasers" and other manifestations of over-zealousness in the fight against "hegemonism".

Among broader left and anti-imperialist forces the CP-ML is viewed with contempt for scabbing on the struggles of the peoples of Angola, Chile, Vietnam and elsewhere. The CP-ML's following of every twist and turn of the line of the Communist Party of China, even when it means calling Deng a capitalist roader one week and a great Marxist-Leninist the next, has earned it a reputation for flunkeyism rivaled only by the CPUSA. As for being "known . . . for waging class struggle in the auto factories of Detroit", this knowledge has escaped our recognition. But we do remember how the CP-ML "waged class struggle" in the steel mills by opposing rank and file union candidate Ed Sadlowski, in some part because he favored "detente", and thus did their small bit to elect a Meany style, cold-warrior class collaborationist as president of the United Steelworkers.

By citing these contributions to the class struggle, be they real or imagined, Davidson thinks that this effectively demonstrates that all this talk of class collaborationism is just a bogey. What Davidson neatly dodges is that the international line of the CPC and the CP-ML calls for directing the main blow against the Soviet Union and an alliance with US imperialism in the struggle against "hegemonism". Upholding this international line is clearly incompatible with consistently discharg-

ing our internationalist duties to those forces who are fighting US imperialism around the world. For reasons we can readily understand, Davidson neatly sidesteps this debate, just as the OCIC minority did.

A more rewarding line of argument in the view of both Davidson and the PUL-inspired OCIC minority is to appeal to anti-revisionist prejudice by attempting to tar the PWOC and the OCIC with the brush of revisionism.

Davidson is not above the worst sort of demagoguery in advancing this argument. He says: "Naturally differences over the nature of revisionism and Soviet social imperialism also have an effect on whether one fights the US bourgeoisie correctly or incorrectly. If you think Soviet-backed invasions are acceptable tactics in the third world, what does this say about your view of the US when it does the same?"

We aren't aware of which "invasions" Davidson believes we support, but we should point out that the PWOC has opposed the Soviet supported invasions of Eritrea and Kampuchea. We cannot imagine any circumstances under which we would be likely to support a US invasion and in every single circumstance where such an invasion has emerged as even a remote possibility, we have been quick to sound the alarm.

Thirdly, we think Davidson would be a little more cautious in raising this topic. The CP-ML very definitely views Chinese invasions of other third world countries as an "acceptable tactic", as in the case of Vietnam. When *The Call* applauds China for urging the US imperialists to teach Cuba a lesson, we may rightly ask what their attitude toward US invasions of third world countries would be.

### WHO IS GUILTY OF DOGMATISM?

Our failure to grasp what CP-ML regards as the reality of the international situation is "the result of upholding a dogma that the US must always be the sole main enemy, no matter what the conditions are and in spite of the great changes in the world since the 1950's."

At the OCIC conference on Principle 18 the representatives of the majority put forward an analysis of the relative military, political and economic power of the US and the USSR in the world today. It was on the basis of this analysis, and not any imagined dogma, that we argued that US imperialism is the main danger. We did not, as Davidson, alleges, claim that "it doesn't matter" whether the USSR is socialist or capitalist. What we did argue was that even if one held that the Soviet Union was capitalist, its overall weakness vis-a-vis US imperialism, was such that it did not qualify as an equal enemy.

Davidson goes on to say that we regard Mao Zedong Thought as "baggage to be overthrown". Obviously we think that significant aspects of what has been characterized as Mao's thought need to be critically re-examined. It is impossible to challenge the assumptions on which "left" internationalism rests without calling this "thought" into question. For the PWOC this is nothing new, as we have always opposed the theory of capitalist restoration and the theory of the three worlds.

At the same time, unlike those who only yesterday placed Mao on a pedestal and now regard him as a lowlife and a bourgeois nationalist, we continue to regard Mao as a great revolutionary who made numerous positive contributions to the development of Marxism, notwithstanding the errors cited above. We certainly do not regard, for example, the CPC's seminal critique of revisionism

as "baggage to be overthrown". This distortion of our attitude serves Davidson's aim of portraying the PWOC as agents of revisionism.

In the same vein Davidson accuses the PWOC of "anti-communism" for suggesting that the CPC will press for unity among those Marxist-Leninists who support its international perspective. The CPC, Davidson indignantly tells us, never "waves the baton" in relations between parties, citing this as a key "point of difference between China and Albania". We find the latter point particularly ironic in that China withdrew its technicians from Albania and cancelled its aid projects following Albanian attacks on the CPC international line. The leaders of the CPC did the same and more in relation to Vietnam, seeking to compel the Vietnamese Party to adopt its anti-Soviet stand. If this isn't "waving the baton", we don't know what is.

Davidson characterizes the view of the PWOC that the line of capitalist restoration is a "dogma" as "pinning labels on any tenet of Marxism you disagree with or don't understand". Again we hear the echo of PUL which has argued that the PWOC's identification of the principle errors of the anti-revisionist movement as being rooted in dogmatism is arbitrary.

It seems obvious that the theory of capitalist restoration derives much of its credibility from its identification with Mao and the Chinese Communist Party. To the extent that this theory is embraced without reservations on these grounds, it is clearly an expression of dogmatism — a key aspect of which is the uncritical parroting of the views of another party or a great revolutionary leader.

But, more importantly, the theory of capitalist restoration, this "tenet of Marxism" employs a most un-Marxist, idealist method. It proceeds, not on the basis of an examination of the political economy and relations of production that prevail in the USSR, but rather through

## Salt II ...

(continued from page 6)

**But an imperialist country rests on that exploitation and in this sense the leopard can't change its spots, although the popular movements can certainly exact certain concessions. We see that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and with them the Communist Party of the USA, promote illusions on this score.**

CRONIN: Right, don't misunderstand me that I don't think that there are significant elements within the society that want war. My point is that nuclear war will turn the planet into a fireball and this won't benefit capitalists or their system, or the socialist countries.

### THE STRUGGLE FOR PEACE

O: That's true, but nevertheless the Pentagon's policy, as I read it, is predicated on developing a first strike capability against the Soviet Union. That's what the Cruise missile was all about, for example. The Pentagon coolly analyses things from the standpoint of losing 30% of the population, a mere sixty million people. Anyone with an ounce of humanity or common sense sees the insanity of this kind of thinking. But the fact is that this is the point of view of not only the military but their think tanks and strategic experts.

Today the sentiment with the ruling class for a more aggressive policy vis-a-vis the USSR is growing. That's why SALT II is in trouble whereas SALT I passed with only two dissenting votes in the Senate. The battle over SALT is a front in the fight against the elements in the ruling

an examination of the superstructure. It locates the restoration of capitalism in the ideological sphere — in the line of the leading party. The CP-ML's repudiation of the work of Martin Nicolaus, who at least sought to demonstrate the prevalence of capitalist relations in the Soviet economy as "economist" is an example of this kind of thinking.

This idealism, in refusing to make an all-sided analysis of concrete conditions, strikes a responsive chord in the anti-revisionist movement. The thesis of capitalist restoration both reinforces and expresses the prevalence of dogmatism.

Davidson concludes with a warning that the PWOC in a deceptive and convoluted fashion is leading the OCIC to embrace revisionism and social imperialism. It is this, he argues, and not some imagined class collaborationism that constitutes the nub of the differences between CP-ML and PWOC on international line. Davidson adds, somewhat cryptically: "As to other matters, the CP-ML places importance on solving problems of both right and 'left' errors, on the matter of 'fusion' and so on." This will certainly reassure those who have viewed the CP-ML as dominated by ultra-leftism.

Davidson takes comfort in the view that "the centrist camp is in disarray" and that "the growing aggressiveness of Soviet Social Imperialism" is exposing its political essence. But in fact it is the "left" opportunist camp, headquartered in the CP-ML that is increasingly in disarray. The recent CP-ML Central Committee report indicated, even if in muted fashion, that its "left" political line has produced growing isolation and stagnation. The growing class collaborationism of the People's Republic of China is the "objective factor that conditions its confusion". We would ask the followers of the CP-ML to look beyond the phrases to where the CP-ML is actually leading them: to an alliance (however "tactical") with the most reactionary sector of the US imperialist ruling class.

class who are promoting such a policy, a policy that will gravely increase the danger of war.

CRONIN: Along with what SALT II means in terms of the danger of war we also need to look at the consequences of acceptance or rejection from the domestic standpoint. It's the old story about guns or butter. If they can't even fund CETA now, if they can't put any money in public transportation, if they can't build decent housing, it's in some large part because of the huge military budget.

O: Finally, what do you think progressive forces in general and the labor movement in particular should be doing to assure the passage of SALT II? Also, what do you think of linking SALT II to the demand for nixing new systems like the MX and cutting back the military budget?

CRONIN: Let's take the last point first. I'm certainly in favor of not building the MX missile and the Trident submarine and putting the money saved into social needs. We ought to take a stand against these things. At the same time I think the left and progressive forces should support SALT II as a small step, but a real step, toward detente and peace. Left forces who oppose SALT II should recognize who their bed partners are — the most reactionary, racist forces in this country and around the world.

I think what's needed is a broad public discussion of the treaty. The text should be published and widely distributed here like it has been among the Soviet people. And, of course, we have to mobilize to bring real pressure to bear on the Senate, to translate the majority sentiment for SALT and for peace into ratification.