

Newspaper of the
Philadelphia Workers'
Organizing Committee



NOVEMBER 1977

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The ORGANIZER

The C.Q.E.D. puts banks on trial The People Find Bunting Guilty

"More and more when we're in trouble in Philadelphia they tell us to see the banker. But we don't need to see the banker, we need to tax the banker." The speaker was the Rev. David Gracie and the occasion was a public trial of John Bunting.

As the state legislature rushed through a bill to keep the schools from closing down, the Committee for Quality Education and Desegregation (QED) rallied outside Bunting's First Pennsylvania Bank offices charging Bunting and his fellow bankers with blackmailing the school system into cutbacks and layoffs, of making windfall profits in the form of high interest by squeezing taxpayers and school children alike and of racism. While First Pennsylvania is busy gutting Philadelphia's school system which is 70% Black, it is at the same time investing millions of dollars in white racist South Africa.

Community spokesmen, high school students, and teachers were all on hand to indict Bunting and a jury of some fifty people voted for conviction. But thanks to the system he so ably represents, John Bunting remains at large.

THE LATEST SCHOOL CRISIS

The spotlight is on John Bunting again because of the most recent round in the fight to keep the schools from going under. On October 19th in a surprise move Common Pleas Court Judge Eugene Gelfand ruled that the proposed \$50 million bank loan to the school system was illegal. Gelfand held that under state law the School Board must prove that a deficit is unforeseeable before it can borrow money. In a case of stating the obvious, Hizzoner pointed out that the deficit was eminently foreseeable and therefore the loan was illegal.

Gelfand's move threatened to blow up the jerry-built financial scheme arranged by Harrisburg, City Hall, and the banks to keep the school system intact. John Bunting was back in the act, announcing that unless the schools could get the 50 mil-



The Victims: The Children of Philadelphia

lion from some other sources, the banks would cut off short term credit to the schools.

This move meant that the schools would have to close at the beginning of the month and either make massive budget cuts or stay closed til January. The same John Bunting who nearly forced the school system to lay off 10,000 employees, close 23 schools and eliminate 'frills' like kindergarten and libraries, now denounced Gelfand for "hurting the children". "Balance the Budget" Bunting cares for profits not pupils. Gelfand's decision threatened to eliminate a tidy source of high interest loans.

After the State Superior Court upheld Gelfand's decision, the state legislature rode in to rescue Bunting and his loan by passing an emergency piece of legislation exempting the Philadelphia school system from the state law on deficit financing.

As we go to press Governor Shapp has signed the bill and the schools remain open until the next crisis. But Harrisburg exacted a price for passing the law. They got the right to subpoena witnesses and investigate the city school system. These investigations, given the mood of the legislature, will undoubtedly be used to expose so-called "fat" in the city school budget and create pressure for more budget cuts.

THE REAL CULPRITS

What ought to be investigated is the destruction of our school system at the hands of the banks. Six months ago John Bunting said Philadelphia "couldn't afford" its school system.

When community representatives paid a visit to John Bunting at his First Pennsylvania offices this month, Bunting was still singing the same tune. According to Libbie Schwartz, a teacher and member



Banker John Bunting: Still At Large

of the School Employees' Action Caucus, Bunting told the delegation that the school crisis was a "good thing", that capitalism and democracy "thrive on crisis".

Well one thing's for sure, the banks "thrive" on the crisis. They keep on loaning money at high interest rates and dictate budget cuts to protect the security of their loans. The profits keep rolling in. Meanwhile we have to pay higher taxes and send our kids to overcrowded firetrap schools where they learn less and less. It is hard to see how we or our children are going to do much "thriving".

But then that's the way good old free enterprise works. The working people must bite the bullet, tighten our belts, and sacrifice a little more. . . all for the common good you understand. But for the John Buntings to sacrifice even a single dollar of their sacred profits is positively un-American.

But the QED has a better idea. A petition now being circulated throughout the city demands the following steps:

1. **END ALL BUDGET CUTS** -- restore all programs previously cut. The City and State governments, paralyzed by corruption, must be pressured by the Board to reorder priorities. Since restoration of programs will require new taxes, we demand that these taxes come from corporate sources rather than from further taxation of poor and working people.
2. **END ALL LAYOFFS** -- rehire all workers previously laid off. The Board must refrain from employment practices that have results which reinforce racist employment patterns.
3. **END RACISM IN THE PHILADELPHIA SCHOOL SYSTEM** -- immediately promote policies which will successfully achieve equal, desegregated, quality education for all our children.

For more information contact the QED at: 3rd and Dauphin Sts., Phila., Pa. 19133, 387-7259 (9 am to 12 noon).

Attend the next QED meeting: Tuesday, Nov. 15, 1977, 7:45 pm -- Friends Center, 15th and Cherry Sts.

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More on police abuse pp. 6-7
Eurocommunism p.12

Letters To The Editor...

Nurse likes Organizer

Dear Organizer,

The *Organizer* is an essential part of my reading. It truly is the only means of discerning what is really occurring in Philadelphia. The analyses of the SEPTA strike, the conditions at Bell Telephone and various other local events have provided a resourceful tool in discussions with other people. They also have been honest and give real insight which the *Inquirer* and *Bulletin* and *Daily News* certainly never provide.

One fine article which I must comment on is the article on nurses and why they should support Local 1199 C. Being a nurse I was so grateful to finally come upon such an accurate appraisal of the situation in nursing. That article was, by far, the most concrete analysis of what problems nurses face in their own ranks that I have had the opportunity to read.

Between the *Guardian* which gives a good national and international perspective, and the *Organizer* which keeps me informed of local events especially, a concrete Marxist-Leninist analysis is always available. The information received from these papers provides needed ammunition

in the struggle against capitalism, imperialism, and all that accompanies them, e.g., racism, sexism, etc.

C. J., Philadelphia

Shipyard Worker Responds

Dear Organizer,

I was reading your July issue and came to the article about the shipyard welder who was killed in Philly at Sun Shipbuilding. This article caught my attention because I am a welder and have worked in a few shipyards out here, Bethlehem Steel, Todd's, Kaiser Steel (Vallejo). Things are so so around here on safety the unions are somewhat responsive if you make waves. I'm in Boilermakers Local 10.

Could you put me in touch with some of the people at Sun Ship? I'm interested in developing contact with other shipyard workers around the country. On the West Coast we have one shipyard contract that covers the Bay Area, Portland, and Seattle wages and benefits are uniform for all. Southern California is separate and fragmented.

-J. K., Oakland

An open letter to the Women's Health Collective

To the Women's Health Collective:

A serious error was made in relation to your letter in the last issue of the *Organizer* in that we failed to consult with you as to the final form this article was to take. It was our intention not to print the article unless we had first secured agreement as to its form with representatives of the collective.

We are self-critical on a number of counts. Good intentions aside, our behavior violates both the spirit and the letter of principled relations. Secondly, this error can only divert attention away from the more fundamental questions that we need to debate and pollute the atmos-

phere in which that debate occurs. Thirdly, our error jeopardizes future cooperation between our organizations around common goals. Finally, we recognize this error as a manifestation of sexism and a sectarian attitude toward the women's movement.

For these reasons we want to do whatever is possible to rectify our error. In the way of public self-criticism we intend to print this as an open letter in the *Organizer*. We are also willing to print your entire letter on International Women's Day if that is your desire. We hope we can meet and discuss with you any additional or alternative measures. Please let us know.

The *Organizer* Staff

"CHANGE, NOT CHARITY" support the People's Fund

Everybody knows about "Giving the United Way." This year the United Way plans to raise \$23,850,000 to fund local agencies. While certainly much of this money goes for worthy causes, the United Way agencies for the most part represent a conservative, band-aid approach to social problems. They deal with symptoms instead of causes.

Eight years ago a group of people who were dissatisfied with the United Way approach started the People's Fund. The People's Fund stands for "Change, not Charity". It emphasizes giving money to groups which are challenging the existing social order, groups that are too "controversial" to get funding from traditional sources.

Groups which receive money from the People's Fund must be organized in a democratic way, unlike traditional social agencies with their top down structures. The People's Fund also requires that its recipients actively fight racism and sexism and other forms of discrimination as part of their program.

The 35 organizations presently getting funding include a broad spectrum. . . or

organizations fighting for the rights of women, consumers, tenants, the mentally ill, the blind, welfare recipients, gays, the elderly, and rank and file trade unionists all benefit from the People's Fund. Also, political organizations like the Black Panther Party, the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, and the PWOC get funding.

The money raised is presently divided equally among all participating groups. The groups are actively encouraged to become active not only in the fund-raising but the policy making functions of the People's Fund. While raising money, the People's Fund also tries to educate in the process. . . as when it showed the award winning documentary *Harlan County* earlier this year. As a kind of clearing house in contact with many groups, the People's Fund also works to build communication and cooperation between the various organizations it funds.

This year the People's Fund plans to raise \$40,000. Lets help put them over the top! For more information contact: The People's Fund, P. O. Box 1225, Philadelphia, Pa. 19105; telephone LO3-0636. (Office address: 1427 Walnut St.)

a note to our subscribers- have you been getting your Organizer?

Many of our subscribers have complained that they have not received their *Organizers* either at all or have gotten them for some issues and not for others. While our circulation department sometimes messes up, our efforts to trace these complaints have led us to the conclusion that we are victims of some funny business with the U. S. mails. Maybe it is plain old capitalist inefficiency or maybe it is plain old capitalist dirty tricks.

Either way, the old saw about the mails going through in spite of rain, sleet, or snow clearly does not apply to the *Organizer*. Given the volume of complaints we have received, we are naturally wondering if other subscribers are not getting their copies. Please let us know if you have not received any back issues or if you have gotten them late. We will try to set things straight.

Philadelphia Workers' Organizing Committee

Who We Are



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

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

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

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

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

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

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Labor Round-up

Penn Strike Draws Broad Support

On October 14, despite the rain, cold, and wind, Teamsters Local 115 led a spirited march through the University of Pennsylvania's campus to protest the University's firing 343 housekeeping workers in a clear attempt at union busting.

Other Teamster locals, Retail Workers Union Local 1357, Service Employees International Union Local 36, United Farmworkers Union, and the Jewish Labor Committee joined in the march and the rally afterwards in front of the building that houses President Myerson and the other executive officers.

That afternoon, and every afternoon since then, a caravan of trucks driven by members of Teamster Local 500 has blocked traffic around the University, beeping their horns to draw attention to the spirited picketing of Local 115.

Support has also come from students. 135 Penn law students took out an ad in the Penn newspaper, the *Daily Pennsylvanian*, expressing support for the strike, and 50 faculty members took out a similar ad. 250 students picketed Penn President Myerson's home.

Black community representatives have also added their voices. The Baptist Ministers Conference, the Negro Trade Union Leadership Council and State Senators, Herbert Arlene, Paul McKinney, and Freeman Hankins have all spoken out in support of the workers.

This summer, when the housekeeping staff voted to replace their independent union local 1202 with Teamsters Local 115, the University refused to negotiate with the union and fired the entire staff, many of whom are national minority and women workers who had worked there for over 20 years.

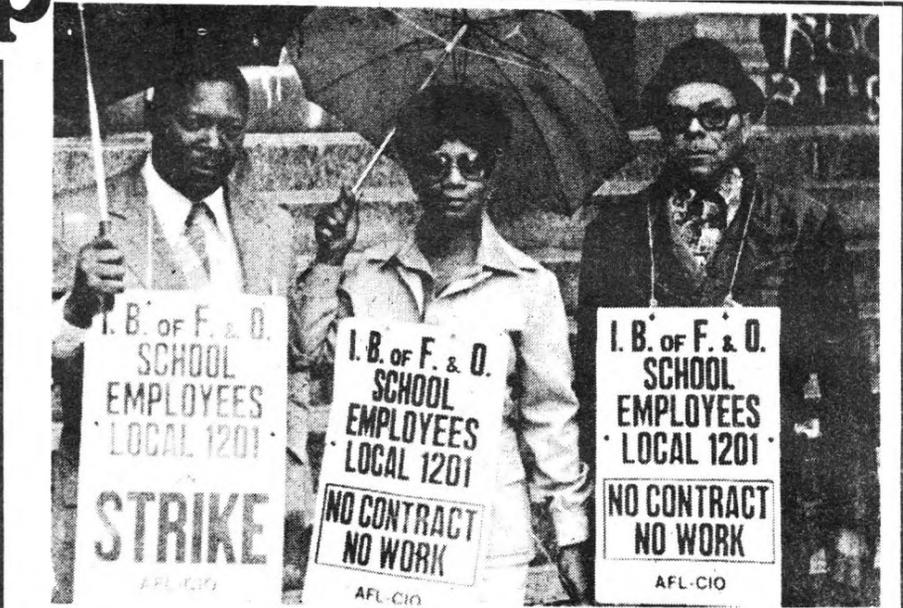
John Morris, President of Local 115, spoke for many when he said: "What else can you call it but racism? About 70% of the fired workers are Black, and they're all poor. . . . At the same time they were firing all the maintenance workers, they were giving everybody else a five percent raise."

At first the University brought in teenagers from New York, paying them minimum wage. Now it's rumored that the University is using prisoners in work release programs to play the role of strike breakers. But the University has failed to get an injunction against the picketing, and just recently the State Senate voted to deny the University its usual \$17 million state appropriation because of the school's attempt at union-busting.

Meanwhile, the striking workers have been and are continuing to be steadfast in picketing, getting support on petitions, and demonstrating against the University's attempt at bust their union. As one of the speakers at the rally shouted, "We will come back again and again until we have won!"



PENN WORKER ADDRESSES RALLY of students, labor, and striking workers. Struggle against union-busting has gathered broad labor movement support.



School Workers Vote 2nd Time

As this is being written, ballots are being mailed out to school maintenance workers, members of Local 1201, International Brotherhood of Firemen and Oilers, on strike since September 12, who will vote "Yes" or "No" to this second proposed contract.

At an Oct. 7 union meeting at Central High School, the rank and file voted "no" to the first proposed contract which included none of the workers most crucial demands: 1) the recall of laid-off workers, 2) rights over scheduling hours and job assignments, and 3) 100% paid Blue Cross.

2000 members have been laid-off, almost half of the union, and those that haven't have been forced to accept lower grade level jobs with large pay cuts. As one picketer said "We're getting hit double. They expect us to accept pay cuts now and no pay increase."

The Board is also seeking to take away long time, hard won job scheduling and assignment rights from the strikers. One picketer said that one thing the Board wants is to schedule to avoid paying overtime. A worker at the union office said that the Board wants the strikers to go back to the working conditions of 1930!

According to a clause in their expired contract, if any other school employees' union should win an improvement in health benefits, 1201's benefits are to be immediately improved to match the other union's benefits. In fact, before 1201's

contract expired, the principals union began to receive 100% paid Blue Cross, but the Board refused to change 1201's benefits.

One factor in the strike has been the lack of support from the Phila. Federation of Teachers. The teachers, bitter because of 1201's failure to honor PFT picket lines during their last strike, overwhelmingly rejected the recommendation of their Executive Board to honor 1201's lines. Nevertheless, some 100 teachers and several PFT staff members have been honoring the picket line and other teachers have been working to build support among their co-workers inside the schools.

These teachers understand full well the importance of labor solidarity. In the words of the School Employees Action Caucus, a rank and file organization within PFT: "We cannot go it alone, we cannot get a contract next year all by ourselves. We need the aid of the united labor movement and the community to win ourselves and our students educational gains in 1978. Our fate is bound up with Local 1201. What happens to them will be tried on us—tried hard."

The proposed contract members of Local 1201 will be voting on only differs from the first in that it is a three and not a four year contract. But union officials decided to conduct the voting by mail instead of at a mass meeting to prevent the rank and file from organizing for a "No" vote as they did the last time.

Local 196 Leaders 'Too Busy' for Spruce Hill Workers

In the beginning of October the leadership of the Amalgamated Food Employee's Union Local 196 AMC-BW cut off strike benefits to members on strike at Spruce Hill Market after giving them one day's notice. It was the grand finale of the leadership's miserable performance throughout that struggle.

The story begins at Local 196's contract ratification meeting in May where workers at Spruce Hill Market found out for the first time that their leadership had agreed with the store's owners to extend their contract 30 days. The union told the workers that they had been too busy with the larger stores. Thirty days went by with no word from the union, and then the workers at Spruce Hill worked two weeks without a contract.

They got together and wrote a letter to

the union demanding action on the most blatant contract violation — non-union workers in the store. Since the market opened under new owners in the summer of '76, all the new workers hired were threatened with their jobs if they joined the union. As a result, half the store was not signed up, getting wages below union scale, and receiving no benefits.

Workers had complained about this several times, but the union never attempted to sign up the non-union workers. However, the Friday after the letter was sent, the union ordered two workers to sign up all the non-union workers themselves by the end of the week because they were going on strike the next Monday.

It was a bad time to go on strike. Business at the market is slow during the summer because the customers are mostly

students. But the workers had no choice. The owners were "offering" no increase in wages or health benefits, and a cut in the pension. And the contract had been violated right and left since the store opened.

By the end of the first week, the picketers had stopped deliveries and 90% of the customers. Then came the waiting game. The owners closed their doors hoping to break the strike. But the strikers stood fast throughout the summer waiting for the store to re-open in the fall when business would pick up.

In September the owners took back their original offer and agreed to the pact that the rest of Local 196 received back in May. But when the owners tried to get a bank loan, they were turned down, so

the union discontinued the workers' strike benefits. Near the beginning of the strike the union found jobs for three of the eight strikers, but since then has made no effort to find jobs for the remaining five even though jobs have opened up in the Local.

Local 196 officials led the struggle of the workers at Spruce Hill Market right down the drain. For a year they looked the other way while the company violated the contract right and left. They agreed to extend the contract, let the workers work for another two weeks without a contract, and finally, put up against the wall by the workers, led them out on strike in the middle of the summer when business was at a standstill.

This kind of leadership the rank and file can do without, and it is why for the past three years the Rank and File Committee of Local 196 has been leading the struggle for a democratic union, a fighting union, and a union that struggles against all forms of discrimination.

Telephone Contract Ratified

Workers Forced to Settle for Sell-Out

by Susan Cohen

On September 16, 1977, it all became official. The union membership of the Communications Workers of America (CWA), International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (IBEW), and Telecommunication International Union (TIU) ratified their contracts with AT&T. Contracts are in effect for three years, expiring August 9, 1980.

Ratification of the contract is no indication of rank and file satisfaction with the outcome of negotiations. The union leadership sold out their membership on August 6 when they reached a tentative agreement with AT&T and failed to call the strike that their membership overwhelmingly supported. This memorandum of agreement meant that telephone workers spent another month and a half working without a contract until all the votes were counted.

This six week delay between the tentative agreement and actual ratification forced many workers to vote for a contract they knew was a sell-out. A strike in mid-September without support of the union leadership and without an organized rank and file nationwide would have been difficult to win. Nevertheless, in cities like Philadelphia there was a strong NO vote. Operators angrily displayed their discontent with the sell-out contract by staging a demonstration on the voting day urging co-workers to vote NO.

One look at the contract is enough to explain rank and file dissatisfaction. Total pay increase for operators making top salary is \$0.47 an hour the first year and about half that the second and third years of the contract.



DBCP (dibromochloropropane) is a pesticide used on the fruit we eat. The use of the pesticide has just been restricted by the federal government because it has been shown to cause sterility among those who work with it. Tests have also revealed that it causes stomach and mammary cancer in rats.

Sounds like bad stuff, right? But wait. Agribusiness has discovered that the pesticide has a positive medical use that is being overlooked. According to Robert K. Phillips, executive secretary of the National Peach Council, representing 6300 growers, DBCP is actually a boon to farm workers looking for a free and certain means of birth control.

Yup, Phillips says: "After all, there are many people now paying to have themselves sterilized." The peach growers are ready to help. Phillips urges that workers who no longer want children volunteer for work with the pesticide as "an alternative to planned surgery for a vasectomy or tubal ligation, or as a means of getting around religious bans on birth control."

Never let it be said again that agribusiness lacks a sense of social responsibility for its workers. The peach growers are all heart. Free sterilizations and they even pay you while you are being sterilized. Hats off to Robert K Phillips, a fine example of enlightened corporate leadership, and a peach of a guy.

Telephone workers in Philadelphia do not even enjoy basic seniority rights. In the new contract the workers did win some improvement in seniority rights. However, the company can still keep on 5% of the workforce with no regard for their seniority—clearly a violation of workers' rights.

RACIST UPGRADING MAINTAINED

Upgrading is not determined by seniority either, but rather by 'qualifications'. Whether or not a worker is qualified is determined solely by the company. This provision, suggested by the union, shows clearly the lack of understanding on the part of the union leadership of the prevalence of racism at AT&T.

The losses of the telephone workers were economic, but many gains were made in the strength and unity of rank and file workers. In Philadelphia, the four telephone unions achieved a greater degree of solidarity as a result of the fight for a de-

cent contract. Support for the CWA slogan and T-Shirts ("We're mad as hell and we're not going to take it anymore") came from all the unions.

Members of different unions walked out in support of members suspended for wearing these shirts. This solidarity is important—to fight a company as big and as powerful as AT&T, workers need all the unity possible. The company has a clear added advantage when employees are members of more than one union.

RANK & FILE OF BELL UNIONS MUST UNITE

What is apparent from the contract fight is the need for the masses of workers to organize themselves. The unions are not doing their jobs. They must be forcibly pushed by the rank and file before they will fight for their membership.

In Philadelphia the organized rank and file had a definite effect on this struggle.



Columbus Free Press/cpf

In the IBEW, the publication of contract demands by the Rank and File Committee in Local 1944 forced the union to make public to the membership its list of demands. Union members could not remember when this ever happened before. The union demands were obviously influenced by the program of the RFC. These demands were not supported by the union in their bargaining sessions, however. The actual contract bears no resemblance to these initial demands.

The rank and file of all the telephone unions must work over the next three years to build unity among themselves. Workers must fight the company at every level in order to counter any sense of victory that AT&T might have as a result of the contract. Workers must be even better prepared to win what they deserve in 1980.

WORKERS' VOICES



Sarah Rozner came from Hungary in 1908 and went to work in the clothing shops. She was a charter member of Women's Local 275 of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers (ACWA) in Chicago. The Amalgamated then organized separate women's locals -- supposedly to advance organization among women -- but as the following protest that Sarah Rozner addressed to her shop steward makes clear, this form of segregation served to maintain inequality rather than fight it.

Sarah Rozner went on to become the first woman Business Agent in the local. In 1959 she retired from the Amalgamated and established a leadership training scholarship for women, especially Chicanas and Blacks, with the Los Angeles Joint Board.

While today we would disagree with the way in which Sister Rozner poses the "woman question," clothing workers, especially women workers, will find much that rings true in this account. When it comes to women workers, neither the bosses or the ACWA leadership has changed much in 50 years.

SARAH ROZNER: 'What is it we want, Brother Levin?'

What is it that we want Brother Levin? What do you think will become of our local? What is the need of it? Does it serve a necessary function or is it a hinderance to our organization?

We feel that our local was created for the purpose of bringing women coat makers into its folds so that it will enable them to...participate more fully in the organization...We want the women coat makers in our local not for the purpose of building a large treasury...Our purpose is to make our organization more firm, more intelligent and more progressive.

Brother Levin, we want to assure you that we are not interested in creating a sex issue in our organization, if anything we want to do away with it as much as possible...We do not care about special privileges. We want to be looked upon as part and parcel of our organization.

I say a *worker* and not a woman. For to me the sex question does no exist. To me it is a question of one group of workers undermining another. Although, in this instance we cannot deny that the women workers are discriminated against.

It is true that the leaders in our organization tell this class of "Discriminated Workers" to elect their own officials. But remember the present exploiting capitalist class gives us the same privilege. . .

Take for instance a business agent who goes in to make a price on a garment. He agrees with the manufacturer for so much. Now...how does our union representative distribute the amount? Well we will say that pocket makers, head operators and pressers should receive at least the rate of \$45.00 per week. \$18.00 per week accorded to women workers for the so called minor operations of finishing, button hole making and so forth is considered sufficient by our business agents.

Now let us see what our officials are doing to promote greater activity among women members...Let us take as a specific case the strike conducted against J. L. Tailors. We all agree that the women did splendid work but when it comes to acknowledging same all doors close.

Not mentioning any names, a prominent official...enjoyed the spirit shown by our Chicago fighting women members but when it came to acknowledging same in our official organ he apologized for not having mentioned some men who have not been on the picket line once. We want the immediate removal of such representatives who openly denounce women members, and not only threatens to do away with them but actually does so at his convenient moments.

What do you have to say about it Brother Levin and what can we expect from you?'

Slavedrivers of the Month Award - - - -

Mad Mike Muncer and Gestapo Grady of the Budd Co.

by TRIM DIE TOMMY

In every factory there are always a few supervisors who stand out "above" all others. At Hunting Park Budd Plant there are two, among many, who deserve special attention. We are referring to "Mad Mike" Muncer and "Gestapo" Grady of the Vim Press Shop.

Over the summer almost half the workers in the Vim Press exposed the authoritarian and arbitrary discipline of these two self-appointed guardians of corporate profit. In a protest petition to top management and the union leadership, Muncer and Grady were criticised for their unceasing harassment and intimidation of incentive workers, discrimination and favoritism in regards to job assignment and vacation preference, and the utter disregard for the health and safety of these protesting workers.

Vim Press workers have long been ordered around as if they were cattle. The daily "shape-up" each morning - when jobs are assigned to workers - looks something like the old pre-union days of the '30's when workers were given jobs on the basis of management prejudice only.

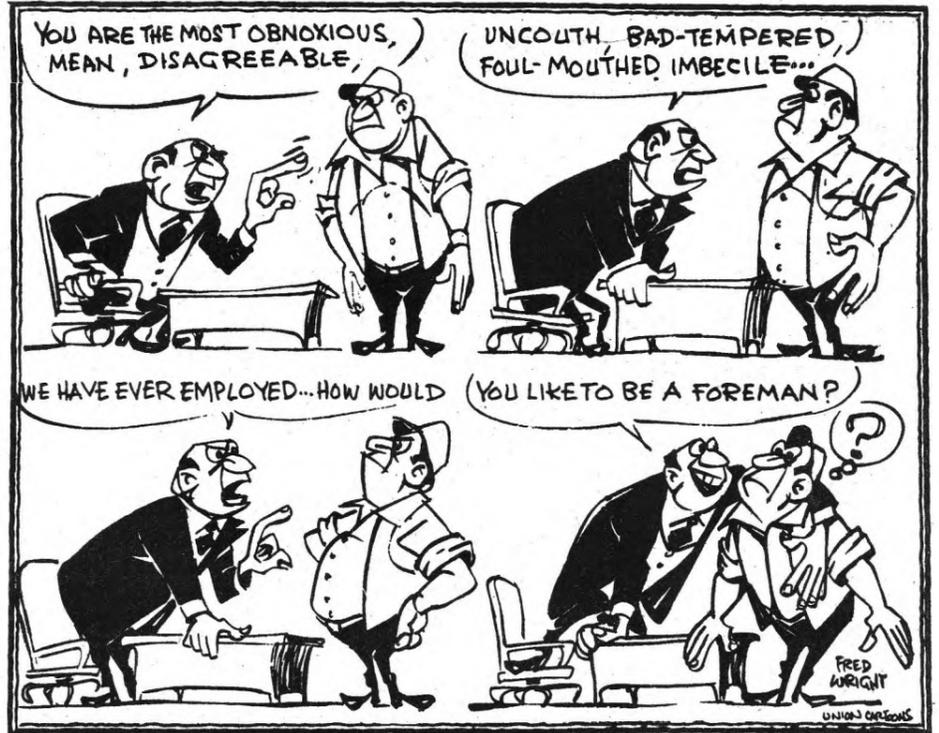
The company's constant bitching about absenteeism cannot be taken seriously by any Budd worker who has ever worked the Press shops. They know the working conditions are so substandard that if you can get away with the least number of

hours, the better you feel at the end of the week. It is clearly the objective of company management to treat press operators as second class workers. The press shops are where the big profits are made. And after all, the majority of press shop workers are minority workers - Black, Spanish-speaking, and women.

And what has been the union's attitude toward the company's violation of the workers "human rights"? The union leadership has long ignored the plight of the press shop workers. Basic contract language has been consistently ignored and twisted to conform to the needs of the company and not the needs of the workers. For example, overtime is not distributed on the basis of seniority and equality, but on the basis of favoritism. Downtime is almost completely ignored unless demanded by the incentive workers.

In the last two years the company has been cited and revisited by OSHA (Occupational Safety and Health Administration) for numerous health and safety violations, particularly noise violations. There has been no resolution of these violations. Faced with such poor overall working conditions, harassment by supervisors like Muncer and Grady just adds insult to injury.

And what has been the outcome of the workers' protest petition? The union leadership has been made aware, once again, of the negative attitude of management towards the workers, but has done nothing, at least publicly. Top Budd



Company management must have recognized at least some truth to the workers' protest because in the last two months there seems to be a slight improvement in Muncer and Grady's behavior toward the Vim Press workers.

But overall the situation of the Vim Press workers has not improved. And it will take similar action by the workers to better the incentive rates, health and safe-

ty conditions, and general working atmosphere of the Vim Press. Getting management off the backs of the workers is a good first step. But the fact remains that profits still come first and the workers interests second at the Budd Co.

Based on their anti-worker attitude and their "super boss" complex, we hereby give Muncer and Grady of the Vim Press, the Slavedriver of the Month Award.

UAW Local 92 Forms Full Employment Committee

Last month, UAW Local 92 at the Budd Co., Red Lion Plant, took a step forward in the fight against unemployment.

This important advance came in response to the September 10th Rally for Full Employment held by the UAW, AFL-CIO, and liberal community groups. While the UAW mobilized approximately two-thirds of the measly total of 250 present, from Red Lion there were only four employed workers, no unemployed (out of a total of 900 laid off) and only a handful of retirees.

RALLY CALLED "FLOP"

The Local 92 Executive Board, in one of its most outspoken positions on any question, called the rally "a total flop". More importantly, at the next Executive Board meeting, President Bill Hill put forward a proposal to establish a Local 92 Full Employment Committee, as a way to build grass roots involvement of the employed rank and file, the unemployed, and the retirees of the Local in the fight for jobs.

This committee will be made up of ap-



pointed members from the Local Executive Board, Grievance Committee, Steward Council, Community Action Committee, Education Committee, Retirees Chapter, and rank and file members of the Local, both employed and unemployed.

The president has committed himself to organizing a strong committee with as much rank and file participation as possible. The focus of this committee will be to develop a program for saving jobs, by doing legislative work, and working within the UAW Southeast Pennsylvania Community Action Program (CAP) Council, and the AFL-CIO coalition. Its main activity will be the mobilization of Local 92 behind these goals.

In addition to passing this resolution on the Local Executive Board, a proposal was placed before the CAP Council for all locals in the UAW to form such committees. This resolution won the support of that body and has been passed on to the State CAP and the UAW regional leadership.

This committee is a real step forward for Local 92 and the labor movement as a whole. Only a strongly organized, rank-and-file-based mass movement can have the kind of impact needed to begin to address the jobs situation in this country. Rather than simply accept the dismal showing of the September 10th rally, at least one local has taken a step forward by forming a Local Committee for Full Employment.

RANK & FILE GROUP PUSHES FOR COMMITTEE

Of course, the idea for this committee is not new. Two years ago, the Blue Ribbon Group, the rank and file organization in the plant, put forward a proposal for the formation of an Unemployed Committee that addressed generally the same ques-

tions. At that time, the BRG attached a clause to the motion that would have made this committee "Independent of the Executive Board". The entire debate centered on this clause and the substance of the Committee's purpose was lost. The resolution was then soundly defeated.

At the rally for full employment, it was three BRG members and one independent steward who were the in-plant members of the Local to attend. After that, at the September union meeting, this idea was discussed with the President. A follow-up meeting was planned to try to work out how such a committee could come into existence.

The BRG consistently made it clear that it wanted to work *with* the leadership on this question. At the follow-up meeting, the President informed members of the BRG that he had already gotten the resolution passed on the Executive Board. This was indeed a very positive step which the BRG endorsed.

Meanwhile, *Rank and File News*, the newsletter of the Blue Ribbon Group, had already gone to press. The newsletter carried the proposal for the Full Employment Committee. Because the newsletter did not and in fact could not have reported on the adoption of the proposal by the Local Executive Board, some forces tried to create the impression that the BRG was misrepresenting the position of the union leadership. But this attempt to drive a wedge between the BRG and the leadership on the question of the committee did not succeed.

At this point both the leadership of Local 92 and the BRG seem sincerely committed to building an effective Full Employment Committee in spite of their differences on other issues. While differences in program and approach will inevitably surface, the unity forged on the jobs issue represents a real step forward.

Supreme Court vs. Gay Rights

The Supreme Court lined up behind Anita Bryant in a little-noticed decision early in October. The Court refused to hear the appeal of a Tacoma, Washington, school teacher fired for being a homosexual.

What was particularly important was that no criminal charges, charges of misconduct or incompetency were brought. It was apparently sufficient that the Tacoma School Board doesn't like homosexuals.

Not only does this decision set a precedent jeopardizing the jobs of thousands of teachers and other workers, it flies in the face of scientific evidence that homosexual teachers are *less* likely to engage in improper sexual conduct with students than heterosexual teachers. What it amounts to is another attack on democratic rights and more ammunition for those who seek to scapegoat gay men and Lesbians for the social crisis.

Denying basic civil rights to gay people can also lead to accusations of homosexuality as a political attack on people who are not gay, in a manner similar to red-baiting.

Around the country, gay people and non-gay supporters (including a group called Parents of Gays, whose motto is "They are our children!") have been mobilizing in many forms to oppose the continuing attack on gay rights. Despite Anita Bryant and the Supreme Court, gay rights ordinances continue to be passed; the most recent in Wichita, Kansas.

curbing police abuse ... the debate over a civilian review board

By Ron Whitehorne

It hasn't been a good year for Frank Rizzo's Big Blue Machine. Police lawbreaking, whether in the form of corruption, terror toward innocent citizens, or trampling on the civil liberties of criminal suspects, is nothing new in this town.

But this year police misconduct has reached new heights. Maybe there was no more or less than before, but the cops seemed more willing to let it all hang out. The open beating and shooting of unarmed and innocent citizens in full view of witnesses as in the cases of William Cradle and Jose Reyes was committed by police officers who are confident that they can literally get away with murder in broad daylight.

Then too, police abuse has gotten more media exposure. The *Inquirer*, which formerly ignored the issue or put it back there with the stock quotations, has in the last year investigated and exposed police brutality and put it on the front page. These exposures, motivated by the *Inquirer's* self-interest in replacing Frank Rizzo in City Hall with a more sophisticated guardian of law and order nevertheless have served to contribute to mounting indignation over police practices.

GROWTH OF PEOPLE'S MOVEMENT AGAINST BRUTALITY

In the wake of these developments a movement in opposition to police brutality has emerged. In the Black and Puerto Rican communities in particular there has been a growth of organized protest. Within this movement there has been a debate over what approach should be taken to combat police abuse. The focal point of this debate has been the question of a Civilian Review Board.

Some forces have argued that the demand for a civilian review board provides a basis for both mobilizing and educating the masses in the struggle against police repression. Opposition to this demand has come from both the right and the left. Some, notably Spencer Coxe of the ACLU, have argued that the CRB concept has not really worked in other cities and that the movement is best served by setting its sights on more modest goals, such as pressing for the prosecution of individual police offenders and for reform of internal police review procedures.

RCP OPPOSES REVIEW BOARD

Others, like the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP), have argued in a contradictory fashion that a Civilian Review Board represents a harmless concession ("the ruling class wants to direct the struggle down this dead-end road") while at the same time saying that it cannot be won ("the ruling class will never give it to

you"). The RCP advocates building "People's Defense Brigades", self-defense units in the manner of the old Black Panther Party, as the main content of the fightback against police repression. The RCP also argues that the masses are way ahead of such tame demands as a Civilian Review Board and cannot be mobilized around such a "wishy-washy" focus.

What are we to make of these arguments? First of all, we have to be clear exactly what kind of CRB we are talking about. A board with no real powers or a board that is not in any fashion accountable certainly will be ineffective and definitely is no threat to the interests of the ruling class. The Civilian Review Boards that have existed in other cities have for the most part been of this character.

AN EFFECTIVE REVIEW BOARD

To be effective a review board must have the following features: 1) it must be popularly elected rather than appointed; 2) election needs to be based on a system of proportional representation to insure that the national minority communities which suffer the most from police abuse have a real voice, 3) it must have the funding, staff and legal authority to investigate and prosecute offending police officers.

We also have to be clear that a CRB is not the solution...it is not a simple and easy cure-all for the problem. Police brutality, corruption and abuse cannot be eliminated without eliminating capitalism. The security of the capitalism system depends on selective use of police terror to keep the oppressed people in line. A correct approach to police brutality must draw out this truth and patiently educate the masses as to the revolutionary solution.

But while police brutality cannot be eliminated under capitalism, it does not follow that it cannot be checked or curbed in any way. Capitalist institutions, while they cannot be reformed into genuinely just and democratic institutions, are nevertheless susceptible to some degree to organized and militant popular movements which demand change.

The organized power of the masses of people is the greatest force we have and is ultimately the only thing which can force and maintain concessions from the monopoly capitalists and their government. In calling for any specific reform, we must always keep this perspective in the forefront.

In this context, the demand for a Civilian Review Board makes good sense. Unlike simply calling for prosecution of police



wrong-doers or reform of internal police procedures, it focuses squarely on the issue of the lack of accountability of the police to the people they supposedly serve. It raises to the broad masses the question of why the police aren't accountable and it points in the direction of popular control as the solution. In other words, it is a demand that serves to advance both the consciousness of the masses of people, and the stakes involved in the struggle.

As for the ultra-leftist arguments, they represent the usual concoction of revolutionary-sounding hot air and adventurist tactics. If it was really true that a genuine Review Board was "a harmless concession", then why hasn't it been made?

Why has Frank Rizzo been so absolute in his opposition to this demand? And why has his liberal opposition shied away from this same demand? While as a result of public outcry police brutality has become an issue in the current campaign, none of the candidates have endorsed this "harmless concession".

PEOPLE MUST FIGHT FOR DEMOCRACY

The ultra-left also argues in effect that the capitalist state is the capitalist state. It is reactionary and it can't be reformed (quite true) so who gives a damn what form it takes (quite wrong). This is dangerous logic. The capitalist state is a fairly elastic mechanism which can take any number of forms ranging from advanced bourgeois democracy like Sweden to barbarous fascism like Nazi Germany.

Within the framework of bourgeois democracy there is also a definite range of political content. We are not and cannot afford to be indifferent to whether or not Congress is elected, whether or not the Pentagon is under civilian control, and whether or not the FBI has the legal right to listen to our phone conversations.

While recognizing that democratic rights are inherently limited by the very nature of imperialism, we still must do the utmost to realize and actualize those rights whenever possible. We must stand for the greatest amount of democracy, even while it remains bourgeois democracy.

In relation to the police, this means recognition that our position is stronger with a popularly elected board to supervise them and that our position is weaker to the extent that they are freed from

public scrutiny and control. By opposing such a measure, the ultra-left unites with the right in objectively limiting our immediate political focus to merely prosecution of wrong-doers.

As for the argument that the masses are too revolutionary-minded to take seriously such a demand, this is nothing but the usual ultra-left confusion of desire with reality. It is nice to engage in such delusions, but we will only move forward when we face the hard fact that the broad masses are presently under the sway of reformist politics. To the extent that they have abandoned such politics it is largely to fall into cynicism about politics generally and only to a modest extent does it represent the embrace of a revolutionary alternative.

ADVENTURISM AND IRRESPONSIBILITY

This delusion about the present state of mass consciousness is evident in the proposal that organizing People's Defense Brigades should be the main content of the movement's activity. To advocate the formation of armed self-defense squads to "drive the police from the community" is at the present stage of mass consciousness and organization sheer adventurism and irresponsibility.

The Black Panthers, in the 1960's, at a point where there was much more active resistance to police repression, employed the tactic of armed self-defense. While the Panthers provided an example of courage and militancy for oppressed people, they also, by their own admission, isolated themselves from the Black masses. Under the circumstances, the Panthers' tactics made it that much easier for the government to arrest or shoot down its leadership, tie up all its energy in costly court battles and defense work.

Now, under even less favorable circumstances, the RCP proposes the same tactic. While criticizing this adventurism, it is important to be clear that we do not oppose in principle armed self-defense. The revolutionary struggle will undoubtedly require that the masses of people arm themselves. But we should be past the point of infantile romanticism and playing with guns.

Agitation for a Civilian Review Board has a definite place as a means through which we can educate the masses about the class nature of the police, mobilize broad forces in struggle, and check the growth of police terror.

Narciso-Perez supporters call for justice



About 70 supporters from the Filipino community, nurses, and rank and file union activists rallied at Independence Mall on Oct. 11 to demand justice for convicted Filipina nurses Narciso and Perez. An alternate juror who observed the trial which resulted in the conviction of the nurses for poisoning their patients spoke about why she felt the verdict was wrong.

On Nov. 2 attorneys filed for a new trial as the nationwide movement for justice grows.

Police Beating in West Philly

a first hand account

Jeanette Knighton tells
of being beaten by police.



organizer photo

When Jeanette Knighton was beaten by police on September 10, it was one in a long series of confrontations between her and police during the tense summer of police occupation in Powelton Village. Round-the-clock police stake-out has been maintained in the neighborhood since May 20 in response to the MOVE organization.

Ms. Knighton, mother of two, has been active in the Concerned Citizens to Insure Justice for MOVE, a group in the community that has publicly defended MOVE against police abuse. Long active and concerned with problems of youth in the Black community, she has served as Program Director for the Brotherhood Service Group, and member of the South Philadelphia Area Advisory Board, City-wide Advisory Board, and 17th District Police-Community Workshop.

Her outspoken attitude toward the police this summer has brought numerous arrests, harassment, and raids on her home -- to the point where her 11 and 13 year old sons were afraid to be there and had to live with friends in another neighborhood.

ORGANIZER: Jeanette, I know this time in September wasn't the first time the cops have knocked you around, but it was the worst, wasn't it? Why don't you just tell us the sequence of events that day?

JEANETTE: Well, I was walking down the street, 33rd Street, with my friend Belita, and these cops that were supposed

to be on stake-out were gathered around a car with these women, all laughing and messing around. And one says, "Here come those nappy-haired bitches from MOVE" and they're all laughing at us.

So we had this exchange of words, and when I seen their corporal, I said how come they're messing with these women, these prostitutes, when they're supposed to be on duty. And I said maybe I should take some pictures. He says, "I'll put my foot up your ass."

O: But nothing really came of this confrontation.

J: No, it was just an exchange of words, started by their provocation. It's been going on all summer. In fact, one of the officers involved, Nottingham, I had spoken to him a couple of weeks before 'cause he was messing up this old man's porch, and his corporal got on him and made him stop. So he had it in for me.

I went back to where my friend Belita was, and as I got near 33rd and Race, this Nottingham comes up and says, "Bitch, I'm sick of your shit." And he smacks me in the head, knocks me into the bushes, then jumps right on me! He's hitting me, punching me in the head and face, and smacking me around the shoulders and chest, and I'm yelling ...

O: How big is this Nottingham?

J: Oh, he's a big guy, at least 6'1", maybe 6'2" -- weighs a couple hundred pounds.

O: And just for the record, how big are you?

J: I'm 4'11", and I weigh 92 pounds. But I did what I could to hit him back! I'm yelling and Belita comes running down and jumps on his back and starts pounding him.

O: And how big is she?

J: She's taller than me, about 5'7", but she only weighs about 120. But still we were getting to this Nottingham, and he starts hollering like he's a rape victim or

O: Where did they take you? To the hospital?

J: Are you kidding? They threw me in a cell at the 16th District. They said since I was with MOVE I probably didn't want to go to the doctor anyway, but I kept saying I did, and they gave me a lot of bull about how can I defend MOVE when they don't believe in doctors and I do. Finally they took me to the Emergency Room at Presbyterian.

O: What did the doctor say?

J: Well, first of all, he asked the cops to leave the room so he could examine me -- they refused. My head was bleeding, all swollen, a black eye, and my back was killing me. My face looked terrible, but the doctor said nothing was broken, luckily.

But then these cops refused to take off the handcuffs so my back could be x-rayed! They told the doc I had just attacked and beaten two police officers and I was too violent and dangerous to uncuff!

O: So what did the doctor say about your back?

J: He said it was probably bruised ribs and pelvis, and I should come and get the x-rays the next day just to be sure. He gave me a pain-killer, and they took me

pass it on!

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something, and this other cop comes and grabs Belita off him and they go at us separately. Nottingham has me by the throat, and he's swinging me around and kicking me in the ribs and back ...

Finally, they just threw off Belita and threw me in the car. Even in the car, Nottingham, who was driving, kept swinging at me in the back seat! He even hit his partner a couple of times, who was back there holding me!

down to 55th and Pine and cuffed me to a chair in a cell.

O: When did they finally charge you?

J: They finally took me to the round-house at about one in the morning. They put me in with this junkie, and she was sick and threw up all over the cell. They took her out, but they didn't bother to clean up. It was a mess.

I kept asking for painkillers, aspirin or something. They'd say, "This ain't no hospital because you're a criminal." When I'd ask for food or water, it was the same thing, "This ain't no restaurant."

No food or water until I got released at 6 the next night. I know people who've been there for two days with no food.

O: What were you charged with?

J: Disorderly conduct, resisting arrest and assault and battery on a police officer. My hearing is October 21. It's such bull. Nottingham was the only one who pressed charges; the other cop didn't; and there were no charges against Belita. Oh, this is important about the pictures.

O: The mug shots?

J: Yeah, when they booked me, they only took the one profile, not the side with my cut and my black eye and all the swelling.

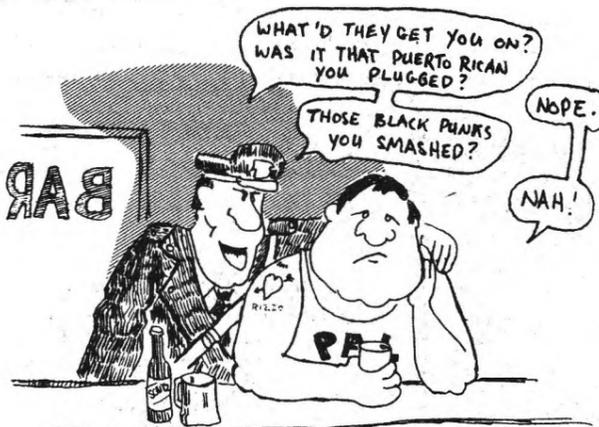
It has been bad. I can tell you plenty of other stories just like this one. They're really out to intimidate people who stand up to them. They want to go beyond harassing us, and really intimidate us.

But the organizing will continue, that's for sure.

NEWS ITEM: Three police officers are suspended from duty for performing "deviate sexual intercourse" at a bachelor's party in a Locust Strip Bar.



NEWS ITEM: Police Commissioner O'Neill says police investigations find no evidence of police brutality.



organizer graphic

THE PUERTO RICAN LABOR MOVEMENT

By Anna Gold

"...The Puerto Rican workers' movement is again confronting a campaign of slander and repression. . . We warn the authorities that the workers' movement is indivisible. Any action against a labor leader or against a union, will constitute an act of aggression against the whole workers' movement. . . We demand that (the authorities) suspend the harassment and persecution of labor leaders singled out by the government."

The Puerto Rican working class has paid in blood, in occupational disease and injury, and in hunger for the divided state of the labor movement over the past few years. When over 25 Puerto Rican unions came together in early October to make the statement excerpted above, they knew the full urgency of the situation; they knew that the time was long past for allowing differences to keep them apart.

For the workers in Puerto Rico, the 1970's have been characterized by long, bitter, and militant strikes. And yet over the past ten years, almost 75% of these strikes have been lost. Only 15% of the workforce is unionized, unemployment is estimated at 40%, and over 70% of the population depends on food stamps.

Puerto Rico: "Showcase of Democracy", the success story of U. S. capitalism, home of Operation Bootstrap, right? The Commonwealth's own advertisements give us the real picture: "Puerto Rico: Gateway to Profits. . . Average hourly rates substantially lower than those on the mainland." promises the brochure. "In Puerto Rico you can make good profits and keep them. . . Open a plant. . . and we'll guarantee you no taxes, federal or local.

U. S. INDUSTRY FLOCKS TO PUERTO RICO

For over 25 years, US corporations have responded willingly to such appeals. They've been drawn by generous tax exemptions, low wages, and the local government's willingness to co-opt, or if necessary to crush, the labor movement. Then, as the exemptions ran out, and the labor movement grew despite repression, the labor-intensive industries ran off to the Dominican Republic, Taiwan, Central America, and South Korea. Now the large petrochemical and pharmaceutical plants are moving in, attracted by almost non-existent environmental protection laws and few restriction on polluting. What was a predominantly agricultural country in 1930 must now import 85% of its food.

LABOR MOVEMENT'S RESPONSE

What is the labor movement's response to these grim facts? In order to understand the Puerto Rican labor movement, we must recognize that its development is directly tied to the status of Puerto Rico as a colony of the U. S. The status question is important not only because it explains the domination of U. S. corporations in the economic life of the country, but also because it explains the state of organization of the working class.

This can be summarized by two points: 1) the Puerto Rican labor movement has been colonized by U. S. trade unions and 2) the section of the movement which is independent of the U. S. unions is fragmented by political differences over the status question. These two facts go a long way towards explaining the inability of the working class to defend itself successfully against the intense exploitation of U. S. corporations, and we will examine each of them.

About 40 to 50% of unionized workers in Puerto Rico are presently in US-based In-



The independent Union of Telephone Workers (UIET) in Puerto Rico in the midst of a 102 day strike in the spring and summer of 1975. The Telephone Company has unsuccessfully tried to destroy this militant union.

ternational unions, down from 75% in 1964. These unions have been increasingly discredited in the eyes of the workers, however, and many are being forced to pack their bags and go home as workers disaffiliate from them and vote in their own independent unions.

As Pedro Grant, head of the Boilermakers Union (AFL-CIO) in Puerto Rico explains, "The Internationals have strength and money but they won't use it. They are not fighting. The ILGWU, for example, has very bad contracts, while many independent unions are winning very strong ones. At the huge CORCO plant, they used to have the OCAW and were very unhappy. Now (with the independent union) they have a strong contract. If a strike takes more than a few weeks, many US unions like the IAM or the ILGWU say it wasn't authorized by the International and they take away the benefits."

This happened in a very recent UAW strike, he went on to explain. The Detroit leadership ordered an end to the strike after 13 weeks without winning anything because they decided it was costing too much money. They told the workers to rely on the NLRB. Shortly after this, the workers voted to disaffiliate themselves from the UAW because they had never been consulted by the Detroit leadership about ending their strike.

U.S. UNIONS ORGANIZE IN PUERTO RICO

The US based internationals did not show a serious interest in organizing in Puerto Rico until the 1940's, when the impact of runaway shops began to be felt. U. S. labor leaders realized that the job drain would be stopped only when Puerto Rican wages were too high to be attractive to US capital, and so they demanded an increase in the Puerto Rican minimum wage and sent organizers to the island.

This activity coincided with the move on the part of the Puerto Rican colonial government in the late '40's to destroy the General Confederation of Labor, the central labor body in Puerto Rico which represented a stumbling block to the full exploitation of the workforce through Operation Bootstrap. The CGT had to be destroyed in order to guarantee a cheap and docile labor force.

If the US unions were going to Puerto Rico to fight runaway shops by raising

wages, why were they acceptable to the Commonwealth, which was destroying the already existing labor organization? The answer to this question brings us right back to the colonial status of Puerto Rico.

First, while Puerto Rican unions from the beginning included the struggle for independence as part of their program, the collaborationist US unions not only accepted but supported the colonial status of Puerto Rico. Their national chauvinism and loyalty to the capitalist system had after all, been amply shown over the years on the mainland.

Secondly, the US leaders were easily convinced to drop their demand for wage parity in exchange for help in their organizing efforts. The US unions demanded only that the gap between Puerto Rican and US wages not be allowed to widen. The gap itself, however, was accepted as "only fair" to US capitalism.

Thirdly, US corporations were far more open to working with the sold-out "responsible" US-based unions than with their militant Puerto Rican counterparts. Often contracts were brought straight from the mainland, and the workers had the choice of accepting them or getting jobs elsewhere.

REBIRTH OF INDEPENDENT UNIONISM

In the past ten years, however, there has been a rebirth of independent and militant trade unionism in Puerto Rico. The new workers' movement has been characterized by a revolt against the sell-out leadership which was in control, a move toward the formation of new independent Puerto Rican unions and autonomous AFL locals, and growing links between the labor movement and the independence movement.

The unions have often been organized as independent one-shop unions through a disaffiliation vote against a US International. While in 1963 independent unions won less than half the elections against the Internationals, in 1974 they won 23 out of 30 contests.

In other cases, the rank and file was able to gain control of their local within the international structure, such as Pedro Grant's Boilermakers' local, the American Federation of Teachers, and some Teamster locals. In these cases, locals have re-

mained with the International unions in order to receive economic and technical assistance.

A FRAGMENTED LABOR MOVEMENT

The net result of this situation is that on this small island of three million people, only 14% of whom are organized, there are about 500 unions operating. While the largest bulk of these unions are affiliated to US Internationals, the remaining unions, and in most cases the most active and important unions, have been organized and led by one or another of the political parties seeking the independence of Puerto Rico — the Puerto Rican Independence Party (PIP), the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP), and the Popular Socialist Movement (MSP). While numerous attempts have been made over the past decade to unite these unions into one confederation, none has been successful. In fact, twelve different federations exist at this point.

One of the most important factors preventing the necessary unity has been the deadly force of anti-communism. Many of the new, dynamic union leaders are open advocates of socialism as the only solution to Puerto Rico's problems. The government and media have carried on a vicious red-baiting campaign, building a wedge between the socialist and the "responsible" unions.

SECTARIANISM BETWEEN POLITICAL GROUPS

A second factor preventing the development of a single, powerful confederation of labor has been the open hostilities and

Puerto Rican Unionism

The following statement was issued by some 25 Puerto Rican trade unions in the wake of intensified repression following the assassination of North American corporate lawyer Alan Randall. The statement represents a broad spectrum of the island's labor movement and marks a step toward united action.

Most of the independent unions, including those associated with the progressive MOU, endorsed the statement as did unions led by the more conservative PIP (Puerto Rican Independence Party). A number of locals belonging to AFL-CIO or North American Internationals also united with the statement, including the Teamsters, Hotel Workers, and Boilermakers.

The Puerto Rican workers' movement is again confronting a campaign of slander and repression. The violent death of the company lawyer Alan Randall is now being used as an excuse to attack trade unions and labor leaders. Because of the fact that Randall represented the employers' interests in many labor conflicts, some sectors are trying to place the responsibility for his death on workers' organizations.

The real identity of those who killed Randall remains a mystery. Also unknown are the motives which lay behind the action leading to the death of the North American company lawyer. Not one piece of evidence has yet been discovered to link anyone with this act.

But in spite of this, some people insist on blaming the workers' movement for this incident. Lacking the proof to support their charges, these accusations are irresponsible, unfounded, and vicious. Only one thing is clear: the interest in repressing the workers' movement.

AN LABOR MOVEMENT: from colonialism to militancy



(UIET) in Puerto Rico in the midst of 1975. The Telephone Company has union.

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SECTARIANISM BETWEEN POLITICAL GROUPS

A second factor preventing the development of a single, powerful confederation of labor has been the open hostilities and

sectarianism among the independence forces themselves. Differences over political approach to the independence question have been carried over into an unwillingness to cooperate on the labor front.

Again, the primary aspect here is anti-communism. For a number of years, the PIP unions and leaders have refused to work with communist leaders from the PSP or MSP, and in fact have attempted to undermine these unions and leaders through red-baiting.

Secondarily, the communist leadership accepts some responsibility for its sectarian behavior. Trade union leader and PSP Central Committee member Pedro Grant points out that in the past, they fought all Internationals and attempted to control coalition attempts, viewing other political forces practically as enemies, even in the trade union sphere.

In re-evaluating its work Grant says the PSP has determined to "back any movement directed to achieve unity or stronger unions. We are not going to intervene. We will back but not dictate. Work must be done by all sectors, so we must work with other political forces."

Clearly the future of the trade union movement depends on the ability of the leaders to put their differences aside temporarily in the interests of forming a united front against the capitalists. The basis of unity certainly exists: fight for

cost of living clauses, the right to organize and strike in the public sector, for repeal of the Taft-Hartley law, for an end to police repression, and for abolition of anti-labor legislation, and so on.

Even a number of locals affiliated to US Internationals have shown their willingness to participate actively in the struggle. Peter Huegels of the Meatcutters for example has played an important role in the United Workers Movement (MOU).

TOWARD A UNITED WORKERS MOVEMENT

There are a number of hopeful signs for the development of such unity. Recently the PIP-led federation of public workers (CUTE) including about ten labor organizations in the public sector has been revived. There appears to be a new openness to the participation of PSP leaders and unions, particularly the powerful UTIER, an independent union of over 5000 members presently led by an active member of the PSP. If the PIP leadership of the CUTE do in fact abandon their anti-communist and sectarian approach to organization, the confederation could begin to indeed be a powerful block to the Commonwealth's offensive against public workers.

Discussion are underway to forge a similar coalition in the private sector. As the statement of the unions quoted in the beginning of the article makes clear, the urgency of united action is being felt in many quarters of the Puerto Rican labor movement.

Puerto Rican Trade Union Unity Statement

The following statement was issued by some 25 Puerto Rican trade unions in the wake of intensified repression following the assassination of North American corporate lawyer Alan Randall. The statement represents a broad spectrum of the island's labor movement and marks a step toward united action.

Most of the independent unions, including those associated with the progressive MOU, endorsed the statement as did unions led by the more conservative PIP (Puerto Rican Independence Party). A number of locals belonging to AFL-CIO or North American Internationals also united with the statement, including the Teamsters, Hotel Workers, and Boilermakers.

The Puerto Rican workers' movement is again confronting a campaign of slander and repression. The violent death of the company lawyer Alan Randall is now being used as an excuse to attack trade unions and labor leaders. Because of the fact that Randall represented the employers' interests in many labor conflicts, some sectors are trying to place the responsibility for his death on workers' organizations.

The real identity of those who killed Randall remains a mystery. Also unknown are the motives which lay behind the action leading to the death of the North American company lawyer. Not one piece of evidence has yet been discovered to link anyone with this act.

But in spite of this, some people insist on blaming the workers' movement for this incident. Lacking the proof to support their charges, these accusations are irresponsible, unfounded, and vicious. Only one thing is clear: the interest in repressing the workers' movement.

Puerto Rico is experiencing an epoch of violence. Assaults, robberies, rapes, acts of aggression, murders all daily fill the front pages of the newspapers. There are also other forms of violence of which workers are also the victims: unemployment and low salaries. And to complete the picture, workers and their unions every day have to confront a ferocious offensive by the employers, advised by strategists and experts like Randall, who are trying to cut back even more the gains which have already been won. The slander campaigns against the unions and the use of para-military organizations of professional strike-breakers like Security Associates in labor conflicts, are also examples of the violence from which our working people suffer.

Within all of this violence Randall's death occurred, followed by the anti-worker campaign. This is why it is urgent to defend the workers' movement from any attempt at dividing, weakening, and repressing it.

As usual, the newspaper El Mundo led the new anti-worker offensive. This enterprise has a long history of repression against its own employees. It also has a history of repression against the entire Puerto Rican workers' movement, which it has insulted and slandered continuously over many years.

In an El Mundo editorial eulogizing the life of Randall (who always dedicated himself to fighting against unions on every front) at the same time that Randall's death is condemned, the name of a labor leader, Arturo Grant, is mentioned, implicating him in this way in the death of Randall. This libelous editorial commentary of El Mundo constitutes an act of aggression and violence against the whole Puerto Rican workers' movement. This is

why the objectives which El Mundo pursues in its vicious accusation must be explained.

El Mundo and other groups and persons want to use the Randall case to justify the persecution and repression against the workers' movement. They want to arouse public opinion against those who continue to be the main victims of violence in Puerto Rico. And they want to judge us and condemn us without the least bit of evidence against us.

We hold the newspaper El Mundo responsible for any act of violence that could be carried out against the trade unions at this time. We also hold responsible the public authorities who are guilty of having consistently protected the employers in all labor-company disputes in the last years.

We warn the authorities that the workers' movement is indivisible. Therefore, any action against a labor leader, or against union, will constitute an act of aggression against the whole workers' movement. Fabricating a case against a labor leader cannot be correct under any circumstances. Therefore, we demand that the authorities investigate all the angles of the case, and that they suspend the harassment and persecution of labor leaders singled out by the government.

The Puerto Rican workers' movement will not retreat, much less surrender before this new employer offensive. On the contrary, beyond giving unitary support to this statement, we commit ourselves before all of the Puerto Rican workers, to rise above all that which could divide us for the sake of achieving a sincere and solid unity that carries us forward toward the total victory of our aspirations for liberty and progress.

NT: from colonialism to militancy

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Rican Trade Union Statement

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Arrow identifies slain Teamster organizer, Caballero Santana.

Teamster organizer murdered

Juan Rafael Caballero Santana, a Teamster organizer, was found dead in the El Yunque forest on October 25. His body was in an advanced state of decomposition. His hands had been tied and he had been strangled by electrical wire. According to union sources Caballero Santana was kidnapped by police on October 13 as part of a concerted effort to repress the militant sectors of the labor movement following the assassination of suspected CIA operative Alan Randall.

The government has singled out the Teamsters Union as a target. The Teamsters in Puerto Rico are among the most militant unions with the active participation of many progressives and independentistas in their ranks. The union is strategically placed at the heart of the

island's transportation system, having organized the longshore workers as well as the truck drivers.

On October 17, police agents detained Luis Carrion, a Teamster organizer and Teamster secretary Benita Vasquez. Earlier police established surveillance at the homes of several organizers and harassed their families. Many suspect the assassins mistook Caballero Santana for Carrion since the two closely resemble each other.

Labor militants and all progressive forces on the island are united in seeing the attack on the Teamsters as an attack on the whole workers movement. They have demanded an end to the attacks and an impartial investigation into the murder of Caballero Santana.

Corporate labor lawyer assassinated

On September 22, 1977, Alan Randall, a labor relations lawyer and the designated chairman of the Federal Bar Association convention that was to be held in Puerto Rico the 26-27th of September, was shot and killed by a "labor commando group". The actual identity of the group remains unknown. Randall, in his role as a labor lawyer, represented some of the major corporations in their negotiations with trade unions in Puerto Rico. Among the Puerto Rican labor movement he was known for his consistent anti-labor positions.

Randall played a leading role in decertifying the Union Nacional de Trabajadores (National Union of Workers) a progressive, independent union in Puerto Rico.

The Federal Bar Association convention that he was to "chair" had as its main purpose to discuss the state of the labor and independence movements and means to combat the increasing role of communists within those movements. The key seminar at the convention was going to be on "Terrorism and Countermeasures". This seminar was going to center on the labor movement and the independence movement and the intensification of re-

pression against these movements. This was going to be led by leading members of the CIA and the FBI.

The assassination of Randall has been used by the commercial media in Puerto Rico — especially *El Mundo*, the leading daily in Puerto Rico, to slander and defame the Puerto Rican labor movement — particularly its most militant leadership and those associated with the struggle for national liberation.

This occurs in the wake of the repressive onslaught that has been unleashed by the colonial government and the bosses against the labor movement. This has been manifested not only in open political harassment but by the massive unemployment that has hit the working class and the attacks on its past gains in terms of wages and working conditions.

In response to this latest intensification of that repression in the wake of the Randall assassination, some 25 unions have come together to formulate a joint statement condemning the intensified attacks of the commercial press and the colonial government.

report from the front line states

African leaders say Namibia will be free

by HARRY AMANA
THIRD WORLD COALITION

The following article was contributed by Third World Coalition activist Harry Amana following a tour of the front line states in Southern Africa. This article surveys the liberation struggle in Namibia (Southwest Africa).

Namibia is occupied illegally by South Africa. A German colony until the end of World War I, South Africa was given trusteeship of Namibia after the war by the League of Nations with the goal of guiding it to independence. Half a century later, South Africa shows no signs of giving up its control and has imposed its scheme of apartheid (separate development) throughout the country. But white minority rule and colonialism are being challenged by the people of Namibia.

In future articles Amana will cover the liberation struggles in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) and in South Africa itself, based on discussions with leaders of the liberation movements.

Within a span of not more than three years, Zimbabwe and Namibia will be free and independent nations, ruled and governed by African people. This was the opinion of Front line nations' leaders, Julius Nyerere and Kenneth Kaunda and Patriotic Front co-leader, Robert Mugabe, expressed in personal interviews during the month of August in Southern Africa.



All agree, however, South Africa will probably fall into some different kind of time table; its liberation may be the most difficult to accomplish.

A month-long tour of Zambia, Botswana, Mozambique and Tanzania took a group of 16 committee members, staff and affiliates of the American Friends Service Committee through an intensive fact-finding venture. The group spoke with African leaders, U.S. diplomats, religious and civic leaders, refugees and freedom fighters. All agreed, in time, sooner rather than later, Africa will be free.

SWAPO LEADS NAMIBIAN STRUGGLE

In Namibia, the situation is more or less basic. It is SWAPO (Southwest African Peoples Organization) which leads the armed struggle there, and has for more than 11 years now. A conversation with SWAPO East African representative Kaveke Antonya Katamila, in Dar Es Salaam, Tanzania, revealed, however, that the problems in Namibia are far from solved.

Aside from the army of South Africa which continues to illegally occupy the territory, SWAPO's other problem recently has been UNITA, the bogus "liberation" movement which fought with South Africa and the U.S. backed FNLA against MPLA (The Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola) during the final days of the liberation struggle in Angola.

UNITA still operates in southern Angola and northern Namibia, Katamila said, primarily as a terrorist organization trained and armed by the South African army in "five or six large camps," the most important of which is in Grootfontein in northern Namibia.

"They are armed and sent into Angola disguised as SWAPO guerrillas," Katamila said, "and serve as spys in Namibia." In Namibia, Katamila said, UNITA agents uncover SWAPO supporters and reveal their identities to the South African army which then arrest, kills and harasses them.

In addition, Katamila continued, UNITA agents "burn houses, steal oxen, rape women, including old women, kill babies...while South Africa waits, ready to discredit SWAPO, confusing the people."

Then, he said, "The Boers (South African army) come in as a follow-up and vacate the area. So-called refugees "flowing south are not really refugees, but kidnapped and harassed people fleeing UNITA and South African terrorism."

NAMIBIA AS A BUFFER ZONE

South Africa has often announced its plan to maintain a police "protective area" in Namibia in an attempt to create a permanent buffer zone between Angola and itself. South Africa wants to prevent Namibia from being used as a guerrilla base for ANC and PAC operations when the armed struggle is inevitably escalated in South Africa itself. Toward this end, South Africa gladly supports the UNITA operations against SWAPO.

In the September issue of *Africa* magazine, UNITA foreign relations secretary, Jorge Sangumba is quoted outlining UNITA goals: "One of the decisions we



in UNITA have taken is that we will drive SWAPO out of its bases in Angola."

Then UNITA wants to partition Angola into two parts "to create a Vietnam," Sangumba said, (referring to the Vietnam before 1975), to form the Black and African Socialist State of Angola."

UNITA LOSES STRENGTH; SWAPO GROWS

Katamila and others close to the Angola situation believe, however, UNITA's real position in Angola is weak and dying. Peter Polanjo, Tanzanian foreign minister on Africa and the Middle East, put it this way: "My experience in Angola shows that things are improving daily and the government is steadily moving south. SWAPO and MPLA have always worked together; if SWAPO takes over Namibia tomorrow, UNITA will have to go off to South Africa."

And according to Katamila, SWAPO will soon take over. "We have managed a sense of unity in the entire country," he said. As an organizer in Namibia until early this year, and as former deputy chairman of SWAPO inside Namibia, Katamila said his information is first hand. In spite of continued police harassment, arrests and killings, SWAPO grows, he said.

"We have established study groups in the main centers and also in the rural areas; 25 of these are in the north," he said. "And even in the police zones, we have more than 20 schools operating."

"We are also holding seminars to discuss Black consciousness, unity, and the fight against tribalism - and the people under-

stand. Hand picked chiefs by South Africa don't have any support from the people. Even the churches know this and work with SWAPO," he said.

On the diplomatic front the question is simple. "We want UN supervision and control and, most important, a total pull-out of the South African Army including the Walvis Bay area on the western coast," Katamila said. "This way we would be creating the conditions for peace and then, only then, would we have elections."

NAMBIANS TRAIN IN LEADERSHIP SKILLS

Meanwhile, in Lusaka, the capital city of Zambia, the three-year old United Nations Institute of Namibia, is already preparing Namibians to take over key positions in the country.

Gottfried Geingob, SWAPO member who heads the Institute, said that 100 are presently being trained in administrative and technological skills to assume leadership positions immediately.

Of these 100, he said, "77 are from SWAPO." The remaining 23 are from SWANU (The Southwest African National Union) a group only recently committed to armed struggle, which is not recognized by the Organization of African Unity.

Namibians, South Africans, Tanzanians, and a Jamaican woman all serve at the Institute as teachers and administrators working in solidarity with SWAPO for national liberation. "We are," said Geingob, "a liberation support institution."

Internationally acclaimed journalist
WILFRED BURCHETT
to speak in Philadelphia
on his first U.S. tour

From Vietnam
to Southern Africa:
The struggle against imperialism



Time: Saturday, Dec. 10, 8 PM
Place: Christian Association, 36th and Locust Walk
Admission: \$2.50 — Proceeds to benefit the Guardian and the Organizer

Myths about Communism

Do communists want your color tv?

by Jim Griffin

In 1957 J. Edgar Hoover wrote a book called *Masters of Deceit* telling "what the communist bosses are doing now to bring America to its knees." Of course, it has since become clear that Hoover himself had few masters when it came to deceit, but that is another story. His book has become a textbook of anti-communism. Its ideas both mould and reflect popular attitudes toward communism and communists.

The Organizer wants to debate these ideas with the arch anti-communist Hoover. While J. Edgar has passed on, his ideas have not. And while he no longer is able to speak, his book continues to speak for him.

"Communists want to control everything, where you live, where you work, what you are paid, what you think, what streetcars you ride (or whether you walk) how your children are educated, what you may not read and write. The most minute details, even the time your alarm clock goes off in the morning or the amount of cream in your coffee are the subjects for state supervision."

Pretty frightening, this picture of a communist commissar watching over your shoulder to see if you put the right amount of cream in your coffee. This is the portrayal of communists and socialism throughout *Masters of Deceit*, and it is one familiar to all of us from countless other sources of anti-communism.

The typical communist of this myth is power-hungry, ruthless, conniving and manipulative. These imagined communists seek only to control the minds and hearts of unsuspecting, salt of the earth people and turn them into mindless, joyless, hardworking zombies.

The socialist state that these communists wish to create is described as a cross between a government as bureaucratic as a giant U. S. Post Office, and as democratic as San Quentin penitentiary. The communists themselves, of course, become the masters and overlords of this bleak machine-like society and lavish themselves with power and privilege.

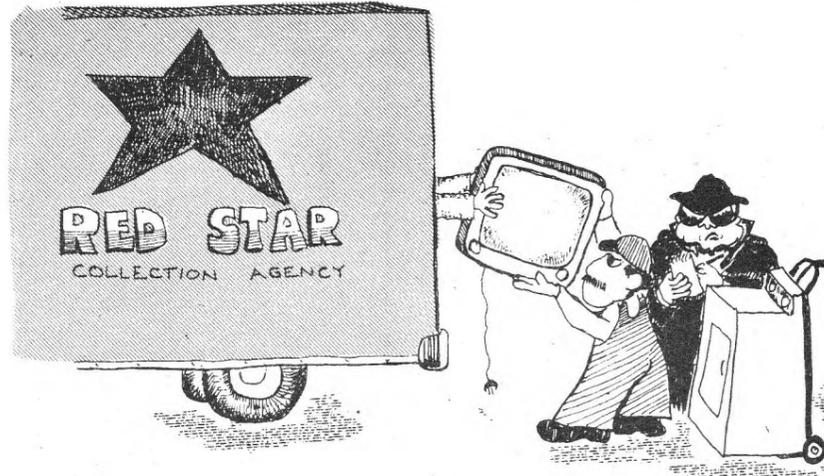
If this were so, it would be hard to imagine why millions of people throughout the world join communist-led movements for national liberation and socialism. Are all of these people being duped, like children accepting candy from a molester?

If you stop to think about it, the picture of communists as evil-in-the-flesh monsters who exist in some sort of sinister political underworld is pretty hard to swallow. Ask yourself these questions: Who are communists and where do they come from? Why would anyone struggle, undergo imprisonment, torture, and death to create the rigid and austere socialist society of J. Edgar Hoover's fevered imagination?

WHO ARE COMMUNISTS?

Hoover's view is that communists are rootless conspirators existing in a society but not as a part of it. History contradicts this myth, however. The communist movements of the past century have drawn their members from the working class, from the peasantry and from the ranks of revolutionary-minded intellectuals.

People become communists because in the course of their daily living experience and in the course of their study of their



society they have come to the conclusion that the system of capitalism and imperialism is their real enemy. These lessons are learned in the course of struggles for national independence, in the trade unions and the workers' movement, in the struggle against racism, sexism, and discrimination, and in the hundreds of daily struggles for the basic necessities of a livelihood and for democratic rights.

People become communists because they have come to understand that the interests of the working class and all oppressed peoples of class society are, and will always be, in direct opposition to the interests of the ruling capitalist class.

The ills and injustices of capitalist society cannot be cured by applying band-aid reforms to diseases that require major surgery. The surgery that is needed, communists believe, is to remove the bankers, corporation executives, and the super-rich family dynasties from political and economic power, throw out the greedy profit-first economic system, and replace it with rule of the working class and an economic system that places human needs as its first priority.

ORGANIZERS OF THE WORKING CLASS

The capitalists will not give up their power without a fight. Communists see their job as uniting the working class and oppressed people and preparing for the showdown that will surely come with this ruling class.

The socialist society which communists seek to create is one which is ruled by and for the working class. It aims at making democracy a real tool in the hands of workers, not just the window-dressing electoral process that is called "democracy" in class society.

Hoover plays on popular attitudes toward the existing government in the U. S. to build up anti-communism. Under capitalism the state *is* an organ of the ruling capitalist class — it *does* interfere in our lives in order to better control us in the interests of the *monopoly corporations*. Under socialism, the state represents the interests of the working class and its policies; laws and forms of "interference" in

the lives of its citizens are, as we shall see, in the interests of the *workers*.

ARE COMMUNISTS OUT TO STEAL YOUR PROPERTY?

According to J. Edgar the communists are not only going to set your alarm clock in the communist society of the future. They are going to steal the alarm clock you've already got. "Communists work constantly to steal your rights, liberties and property", we are told.

One thing is true. Communists are out to take away the property of the exploiters—the huge monopoly corporations that presently own and control the productive wealth of the countries. Under socialism, the means of production — the factories, mines, mills, and productive land — will be owned collectively by the working class.

We do not seek to "steal" this property, for in our view it rightfully belongs to the workers who have created it, and has already been stolen by the capitalist class! The system of private property and wage labor makes this massive theft legal. The working class, by sweeping away this system, will simply be taking back what rightfully is ours.

Hoover has a hard time explaining why the worker will be threatened by the expropriation or seizure of this property in a socialist revolution. So he just lumps together the means of production with personal property and argues that the communists are going to take away your color TV.

He says the confiscation of property in a socialist revolution "would include your home, business, bank deposits, and related personal possessions." There it is in a nutshell. The fearsome communists are like a big collection agency. They are going to come into your home and repossess your furniture and grab up your personal savings.

The truth is that the socialist revolution has no interest in repossessing the personal property and savings of working people. The revolution has no need of such property. And most important, a revolution made by and for the workers

that took away the hard-earned possessions of these same workers would hardly make any sense.

PERSONAL PROPERTY UNDER SOCIALISM

But isn't it true that in communist countries the state owns everything and the individual nothing? No, it is not. Personal property still exists and indeed is protected under socialism. Let's take housing as an example.

Socialist revolutions have not confiscated the homes owned by working people. In some instances the mansions of the very rich have been confiscated. This happened following the Russian Revolution where these huge homes were turned into apartments for workers.

In China the very rich owners of mansions have been forced to share them with the workers. One former Chinese capitalist described his home today: "We live in our old house, my wife and I, sharing how with some others. That's all right. Good people. Hardworking people. We don't need the rooms".

HOUSING UNDER SOCIALISM

The major emphasis in socialist countries is on building state-owned and cooperative housing in order to meet the needs of the masses of people as rapidly as possible. Renting apartments for profit is against the law. While rents paid to landlords in the U. S. average at least 25% of the workers income, in the socialist countries rents for state and cooperative housing average 5%.

But privately-owned homes still exist. In the Soviet Union 60 years after the revolution one-third of the housing is still in private hands. And it is still possible to build and own a private home. Land is available free of charge and loans can be obtained at 2% interest. In many rural areas, this is the most common form of ownership. In the cities, publicly owned housing is preferred and private home ownership is dying out.

In capitalist society, home ownership represents the single biggest investment for the vast majority of workers. Holding onto and protecting that investment is important to the meagre financial security of the average working class family. This is not the case in socialist countries where there is no unemployment, and where no one is denied education, medical care, food, clothing or housing for lack of money. Thus the workers in these countries for the most part see no special value in owning a home as opposed to living in low-rent state-owned housing.

In the socialist countries consumer goods (cars, TVs, furniture, etc.) purchased by individuals belongs to those individuals. and similarly, personal savings belong to the individual. Hoover's talk about confiscation of these items has no basis in fact.

The truth is that the workers in the socialist countries had little in the way of personal possessions or savings before the revolution. Now, because of the growth of production and the new distribution of wealth under socialism, the working people have many more possessions than before. Of course, this is not the only way to measure standard of living — education, medical care, and the general quality of life are factors too. In all these respects, socialism has raised rather than cut the standard of living for the working people. . . J. Edgar to the contrary.

(to be continued)

**The Organizer debates
J. Edgar Hoover on
socialism and
private property**

The 'Independence' of Eurocommunism: WHO DOES IT SERVE?



by Clay Newlin

"The world communist movement is no longer a church and Moscow is no longer Rome. We cannot accept the existence of a 'Holy Office' within the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party with the power of dispensing excommunications or blessings," Santiago Carrillo, the General Secretary of the Spanish Communist Party, said at a news conference recently. He referred to the 'Holy Office' which in the sixteenth century directed the execution of several hundred thousand people on the grounds that they were heretics.

In the last few years, Carrillo has steadily escalated his criticism of the Soviet Union. Last year Carrillo went to great pains to repeat often that the Communist Party of Spain "has no connection with the USSR as a state or with its policy." In a January, 1977, interview with United Press International, Carrillo took this a step farther: "We are not in solidarity with the present policy of the Soviet Union."

In his book, *Eurocommunism and the State*, published in April 1977, he characterizes the USSR as a "superpower" which is both responsible for the escalating armaments build-up and pursues a foreign policy dictated by great power objectives. He also states that the Soviet government "while not being a bourgeois state, at the same time cannot be considered a workers' democracy where the organized proletariat is the ruling class," and calls for its "transformation".

S. MARXIST-LENINISTS REACT
Such comments coming from the leading spokesman of the doctrine of "Eurocommunism," which infects not only the Spanish, but also the French and Italian communist parties, have induced some Marxist-Leninists to characterize the development of "Eurocommunism" as, at best in-part, progressive.

For example, the *Guardian* states: "The struggle for independence from Soviet domination in the world communist movement... (has taken on) a progressive political content. This is true even when its motivations themselves flow from certain revisionist premises, as in the case of the 'Eurocommunist' parties.

"It is in this sense that we see a positive side to 'Eurocommunism today'" — *Guardian Viewpoint*, Oct. 12, 1977

its credit the *Guardian* balances this

dependence for what purpose?" and proceeds to point out that the essence of Eurocommunism is revisionism. But, as we shall see, such evenhandedness glosses over the fact that Eurocommunism's independence grows out of revisionism rather than standing in contradiction to it. The essence of the Eurocommunist "independence from the Soviet Union amounts to a capitulation to US imperialism.

EUROCOMMUNISM: A DIALECTICAL VIEW

This becomes evident if Eurocommunism is examined dialectically. Here we do not mean looking for both a positive and negative side of the doctrine as the *Guardian* seems to do. Dialectics demands that a phenomenon be examined in the context of its relationship to other things and that it "should be taken in development, in change, in 'self-movement'" (Lenin: Coll. Wks., Vol. 32, p. 94).

Eurocommunism is clearly revisionism, but it is a different form of revisionism than that of Bernstein, Kautsky and the others that Lenin fought. It is also different from the revisionism of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union — in spite of the fact that, historically speaking, it has its source in Soviet revisionism.

Rather, it is a revisionism which has evolved directly as an accommodation to interests of the European bourgeoisie and its prime ally — U.S. imperialism. It can no more be understood in isolation from that context than Soviet revisionism can be fathomed in isolation from the Soviet Union.

The distinctive feature of Eurocommunism is implied in its own name. While the more hesitant leaders of the French and Italian communist parties have yet to openly embrace the term, the most advanced Eurocommunist, Carrillo, uses it to highlight the independence of his brand of revisionism from that of the Soviets. He argues that "Eurocommunism is an independent (emphasis CN) strategic concept" applicable to "any developed country", but primarily geared to Western Europe. A more accurate characterization of the doctrine would be "Eurorevisionism."

DEVELOPMENT OF "EUROREVISIONISM"

The development of revisionism in Western Europe into "Eurorevisionism" was altogether inevitable. The essence of revisionism is the accommodation of the interests of the working class to one's own imperialist bourgeoisie. The gradual accommodation of the interests

of the working classes of Spain, Italy and France to the interests of their respective bourgeoisies necessarily meant an eventual break with the Soviet Union.

A fundamental feature of the policy of the Western European bourgeoisie is opposition to the Soviet Union. In addition, historically, the linchpin of the ideological struggle waged against the Communist parties has been the capitalists' ability to depict them as willing lackeys of the Soviets.

Consequently, the extent to which the revisionist parties could become "respectable" in the eyes of their ruling classes, was the extent to which these parties adopted a stance independent of the USSR. By way of illustration, consider Carrillo's rebuff to the recent Soviet attack on his position: "My only complaint is that the attack was not launched eight days before the elections (for the Spanish parliament) because probably it would have gotten us many thousands of votes."

Moreover, the fundamental feature of modern revisionism in the developed capitalist countries — the parliamentary road to socialism — demands an "independent" international line when adapted to the Western European context. This fact is illustrated by an article published in the January 1977 issue of *Foreign Affairs*, the U. S. foreign policy journal. Written by Jean Kanapa, head of the Foreign Affairs section of the French Communist Party's Politbureau, the article is entitled: "A 'New Policy' of the French Communists?"

Kanapa states that "the whole policy of the French Communist Party rests... on the idea that it is possible in France to open up a peaceful road to socialism." Further, he argues that in his party's conception of foreign policy for France "the key word might be independence."

PEACEFUL ROAD DEMANDS "INDEPENDENT" STANCE

Why does the peaceful road demand that France have an "independent" foreign policy? Kanapa explains as follows:

"...the question is often raised: 'Won't participation of the Communists in the government jeopardize the balance on which detente rests?' This is not the French Communist Party's intention. It is even less the case inasmuch as a tense international environment would make it much more difficult to carry out the economic and social program of the Left in France. The French Communist Party is perfectly aware of this."



UPI Santiago Carrillo.

Thus the possibility of a peaceful road to socialism assumes the maintenance of the status quo as far as the world balance of power is concerned. And in order to maintain that balance, the French Communists must have an "independent" policy.

Consequently, the "independence" of Eurocommunism is inevitably generated by revisionism in the Western European context, an "independence" whose very essence is revisionist; it is bound to the "peaceful road" by a thousand threads. As such, it is as progressive as revisionism itself.

ACCOMMODATES TO US IMPERIALISM
Furthermore, a concrete analysis of the actual content of the "independent" line of Eurocommunism demonstrates that it is an accommodation to the interests of US imperialism. In a December 1975 interview Carrillo said:

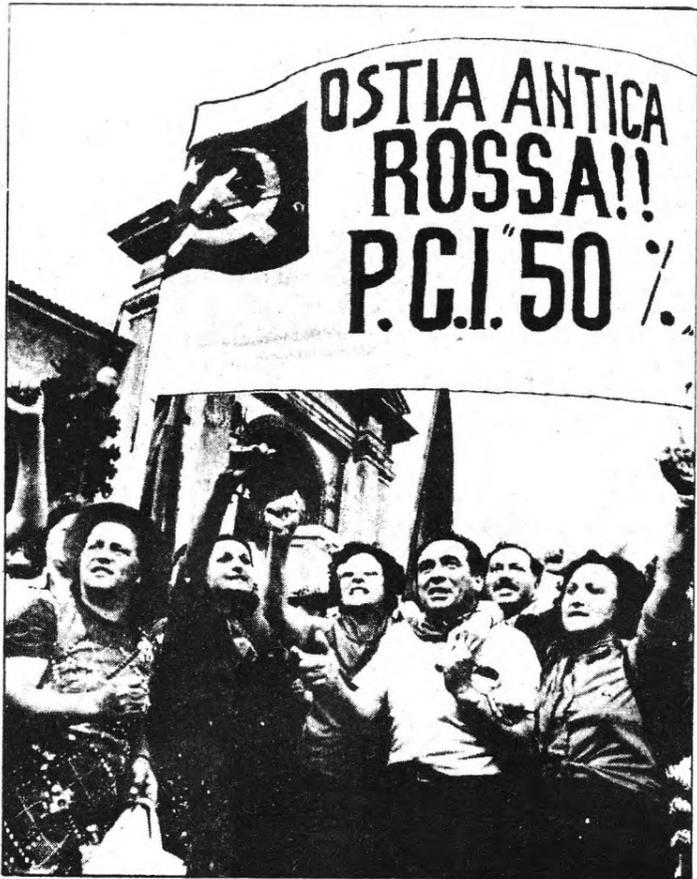
"There can be no common line between the Communist parties of the capitalist countries and the parties of Eastern Europe... We are thinking of revising the principles of internationalism so as to base it on the coordination of our actions with the actions of other forces of the labor movement in Western Europe. Contacts, relations of cooperation, may be preserved with the parties of the countries of Eastern Europe, but the West must come first." (emphasis CN)

If that last sentence sounds very much like something Giscard d'Estaing or Helmut Schmidt could say, it is! (The reference to the "parties" is purely incidental)

In keeping with his statement that the "West must come first," Carrillo maintains that "Eurocommunism" could be the "decisive influence in the development of a 'united (Western) Europe' which will play 'an independent role in a balanced world now broken into regional groupings.'" This is presently the goal of the most forward-looking representatives of the European bourgeoisie. Moreover, it is precisely the purpose of the European Economic Community.

There is nothing progressive in the slogan for a "united Europe" particularly when it is separated from a call for socialist revolution, as it is for the Eurocommunists. In the modern world a "united Europe" can only be an agreement between the European bourgeoisies (and some "Communist" ministers) directed at weakening the influence of the socialist countries turning back the tide of national liberation, and preventing, at all costs, socialist revolutions in any country in Europe.

Santiago Carrillo, General Secretary of the Spanish Communist Party, uses the term "Eurocommunism" to highlight the independence of his brand of revisionism from that of the Soviets... A more accurate characterization of the doctrine would be 'Eurorevisionism'.



What the U. S. fears is not the Italian or French Communist Parties themselves, but that their participation in government would serve to legitimize communism in the eyes of the masses and raise their expectations for revolution.

ENDORSES NATO

In order to prove their commitment to this kind of united Europe, all the Eurocommunist parties have adopted an attitude of support for NATO. In the article already quoted above, Kanapa states:

"the common program of the Left provides for France remaining a member of the Atlantic Alliance [NATO] in accordance with the terms of the treaty which France signed on April 4, 1949, and which constitutes a pledge of mutual assistance in case of threat or of outside pressure against one of the parties. This position has already been adopted long ago by the French Communist Party.

In fact, the Party rejects any "reversal of alliances". It does not call for France's withdrawal from the Atlantic Alliance, any more than for her adhesion to the Warsaw Pact. Today it is not the French Communists, but certain politicians in the United States who question the compatibility of the Alliance with the participation of Communist ministers in the government of France (or of Italy)."

For his part, Carrillo has endorsed the maintenance of a "definite stage in the organization of defense on the European level." NATO and the "organization of defence on the European level" are directed not primarily at Eastern Europe, but at the working class and its allies in Western Europe.

There should be no need to point out that the Eurocommunist designs for Western Europe present no real threat to the global strategy of US imperialism. On the contrary, as the US role in NATO and its encouragement of the European Economic Community has shown, it is a policy which fully coincides with those objectives.

U.S. FEARS WORKERS, NOT PARTY POLICIES

This is true in spite of the expressed opposition of US imperialism to the participation of the Italian and French Communists in their governments. What the US fears is not the Italian or French Communist Parties, themselves, but that their participation would serve to legitimize communism in the eyes of the masses and raise their expectations for revolution. Henry Kissinger put it succinctly: "The key issue is not how 'independent' the European communists would be, but how communist?"

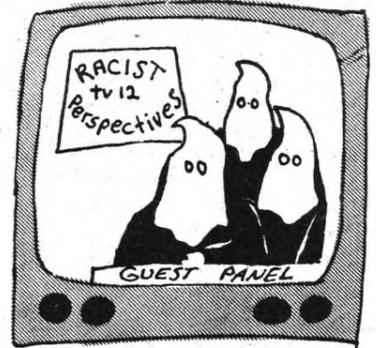
In summation, it should be clear that both the genesis of and the actual content of the Eurocommunist "independence" of the Soviet Union is thoroughly in keeping with both revisionism and the interests of imperialism. It is only "independent" of the Soviets to the extent that it is subordinate to the US.

This, of course, is not to deny that the Eurocommunist parties may, on occasion, take independent positions that are objectively progressive. Certainly, we can support Carrillo's criticism of Soviet great power chauvinism. And we can also unite with the stand of the Eurocommunist parties in opposition to the invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968.

However, it is one thing to express agreement with such stands and quite another to forget that these positions, themselves, are derived *not* from principled opposition to the Soviet Union based on the interests of the working class, but rather from a desire for bourgeois respectability.

To do otherwise is to negate the important difference between the "independence" of the Eurocommunists and the real independence of such parties as the Vietnamese, Korean, or Chinese parties. The "independence" of the former is a reactionary independence born of accommodation to imperialism, whereas the independence of the latter is a progressive independence born of devotion to the cause of the proletariat.

An Editorial Ban the Klan on T.V.



Its called "Black Perspectives on the News", and its shown on the public education T. V. network every week. But the Sept. 30th show might have been better called "Racist Perspective on the Noose", as Harry Amana put it in an article in the *Philadelphia Tribune*.

The idea was to have a dialogue with the Ku Klux Klan and the American Nazi Party. Accordingly David Duke, a young, clean-cut, Public Relations type who projects the Klan's "new" image, and Frank Collin, complete with a brown shirt storm trooper outfit and Swastikas, were invited to pollute the airwaves with racist filth. Gems of wisdom like:

"At our HQ in Chicago we have a big sign that says: Stop the N-----s". We gotta start white people thinking racially. . . Blacks act in accordance with their race which is savage. We'll either have an all white America or a dead America. . . Roots is the essence of Jewish propaganda.

"The truth is that the white man brought the black man here away from the savagery of Africa, gave him a roof over his head and all the sex he could want. . . black people are already at the top. Carter sold out lock, stock, and barrel to Black and Jewish interests. . . Adolf Hitler was the greatest white man who ever lived!"

To present the "Black side" of the issue there were three Black journalists and academics. But all three were so overwhelmed by the vicious racism and demagoguery of Duke and Collin that they lost their bearings. Rather than expose this pair for the fascist hate-mongers and enemies of all progressive people that they are, the Black panelists limited their reactions to statements of disbelief and appeals to the humanity of Duke and Collin, appeals that naturally fell on deaf ears.

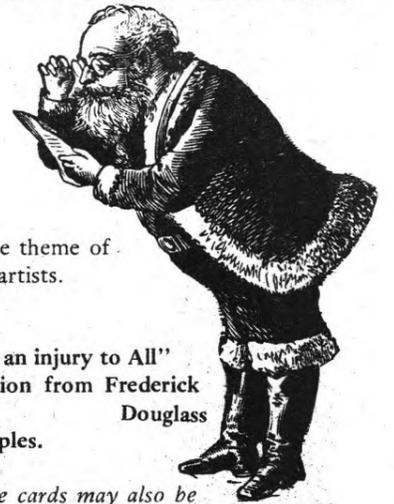
Given that the program provided no historical context on the Klan and the Nazi Party, and given the absence of a strong voice to combat their lies and distortions, the program played right into the hands of these racists. It gave them a legitimacy they do not deserve by treating their point of view as something worthy of debate.

Reaction to the program was swift. Black and Jewish organizations condemned the airing of the program. Homer Floyd, Executive Director of the Pennsylvania Human Rights Commission stated: "These groups have consistently engaged in criminal acts over the years and they should not be provided with an additional forum for their views. You wouldn't provide it for organized crime."

The *Organizer* agrees. It is an ugly irony that T. V. critics make much about the violence on T. V. and debate whether or not showing mayhem encourages crime in the streets. But when it comes to showing a program that allows two men to openly encourage genocide, to exhort whites to "get rid" of Black people, these critics somehow find nothing to say. The T. V. industry is careful to keep explicit sex or pornography off the screen, but sees nothing objectionable about "dialogues" with racists and anti-Semites. And furthermore, this is done with our tax dollars on a so-called "educational" network.

T. V. 12 ought to be forced to retract its sponsorship of this particular program. "Black Perspectives on the News" ought to run a program outlining the activities of these two criminal organizations — their beatings and lynchings, their collaboration with big business against Blacks, Jews, Catholics, and labor, and the threat they represent to our democratic rights today. And the FCC should be forced to outlaw racism on the airwaves.

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Shelter Provides Refuge For Battered Women

by BELINDA

Kathy Hill obtained a legal separation from her husband after years of suffering repeated beatings at his hands. Unfortunately, living apart from him was not enough to protect her.

One afternoon, when Kathy was picking up her daughter from her parents house, her husband appeared and proceeded to beat her out in the street. Holding a crowbar over her head, he announced that he was going to smash her head in.

Hearing her screams, her parents threw her a handgun so she could protect herself. Kathy Hill shot and killed her husband; she spent ten years in prison.

Kathy Hill is a fictitious name, and the story isn't real either, but for hundreds of thousands of women who are battered every day in the US, her story has a real ring of truth to it. The number of women who are victims of abuse in this country is unbelievably high: FBI statistics show that a battering occurs approximately every 30 seconds. This means that as you read this sentence, some woman somewhere is being physically abused by her husband or the man she lives with.

Many women who are abused have nowhere to run, no one to turn to. The police refuse to step in because its a "family affair". And the courts are not much better in protecting a woman's rights.

Abuse of women is a phenomenon which cuts across both class and race lines. However, it is the poor and working class women, and particularly women of oppressed nationalities, who, because of poverty and racism, suffer the most as abused women. Because of their lack of skills and

education, absence of jobs and scarcity of childcare facilities, they cannot just leave and strike out on her own. Discrimination against women on their own, particularly in housing, means that they are forced to stay at home and take what comes to them.

SHELTERS DEVELOP ACROSS U. S.

One of the ways that abused women have responded to this trap and the lack of support and protection is by the development of shelters. These shelters provide a way to get out of the reach of abusive men. They offer safety and protection as well as childcare, legal aid, and counseling.

La Casa de las Madres, for example, a shelter in San Francisco, was started by women who were themselves battered and alone. The Transition House in Boston was started by a few women, who seeing no alternative, had begun taking battered women into their own homes.

Here in Philadelphia, a group of women initiated a shelter in Germantown with a grant from the Governor's Justice Commission. Many of the women who have found refuge here in the past ten months would have had no place to turn to previously. About 90% of them are unemployed and without any personal income. Many are mothers.

The staff of the shelter offers varied kinds of support for the entire family of the battered woman — herself, her children, and the man, too, if he's willing. There is legal assistance, housing and welfare advocacy, and a full-time therapist for emotional support. It's up to



the individual family how they choose to use these resources which the shelter makes available.

ROOTS OF ABUSE IN CLASS SOCIETY

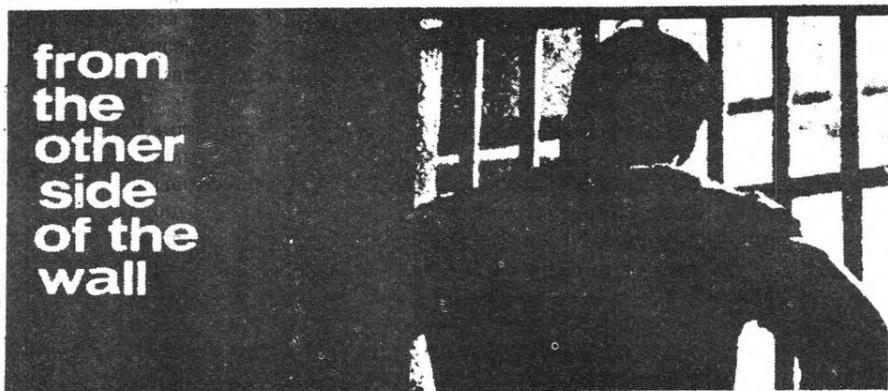
It is clear that shelters are an idea which is long overdue. They provide a woman with a way to gather up her strength to try to strike out on her own or with her children. But clearly shelters themselves are not a solution to the problem of battered women. This is a problem that goes deeper than whether she is able to move out on her own, or whether the courts and police offer adequate protection. The roots of abuse against women are in the very nature of our society.

The man who faces oppression, exploita-

tion, racism, and brutality every day, the man who can't find work to support his family, the man who turns to drugs or alcohol in the face of frustration. . . the sexist nature of our society makes the woman in his life an "easy target" and she becomes the punching bag, rather than the real enemies which are tearing the family apart.

We must deal with protecting abused women by as many means as are available to us — shelters, police, the courts — but at the same time we must fight to eliminate once and for all the larger problems inherent in class society: racism, sexism, oppression and exploitation that make the battered woman a horrifying symbol and symptom of our brutal society.

In Philadelphia call "Women Against Abuse Emergency Shelter" at 843-2905



Tribute to a Fallen Comrade

The following letter comes from the State Correctional Institution at Pittsburgh.

Dear Comrades at PWOC

If possible could you please print this letter in your letters from prisoners; "Tribute to a Fallen Comrade".

Sometime during the night of September 14, 1977, a dedicated revolutionary, Brother "Musa", was slain by agents of the imperialist state apparatus, in particular the Pennsylvania agents of the concentration camp at Huntingdon, Pa., as he, along with other revolutionaries, made an attempt for their freedom. At this time the Monopoly Media has made a concerted effort to suppress the details of the incident. What we, his comrades, here are attempting to do by this written tribute is to bring to the people's attention the fact

that this brother was just one of the numerous anti-imperialist revolutionaries that are concentrated in these camps across America whose struggle has helped to heighten and deepen the contradictions between global Imperialism and the miserable, oppressed struggling peoples.

Those of us who have worked with Musa in the last 10 years or more in various struggles know that he would not want us to sit around and mourn his death, but to use his death as another vehicle to help us to struggle harder and more thoroughly.

He made the supreme sacrifice and like so many others before him he would only want his death to be used as another plus in the province of practice instead of one more countless memorial. Musa would say the time for memorials has passed and the struggle will continue.

In Solidarity,
"His Comrades"

PRISONER PUT IN HOLE FOR REFUSING TO BUILD HIS OWN CAGE

Dear Organizer;

I want to take this opportunity to appeal to you on behalf of a comrade who was recently placed in segregation for refusing to help construct his own cage.

It seems that because of the internal and external pressure being brought to bear on the Marion Federal Penitentiary to force that institution to abandon its behavior modification program, the Federal Bureau of Prisons has decided to quietly transfer the program to Leavenworth. Hence for the past six months, inmates have been forced to work on a building — called Unit 63 — which is intended to house prisoners under long term confinement conditions.

The building is completely separated from all other facilities within the institution and is actually a prison within a prison. It is designed to hold 175 prisoners who will sleep three to a cell. Each cell has its own shower, so there's no need for a prisoner to ever have to leave his cell except, possibly, for a visit. The administration is even equipping the building with micro-wave oven which means the food will be prepared in Unit 63. They are also building a small guard tower in front of the Unit, and it will be manned by a guard whose sole duty will be to insure that no one enters or leaves the building without explicit orders,

Since inmates will have to pass Unit 63 in order to traverse to and from the recreation yard, the psychological effect of this Dachau type structure within the walls of Leavenworth will be devastating to the already herculean task of getting

inmates to speak out against their oppression.

Because Frank Gaskins, No. 92314-131, one of the few remaining warriors in this camp, refused to work on this building, which should have been outside contracted, he was placed in segregation. I, therefore, beseech all progressive groups to help expose Unit 63, and to write letters

of protest against the persecution of Comrade Gaskins for refusing to help construct his own cage.

All letters of protest should be sent to:

Warden C. L. Benson
Box 1000
Leavenworth, Kansas 66048

Mr. Norman Carlson
Bureau of Prisons Director
Washington, D. C.

Your comrade in Struggle,
Leavenworth, Kansas

The Organizer urges its readers among prisoners to contribute articles and communicate information to make this column an effective link between the prisoners' movement and the people's movement outside. We are interested in articles that expose prison conditions, discuss strategy and tactics for the prisoners' movement and the role of prisoners in the larger revolutionary struggle and party building movement. Articles for the column should be between 500 and 800 words in length. We reserve the right to edit for considerations of style or space. No substantive changes in content will be made without consulting the author. We will consider longer articles not suitable for the column for publication elsewhere in the Organizer.