

SECCION EN
ESPAÑOL

The ORGANIZER

Newspaper of the Philadelphia Workers' Organizing Committee

May -April 1976



Volume 2 Number 2

PGH— KEEP IT OPEN!

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Mike Peters, Dayton Daily News

PICKETS BLOCK 'INQUIRER'

Working Class Protest . . .

Or Pro-Rizzo Ploy?



Philadelphia Inquirer / GERARD C. BENESE

On Friday March 19th, about 200 members of the Building and Construction Trades Council blocked the entrances of the Philadelphia Inquirer refusing to let Inquirer employees enter. Two Inquirer photographers were injured and other employees were threatened when they attempted to enter the building.

Police, who were on hand throughout the ten-hour demonstration, refused to escort employees through the demonstrators and threatened to arrest Inquirer employees for assault if they tried to push through the demonstrators. The demonstrators left after a temporary restraining order was issued.

According to Thomas Magrann, the head of the Building and Trades Council, the demonstration was called to protest two articles the Inquirer published on non-union contractors. Pickets had signs saying, "Inquirer biased," and "The Inquirer is for big business and not for working people."

FREEDOM OF THE PRESS BELONGS TO THE OWNERS OF THE PRESS

It is true that the Inquirer is anti-labor and pro-big business. It is true that the Inquirer is biased against working people and national minorities. Those things are true of all major daily newspapers. Newspapers are big business enterprises themselves and they depend upon giant department stores, supermarket

chains and other commercial interests for the majority of their advertising income.

The point of view they represent both in their editorials and in their news coverage is that of the ruling class -- the bankers, insurance companies and monopoly industries.

History has shown that newspapers have often been at the forefront of the fight against unionism. The Hearst newspaper chain, among others, has always been savagely anti-labor. Recent strikes at the Boston Globe and Washington Post have proven that even the "liberal" newspapers engage in the most vicious union-busting activity. Locally, workers have been locked out at the Delaware County Times in Chester since Nov. 24 when the publisher decided it was time to break the union.

All working and oppressed people must have the right to protest a press, or any other media which does not fairly represent their views. In fact, the only way that working people can expect any fairness in representation is through constant pressure on these media, exposing their biases at every opportunity.

This will often mean demonstrations and picketing to protest some slanted news story or reactionary editorial position.

If the construction unions were honestly protesting Inquirer coverage of non-union

Inquirer loading docks and entrances were blocked by 250 pickets from the building trades unions for 10 hours on March 19th.

contractors, however, they did a poor job. By blocking the entrances and by physically confronting Inquirer workers, many of them union members, the building trades played into the Inquirer's description of them as "goons" and destroyed any possibility of building solidarity with the Inquirer workers. It would have been more effective if they had held a peaceful but militant rally to voice their objections to the Inquirer's anti-union policies.

RIZZO ENGINEERED DEMONSTRATION

Most observers, however, suspected there was more to the demonstration than opposition to the Inquirer's pro-business policies. The demonstration came about in the midst of a feud that Mayor Rizzo was having with the Inquirer over a satirical article the newspaper published in one of its Sunday magazines. It was widely believed that the stated target of the protest was a smokescreen and that the real reason for the protest was in retaliation for the Rizzo satire.

This would not have been the first time Rizzo has called on his long time supporter Tom Magrann for a little muscle. A few years ago, when Rizzo was not invited to sit at the head table during the Democratic Party's annual Jefferson-Jackson Day banquet, Rizzo, Magrann and 500 Building and Trades Council members disrupted the event and beat up an old man who attempted to stop them.

Magrann has always been more concerned with his own political future than with wiping out discrimination or fighting for the cause of trade unionism. If Magrann is so

outraged by the Inquirer's biases, why is he not similarly outraged about the Jim Crow practices of his member unions? If he is so concerned about fighting for the rights of trade unions, where was the Building and Trades Council when the rest of the labor movement supported the teachers strike a few years ago?

Magrann and leaders like him in the building trades have always chosen to make their gains through backroom wheeling and dealing with whatever political machine was in power. As a result the building trades council have been accorded certain "privileges" which have set them apart from the rest of the labor movement.

For the leaders these "privileges" which have meant high salaries, under-the-table pay-offs, and political power. For the rank and file, these "privileges" have meant relatively good wages, to be sure, but they're now declining. Other so-called privileges are an unemployment rate of 40%, and a union weakened by corruption and racism. Further, the entire union is threatened with destruction by the economic crisis.

By using the construction trades unions as a small army to satisfy Rizzo's personal vendetta Magrann reached a new low which should be roundly condemned by the labor movement. Rizzo has shown time and again that he is no friend of the working class.

Under attack from all sides by inflation, unemployment, union-busting and runaway shops, trade unions have to fight hard for their members, not for a turkey like Boss Rizzo.

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Philadelphia Workers' Organizing Committee

WHO WE ARE



As a communist organization the PWOC sees 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 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 movements 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 to-

day'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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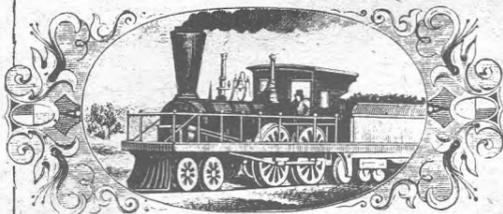
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CONrail



Penn Central's Gravy Train

(The following article was contributed by a member of the Brotherhood of Maintenance and Way, a trackman for the Penn Central.)

ConRail, the Government's six billion dollar bailout of privately owned railroads, was signed into law by President Ford last March and came into effect April 1st. It brings seven bankrupt eastern railroads into one "Consolidated Rail Corporation" with temporary Government supervision.

Conrail is for all intents and purposes a reward to the greedy and corrupt management of the Penn Central, who in the eight years since the merger of the old Pennsylvania and New York Central have succeeded in swindling the public while driving the railroad into bankruptcy.

At the time of the merger, the Railroad barons picked up two billion dollars in tax write offs. They then inflated the value of Penn Central stock, invested the railroad's capital in lucrative real estate (The Waldorf Astoria Hotel for example) and let the roadbed and rolling stock go to hell. Many of the notaries of the Nixon administration were in on the rip-off.

David Kennedy, who later became secretary of the treasury after Nixon came to power in 1969, was President of Continental Illinois National Bank which owned 300,000 shares of Penn Central stock. Secretary of Commerce Stans, also prior to his appointment, sat on the directing board of the Great South West Corporation, a subsidiary of Penn Central, which owned 300,000 shares of stock. Walter Annenberg, Ambassador to Great Britain, held huge interests in the company prior to his appointment. Nixon was President of "Investors Diversified Services" whose role it was to divert the Penn Central funds and then push the inflated stock off on unsuspecting investors, the central funds into real estate stock. When Nixon tried to push through a loan of 250 million to Penn Central through Stans' Commerce Dept., with Nixon's old law firm holding, the House Banking Committee blew the whistle and the bankruptcy came to public attention.

NLRB RULES AGAINST INTERNS

The National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) struck a blow in March at the developing unionization movement among interns and resident doctors. Strikes by the Physicians National Housestaff Association shut down hospitals in New York, Chicago, and Los Angeles last year.

The NLRB ruled that hospital managements were not bound to recognize the association if they chose not to. They classified the doctors as students rather than workers.

Dr. Fred Henretig, senior resident at St. Christopher's where the majority of the 40 interns and residents are members of the association, said that interns are paid about

Now all those who mismanaged the Penn Central for their own private gain are getting paid off. Conrail is buying the bankrupt railroads at their net liquidation value.

Now a new private corporation will be in a position to bleed the public. Taxpayers can expect to foot a \$300 million dollar loss in the first year of Conrail's operation, according to the government's own estimate.

But railroad workers have felt the hardest blows. Even with the formation of Conrail, layoffs continue to escalate in every department but track reconstruction, as services are cut to minimal capacity. Speed-ups and severe work rule changes are expected as the government takes over the job of track supervision.

The new Conrail contract provides no job security for the thousands of newly-hired track laborers who have traditionally been the hardest worked, the lowest paid and the worst represented of all railroad employees.

But because of the influx of younger people, spontaneous rank and file caucuses are already beginning to surface within the trackmen's "Maintenance of Way Brotherhood."

The 7-yr. old "Eugene Debs caucus," spread over three states including Pennsylvania, has taken the lead in bringing these workers together in a struggle to democratize the Brotherhood and educate its members to the political realities of big business.

Several of its general national demands combat the repressive and capitulatory character of the union bureaucracy:

1. Election of all officers by vote of the men.
2. Rank and file representation at the negotiating tables.
3. The right to ratify our own contract.
4. One big union for one big company.
5. An end to racism and discriminatory hiring practices.

In an industry which murders and cripples thousands of its workers annually, the new spirit of militancy among its most abused elements promises a dramatic future of struggle and new leadership.

FOR SALE- UNION PRES.

A plumbers union official, John J. Kilker Jr., 38, president of Local 730 of the United Association of Journeyman Plumbers and Steamfitters, AFL-CIO, was arrested March 31st and accused of offering to sell his influence with his 900 member local in return for company stock.

According to the FBI, which made the arrest, Kilker offered to influence the outcome of a contract vote by his local which was to be taken April 3rd in return for 700 shares of stock of the Trane Co., valued at about \$18,000. The Trane Co. is an airconditioning firm in Dunmore, Pa.

\$11,000 per year while second year doctors are paid about \$12,000 and third year doctors \$13,000. Dr. Henretig said that many interns work over 100 hours a week and that residents also work long hours.

Dr. Robert Harmon, head of the National Housestaff, denounced the decision as "Ford-style unionbusting." He said that the union would look into the possibility of job actions to protest the ruling. The Housestaff Association has already filed a petition asking that the ruling be set aside because one of the NLRB members is a partner in a Philadelphia law firm which represented St. Christopher's Hospital against the housestaff doctors.

Court Grants Seniority to Discrimination Victims



In late March the Supreme Court ruled, 5-3, in favor of two Black workers who had demanded retroactive seniority rights from a discriminatory employer. The case involved two Black truck-drivers, Johnnie Lee and Harold Franks, former employees of the Bowman Transportation Co. in Georgia. Bowman had a whites-only hiring policy until 1970. Lee and Franks had applied for jobs prior to that time and had been turned down.

According to the court ruling, Lee and Franks were entitled to seniority rights at Bowman dating from the time of their original job application rather than from the time they were actually hired which was much later. In addition to providing added protection for job rights of national minor-

ity and women workers, the decision means that a variety of other benefits - vacation time, job promotion, and pension rights - would be available to victims of discrimination on a retroactive basis.

However, in order to qualify for retroactive seniority, the burden is on the worker who was the victim of discrimination to prove that he or she had actually applied for jobs, that he or she was qualified for the job and that either a policy or pattern of discrimination was practiced by the company.

The difficulty of proving that all these conditions existed will necessarily limit the material impact of the ruling. Still, the ruling is a precedent which could serve to further discourage discriminatory hiring practices.

200 Confront OSHA at Health and Safety Meeting



A member of an IUE local questions OSHA Administrator Rhone. He claimed that OSHA came into his plant and found 30 violations. The company corrected only one but OSHA never returned.

Over 200 workers and some professional people met March 20 at the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union hall to discuss how to work together in the fight for a safe and healthy place to work.

The Philadelphia Project on Occupational Safety and Health (PHILAPOSH) sponsored the gathering, which included union officials, rank and file union members, and unorganized workers from the clothing, chemical, auto, trucking, hospital, oil refining, electrical and other industries.

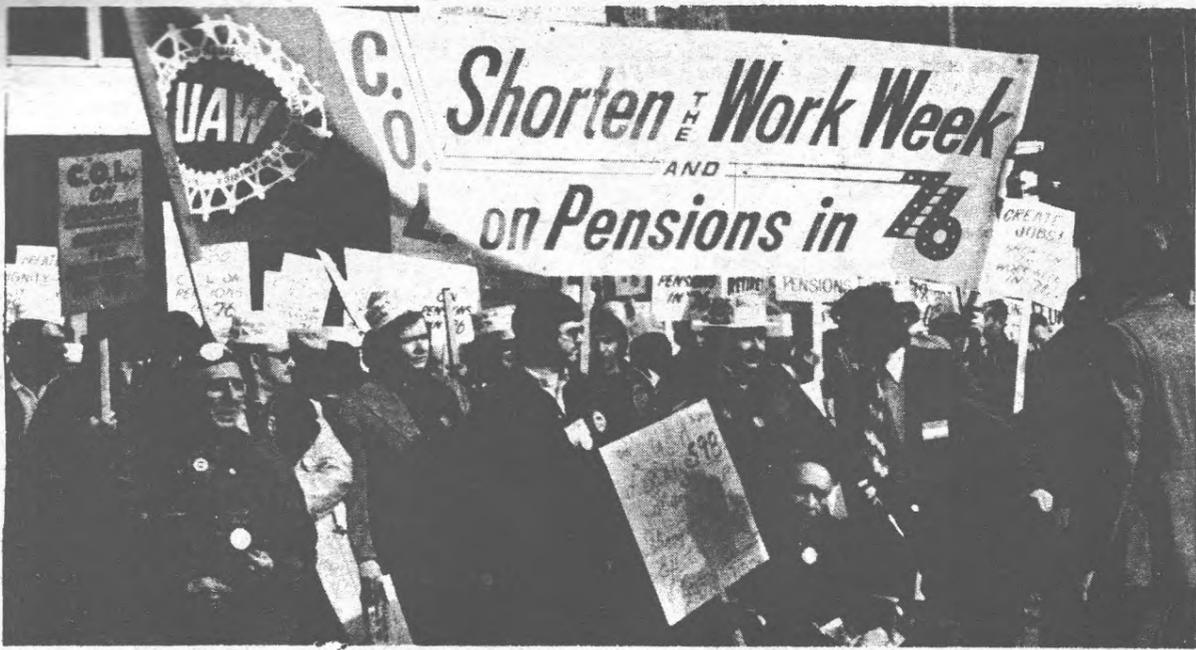
The morning session consisted of a Speak Out by workers on the dangerous conditions they face in the shops and their struggles for decent conditions. Workers talked about the cancer-causing chemicals, the deafening noise, the explosions and fires, and the power presses that take parts of their hands that they must face every day.

The keynote speaker, Ed Cross, Secretary-Treasurer of Tunnel Workers Local 147 in New York City, gave a powerful analysis of the union struggle for job safety and health, drawing on his many years of experience as a rock-tunnel worker, union leader, and fighter for safety. He graphically described the many dangers of tunnel work - sudden death from explosions and cave-ins, and the slow death from silicosis of the lungs that comes from breathing the silica in rock dust.

Brother Cross also pointed out one of the main things he has learned during his many years of labor - that the struggle between the workers and their employers never ends, because the employers care only about their profits, and nothing about the lives of the working people.

The afternoon sessions began with a challenge to David Rhone, regional head of OSHA (the federal Occupational Safety and Health Administration). Workers in the audience challenged the effectiveness of OSHA, and made several demands of Mr. Rhone on behalf of workers in the Delaware Valley. One of the demands, for a 24 hour hotline to OSHA for workers who need immediate inspections of dangerous conditions, was met. The other demands, such as for the OSHA library on occupational hazards to be open to workers in the evenings and on weekends, were turned down.

After an hour of workshops on areas of special interest, the conference was ended by a call from PHILAPOSH staff member Rick Engler to all workers and pro-labor professional people to join the fight for safe working conditions. For more information on PHILAPOSH, including how to begin working for health and safety in your shop, write PHILAPOSH at 1321 Arch St., Rm. 607, Philadelphia, Pa. 19107.



AUTO WORKERS GEAR UP FOR CONTRACT FIGHT

Remember 1973? Auto production was booming, the national unemployment rate was less than 5%, and only 1.9% of auto workers were jobless. That was also the year that the UAW signed its last contract—a contract that did little to protect workers from the economic crisis that hit the auto industry in the winter months of 1974-75.

If '73 seems like a distant memory, '74 and '75 are still fresh in the minds of the 270,000 auto workers who were laid off for months at a time. The memory of mass lay-offs and runaway inflation will be foremost in the thoughts of the rank and file when the UAW begins its negotiations with the Big Three—GM, Chrysler and Ford—in July.

The battle lines are already being drawn. In its pre-bargaining conferences the UAW named job security and income protection as its main goals.

The Big Three are preparing for the confrontation, too. In business journals, through their public relations departments, and through their politician friends in Washington, the auto companies are crying about the economy and their "razor thin profits." Along with their usual pre-contract poor-mouthing, the Big Three are holding the threat of a shaky economy over the heads of the rank and file to scare them into line.

BIG 3 MAKE BIG PROFITS IN '75

While it's true that the economy hasn't returned to the boom days of 1973, the financial position of the auto monopolies is a far cry from the sorry state the Big Three would have us believe. For example, GM, one of the largest corporations in the world, made \$1.25 billion in after-tax profits for 1975. Their fourth-quarter profits for last year were the second highest in GM's 58 year history.

It's the workers, however, who have been the real victims of the depression in the auto industry. One out of every two auto workers suffered from unemployment at some point during the last three years. The Supplemental Unemployment Benefits (SUB) Program, which was supposed to protect the income of workers during lay-off periods, went bankrupt at GM, Chrysler and many parts producers around the country.

Tens of thousands of auto workers have yet to return to jobs they held in 1974. Many others who were out from six to 12 months have lost their homes and their savings. Close to 100,000 workers have lost their recall rights altogether and will never return to their former jobs.

Black, Latin and women workers were especially hard hit by the massive layoffs. Many of the modest gains made between 1970 and 1973 in breaking down discriminatory hiring practices have been wiped out by the economic crisis. The problem of racial and sexual discrimination in upgrading persists, and so do the division and distrust which these practices create among the workers.

Auto workers who remained at their jobs also suffered the effects of the economic crisis. Since 1973 prices have climbed by over 20%, while real earnings, unable to keep pace with inflation despite cost-of-living allowances, declined. In auto plants all over the country production lines are being sped-up and machine maintenance is being neglected in an effort to squeeze more and more productivity from the workers. The result has been a sharp increase in accidents—the loss of fingers, hands, arms and sometimes lives—occurrences all too

common for workers who are required to produce 100 cars an hour.

While the Big Three are filling their coffers during this period of "recovery," rank and file auto workers are still staggering from the devastating effects of the last depression in the industry.

The needs of auto workers are clear. A good contract in auto would beef up the income of workers, improve their job security, and establish strict contract language to end discrimination against national minority and women workers in hiring and upgrading.

Concrete solutions to these problems are already being voiced and discussed by rank and file workers through the country. Some of the main points in a sound bargaining program are the following:

JOB SECURITY

1) Short work week at full pay: In 1886, millions of workers across the United States went out on strikes and demonstrations to win the 40 hour week. At that time workers were forced to labor for 12, 14 or 16 hours a day, six and seven days a week. Since 1886, when the 40 hour week was won, the productivity of American workers has risen enormously, yet despite this the work week has not been reduced at all during the past 90 years.

Why couldn't the work week be reduced to 30 or 32 hours with no loss in pay? With massive unemployment throughout the country, the shorter work week would help create millions of jobs. It would also help protect the jobs of those who have thus far been lucky enough to escape the layoff slip.

The UAW was one of the first unions to raise the slogan "30 hours work/40 hours pay" in their program. In the 1950's the demand was dropped but it is now high time that it be restored to center stage and taken up as one of the basic demands of auto workers in the 1976 contract negotiations.

Other important measures required to improve job security are the elimination of outside contracting, a problem which plagues skilled workers in auto; the elimination of overtime when there are workers out on the street; and strong provisions to protect workers from plant closings and moving to low-wage areas.

INCOME PROTECTION

2) Guaranteed SUB benefits: The UAW won the Supplemental Unemployment Benefits (SUB) Program in the 1950's. It was supposed to guarantee auto workers up to 95% of their normal take-home pay during a layoff. Yet when the SUB was needed most, in the winter of 1974-75, the SUB fund went broke.

The SUB program must be guaranteed by the auto monopolies. After all, it is not the workers who are responsible for unemployment! Why should they be forced to shoulder the entire burden of the economic crisis? Right now the SUB plan costs the companies only 11 cents an hour. A guaranteed SUB plan would mean that if the fund went broke the companies would have to turn to their corporate assets, which run into the billions, to keep the program going.

3) Wage increase: In 1973 the UAW settled for a 3% wage increase. At that time the union was forced to negotiate under the pressures of the Nixon wage freeze.

Instead of struggling to break the freeze, which did next to nothing to control prices and profits, the international leadership limited the wage and benefit package to 5.5%. With a cost of living clause that gives auto workers about 80 cents for every \$1.00 increase in prices, the real income of UAW members has fallen behind during the past three years.

This year the UAW should fight for a revised COLA that matches dollar for dollar the increase in consumer goods prices. The wage settlement should enable the workers to catch up and advance their take home pay.

END TO RACIAL AND SEXUAL DISCRIMINATION

4) Reform of the upgrading procedures: One of the pressing problems of auto workers is the continued practice of racism by the auto monopolies. Black and other national minority workers continue to be barred from the skilled trades by discriminatory upgrading procedures. These workers continue to be disproportionately represented in the worst paying and most dangerous job classifications. Similarly, women workers face the same discrimination.

While the workers directly victimized by racism and sexism have the most obvious stake in ending these practices, all workers are hurt by the divide and conquer methods of the companies. The bosses use racism to drive down the wages and working conditions of all workers and to prevent the emergence of the kind of fighting unity that could win real improvements.

The rank and file must insure that the fight against racism must be a real priority in the contract struggle. Concretely this means first and foremost equality in upgrading.

The system of upgrading best suited to the interests of all workers would be one in which job openings in semi-skilled and skilled classifications are filled on the basis of seniority and the ability to learn the job. Job-related tests should be used for determining entrance into the classification and the company should set up on-the-job training programs to teach the worker any necessary skills. This method would be fair to all workers in the plant.

Over a period of time it would tend to integrate every department and classification and in so doing lay the foundation for a stronger, more unified trade union. Considering the long term fruits that such a program would bear, an end to discrimination is the single most important issue that the UAW can place on the bargaining table!

DEFENSE OF THE CONTRACT

5) Right to strike: Ever since World War II UAW contracts have made strike action, on most issues, illegal for the length of the agreement. The "no-strike clause" ties the hands of the workers by removing their most powerful weapon. With an unarmed work force the companies have a field day. Important grievances are pigeonholed, production gets speeded up, safety conditions grow more hazardous, and harassment and disciplinary actions intensify.

The "no-strike clause" also hurts the workers at contract time. Stable and continuous production allows the companies to plan and prepare for the possibility of a strike when the contract expires. Prior to the contract deadline overtime is increased, output greatly expanded, and inventories stockpiled. This places the companies in an advantageous position each time a contract is negotiated.

The sharp increase in wildcat strikes over the past five years is ample testimony to the growing awareness among auto workers that the "no-strike clause" is one of the most backward and harmful features of the UAW contract.

WILL THEY OR WON'T THEY IN 1976?

Will the UAW leadership adopt the fighting demands of the rank and file in 1976? The odds are that they will not. The international leadership of the UAW is quite skillful in appearing as the militant representative of the auto workers. Yet through deeds, over the past thirty odd years, the international leadership has time and time again demonstrated that their real loyalties lie with the corporate bigwigs and their system of exploitation.

If the 1976 contract is to express the vital interests of auto workers then it must be the auto workers themselves who provide the impetus and the backbone of a struggle for a decent contract. The outcome of the 1976 negotiations will depend on the degree of organization, unity and consciousness that the rank and file movement in auto can bring to bear on the negotiating process. The burning question in auto in this contract period is how strong and how influential is the rank and file movement in the industry? This is the question that we will explore in the next issue of the *Organizer*.



The Fight For Desegregation Is A Fight For Better Schools

QED CONFERENCE PLANNED FOR MAY 8



A serious approach to improving the quality of education demands the desegregation of schools. And desegregation makes sense only if it leads to better schools.

At a recent meeting the committee identified the following points as central to its perspective:

1. *The demand for desegregation is an historic demand of the Black people -- the long and bitter experience of the Black people and other oppressed nationalities in the United States demonstrates that segregated education must inevitably be unequal education and that therefore, for oppressed nationalities, desegregation is a first and necessary step on the road to quality education.*

2. *Desegregation is in the interests of white working people as well -- segregated education undercuts the struggle for quality education by allowing the government to play one nationality off against another.*

3. *The question of desegregation is central -- in this period of economic crisis, segregation is being used to divide the people's movement, and quality education, even at its most basic level (learning to read and write), is a critical need of both oppressed nationalities in particular and all working people in general.*

The conference will take up these points. Together with a discussion of concrete action proposals and a written plan for an ongoing coalition, the three points will form the major content of the conference agenda.

The conference is going to be divided into two parts: speakers in the morning and workshops in the afternoon. There will be at least one nationally known speaker who is familiar with the many varied busing plans that have been implemented across the country. Other speakers are to address the situation in the Philadelphia school system and the general political questions raised by busing.

The workshops are to be organized according to constituency; there will be workshops for activists in the rank and file movement, community struggles, the unemployed movement, parents' organizations, religious groups and education and professional organizations. Each workshop will discuss both the generalizable problems raised by busing and specific proposals for action within their particular constituency.

A cold lunch will be provided at the conference and childcare is being organized.

Recognizing the centrality of the busing issue in the city of Philadelphia, *the Organizer* strongly urges its readers to attend this conference and join in the work of the QED. Both Boston and Louisville have shown that a failure to organize in advance of the implementation of a busing plan can result in severe setbacks in the entire people's movement.

For more information, contact the Committee for Quality Education and Desegregation, 3rd and Dauphin Sts., Phila., Pa. 19133.

The Committee for Quality Education and Desegregation (QED), a coalition of community, rank and file, unemployed, professional, parents, religious and left organizations, is organizing a conference to be held on May 8th. According to a committee member, the purpose of the conference is to lay the foundation for an ongoing organization of activists who will continue to work for desegregation and improved education.

The QED sees the issues of desegregation and quality education as irrevocably linked.

Court Rejects Busing Plans; People Must Act Now!

On the 13th of February, the Pennsylvania Commonwealth Court rejected as impractical the state Human Relations Commission's proposed plan to desegregate the Philadelphia public school system. The plan called for the busing of some 53,000 pupils, about one fifth of the total public school population.

The court also turned down the Philadelphia Board of Education's proposal for a metropolitan plan. This plan called for the merger of the city and suburban school systems which would have created a school population which was 51% Black and 49% white as compared with the present city ration -- 62% Black, 33% white.

In rejecting the Board of Education's plan, the court said, "it is . . . certainly beyond our power to compel" a metropolitan desegregation effort. Only a federal court can order the merging of school systems across state drawn school districting boundaries. A metropolitan plan necessitates such a merger.

SCHOOL BOARD MUST SUBMIT NEW PLAN

Instead, the court ordered the Board of Education to come up with a "practical" plan to be submitted by July 1st. It placed two strictures on the future plan. First, it said that it did not consider a plan to be "practical" if, after busing tens of thousands of students, it still left many schools predominantly Black. Second, the court imposed a 45-minute time limit on any bus ride to achieve integration.

While one could certainly agree that the Human Relations plan which even after massive busing still left 125 schools 70 to 83% Black was indeed impractical, the court's demand for a "practical" plan, coupled with

the 45 minute rule, totally hampers any viable desegregation effort.

Given the geographic layout of the city and the sharply segregated housing patterns, a 45 minute limit effectively rules out integration of either West Philadelphia or the Northeast. In fact, both sections were initially excluded from the rejected Human Relations plan precisely because their integration required more than a 45 minute ride.

RULING MAINTAINS SEGREGATION

Thus the impact of the court ruling is solidly on the side of maintaining segregation. Any plan developed under the court's provisions would be so limited in impact as to achieve only token integration. In effect, the court has, as far as it is concerned, foreclosed the possibility of Philadelphia school desegregation.



UPI photos



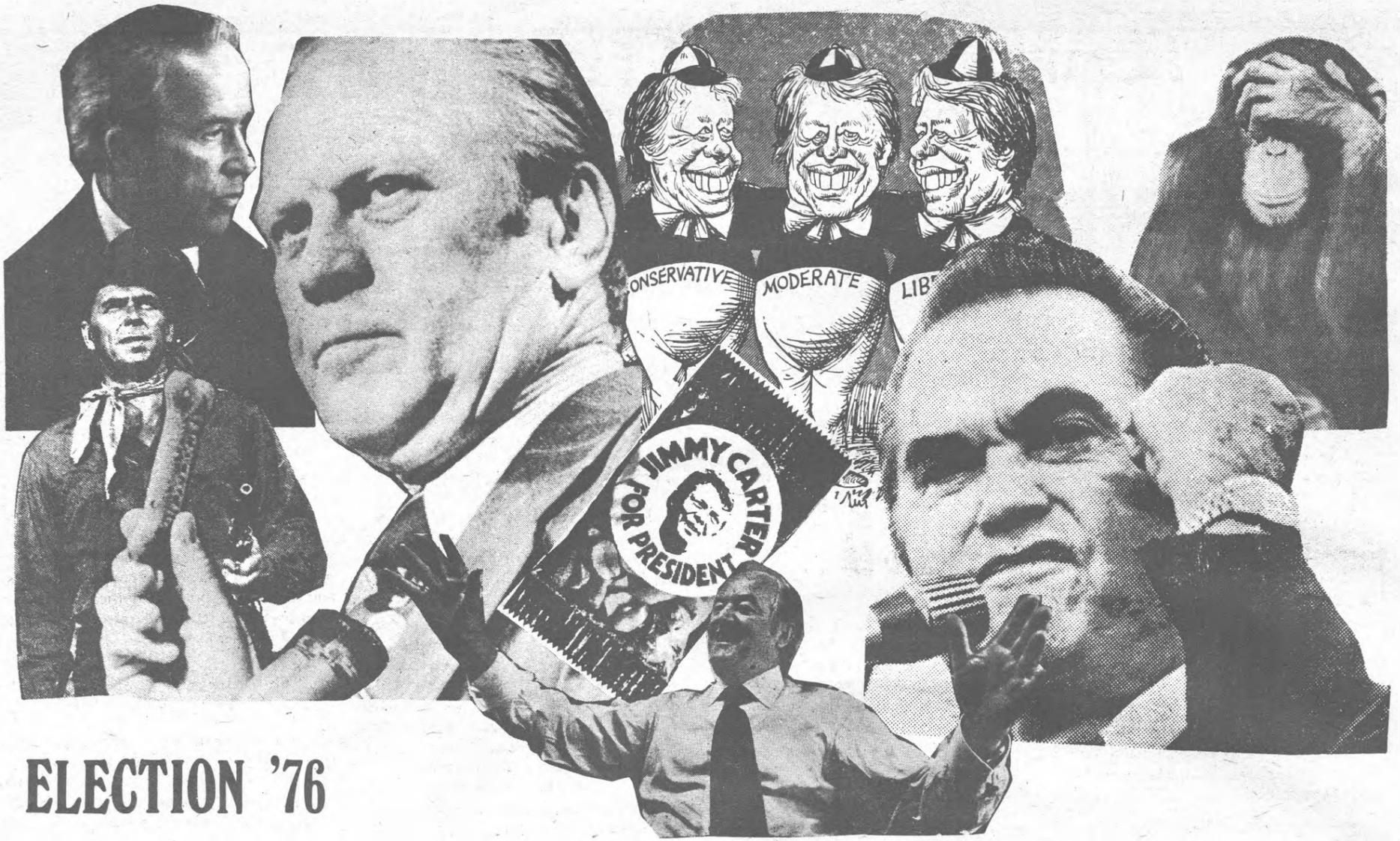
RACISM -- the vicious wedge dividing the working class -- is as brutal today as it was during slavery 200 years ago. Here young racists led by "ROAR" smash a Black lawyer in the face with an iron flagstaff as he enters Boston City Hall April 5th. Only a militant struggle against racism waged in our white communities will keep "Boston" from happening in Philadelphia.

However, the forces working for desegregation need not accept the Commonwealth court ruling. A strong desegregation movement could force the federal court to intercede. And the federal courts could be forced to merge city and suburban school districts if it can be proven that the Pennsylvania state government has done nothing to eliminate city-suburban segregation -- a fact which could be easily demonstrated.

The anti-racist forces should pressure the Board of Education to take its case into the federal courts. The Board has already called for a metropolitan plan, but has done little or nothing to secure its implementation.

In fact, they knew even before they submitted their plan that it was beyond the court's power to order its implementation. To them the idea of a metropolitan plan served as window dressing for their ten year history of foot-dragging on school desegregation.

**NOW IS THE TIME TO CALL THEIR
BLUFF.**



ELECTION '76

"Baffle 'em with Bull"

After a hard day's work you come home, grab a cold beer and sit down in front of the TV. Walter Cronkite comes on the screen. During the next thirty minutes you are filled in on the daily adventures of the competition between an Arizona 'Abraham Lincoln,' and Alabama racist, the man from Boeing and a Georgia peanut farmer.

Gerald Ford comes on the screen. He says that he is fighting for the hard-pressed working family. He will hold down the federal budget and prevent a new round of spiraling inflation. He is going to hold down taxes by chopping the big government 'give-away programs.' Yes, Ford must be the candidate of the working people.

Or is it Ronald Reagan? He is against big government intruding into the lives of the honest and hard-working citizen. He is for tax reform, for turning over the \$90 billion dollar boondoggle in welfare, education and poverty funds to the states where they can be administered with less bureaucracy and at lower costs. He claims to be a "citizen politician" who is running against the system. Recently he said, "Unless we elect to the highest office men with no ties to the system, men at the top who are not afraid to tangle with it and take it on head first we will never change it."

WHAT ABOUT THE DEMOCRATS?

But then, what about those running for the Democratic nomination? What about 'Mo' Udall? Isn't he also for the working people? After all, he is for jobs, for oppressed minorities and for youth. He wants to bring back "responsible government," government "of, by and for the people," doesn't he?

Or is it George Wallace? Clearly he is not the "segregation forever" racist of yesteryear. Now he says he is for all the dispossessed who are being pushed around by "pointy-headed bureaucrats in Washington." He advocates the return of capital punishment to protect the innocent from the 'criminals and rapists' that roam our city streets. He is against the intellectual elite "performing social experiments with little children."

But what about Henry Jackson? He is on the anti-big government bandwagon. He lambasts the Ford administration's failure to come up with jobs for the unemployed. He is for shifting the tax burden on to those who can afford to pay. A self-styled 'friend of labor' he is opposed to busing only because "it does not work." He is for desegregation but he maintains that busing just leads to white flight.

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And finally, how could we forget 'good ole' Jimmy Carter, that down home country boy? He is so much for the working people that to him issues are unimportant! Sure he is anti-establishment and anti-Washington, but his real assets are his "honesty" and his "electability."

THE BOURGEOIS MYTH

It could almost make you feel sorry for big business; all these candidates to choose from, and each one is for the working people. What a system! the working people get to choose two of the foremost political figures in our land, one to represent each of the major parties in the presidential elections in November. Nationally recognized leaders take their ideas and programs, and set them before the masses. The people voice their opinions by endorsing the candidate of their choice.

Thus the primaries are an exercise in 'real democracy.' The working people who make up the overwhelming majority of the US population get to choose their candidate on the basis of the issues. *So runs the bourgeois myth!*

In reality, however, the primaries are anything but democratic. In the first place, the real issues facing the working class and its allies are obscured. The various political figures do speak to "the issues," but both the issues that are spoken to and how they are treated are determined by the bourgeoisie.

From the bourgeois point of view, there are six major issues in the present campaign: defense spending, detente, busing, balancing the budget, the economy and the credibility of the federal government.

Other important problems such as a decent standard of living for all working people, full employment, racism, sexism or peace in the world are most often ignored. If they are spoken to, it is only an occasional and oblique reference.

"DIFFERENCES" ON DEFENSE SPENDING

And the six issues put forward by the bourgeoisie are all treated within strictly defined limits. For example take the treatment by the various candidates of defense spending. The candidates differ on how much of the federal budget should go to defense. Reagan, Ford, Jackson, and Wallace all argue that more funds should be allocated to defense. Carter and Udall maintain that the budget is unnecessarily high and should be cut. But

whether an expansion or a cut, all changes advocated stand *well within 10%* of the present allocation. No major candidate is calling for the kind of massive reordering of priorities that is really necessary.

The same is true of the attitude of the various candidates towards the economy. In the midst of the deepest recession the US has had since before the Second World War, all the candidates are for speeding up the economy -- they could hardly be against it! There are minor differences on how much encouragement the federal government should give to the 'recovery' and where funds for that encouragement should be allocated. Some want an 'expansionary budget' the others are for a 'balanced' one. Some call for tax credits for capital investment, others call for federally funded jobs. But *none* of the candidates has called for the kind of massive program necessary to move the country out of the recession and each is satisfied that a sizeable unemployment is necessary.

In reality, there is not one candidate that is speaking to the issues from a working class perspective. There is not one candidate that has challenged the cause of the most significant problems facing the working class -- the capitalist system. There is not one candidate that has called for ending unemployment once and for all. There is not one candidate for nationalizing the energy monopolies (remember the energy crisis?). There is not one candidate firmly opposed to racism and sexism. No candidate has spoken out against the developing trend towards political reaction manifested by the racist violence in Boston or the S-1 Bill in Congress. Nor is any candidate committed to a real and lasting peace.

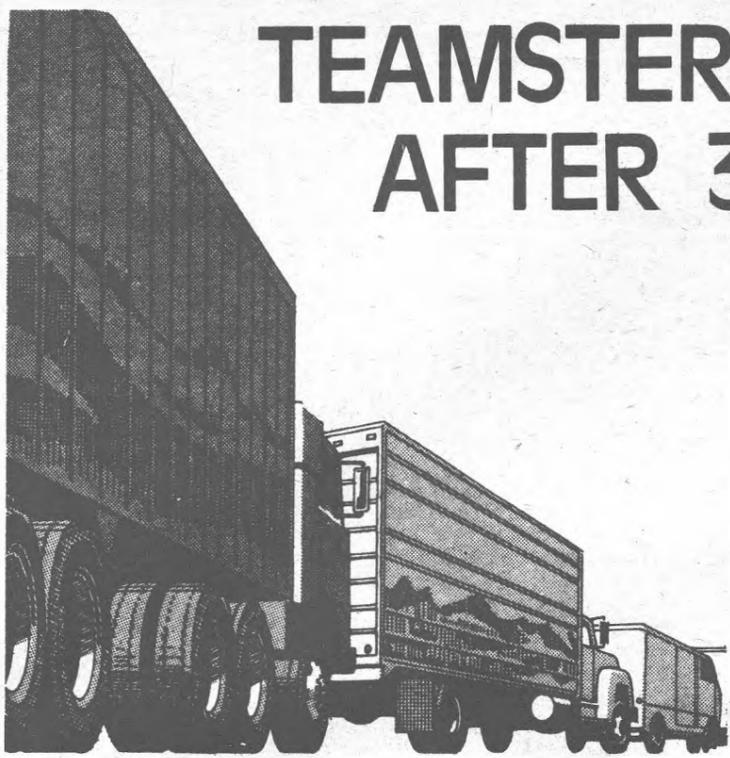
But it is not only the issues and how they are spoken for that is determined by the bourgeoisie. The candidates themselves are thus chosen. Various interest groups within the liberal and conservative wing of the bourgeoisie decide to run a candidate. They set him up with an initial store of money and set him on the campaign trail.

FOOL THE MASSES

The future of any bourgeois candidate is determined by his ability to 1) fool the masses or "baffle them with bull" as Stuart Spenser, Ford's campaign manager, would put it and 2) attain sufficient financial backing from other monopolists. Obviously each factor is related to the other. It takes money to buy radio and TV time, to purchase newspaper advertisements and to mail out propaganda -- the means of gaining political support. But on the other hand, since the bourgeoisie likes a winner, a candidate has to be able to win mass support in order to get money.

However, in the final analysis, it is the money which is most important. Candidates that can put across a good line are being trained constantly in local, state and congressional elections. They are a dime a dozen. But to build up a campaign fund takes backing. The present Democratic front runners had developed significant war chests before the primaries even started. Carter had accumulated and spent nearly \$1 million by the end of November 1975, and Jackson had raised some \$3 million by the end of December. continued on next page

TEAMSTERS SETTLE AFTER 3 DAY STRIKE



The Teamster rank and file can take the credit for whatever gains they have achieved in a contract settled after a three-day strike.

The pattern agreement calls for \$1.65 increase over three years, an unlimited cost-of-living allowance in the second and third years, and for an additional \$17 a week in fringe benefits.

Frank Fitzsimmons, president of the Teamsters, didn't want a strike. Neither did his

"cocktail party friends"—the captains of the trucking industry and the Washington politicians. Prior to the strike the trucking companies were taking a hard line; they were offering only 85 cents over three years and a cost-of-living maximum of only a quarter a year. They knew that the Teamsters have been weakened by the Fitzsimmons gang and they thought it would be a simple matter to porkbarrel Fitz into another sellout agreement.

Neither Fitz, the companies, nor the politicians were prepared for the message they got from the rank and file. Across the country they made it clear: ten to one voted to go out on strike April 1—no contract, no work.

Fitzsimmons, who is up for re-election this year, finally learned that the rank and file revolt in the Teamster's was real, real enough to send him to the Teamster retirement village earlier than he had planned. The rank and file have had plenty to revolt about. Besides the union-busting tactics of the trucking companies, the shaky economy which has produced mass lay-offs and galloping inflation, the Teamster rank and file are getting increasingly fed up with a corrupt fat-cat leadership which rules with an iron hand.

In recent years a number of rank and file Teamster organizations have sprung up all over the country. In the past few months a number of them combined into Teamsters for a Decent Contract, a rank and file coalition which pledged to fight for a favorable agreement. TDC said a decent contract would include: a pay hike of \$2.00 an hour and an unlimited cost-of-living provision, and a cost-of-living increase in health, pension and welfare payments as well.

Job security and a strengthened grievance procedure were also demands the TDC considered to be important. To develop stronger job security the rank and file was demanding an end to "casual" or nonunion workers, institution of voluntary overtime and employer payments of health and pension benefits for a year after a worker is laid off.

By contract time TDC had chapters in 30 cities and was printing a newspaper with a circulation of 30,000. Some 50,000 Teamsters had signed pledge cards supporting the TDC demands. It was this kind of organization of the rank and file that forced a nervous Frank Fitzsimmons to the bargaining table.

At press time, many provisions of the new contract had yet to be disclosed, so it's not clear what the rank and file won and what was traded away. It's probably fair to say, however, that it is not the contract the rank and file wanted, but it's significantly better than anything Fitz would have delivered by himself. It should be considered a victory and the Teamster membership knows that victories don't come cheap when you're dealing with the likes of Fitzsimmons.

The real test for the Teamster rank and file movement lies in the months ahead. Can it maintain a momentum and continue to build a strong organization now that the contract struggle has ended? It's a tough job, but the signs are promising.

BULLBAFFLE cont.

continued from next page

In the primaries both candidates spent heavily. Jackson's victory in the Massachusetts primary cost him \$400,000, mostly spent in a last-minute TV advertising blitz. Jackson -- as if explaining his victory -- has said, "cash on the line is the name of the game."

MANY VOTERS STAY HOME

In spite of the fact that the primaries are essentially a bourgeois affair, they do reveal some important facts about the present political climate. A New York Times poll taken shortly before the New Hampshire primary revealed that a clear majority of the polled voters distrust the federal government. This distrust was demonstrated by the low primary turn out. Just as the 1974 Congressional elections set new records for the numbers who stayed at home (only 36.2% of the voting age population participated, down from 43.8% in 1970) so recent primaries have shown that only a small minority of eligible voters have gone to the polls. In the North Carolina primary, for example, only about 20% of the voting age population cast ballots.

Secondly, there has been a general shift to the right in bourgeois politics. Four years ago, proposals for peace, for defense cuts, for federal funds for the oppressed and for an end to sex and race discrimination were being championed by a number of bourgeois politicians. Presently, the leading trend is for a more warlike posture toward the Soviet Union, for increased defense spending, for holding down or cutting the budget and for a more reactionary stance toward oppressed nationalities and women.

Four years ago McGovern and Humphrey -- both liberals -- were the frontrunners, whereas the more reactionary Jackson scooped up last place. Today Carter and Jackson are leading the pack, and the liberal Udall is doing poorly.

CAPITALISM IN CRISIS

This rightward shift in bourgeois politics stems from the worldwide crisis facing the monopolists. The old methods of cooption with reforms is losing its effectiveness. With their backs against the wall, and the world's peoples striving for still more of what justly belongs to them, the monopolists are moving toward reaction as their method for meeting the growing movement.

In order to shore up their exposed position, they must try to create as large as possible a political base for these policies. While acting like the friend of the working people, their candidates must try to manipulate the people into taking up the cause of reaction, the cause of increased exploitation for the workers and intensified oppression of national minorities.

It is for this reason that the bourgeois politicians have been calling for a balanced budget with cuts in basic social services, more money for defense and a tougher stand in the conflict with the Soviet Union. It is for this reason that nearly all the bourgeois politicians have been making thinly-veiled racist attacks on oppressed nationalities under the guise of opposition to busing.

RIGHT PLAYS TO PEOPLES' FEARS: LEFT ALTERNATIVE NEEDED

The danger in the present situation stems from the fact that the mass disaffection from the political system in the United States can be channeled into rightist political causes if there is no viable left alternative to the bourgeoisie's reactionary drive. The intense social pressures caused by the economic crisis, the frustration with the failure of the same old political approaches which have demonstrated themselves to be unworkable, leaves open the opportunity for the monopolists to utilize right-wing candidates to play on the fears and the frustration of the working people.

By playing on the racism that the bourgeoisie has successfully inculcated in many of the working people in our society, and by appealing to the people's frustration with steadily increasing taxation and their fears of crime, demagogues like George Wallace have shown their potential to manipulate the working people into reactionary stands. While Wallace himself is politically dead, Reagan and Jackson are striving hard to fill the vacuum.

The only vehicle that could offer a viable alternative to the growing reaction in bourgeois politics would be a mass peoples' party. Such a party could find a firm political foundation in an alliance between the labor movement and the Black and other oppressed nationality liberation movements. By putting forward a progressive anti-monopoly capitalist political program, such a party would be able to successfully compete on the field of political battle.

The building of a vanguard communist party (see series on "Party Building" in past issues of *the Organizer*) remains the central task of communists in this period. However, this struggle does not take place in isolation from the day-to-day struggles of the people. Communists work in and provide leadership for the mass organizations: trade unions, organizations for oppressed nationalities, community groups, etc. Communists would work in a mass people's anti-capitalist party in the same way.

It should be obvious that the development of such a party is a long way off. At present, the labor movement is organizationally firmly in the grasp of the Democratic wing of the bourgeois party and the immediate prospects for breaking it free are bleak. The broadest sections of the Black liberation movement, while

generally more conscious of the need for independent political action of this kind, are also still firmly wedded to the left wing of the Democratic party.

NATIONAL BLACK POLITICAL ASSEMBLY CAMPAIGN

The one promising development on the general political scene is the National Black Assembly which has put forward a strategy for an independent campaign for President in 1976. Unfortunately, the Assembly is far to the left of most of the present leadership of the Black Liberation Movement, and it has not been able to mobilize sufficient support. At its recent March convention in Cincinnati, it failed to nominate a candidate for president when Oakland's John Conyers declined the nomination. It also decided against the development of multinational organization to push its campaign, determining instead that an all-Black Independent Freedom Party would be the sole policy-making body for the campaign. While clearly most of the support for this campaign would come from the Black people, all the working people must be united in order to make such an effort have real impact.

Thus the potential for a viable challenge to the bourgeois parties' campaign of reaction this year does not look good. While the Black Independent Freedom Party could provide a form to do general agitation around the need for a mass people's party, it is clear that it itself will not be able to provide a real alternative to the bourgeois campaign.

BEGIN WORK TOWARD ALTERNATIVE

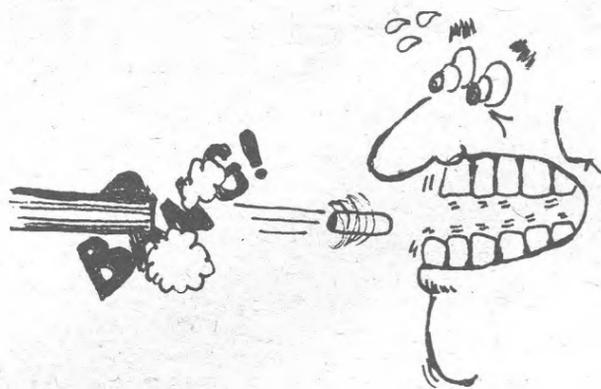
What can and must be accomplished, however, is the development of as wide as possible agitation in the factories, in the offices, in the mines and in the communities around the need for the development of a mass people's party. Local bodies of rank and file workers, of Black, Spanish, Chicano and Asian activists, of community workers and of other progressives should be established in every possible locality to serve as the organizational vehicle for such a campaign.

While such a party is indeed a ways down the road, it is presently possible to point out to the masses of working people that only a people's party based on the people's organizations would be capable of providing a viable alternative to the single Democratic-Republican bourgeois party. Only such a party could provide the masses with a real opportunity to express their views and have the real issues addressed from a working class perspective. Only such a party could be a viable center for people's politics.

And until this people's party is built, the working people will have to choose between such candidates as ex-football players and peanut farmers.

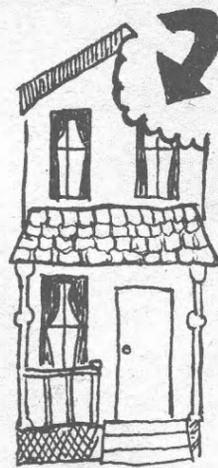
THE BIG TAX BITE

In his new budget, Rizzo gave us the message we knew was coming all along -- "Bite the Bullet!" -- as he squeezed the tax trigger. . .



ACTUALLY, RIZZO IS PUTTING THE BITE ON US. . .
BIG BITE NO. 1

Rizzo is calling for a 25% increase in real estate taxes. That means if you own a home assessed at \$5,000 your tax bill will jump from \$238.75 to \$308.75. If your house is assessed at \$10,000 your taxes will go from \$477.50 to \$617.50 -- up \$140.



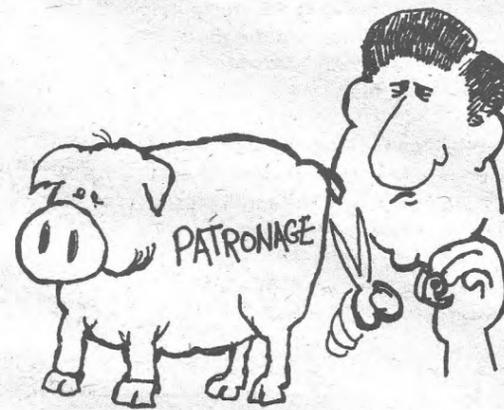
MAN, TALK ABOUT A TAX BITE, ALL I'VE GOT LEFT IS SOME SMALL CHANGE AND FRANK RIZZO'S AUTOGRAPH!



In other words, a family with a \$10,000 per year income and a \$15,000 house will be paying a total of \$865.00 -- almost 9% of their income -- for just two city taxes.

BIG BITE NO. 3
Frank is also calling for a 50% increase in water and sewer rates and a 42% Septa fare hike.

In addition, Rizzo wants to eliminate 500 to 1000 city jobs. All of us know that there's plenty of dead wood in City Hall. But Rizzo's idea of "trimming the fat" is to close PGH and reduce street, recreation, and other health care services. The real blubber -- patronage jobs -- will remain.



RIZZO'S IDEA OF TRIMMING THE FAT

BIG BITE NO. 2
On top of that Rizzo wants to raise a city wage tax that already is the highest in the country from 3 5/16% to 4%. A person who makes \$10,000 a year will be taxed \$400 -- up nearly \$70. If you make \$15,000 you will be sending Frank \$600 for the year.

Why do poor and working people get the bite when the city is in trouble while the rich and big corporations get all the breaks?

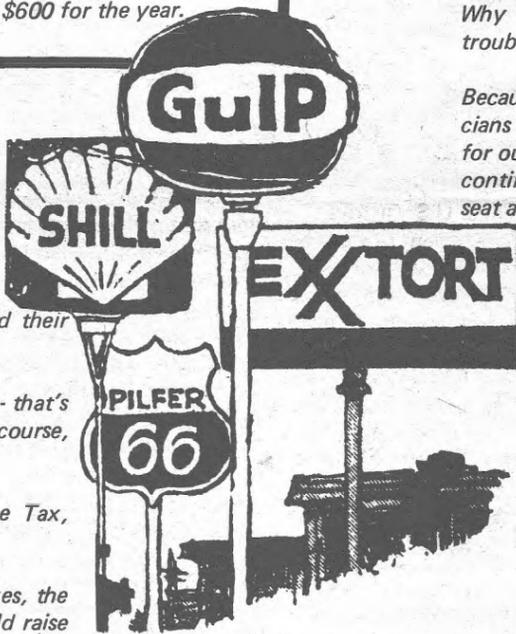
Because under capitalism, the monopolies and banks choose the politicians and run the government and they do it for their own benefit -- not for ours. Under this system our cities will continue to decay and we will continue to pay. Only socialism can put the working class in the driver's seat and only socialism can put the big bite where it belongs.

The bankers think Rizzo's plan is just great because they and their corporation friends are getting off the hook easy.

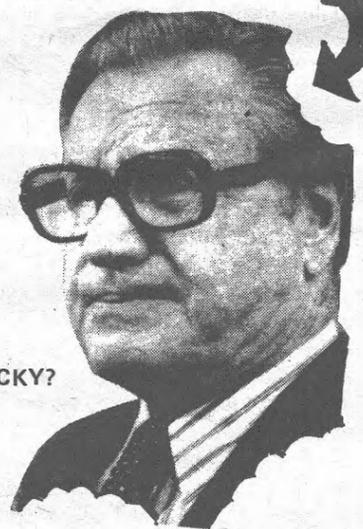
There is only one proposed tax that affects big business profits -- that's the proposed refinery tax of 5 cents a barrel. The refineries, of course, expect to defeat this tax.

Since 1972, when Rizzo repealed the Corporate Net Income Tax, Philadelphia has had NO TAX ON CORPORATE PROFITS.

In addition, if loopholes were closed on stocks and bonds taxes, the City could raise \$26 million. An increase in the 4 mill tax could raise millions more. Such a tax increase would affect mainly corporations and the wealthy.



WHAT'S EATING ROCKY?



Unemployment in Clothing... WORKERS RESIST WAGE CUTS

An article in the *Sunday Bulletin* of March 28th, entitled "Clothing Industry Offers Jobs but Jobless Say No" told of the plight of the Clothing manufacturers who can't seem to get anyone to work for them.

Mel Zimmerman, personnel director for the Cohen's Shop, summed up their argument:

"Because of the problem with help the Philadelphia Market is getting killed. Many people are taking the view that they are specialists. . . they are saying it's not my job and I don't want to do it. . . if a person sewed armholes before he doesn't want to sew vents."

What Zimmerman and the rest of the bosses interviewed conveniently overlook is that workers -- both employed and unemployed -- are being asked to take substantial rate cuts and this is why they are refusing jobs, not because they are lazy prima donnas or "specialists" as the article implies.

At the Cohen's Botany 500 shop earlier this year, several coat shops were closed and April-May '76, page 8

many workers were laid off. A vest shop with much lower rates was opened and some workers were recalled to work there. Generally, the bosses have been changing and consolidating operations and in the process have cut piece rates.

WORKERS RESIST WAGE CUTS

As Harry Goldsmith, Joint Board Manager of the ACWA, pointed out, if you ask a pocketmaker who is getting in the vicinity of \$6.00/hour to take a job as a vent sewer which pays roughly half as much, naturally the worker is going to resist.

The bosses are angry because unemployment compensation regulations say that a worker must only accept "suitable work," which means a worker can reject a job that is outside his or her skill area or that pays below their previous wage. As one boss put it:

"Some method should be derived to refer unemployed persons out of work even if the job or the pay rate is not exactly the same as they received prior to their unemployment."

Actually, a number of workers have complained that the state employment service apparel division has threatened to refuse them benefits for turning down a job below their average rate. The companies clearly want to turn the employment agency into a cheap labor pool to help them drive down wages in the industry.

The Clothing manufacturers rely heavily on immigrant labor, forcing workers who are vulnerable to deportation or who, because of lack of knowledge of their rights, are forced to accept low paying jobs.

ACWA UNION CAPITULATES

One reason for the problem in the clothing industry is the general lack of strong union protection. According to the union contract, the union must agree to transfers of workers from one operation to another. The union also must concur in the setting of rates on new or consolidated operations. When learning new operations, workers must be paid at their average hourly rate based on their previous operation.

For the most part, the union leadership does not fight to use these provisions to fight rate cuts, but caves in before the bosses' argument that they must cut labor costs to stay in business.

The situation is also a reflection of the evils of the piece rate system. Not only do the rates from one operation to another vary greatly but rates for the exact same operation vary from shop to shop, often as much as several dollars an hour. The union has made little effort to insure uniformity in rates.

The economic crisis has cast the evils of the piece rate system in sharp relief underlining the vulnerability of wages. The rank and file is going to have to fight for contractual provisions to protect wages from cuts in the future.

Some rank and file activists are arguing that the piece rate system should be replaced with an incentive system with a guaranteed base rate. This will undoubtedly be an issue when negotiations roll around next year.

In the meantime, if the bosses are so concerned with getting more "help," let them pay a wage that workers can live on.

POLICE KILL

POLICE BRUTALITY: NEWS ITEM

When Patrolman Donald Woodruff spotted Michael crossing the intersection at Morris and Penn Streets in Germantown, the youth was carrying a TV set. Woodruff and his partner, Michael Deniken, hadn't received any calls for a stolen television, but what can two cops think when they see a young Black man carrying a TV set in broad daylight except that it's stolen? Woodruff called Michael to the car. Michael ignored the first call. The cop was out of his car when he called Michael the second time. Michael threw the TV set at Woodruff and ran. The cop pursued—down the alley into the playground—firing three shots. On the third shot, not twenty feet away, Woodruff hit. Michael died instantly.

Patrolman Woodruff is charged with voluntary and involuntary manslaughter. If convicted, he could receive a maximum sentence of 10 years in prison.

POLICE BRUTALITY: ONE OF ITS VICTIMS—MICHAEL SHERARD

Michael Sherard is dead. He was only sixteen and not yet out of high school. He was Black, and like many Black youth throughout the city, he couldn't get a job. Michael would have jumped at the chance to get work for decent wages, but opportunities for good jobs just don't come the way of young, Black and poor in Philadelphia.

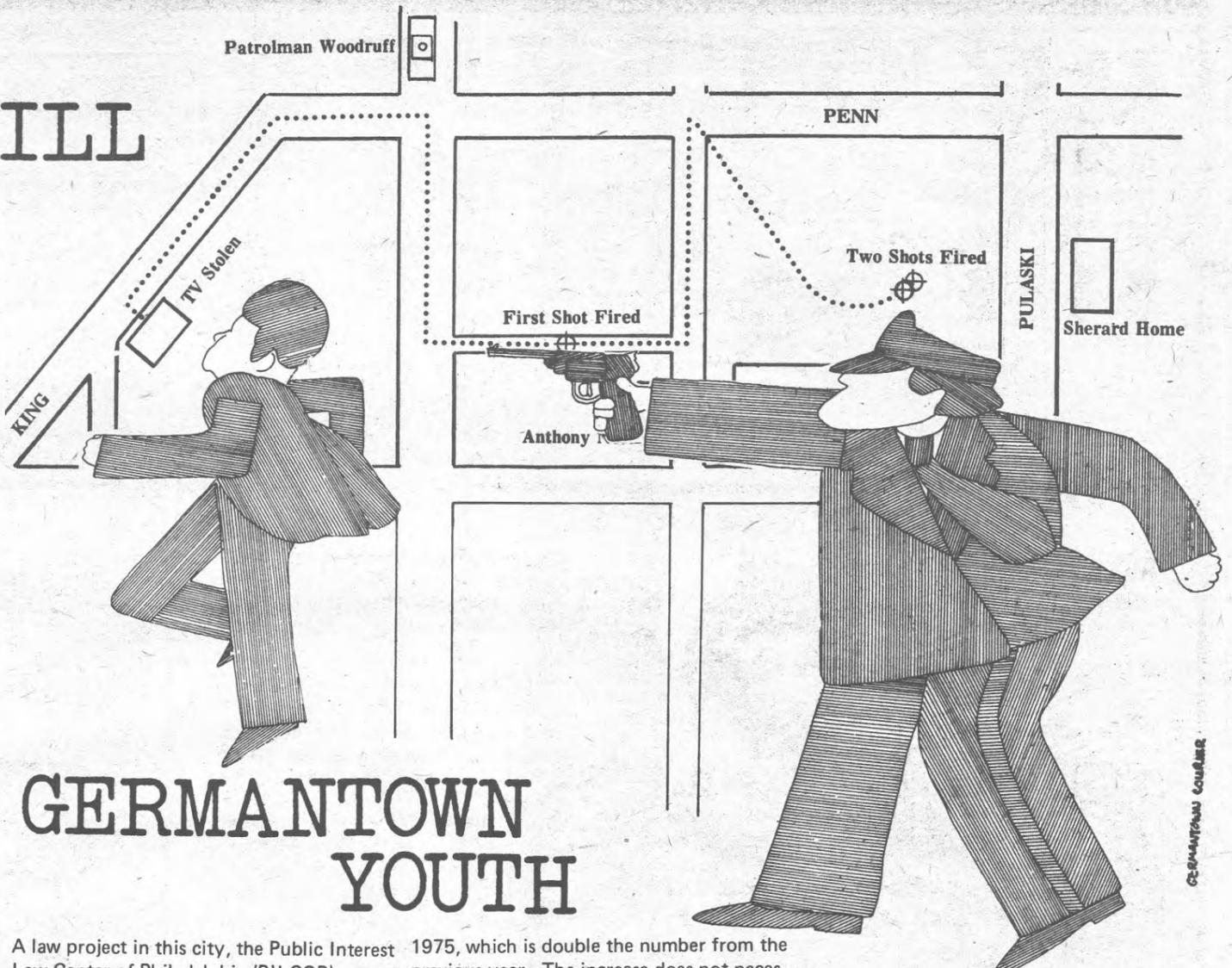
His friend, Norman Anthony, described him as a young man who "... had to be his own man, his own father, had to keep money in his pocket." His friend said he knew Michael had an arrest record. (He had a record of three juvenile arrests dating back to 1973.) As Norman put it, though, "He wasn't no angel," but "he really didn't hurt nobody for someone to kill him."

Michael's mother, Mrs. Jane Sherard, commented in an interview in the *Germantown Courier* that two days before her son's death he had said to her that he thought life was hopeless—he felt that nobody cared. Michael was expressing the magnitude of frustration he was feeling because he was unable to be "his own man," as he wanted to be. Now he will never have the chance to try to get beyond that feeling of hopelessness and frustration. As his mother so eloquently put it, speaking before a crowd of 400 neighbors gathered to protest Michael's death, the reason that Michael died was because "... he wanted a job, a car, decent clothes."

POLICE BRUTALITY: SOME FACTS AND FIGURES

The killing of Michael Sherard is another of a long list of police shootings in Philadelphia. Policemen are rarely disciplined for using their weapons, even though the patrolman's handbook indicates that an officer may fire his gun only to protect his own or another's life, or to prevent a violent crime, or to prevent a violent felon from escaping after all other means of stopping him or her have been exhausted.

No one but the cops know for sure how many people police here shoot at. Based solely on newspaper reports, 24 persons died and 46 were wounded by police bullets in 1974 alone. In 1975, about \$400,000 in damages were paid out by the city to people who made claims against the police department. In three major cases where victims of police shootings died, the city paid a total of \$281,000 to surviving kin. In one case, the mother of Leroy Shenandoah, a Native American construction worker killed by police in March, 1972, was awarded \$130,000—a small price for the loss of her son. Four other Indians were awarded a total of \$86,500 for injuries received in the same incident.



GERMANTOWN YOUTH

A law project in this city, the Public Interest Law Center of Philadelphia (PILCOP), whose job it is to monitor complaints of police brutality, recently issued a report on the numbers of incidents reported to them by the citizenry in 1974 and 1975. PILCOP received 535 complaints of police abuse in

1975, which is double the number from the previous year. The increase does not necessarily mean that the incidence of brutality is rising—what is more likely is that it means people see PILCOP as a possible means of dealing with the problem of police abuse.

POLICE BRUTALITY: THE RACIST NATURE OF CITY COPS

It is no accident that the number of instances of police shootings, harassment and abuse is high in poor and working class neighborhoods, and especially high in Black and other oppressed minority communities. According to the PILCOP report, mentioned above, the problem of police abuse is one that affects the entire city, but hits the Black population the hardest. The majority of complaints that are received come from the Black community—especially from young, Black men.

Philadelphia cops have a long history of perpetrating abuse and brutality in Black neighborhoods. The raid on the Black Panther headquarters in August, 1970, led by Frank Rizzo, is the most blatant example of the kind of harassment that Black people in Philadelphia are subject to. The Party members were roused out of their beds and made to strip naked on the sidewalk (see article on the Supreme Court ruling).

Attacks on people by Philadelphia cops are not limited to the Black community. The function of cops is to maintain law and order, and what that means is that the haves must be protected from the have-nots. What the haves have is money and property, and more often than not, it is more important to the police to protect the material possessions than to protect the lives or physical safety of poor or working people. As in the case of Michael Sherard, who was both poor and Black, the cop who killed him shot first and asked no questions—Michael Sherard died for a television set.

The Police vs. The People The People Lose

In 1973, John P. Fullam, a U.S. District Court judge, in acknowledgment of the outrageous number of violations of people's constitutional rights by Philadelphia cops, attempted to put a curb on the rate of police brutality by revising the method of handling police abuse complaints. Fullam's opinion came in response to two cases of police brutality, one brought by Gerald Goode, a Black graduate student at the University of Pennsylvania, and the other by the Council of Organizations of Philadelphia Police Accountability and Responsibility (COPPAR).

Gerald Goode charged that two policemen dragged him from his car and beat him with a blackjack for no reason one night in December, 1969. COPPAR claimed in its case that the police department had established a policy of brutality against Blacks in general and against the Black Panther Party in particular. (The Black Panther Party office was raided in August, 1970.) These two class action suits were brought in hopes of forestalling future cases of abuse by police against Black people.

In his decision, Fullam agreed with the premise that little or nothing was being done to punish infractions by policemen or to prevent them from recurring. In other words, complaints of police abuse by private citizens were not being taken seriously by the city's cops. The City of Philadelphia, with its chief cop in residence in City Hall, appealed Judge Fullam's decision to the U.S. Supreme Court. In January of this year, the court with the final say on any matter that comes before it decided in favor of Frank and Company. The Supreme Court ruling allows, in effect, the police department to continue internally to investigate charges of police abuse and discipline its officers as it sees fit.

As pointed out by Justice William Rehnquist, speaking in favor of the court's 5-3 decision, "... the behavior of the Philadelphia police was [in no way shown to be] different in kind or degree from that which exists elsewhere." Which in everyday language translates to mean that cops in this city are no more or less racist than cops elsewhere in this country—a major victory for Frank Rizzo.

WORKERS' VOICES

The following is an excerpt from an article by a group of Winston-Salem Tobacco workers about their sister, Moranda Smith, a leader of the Food and Tobacco Workers Union.

While Sister Smith was in Apopka, Florida, Klan members seized a Negro worker and tried to force him to tell her whereabouts. He refused to tell. They beat him, threatened to kill him, ground his face into the Florida soil. Still he refused to tell. They gave up and left him lying there, still keeping the secret of her whereabouts.

Defying the Klan. When Sister Smith heard of the Klan attack, she walked, as a friend relates, "down the middle of the street just to show the bosses that union members would not be intimidated."

Meanwhile, the white and Negro workers saw to it that Sister Smith was protected and could leave town after her visit, with no harm.

To Moranda Smith, the union was one of the most important things in her life. She read and studied so she could pass the information on to her fellow-workers. She would

travel all night by bus, and the next day -- without any sleep -- would participate in a meeting or a picket line.

It was the terrible strain of (working and organizing) ... which finally proved too great for this working class heroine. But when she died, she left an inspiring example for all workers to follow. . .

Today, many Negro women in the South are carrying on in the spirit of Moranda Smith. . .

ZIONISM & RACISM

What's Behind The U.N. Resolution ?

On November 10th the U.N. passed by a large majority a resolution which declared Zionism to be a form of racism. The reaction in the US was immediate. In a great outpouring of speeches and editorials the politicians and the molders of public opinion condemned the Arab and African governments as racist, anti-semitic, and even Nazi-like because of their support for this resolution.

They repeated the time-worn phrases about Israel being one of the world's "great democracies." They heaped praise on Zionism as the national liberation movement of the Jewish people, the bulwark of Jewish freedom and survival in the world today. These ideas, because of their constant repetition have become almost unquestioned in the US today. But if we really look at the actual history of Zionism and

ganda, Kenya, Argentina, and Palestine. The last two were the most likely possibilities -- Argentina because of its natural wealth, small population, and pleasant climate, and Palestine because of its historic connections. In 1880 there were 500,000 people in Palestine, only 24,000 of whom were Jews.

The Zionist leader Herzl described the Jews as a "people without a land looking for a land without a people." But then as now there is no such thing as a land without a people. It's just that the Zionists, like so many other Europeans under the influence of imperialist ideas, did not see the peoples of Africa and Asia as having legitimate national rights. These people, if their existence was recognized at all, were seen as backward and uncivilized. The seizure of their land by the Europeans would only serve to bring

of which were raised from Jews who chose to remain away from Israel, 33% of the population in Palestine was Jewish. Only 35% of these Jews were local born.

THE PARTITION OF PALESTINE

In 1947, the U.N. established a partition of Palestine, creating a Jewish sector, an Arab sector, and an international buffer zone consisting of Jerusalem and Bethlehem. The Arabs were given 42% of the land (although just prior to the U.N. action 93% of the land still belonged to the Arabs) and the Jews received 56% of the land, including much of the most fertile areas of Palestine.

The Arabs rejected the U.N. resolution. They refused to recognize any Jewish state established at their expense.

The Zionists immediately announced the formation of the state of Israel and as the British withdrew they grabbed more and more of the land. They were on their way to gaining control of all of Palestine militarily. Between 1948 and 1951, 687,000 more Jews immigrated practically doubling the Jewish population. In 1948 Israel annexed Galilee, then only 15.6% Jewish, and Beersheba, only 2% Jewish. Hundreds of thousands of Arabs were chased off their lands.

The partition of Palestine and the creation of the Jewish state of Israel was not the result of a national liberation struggle as the Zionists claim. It was achieved forcibly against the will of the Palestinian people, who comprised the majority of the inhabitants and had occupied the area continuously for generations. It was achieved only with the backing of the major imperialist powers, particularly the US, who were primarily concerned with developing a "pro-Western" force in the area that could effectively counter the rise of Arab nationalism.

There was much popular support for the state of Israel in the western countries because of the mass genocide carried out by Hitler and the Nazis against the Jewish people. The imperialist governments concern for the Jewish refugees was pure hypocrisy however. None of these countries including the US were willing



HERZL SAILS IN SEARCH OF A LAND WITHOUT A PEOPLE, 1903. "In 1896, Herzl wrote that . . . the Jews are an alien people who cannot be assimilated into other cultures. . . This theory relied heavily on a belief in the Jews as a chosen people. . ."

the role of the state of Israel today all these common assumptions are called into question.

WHAT IS ZIONISM?

Religious Zionism is based on the prophesy in the Bible that someday Jews will return to the Holy Land in Palestine, Zion. This article of faith, similar in nature to the Christian belief in the Second Coming, gained in its appeal during the middle ages when Jews faced intense persecution.

Modern political Zionism, however, is a completely different thing. In 1896, Theodore Herzl wrote the book *A Jewish State*, which developed the idea of turning the mystical dream into a political reality. Herzl argued that the Jews are an alien people who cannot be assimilated into other cultures -- that they are forever "a people without a land looking for a land without a people." This theory relied heavily on a belief in the Jews as a chosen people, and it capitalized on the desperation of Eastern European and Czarist Russian Jews locked in ghetto conditions.

The Zionists claimed Palestine "belonged" to the Jewish people as an historical right. They based their claim on the existence of the ancient Hebrew kingdom in the area. The first settlement of Hebrew tribes in Palestine was in the 13th century B.C. They were dispersed first by the Assyrians in 721 B.C. and their last kingdom was destroyed by the Romans in the first century A.D. While the Arab people continued to live in the area up until the present day, the majority of the Jews lost all links to the land when they were forced to leave by the Romans.

The dream of Palestine did not take concrete form again until the 19th century -- after a break of almost 2,000 years, years of continuous settlement by the Arabs. Meanwhile the Jews had been scattered throughout Europe, Asia, Russia and even the US. In the process, the Jewish people naturally came to speak different languages and develop different cultural characteristics, retaining only a common religion and a common experience of persecution.

In fact, the choice of Israel was a somewhat arbitrary one -- a fact never mentioned in present day Zionist propaganda. Zionist leaders at the time merely emphasized the need for a territory large enough and fertile enough to support several millions of people. At the 6th Zionist Congress in 1903 Herzl and others were still considering several locations including U-

them progress and civilization or so ran the imperialist and racist logic of the day.

HOW THE ZIONISTS GAINED A Foothold IN PALESTINE

Because the world was already divided up among the dominant great powers, the Zionists inevitably had to enlist the support of a colonial power in order to gain a territory. Herzl tried to sell his idea to the Sultan of the Turkish Ottoman empire by pleading:

"If his Majesty the Sultan were to give us Palestine. . . for Europe we would constitute a bulwark against Asia down there, we would be the advance post of civilization against barbarism. As a neutral state, we would remain in constant touch with all of Europe, which would guarantee our existence."

The Zionists finally gained support for their venture from the British colonialists. England was attracted to the idea of supporting Zionist dreams of a Palestinian state for several reasons: 1) World War I was approaching and England wanted to insure the support of US and European Jews for the war. 2) England wanted a stronghold to counterbalance growing French influence in Syria and Lebanon. England wanted a base dependent on her which would flank the Suez Canal, on route to India. 3) England and the US already had their eyes on the rich oil reserves of the middle east.

In 1917 the British made public their support for a "Jewish homeland in Palestine" in the Balfour Declaration. Although this declaration did not put forward the concept of a separate Jewish state, it opened the door for the events of the middle east crisis. After WW I Palestine was just one of many spoils handed out to the conquerors.

Britain received a Mandate (full economic and political control) over Palestine and Iraq. Jewish immigration was encouraged, a Zionist organization The Jewish Agency, was set up to relate to the British. Between 1919 and 1923 35,000 Jews immigrated.

Worldwide Jewish donations made it possible for some land to be bought from the Arab landlords. However, by 1947 the Jews still only held about 5% of the land, one third of which was owned by the billionaire Rothschild who stayed in Paris. Before World War I Jews were only about 9% of the population of Palestine. By 1947 thanks to British support for Jewish immigration and to Zionist funds, 86.7%



BEN GURION PROCLAIMS STATEHOOD FOR ISRAEL, 1948. "The partition of Palestine and the creation of the Jewish state of Israel was not the result of a national liberation struggle as the Zionists claim. It was achieved forcibly against the will of the Palestinian people. . ."

to open their doors to the Jewish refugees. Their solution was to pack them off to Palestine. Thus the Palestinian people were victimized for Hitler's crimes, crimes which Europeans, and not Arabs had committed.

ZIONIST EXPANSIONISM

By the end of 1948 Israel was admitted to the U.N. on the condition that she recognize the U.N. partition boundaries and repatriate the Arab refugees. Neither of these conditions were ever met. In 1949, Israel occupied Jerusalem. At this point Israel held 77% of

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Israel: Democracy Or Racist State ?

"My opinion is that the idea that Israel is a democratic society is the greatest deception of the 20th century. Israel is about as apartheid as South Africa in reality."

Dr. Israel Shahak -- Jewish Civil Rights Leader



1. Marriage between Arab and Jew is against the law in Israel. Arabs are not permitted to take Jewish names. In the occupied areas Arabs are cordoned off into military zones and are not allowed to travel outside these zones without a signed pass from the Jewish military commander. In Israel proper housing is segregated and Arabs who remain outside their villages or neighborhoods after working hours are harassed.

2. The laws from the British Mandate are still on the books and enforced in the Arab areas of Israel. These laws, which permit practices like preventive detention, were described by the one-time attorney general of Israel, Y.S. Shapira, in 1946 as "unparalleled in any civilized country; there were no such laws even in Nazi Germany."

3. The Jewish National Fund (JNF) has the sole control of land development in Israel. The JNF cannot sell land to non-Jews and non-Jewish labor cannot

be employed on these lands. At the time of partition in 1948 5% of the land was owned by Jews. Today over 90% of the irrigated land is held by Jews.

4. All the Jewish villages in Israel have electricity which is supplied, along with water, roads and other public services, free by the state or quasi-public Zionist institutions. Only the Arab villages have electricity for which they pay exorbitant rates.

5. According to Israeli economist Ian Lustig, "Arabs are concentrated in low paying, unskilled jobs, whereas Jews occupy . . . the white collar positions." Even college educated Arabs find it impossible to get jobs outside teaching in segregated Arab schools. Since 1948 the Zionists have invested 1.2 billion dollars in economic development in the Jewish areas and virtually nothing in the Arab villages. As a result the Arabs must travel to the Jewish villages and towns to find employment.

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Palestine, 21% more than granted by the U.N. From 1949 to 1967 Israel was condemned by the U.N. for more than 30 military attacks by its regular armed forces into Israeli held lands.

Zionism depends for its survival on its ability to expand. The partition granted Israel 5500 square miles. By 1970 it held 30,000 square miles. In the 50's Ben Gurion voiced this tendency in two typical quotes: "I agree to form a cabinet on condition that we do everything possible to expand southward" and "to maintain the status quo will not do. We have to set up a dynamic state bent upon expansion."

In fact, worldwide support for Israel has depended on a popular impression of impending doom -- an impression which must be fed by constant military crisis. During times of peace as in 1953 or again in the mid 60's immigration declined drastically.

By the end of 1948 nearly one million Arabs had been evicted from their lands. They fled from the war and because of fear of Israeli terrorism. Of the first 370 Jewish settlements established in Israel, 350 were on the property of evicted Arabs. The Arabs planned to return after the war but they were denied that right by the Israelis. As a mass Israeli newspaper, the Ma'ariev stated, "no temporary inhabitant, even if he lives here for 1000 years" can claim rights to the land over the rights of the Jews.

The Jews have recognized that as long as Arabs remain in Israel they constitute a potential threat, a 5th column. And this problem has been tremendously increased by the Israeli occupation of the Gaza Strip, doubling the Arab population. The Israeli attitude to the refugees created by the establishment of Israel has been pretty straightforward. Premier Rabin has said, "There is a need for a place to which it will be possible to transfer the quarter million refugees who live in crowded conditions in the Gaza strip." In Dayan's view, "The Arab states now have land and water and also funds and Arab nationhood, and with all this they can solve the refugee problems in their lands."

THE PALESTINIANS IN ISRAEL

The attitude of the Zionists toward the Palestinians is summed up by Golda Meir when she said "Sometimes I cannot sleep at night thinking of how many Arab babies are born the same night."

The Zionists have driven out thousands of Palestinians and those who remain are victims of systematic discrimination. The facts show that Israeli democracy when it comes to the Arabs is nothing but a myth. (See accompanying box.)

As Dr. Israel Shahak, a Jewish civil rights leader, put it: "My opinion is that the idea that Israel is a democratic society is the greatest deception of the twentieth century. Israel is about as apartheid as South Africa in reality."

As an exclusively Jewish state, Israel can never be a democracy because the limitation of democratic rights to Jews necessarily means that these same rights are denied to the non-Jewish Arab population. Even all Jews do not enjoy full democratic rights in Israel. The state discriminates against non-religious Jews and especially Oriental and African Jews who are only a few niches up the social and economic ladder from the Palestinians.

In summary, Zionism has preached the natural right of the Jewish people to the land of Palestine, has organized to expel its Palestinians occupants from the land, has aggressively sought more and more Arab land by military conquest and has practiced systematic discrimination against the Palestinian people who remain in Israel. How is it an exaggeration, let alone a lie, to describe Zionism as a form of racism?

ZIONISM AND THE FIGHT AGAINST ANTI-SEMITISM

For the Palestinians Zionism is oppressive, pure and simple. But what about the Jewish people? Has Zionism truly advanced their interests? The Jewish people in the 20th century were nearly exterminated by the Nazis. Anti-semitism remains a threat not only to the Jewish people but to all progressive humanity. Anti-semitism is part and parcel of the whole ideology and practice of fascism and the danger of fascism remains ever present.

But Zionism has never been and is not now a genuine solution to the persecution of the Jewish people. As national minorities in Europe and the US, the fight of the Jewish people was and remains a fight for full democratic rights in the nations in which the Jewish people live. Zionism has always turned its back and even sabotaged this struggle.

The argument of the Zionists that the Jewish people were somehow inherently different and could not be assimilated dovetailed with the arguments of the anti-semites. As separatists, the Zionists discouraged Jews from uniting with non-Jews to fight for full democracy. The Zionists attacked those democratic and revolutionary Jews who fought in alliance with the work-

ing class for socialism and equality as enemies for encouraging "assimilationist illusions" among the Jewish masses.

At their worst, the Zionists collaborated with the worst reactionaries and anti-semites. For example, in 1903, Herzl sought an agreement with Plehve, the Tsarist organizer of pogroms against the Jewish people, to obtain support for a Jewish state and Jewish migration. In the face of the Nazi danger, Zionism encouraged a defeatist attitude toward Hitler and by simply urging Jews to leave undermined Jewish resistance to the Nazis. Zionism today by seeking to tie the Jewish people to the racist and reactionary policies of the state of Israel can only lead the Jewish people to disaster.

It was imperialism in the form of racist fascism that committed genocide against the Jewish people. And it was imperialism in the form of racist colonialism that plundered the nations of Africa, Asia and Latin America. For this reason, the Jewish people and the peoples of the Third World have a common stake in fighting imperialism, their common enemy. But Zionism as a consistent ally of imperialism instead tried to unite the Jewish people with its worst enemies.

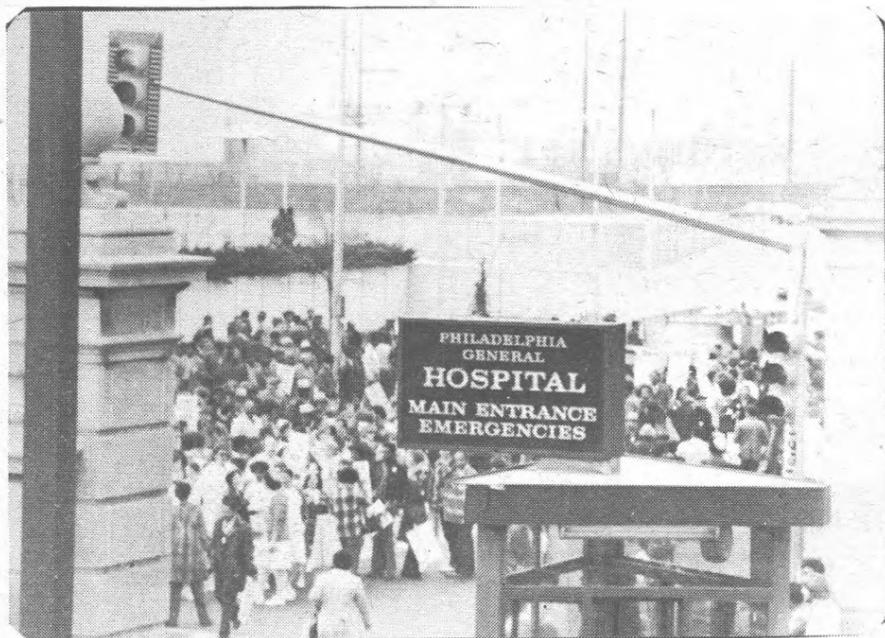
Look at Zionist support for Nixon, for example. This man, who as the Watergate tapes reveal, was a crude anti-semite. So Zionism is not only the sworn enemy of the Palestinian people and the third world. It is also a block in the path of achieving an end to anti-semitism and Jewish freedom.

(In the next issue of the Organizer, we will take up the resistance of the Palestinian and Arab peoples to Zionism and the PLO's program for a just settlement of the Palestinian question.)



A PALESTINIAN REFUGEE FAMILY AFTER THE 1967 WAR. "A mass Israeli newspaper, the Ma'ariev stated, 'no temporary inhabitant, even if he lives here for 1000 years' can claim rights to the land over the rights of the Jews."

CITY THREATENS TO



On February 16, 1976, Mayor Frank Rizzo announced that Philadelphia General Hospital (PGH), the oldest public hospital in the country, would be closed within a year -- its buildings razed and a new hotel complex built on the site.

This dramatic announcement caught everyone by surprise. No one had been consulted prior to the public announcement including the workers at PGH, the city health commissioner and the other Philadelphia hospitals expected to take care of PGH patients.

In fact, city Finance Director, Lennox Moak, had been quoted in the *Philadelphia Daily News* on January 30th as saying: "There has certainly been no decision by the city to phase out PGH. Any assertion to that effect is without foundation."

THE CITY'S CASE

The city's case is based first on PGH's \$12 million loss in its operation last year. Secondly, the claim is made that PGH cannot be renovated and that the cost of building a new hospital is not justified since PGH is not needed anyway.

Half of the 500 to 700 in-patients are really nursing home patients, the City claims, who will be cared for in the soon to be renovated Landis State Hospital on Girard Avenue. The remaining in-patients and those who use the clinics can easily be cared for by other hospitals.

The city also claims it has plans to expand the services at health centers numbers three and four in West Philadelphia to handle the 60,000 PGH patient visits per year from West Phila.

PGH CLOSING — ANOTHER ATTACK ON THE PEOPLE

One does not need to go very deep to see that the decision to close PGH is just another attack on the people of Phila. by Rizzo and his friends in the banks and big corporations.

After years of lies to the people of Phila., the true budget crisis of the city is now in plain view. Rizzo, "the man who held taxes down" is suddenly faced with asking for \$80 million in new taxes at a time when the city desperately needs a good credit rating to finance major construction projects.

The proposed commuter tunnel between Reading Terminal and Suburban Station, for instance, has an estimated cost of \$380 million -- more big bucks to the construction companies who have been among Rizzo's heaviest backers. The banks who buy the bulk of these bonds are demanding a balanced budget as a show of "fiscal responsibility."

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As always, however, "fiscal responsibility" by the ruling class is just another name for further attacks on social services for Philadelphia's poor, working class and minority people. Closing PGH is one example, but there are many others -- less money for schools; a proposed increase of SEPTA fares; a proposed 50% hike in water rates; and the cutting out of funds for new health centers, libraries, recreational centers and playgrounds -- to name a few.

PGH -- RIZZO'S ORPHAN

Once PGH was a nationally respected hospital with excellent facilities and staff. But especially since PGH's patients have become predominantly Black, the city has allowed the hospital to rapidly decline. Decent health care for Black people is hardly a priority for the racist Rizzo administration.

Rizzo stated soon after coming to office that Philadelphia should get out of the hospital business. One of his first acts as mayor was to kill the \$105 million PGH rebuilding plan passed under Mayor Tate.

Under the present city administration, there has been a steady cutting back of funds for PGH -- budget cuts and inflation have slashed the basic buying power of the hospital by more than \$3.4 million per year since 1971.

This unrelenting attack on PGH has been aided by the PGH administrators, Rizzo appointees much more concerned with their own high-paying jobs than with the PGH workers and patients. In spite of obvious lack of equipment and staff, these administrators denied before City Council in April, 1975, that they needed more money for PGH, and defended the city's decision to cut spending for PGH by \$638,000.

PHILADELPHIA NEEDS A NEW PGH

What about the city's claim that PGH is not needed? *The Organizer* strongly believes that Philadelphia *does* need a new public hospital, and that the city's arguments are nothing more than a cruel hoax designed to hide the city's lack of interest in the health of Philadelphians.

PGH is the only hospital in Philadelphia where anyone, regardless of their ability to pay, can get medical care. For those who have no private health insurance or are not eligible for medical assistance -- like the increasing numbers of unemployed -- it is the only source of medical care.

The claim that the rest of Philadelphia's hospitals will easily absorb PGH's in-patients is a farce. Many of these patients, including some with insurance, have been transferred to PGH from other hospitals.

PGH has long been a place to dump those considered undesirable by other hospitals -- prisoners, alcoholics, addicts, skid-rowers -- all the unfortunate victims of our capitalist society. In February alone, 126 patients were transferred to PGH from other hospitals.

It is just as unlikely that the 200,000 clinic and 75,000 emergency room visits per year will be absorbed by other hospitals. Every emergency room or clinic visit by a patient with no insurance or on Medicare or medical assistance means a loss for the hospital involved. Rizzo's claims about expanded services at health districts three and four are so much hot air. One look at the revised city budget which eliminates money for new health centers is enough to dispell that myth!

Notably absent in the city's public statement is any mention of the special programs at PGH -- services offered nowhere else in the city. They include: the rape center; the prisoners' ward; detoxification and treatment programs for alcoholics and addicts; the child abuse program, and the program for drug-addicted pregnant women.

Although it is the poor and unemployed who will be hit first and hardest by the closure of PGH, it is crucial to understand that *all* Philadelphians, and especially the working class will suffer. Blue Cross officials have already stated that the added cost to other hospitals of taking PGH patients will be passed along to the rest of us in the form of higher Blue Cross rates.

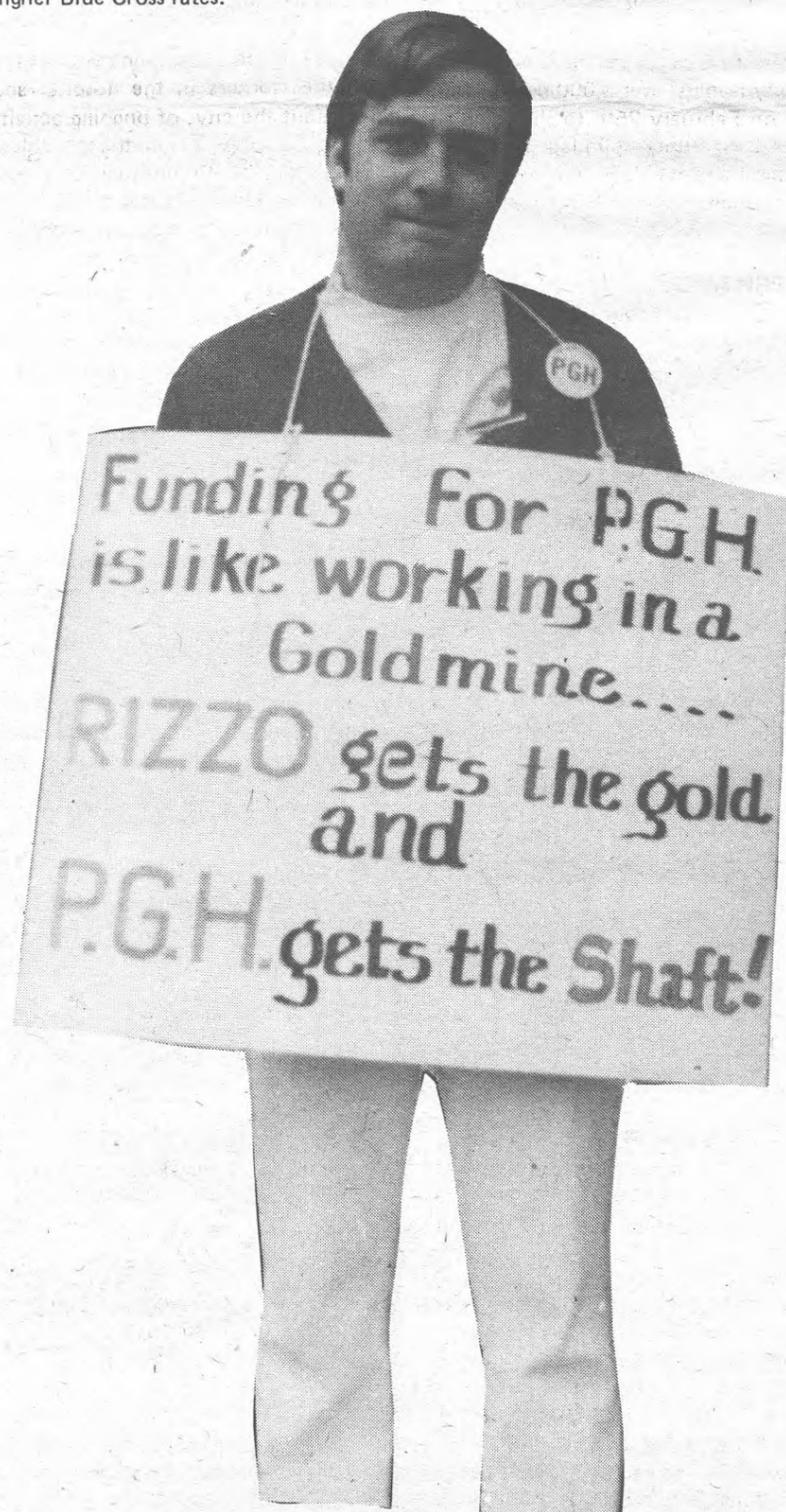
Finally, what about the 2200 workers at PGH? The city's guarantee that all PGH workers will be given new jobs is a lie believed by on one -- especially since the mayor is simultaneously publicizing his threat to lay off 3500 city workers!

EYES ON PHILADELPHIA

As the economic crisis drags on, city officials all across the country have threatened to close public hospitals. These same governments are also being faced with increased militancy by public employees' unions. AFSCME (American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees) Local 488 at PGH is the largest AFSCME local in the city.

The struggle over the survival of PGH, then, is a major test of strength of the unions, minorities, the working class and its allies on the one hand and the ruling class and its politicians on the other.

All eyes will be on Philadelphia, watching to see if this attack on the people will be victorious or will be beaten back by the masses of people who are saying loud and clear: "ENOUGH . . . NO MORE EXPLOITATION AT OUR EXPENSE! . . . SAVE PGH! . . . IMPROVE THE CARE! . . . FULL FUNDING FOR A NEW HOSPITAL -- NOW!! !



CLOSE PGH



3,000 MARCH TO KEEP IT OPEN

"We took our struggle to the streets in the 60's, then we took it to the ballot box, and here we find ourselves out in the streets again."

Cecil Moore
February 25, 1976

In response to a call from the unions and community leaders, over 3,000 people came together on February 25th to show their concern for the future of Philadelphia General Hospital and their solidarity with the workers and patients of PGH.

The demonstration and rally began at the gates of PGH and progressed down Chestnut Street to City Hall. From the community came groups such as Welfare Rights, Urban Coalition, the Medical Committee for Human Rights, and the NAACP.

CITY WORKERS DEMONSTRATE SOLIDARITY

There was a real showing of labor solidarity from the workers in AFSCME (American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees.)

Despite the statement by the City's Managing Director, Hillel Levinson, that no city employee would be paid for any time taken off that day, approximately 2,000 workers from Street, Sanitation, Welfare as well as the hospital turned out for the demonstration. APTA DC 47 (white-collar division of AFSCME) and 1199c (Hospital Employees Union) both had good showings of their memberships. The demonstrators carried signs demanding to keep PGH open.

At City Hall there were speeches from community, labor and city people. William Coleman, City Council representative, declared that he would resign from City Council if something was not done about PGH immediately. Charles Bowser, mayorality hopeful, called for recalling Rizzo, while Al Johnson, president of Local 488 (PGH) - AFSCME talked of the need for PGH and preservation of city jobs. While the speakers were reflecting their own interests in keeping PGH open, the demonstrators were demanding improved care and a new city hospital.

ORGANIZING CONTINUES

Since the demonstration, there has been ongoing activity in the fight to Keep PGH Open. To date, there have been over 26,000 signatures by the people of Philadelphia on a

petition that demands **KEEP PGH OPEN -- IMPROVE THE CARE -- FUNDS TO BUILD A NEW PGH.** DC33 and DC47 of AFSCME have joined forces within the hospital to build unity within the unions against the closing of PGH.

A weekly newsletter is being put out to inform the workers in the hospital and throughout the city, of ongoing activities that require support from them in this struggle. The Medical Committee for Human Rights is organizing educational forums, to be held at various hospitals throughout the city, bringing out the issues around PGH.

There is an increased need for community involvement and support. Speakers from the unions and PGH are urging community people to speak out on this issue of health care cutbacks in the city.

The proposed closing of Philadelphia General Hospital is only the beginning of such cutbacks. The City and Hospital Administrations' response has been silence. The people of Philadelphia have a right to decent health care. The Rizzo Administration only wants health care if it makes a profit.

More mass actions like the February 25th demonstration are going to be necessary to keep PGH open and win our right to better health care.



People
UNITE
To Save
PGH

In order to move the struggle to save PGH forward, it's necessary to bring together all the varied groups and forces who oppose the closing of the hospital into one broad coalition. This includes community people and organizations, the unions at PGH, the rest of the city workers, other unions and rank and file groups. The ORGANIZER feels such a coalition could be united around the following program:

- 1) KEEP PGH OPEN.
- 2) A NEW PGH -- IMPROVE THE CARE; EXPAND THE SERVICES.
- 3) NO LAYOFFS.
- 4) NO CUTBACKS IN ANY SOCIAL SERVICES IN THE CITY.
- 5) END RACIST DISCRIMINATION IN THE DELIVERY OF HEALTH CARE.
- 6) NO TAX INCREASES FOR WORKING PEOPLE: THOSE WHO CAN AFFORD IT MUST PAY FOR HEALTH SERVICES -- THE CORPORATIONS AND THE WEALTHY.

Why We Need The Equal Rights Amendment

At one time or another we've all heard about the EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT (ERA). Not many people however, really know what it says or what it could mean in our day-to-day lives. Anti-ERA forces spread rumors about co-ed restrooms, forced child care, an end to women's sports competition and, last but not least, an end to protective laws for women workers.

In the following article, the Organizer will attempt to clear up some of the confusion about the ERA, at the same time explaining why we support it along with the extension of protective laws to all workers -- men, women, organized and unorganized.



Women demonstrate for the right to vote in early 1900's. The ERA is part of the continued struggle for democratic rights.

The ERA was first proposed to Congress in 1923. For the past 53 years, it's been shuffled back and forth between committees until today, when only four more states are needed to ratify it as a constitutional amendment (Illinois, Georgia, North and South Carolina.)

WHAT DOES IT SAY?

The Equal Rights Amendment states that:

Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex.

WHAT CAN IT DO?

If adopted, the ERA will call into question all previous laws and practices which treat women in a way that is different -- and consequently unequal -- to men. Let's look at some concrete examples of how present laws are discriminatory towards women. There are six major areas which will be affected by the ERA: Criminal Law, Jury Selection, Public Education, Selective Service, Family Law and Protective Laws.

CRIMINAL LAW

In most instances there are separate and stiffer penalties for women offenders. For example, in Pennsylvania up until 1968 women were sentenced under the Muncy Act to up to 10 years for robbery, while men were sentenced to from 1 to 4 years. This sentencing pattern is based on the theory that it "required longer to rehabilitate female criminals than males." The criminal code varies from state, and laws like the Muncy Act are still operating in many areas of the country.

JURY SELECTION

Along these same lines, in many states women must express interest in serving for jury duty. In other words, they must register, while all male citizens are subject to this duty automatically. At first glance, some people might think they could live without the hassles of this particular right, but let's look at the other side of it.

Female defendants have a right to be tried by a jury of their peers -- this right is severely restricted by the jury registration law. Concretely, many women are unaware of this responsibility and many others would never get around to it. So, on the one hand, female offenders are given less chance to a fair trial which includes women's perspectives and on the other hand, they have more of a chance to get a stiff sentence! Passage of the ERA would nullify these registration laws and equalize penalties for men and women.

PUBLIC EDUCATION

ERA ratification would potentially mean an end to discrimination in admissions, hiring, salaries, and scholarships. It would make it illegal for high schools to restrict

technical training to boys. Sports programs would either have to be broadened to include girls or else separate but equal programs would have to be set up.

Schools would no longer be able to impose the old double standard of expelling pregnant or married girls, depriving them of a high school education, while allowing unwed fathers or married boys to finish their education. We're not advocating massive teenage marriage or pregnancy here, but since it is a fact of life, why intensify the problems these young people have to face by forcing them to leave school? This "casting out" is reminiscent of even harder times for women when pregnancy literally meant confinement!

On the college level, admissions procedures would have to be adjusted. For example: The University of N. Carolina has stated that: "admissions of women at the freshman level will be restricted to those who are especially well qualified." Similarly, the University of Va. turned down 21,000 female applicants and rejected not one male applicant. ERA would not mean a lowering of scholastic requirements; it would only mean an equalization of them so that all students were given a fair chance for both acceptance and scholarships.

SELECTIVE SERVICE

Passage of the ERA would mean that women would be required to register in the event of a draft. However, women serving in combat really isn't the unheard of atrocity that anti-ERA forces would have us believe.

In fact, Congress has always had the power to induct women and during WW II a bill to draft nurses passed in the House. History is filled with examples of women doing their part during periods of just wars and not only by rolling bandages. Women played a major role in the anti-fascist resistance movements in Europe; American women kept heavy industry alive and functioning during World War II; the Vietnamese women defended and rebuilt their land.

Basically, women are willing and able to do whatever is necessary in the course of a just struggle.

On the other hand, if a war were being aggressively waged against a people's struggle for liberation as occurred in Vietnam and a draft were instituted, women could mobilize along with men against service in what they considered to be an unjust and imperialist war. Even without the threat of active duty, thousands of women did actively demonstrate their disapproval of our government's actions in Viet Nam.



Cambodian women fighters on the alert.

FAMILY LAW

This area of the law will be closely reevaluated under the ERA. Since the present code is based on old English Common Law which regards women as chattels (property), we can see clearly why change is in order. Some of the immediate changes would be:

All property and earnings would be seen as joint possessions of the two marriage partners.



This would mean that in the event of a breakup, alimony would be paid by the most able partner (the same goes for child support). Pennsylvania is the only state that has dropped the alimony requirement; however, 97% of all divorced women do not receive alimony due to lack of enforcement of the laws. Much the same goes for child support.

This situation, coupled with the lack of low cost quality child care, forces large numbers of women with families onto the welfare rolls. Concretely, since women earn about 56 cents for every \$1.00 that men earn, men would still bear the brunt of alimony payments until wages for men and women are more balanced.

Child custody is judged on the basis of what is best for the child and that rule will remain.

Women would not be forced to work and or place their children in public child care facilities.

Passage of the ERA would be a real boost for those forces fighting to establish their need and right to low cost quality child care, but it would in no way force the issue on unwilling parents.

Men as well as women could collect social security or pension benefits in the event of their spouse's death.

Given the total inadequacy of most pension plans, the widowed party could probably use the money, in the case of retirees. In the case of a family where the woman is survived by a husband and children, if that family was dependent on two salaries to get by, then the benefits which are their due would certainly be put to good use.

Single women will be able to establish credit, get loans, own property, etc., without depending on their fathers, brothers, uncles or whoever to co-sign.

"PROTECTIVE LAWS"

This is probably the most controversial area of the law in relation to the ERA. Advocates of the ERA claim that passage will simply mean extension of all protective laws to men as well as women, while opponents claim the exact opposite. Let's look at some of the protective laws and their future under the ERA.

Protective laws are largely state laws which cover things like rest or break periods, lifting maximums, minimum wage, number of hours worked, maternity leave, etc.

For women in unions, many of the positive "protective laws" have been negotiated into their contract, and these benefits would have to be extended to men as well.

Some examples would be pregnancy leave for fathers too, so they could help with other children at home or just take care of the new infant if their wife were unable to do so. Lifting laws could be extended. For example, the law which is presently in effect in Georgia removed the specific weight limit and now relieves anyone from "lifting weights that cause strain or undue fatigue."

For unorganized women who depend on these protective laws for the little defense they have, ratification of the ERA could mean a loss of those benefits, slight as they are.

It is on this basis that most anti-ERA forces on the left and in the labor movement rest their case.

They claim that the bosses will turn an ERA victory into a defeat for the working class -- that it will become a banner for extended exploitation rather than protection or equality. To gauge the merit of this argument, we need to look at how real the protective laws are for the majority of unorganized workers, many of whom are members of oppressed nationalities.

New Unionism in Puerto Rico

LABOR LEADER SPEAKS HERE

There is a new labor movement developing in Puerto Rico -- a movement dedicated to "new trade unionism", or unionism which truly represents the needs and wishes of the workers.

"We who are leaders in these new trade unions teach the workers that *they* are the union, and that the union is only as strong as the unity and participation that exists among the rank and file. . .

. . . Our movement is a real threat to the American government and its puppet, the Commonwealth Government of Puerto Rico, because these governments represent the interests of big business. They are afraid of our new trade union movement and so they are doing everything they can to crush it."

This was the message brought to us from Puerto Rico by Lydia Grant, Secretary of the National Public Employees Association in Puerto Rico and a member of the Federation of Puerto Rican Women. Ms. Grant came to Philadelphia on March 21st and 22nd as part of a labor delegation sent by the United Workers Movement (MOU).

The tour was sponsored by the Puerto Rican Solidarity Committee, an organization dedicated to building support in the US for the national liberation of Puerto Rico, and for the self determination of the Puerto Rican people.

The purpose of the tour was to inform the US labor movement about the real situation of Puerto Rican workers, and to rally support for the developing resistance movement there.

RECESSION DEVASTATES PUERTO RICO

The situation in Puerto Rico is indeed a grim one. The recession has been even more disastrous to Puerto Rican workers than to workers in the US. Unemployment figures that include discouraged workers and part-time workers are somewhere between 40 and 50%. Those who are lucky enough to be working receive wages one-third lower than here in the US on the same job, while the cost of living is much higher than in N.Y.C.!!

Meanwhile the labor movement in Puerto Rico is under attack and the blows are coming from all directions. The colonial government, under the firm control of US big business, has passed and is passing laws which seriously cripple the attempts to organize so-called "public-sector" workers, which includes 27% of the workforce.

Progressive union leaders are being jailed, beaten and harassed, strikers are questioned by the FBI and beat up by the police on the picket lines, and the US National Guard has been called in to intervene during strikes.

The NLRB has used its power to defeat major strikes and to break the backs of the progressive unions. Strikebreaking by professional hiring firms has been supported and manufacturers have been defended in their refusal to negotiate. Legitimate certification votes have been juggled around to give US based international unions the victory even when they lost.

AFL-CIO BACKS UP COLONIALISM

How have our AFL-CIO leaders responded to this situation? These "international" unions have cooperated with Puerto Rican industry (most of which is US financed) to insure "labor peace" -- a polite phrase to cover a policy of collaboration with management, coupled with repression of the rank and file. In many situations, AFL-CIO leaders sent down to Puerto Rico to "represent" Puerto Rican workers don't even know Spanish!

But the Puerto Rican workers are fighting back against these conditions. The United Workers Movement was organized in 1972 with the goal of uniting the progressive trade union movement in the defense of Puerto Rican workers. At this point the MOU is a labor federation of more than 40 member unions and over 100 locals. It represents 18% of organized labor in Puerto Rico, and it is growing every day. The MOU includes both independent unions and some locals in the AFL-CIO.

When possible, the MOU encourages workers to work within the international unions in order to turn them into real class struggle organizations -- that is, organizations that take seriously their responsibility to represent the working class.



Otherwise, and in most cases, the MOU has found that the international unions are so wedded to the policies of collaboration with big business that it is necessary to sweep them aside and form new "independent" unions, unions that will represent the special interests of Puerto Rican workers.

While the MOU is bound to no particular political party, its leadership understands the importance of developing the political strength of the working class and of challenging the capitalist system which keeps workers begging for a few crumbs from the desert table of the ruling class.

"You must understand that independence from the domination of the US government

and of US business is a central question for workers in Puerto Rico," Grant explained.

We in the US have a special responsibility to help our Puerto Rican brothers and sisters in their struggle. It is in our name that the US government carries out its repressive policies.

We must fight to get our unions to take a stand against new anti-worker laws such as the Personnel Law and the Helfend Bill, both of which limit the right of Puerto Rican public sector workers to organize into effective unions. We must get our unions and all American workers to support the rights of Puerto Ricans to develop their own organizations in Puerto Rico and to oppose all forms of discrimination against Spanish workers here in the US as well.

MEMBER of PUERTO RICAN SOCIALIST PARTY ASSASSINATED

Santiago Mari Pesquera, a member of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, and the 24 year old son of the Party's general secretary, Juan Mari Bras, was assassinated in Puerto Rico on Thursday, March 25th. His body was found in a car parked along a deserted mountain highway outside the city of Caguas. He had been shot once in the head.

The assassination was symptomatic of intensified political repression of the Puerto Rican independence movement by the agents of US imperialism. The PSP has been subject to increasing reactionary violence in recent months.

During the week previous to Pesquera's murder, shots had been fired into the home of Rosa Mercedes Mari, a daughter of Mari Bras and a smoke bomb was thrown into the PSP's central committee offices. These were just two of at least ten attacks on PSP members or offices that have taken place in recent years -- all similarly uninvestigated by the police.

This murder coincided with Juan Mari Bras' journey to meet with members of the United Nations Decolonization Committee in New York. Last fall the US State Department had vigorously worked to keep Puerto Rico from being taken up by this Committee. They informed committee members that a vote in favor of considering Puerto Rico would be considered as "an hostile act" and would be treated accordingly.

But the US imperialists will never be able to turn back the growing strength of the independence movement even if they continue to step up their campaign of assassinations. The Puerto Rican people have already given many martyrs to the cause of freedom and independence.

Santiago Mari Pesquera joins the ranks of heroes such as those who were gunned down in the Ponce Massacre on March 21st, 1937. And we are sure that Pesquera shared the sentiments of Bolivar Marquez who had made his living by selling bread in the streets. Dying, he wrote in his own blood:

"LONG LIVE THE REPUBLIC. DEATH TO THE ASSASSINS!"



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

WORLD WAR and WITCH HUNTS

To hear the bigwigs of the UAW talk today you would think that the union descended from the skies, a gift bestowed upon we chosen workers. You would think that the union is the property of Leonard Woodcock and friends, existing apart from the dues paying membership. "We gave you this and we gave you that and you ought to be grateful for it" - this is the message we get from the international down to its local lieutenants.

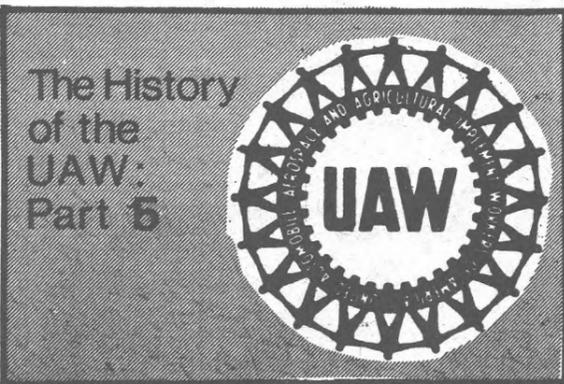
The real history of the UAW teaches us otherwise. The UAW was born out of the struggles of the auto workers themselves and the gains it has brought them have been paid in full with the sacrifices made by thousands of rank and file workers.

Beginning with this article, the ORGANIZER is going to retell that story. It is an important story not only to auto workers but to all workers. The history of the UAW has been the history of two different philosophies of unionism that have contended for control of our unions throughout the history of the labor movement.

One outlook, class struggle unionism, bases itself on the idea that "the working class and the owning class have nothing in common," that the workers can only gain at the expense of the employers and vice-versa.

The other school of thought, which is the dominant one today and in most periods in the past, contends that the workers and the bosses must cooperate to advance their "mutual interests."

The UAW, perhaps better than any other union, illustrates in its history what both these philosophies mean in practice. It is our hope that this look at the past will help the rank and file movement to understand where and how our unions have gone wrong and point towards what kind of measures are necessary to transform them into genuine fighting organizations for the whole working class.



The History
of the
UAW:
Part 5

THE 1941 CONVENTION: RED-BAITING BECOMES UAW POLICY

The 1941 convention saw some new and dangerous changes in the policy of the UAW leadership. The strike at North American Aviation (see UAW HISTORY PART IV in last month's Organizer) was the subject of three separate reports from the Grievance Committee, all three condemning the strike and upholding the actions of the International in firing the officials involved and helping the government break the strike. The convention delegates voted for the report which assessed the mildest penalties. The North American workers had struck over the 50 cents an hour wages paid in the plant, and the refusal of the company to bargain with the union after it had won an NLRB election. Instead of blaming the North American Corporation for forcing the strike, the UAW leaders now lined up with big business and President Roosevelt, blaming the workers and the Communist Party for the "wildcat"! This was despite the fact that there wasn't a single Communist on the local negotiating committee, and that UAW Vice-President Frankenstein had authorized the strike vote! The UAW leaders, with Walter Reuther in the front ranks, were already beginning to serve the Democratic Party more faithfully than they served the UAW rank and file. Reuther also sponsored a resolution barring Communists from elected office at the local or national level. The resolution passed. The unity that had given the Auto Workers such strength in their early battles with the employers was beginning to crack.

WAR AGAINST FASCISM: THE UAW PLEDGES NOT TO STRIKE

When the Japanese fascists attacked Pearl Harbor in December, 1941, the UAW joined the rest of the CIO in pledging not to strike for the duration of the war. They also agreed to submit all disputes with management to a War Labor Board, appointed by President Roosevelt, for settlement.

The slogan being broadcast in the press and through the unions was "Equality of Sacrifice"—meaning that the workers and the bosses were to share the burden of the war equally. This program sounded good on paper—end all war profits, control prices and rents, cost-of-living factor in all wages, declare a debt moratorium, and give unions the right to participate in production planning. If it had been implemented, it would have protected the workers from the worst abuses of the corporations, as well as maintaining the production needed to beat the fascists.

But the Roosevelt administration passed laws severely limiting wage increases, setting up compulsory arbitration, and raising taxes for working people. Meanwhile, the auto companies were cutting piece rates, speeding up the lines, ignoring safety hazards, and firing workers for resisting.

CORPORATIONS REAP WAR PROFITS

During the war, all the large corporations were raising prices while holding wages down, and getting fat with war profits. During 1941 alone, GM made a profit of \$510,836,000. This meant that for every hour a UAW member worked in a GM plant, he or she made \$1.07 for his or her family, and \$1.09 for GM!

While the cost of living rose 43.5% during the war and U.S. corporations raked in \$117 billion in profits, the workers were held to a maximum wage increase of 15%. But when the UAW gave up its right to strike, it gave up its most important weapon of self-defense, and the companies and their government had a field day at the workers' expense.

AUTO WORKERS SACRIFICE WHILE THE BOSSES GET OVER

While UAW members were making all these sacrifices, as well as dying on the battlefields, in order to destroy Fascism and Nazism, the auto companies continued "business as usual". In early 1942, GM violated its contract with the UAW and refused to continue paying double-time for Sunday work.

They claimed that they couldn't afford premium pay, and that if they were held to this part of the agreement they would shut the plants on Sundays, thus slowing up war production. So much for "Equality of Sacrifice" and "National Unity"! The dispute went to the War Labor Board, and the WLB ruled in favor of GM.

Then in April the UAW held a special convention to seek ratification from the membership for giving up the right to strike, and voluntarily giving up overtime pay for Saturdays as well as Sundays. The delegates approved the policies of the leadership. But delegate John McGill from Flint Buick said it best when he sized up "Equality of Sacrifice" this way: "We are not convinced that giving up double time is vital to winning the war. Labor is making sacrifices everywhere. We gave up the right to strike. Our brothers and sons are dying in the trenches. Can anyone show any sign that the men who sign checks have made any sacrifices?"

CONTROVERSY OVER NO-STRIKE PLEDGE

At the 1943 convention, debate centered on three issues. Issue number 1 was the no-strike pledge. Dissatisfaction with the pledge was on the rise. Thomas Burke of Toledo voiced the rank and file workers' anger: "I believe that when we made our no-strike pledge we held out our hands with palms out and set our chins and said to the employers, 'Hit it,' and they did." But the pledge was again upheld.



The UAW pledged an "Equality of Sacrifice" with business for the duration of the Second World War. But the only ones who sacrificed were the workers as wages were kept down and the companies reaped war profits.

Then an Executive Board resolution was presented which would have permitted local unions to negotiate incentive pay plans with local management. The rationale for this was that it would increase war production, as well as lead to more take-home pay for the workers. But most of the delegates opposed the resolution, feeling that incentive plans lead to speedup, rate cutting, and competition among union members. Reuther reversed his earlier support of the resolution, and introduced a counter-motion prohibiting union approval of any new incentive plans. His motion carried.

The third important resolution was presented by the Constitution Committee, calling for an elected Director of Minorities to be added as a voting member of the Executive Board. Black workers, at this time a small minority within the UAW due to the racist hiring practices of the auto and aircraft companies, were still kept out of most plants: When a Black worker was hired, he or she could expect to be consigned to the foundry, the press shop, or to the Sanitation Dept.

Also, there had been nine racist wildcat strikes in the Detroit area alone between 1941 and 1943, all by white workers who opposed the hiring or upgrading of Black workers. In order for Black workers to win their fight for equal treatment in industry and in the union, some serious measures had to be taken to bring the weight of the whole union to bear against racism.

REUTHER BACKS RACISM

But this resolution, supported by most Black UAW members, by the Communists, and by many progressive white delegates, was opposed by Walter Reuther as "Jim Crow in reverse" and a "special privilege" for Black workers. The resolution was defeated, causing many Black UAW members to wonder just how serious the UAW was about fighting racism and treating all members equally regardless of color. This inaction by the convention, leading to a justified mistrust of white UAW members by Black members, was a serious mistake that harmed the unity of the membership so vital to a strong union.

By the September 1944 convention in Grand Rapids, rank and file opposition to the no-strike pledge had mushroomed. There were 224 local strikes involving 385,000 UAW members during 1944, a big increase over 1942 and '43. Most of them were ended quickly by order of the International, and quite a few local militants were fired by the companies for participating in these wildcats.

RANK AND FILE CAUCUS FORMED

Then in July of 1944, a number of local leaders from around the country formed a group called the "Rank and File Caucus" in preparation for the convention. The program of the Rank and File Caucus was simple: fight for democracy at home as well as abroad by revoking the no-strike pledge and by forming an independent Labor Party to go after the political demands of the labor movement.

After long and bitter debate and several votes, the no-strike pledge was again upheld, with a referendum of the UAW membership on the issue to be held several months later. The referendum upheld the pledge, and a few months afterward, on August 16, 1945, the war was over.

What did the balance sheet look like at the end of the war? As we showed above, the corporations profited while the workers, including the Auto Workers, took it on the chin. But the sacrifices of the workers did lead to the defeat of one of the worst enemies of the working people in all of history—Adolf Hitler's fascism.

The UAW leaders, in their quite justified zeal to destroy the main enemy of the working people at that time, almost forgot about leading the fight against the number two enemy—big business at home. Even the Communist Party, whose members in the auto plants had been in the front ranks of the struggle to build the UAW, lost its bearings and supported the no-strike pledge and the discipline of wildcat strikers.

The "Equality of Sacrifice" program could have been a rallying point for the labor movement and the working people generally, but it was left on resolution papers and radio speeches. It never became a reality. The UAW and the rest of the CIO instead might have organized their membership along with the rest of working America to put up a real fight for this program, in demonstrations, in the shops, and at the ballot box. But the UAW was already showing signs that it was following a very different philosophy than that which guided the sit-down strikes and built the union. "Labor-Management Cooperation" was already beginning to spread dry rot within the UAW.

THE GM STRIKE

With the war over, the Auto Workers were anxious to make up for lost ground. The companies were determined to cut down the workers' share of the fruits of their labor even further. The stage was set for the biggest strike wave in U.S. labor history. By the end of 1946, over 5,000,000 workers had struck to regain some of the ground lost during the war.

On August 18, 1945, Walter Reuther, then head of the UAW GM department, submitted the union's demand to GM: a 30% wage increase with no increase in the price of cars. GM's President, Charles Wilson, countered with a demand for a 45 hour week for 40 hours pay, and vowed never to even discuss the company's price policy with the union.

Negotiations got nowhere, and on November 21st, 200,000 GM workers put down their tools and took up picket signs. GM held firmly to the line that prices were none of the union's business, and the union countered that the cost of living certainly *was* the union's concern. When Reuther offered to prove that GM could pay the 30% and still make a profit, if the Corporation would open its books to the union, the GM negotiators refused. GM's ability to pay wasn't the issue, they said; GM Vice-President Harry Anderson stated that it was "... really up to us to decide ... whether we are *willing* to pay it or not."

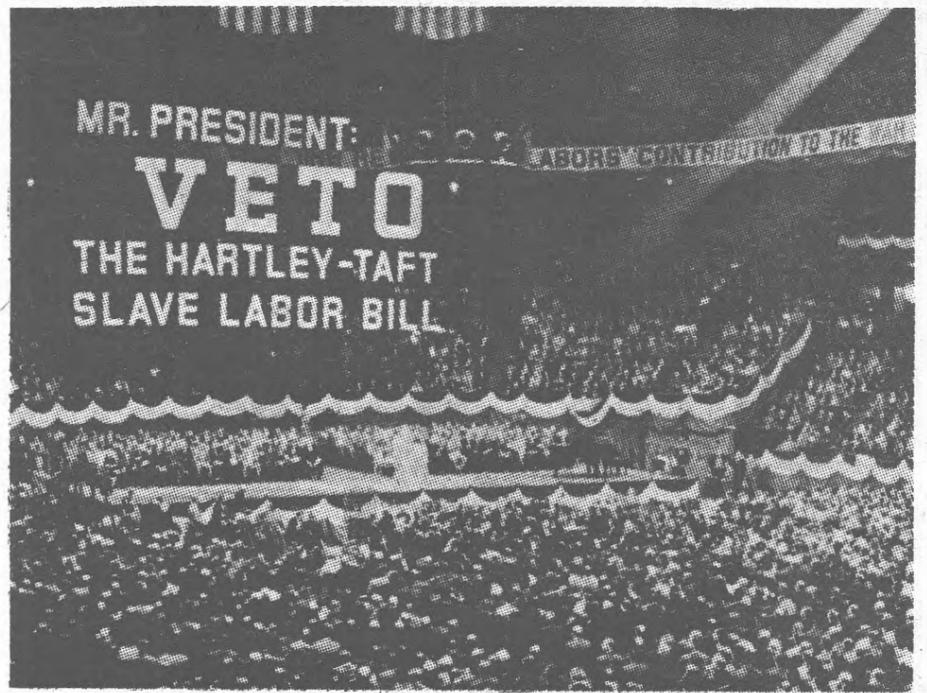
GM dug in its heels for a long strike. The dispute went to a government fact-finding board, which recommended a 19 1/2 cent increase (a little better than half of the unions original demand). Reuther accepted that figure, but GM would agree to no more than 18 1/2 cents. On January 26, 1946, the UAW's Ford and Chrysler Department's settled for 18 and 18 1/2 cents respectively. GM's Electrical Division settled with the United Electrical Workers Union for 18 1/2 cents on February 9th, and on February 15th, US Steel signed with the United Steelworkers for 18 1/2 cents. Finally, on March 13th, the UAW settled with GM for 18 1/2 cents and paid vacations, after 113 days on the picket lines.

The demand for no increase in the price of cars was dropped, as was a demand for a Fair Employment Practices Clause prohibiting discrimination against Black and women workers. The auto workers had won a partial victory against the biggest and most profitable corporation in America; in a long and bitter fight they had regained about half of the real wages lost in the previous 5 years.

REUTHER BECOMES PRESIDENT

At the 1946 convention, Reuther unveiled his campaign for the UAW Presidency. He based his bid for office on two issues: his leadership in the GM strike, and smearing his opponent (incumbent President R.J. Thomas) with accusations of being a Communist or a "Communist dupe."

Actually, Thomas and his close allies, Vice-President Richard Leonard and Secretary-Treasurer George Addes, were neither Communists or dupes. But neither were they as bitterly anti-Communist as Reuther, believing as they did that red-baiting was leading to division in the union that could only weaken the UAW and strengthen the Auto companies.



This dispute came to a head in a report to the convention on a long strike at Allis-Chalmers in Milwaukee that ended in defeat. Reuther charged that the defeat of the strike was due to the "outside interference" of the Communist Party, pointing to the circulation on the picket lines of petitions to place Communist candidates on the ballot in Wisconsin.

In 1947 Congress passed a new anti-labor law, the Taft-Hartley Act despite widespread opposition from labor. The CIO called it a "slave labor bill" and organized rallies like the one shown above against it. Reuther, however, decided to go along with the new law.

RED-BAITING DESTROYS UNITY

George Addes replied that red-baiting within the union had been the main reason for the failure, that "some union members started red-baiting other union members and it was not long before the employers and a hostile press took up the same story." He reminded the delegates that unity is the only thing that holds the union together, the only weapon the workers have that could defeat the money and influence of the employers.

At the same time, Reuther tried to portray himself as more militant and further "left" than the Communists, whose wartime tameness had lost them much support among the militant UAW membership.

Reuther won by a narrow margin -- 104 votes out of over 5,000. But Thomas and Addes were elected Vice-President and Secretary-Treasurer, and they and their allies were re-elected to the executive board, making up the majority. But by the 1947 convention, Reuther's red-baiting and skillful political maneuvering led him to an easy victory in the vote for president, and his supporters became a majority on the executive board.

Early in 1947, Congress had passed a new anti-labor law, the Taft-Hartley Act, which put limits on the right to strike and changed the rules governing union certification elections so as to benefit the Corporations. One of these changes ordered all union officials to sign affidavits stating that they were not Communists; any union whose officials refused to sign were not allowed on the ballot in government-run certification elections, regardless of the wishes of the membership of that union. Reuther decided to go along with the new law, even though the CIO had called Taft-Hartley the "slave labor act." He knew which way the wind was blowing and meant to ride it as far as he could.

Later that year, the UAW began raiding shops organized by the United Electrical Workers -- trying to decertify the UE in these shops and bring these workers into the UAW. Since the UAW had signed the pledges and the UE (along with several other CIO unions) had refused, the UAW could file a petition for an election in a UE shop and be certain of winning -- the UE wasn't allowed on the ballot!

About a year later, Reuther began raiding another CIO union, the Farm Equipment Workers, which was also under fire for so-called "Communist domination." In February of 1949, during a raiding campaign on the big FE local at International Harvester in Moline, Illinois, UAW organizers were beaten up by about 250 International Harvester workers, members of the FE. And in the spring of that year, despite intensive red-baiting by the UAW, the FE won the election.

This FE incident pointed up how a union like the UAW that was once closely tied to the interests of the rank and file workers could be taken over by opportunist leaders and made into an enemy of the rank and file. As the 1940's came to a close, the once-militant, progressive, and democratic UAW was being betrayed by ambitious and self-serving leadership. It was weakening itself by witch-hunts and expulsions of its own members, and by cooperating with the anti-union Taft-Hartley Act. And it was breaking up the unity of the CIO by engaging in cannibalistic raids on sister unions, at a time when united action against the Corporations was the crying need of all working people.

By 1950, the UAW had already gone a long way down the road towards the swamp of "labor-management cooperation," leaving the all-out defense of the Auto workers against their enemies at Ford, GM, and Chrysler further and further behind.

ORGANIZE with The ORGANIZER

The ORGANIZER is a tool for building the struggle in the shops: post articles, pass them around, talk 'em up. Any way you can, use our articles on the workers' fights in telephone, food, at Budd's, in clothing and other industries around the city. Contribute articles on what's happening where YOU work! Our "Nuts and Bolts" column has dealt with how to use labor law, the OSHA act, unemployment compensation, Roberts' Rules, and the anti-discrimination laws. Let us know what else you need!

The ORGANIZER is also a tool for building the broader political struggle, from dealing with Rizzo and Co. here in Philly to understanding and learning from the movement of workers and oppressed peoples around the world.

With this issue we're launching a drive to build our subscriptions in the shops. If you've thought of subscribing to the ORGANIZER, the time to do it is now. The ORGANIZER is funded entirely by our membership and supporters, most of whom are workers like yourselves. We're a working people's paper; we have no wealthy backers! Support the ORGANIZER. Subscribe now and receive a copy of "Racism and the Workers' Movement" FREE.

(Subscription blank is on page 2.)



French C.P. Holds Congress...

REVISIONISM LAYS ITS CARDS ON THE TABLE

"We are not the party of the raised fist. We are the party of the outstretched hand, the party of unity. In any case, the raised fist is not a French tradition. I don't think people ought to raise their fists. We stretch out our hands to Christians, to socialists, also to Gaullists when it's a question of defending the national interest."
(Georges Marchais, 2/7/76)

In the midst of intensifying class struggle that threatens to change the political geography of Europe, the French Communist Party held its 22nd Congress on February 2. European capitalism is in crisis. In France 33% of productive capacity lies idle. There is massive unemployment and continuing inflationary spiral. Foreign-based corporations control 25% of French industry and France's foreign debt continues to mount.

In both Italy and France these conditions have brought the Communist parties of these two countries to the brink of power. The recent French Congress gives a good indication of what we can expect from this devel-



opment. The essence of this Congress was the deletion of the concept of "the dictatorship of the proletariat" from the Party Program. To quote the General Secretary of the CPF, Georges Marchais, in his presentation of the Draft Resolution to the Congress:

"The power that will lead to the socialist transformation of society will be the power of the working class and of the other categories of the working people, manual and intellectual, from town and countryside... that is, the great majority of the people.

"The power will be derived from, and act according to, wishes freely expressed by universal suffrage, and will undertake the extensive possible democratization of the economic, social, and political life of the country. Its duty will be to respect—and to make respected—the democratic choices of the people.

"Contrary to all this, 'dictatorship' automatically evokes the fascist regimes of Hitler, Mussolini, Salazar, and Franco; that is, the very negation of democracy. This is not what we want. As for 'proletariat,' it evokes today the kernel, the heart of the working class. Even if its role is essential, it does not constitute the totality of the working class, even less the totality of the laboring masses... and the socialist power we envision emanates from them.

"Thus it is evident that we cannot describe as 'the dictatorship of the proletariat' what we are proposing to the workers, to our people."

OPENLY BREAKS WITH MARXISM-LENINISM

Thus M. Marchais breaks with every revolutionary tradition of the working class, with the sum total of revolutionary wisdom gained by the working class at incredible cost in countless struggles and sacrifices, with Marxism-Leninism—once and for all. Here we have in sharp relief the essence of revisionism as an ideology: *the attempt to make socialism and revolution acceptable to the bourgeoisie.*

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As Marx and Lenin taught, and as the experience of the class struggle from the Paris Commune to Chile confirms, in the final analysis the question of power for the working class is the question of whether or not the working class sweeps away the capitalist state apparatus and builds its own form of state power. Marchais, Berlinguer and Co. have in so many words told the bourgeoisie, "Don't worry, we will not tamper with your state and with your property rights." The example of Chile is lost on them; or rather their response to the Chilean experience is to offer the bourgeoisie a deal "they can't refuse," to heap guarantee upon guarantee of their real harmlessness to capital.

NATIONAL CHAUVINISM PERVADES CONGRESS

Another way in which revisionism adopts the standpoint of the bourgeoisie is in its adapting Marxism-Leninism to nationalism. The French party has cleverly manipulated anti-US and anti-NATO sentiment, as well as historical anti-German feelings of many French—aggravated in the recent period by economic competition between the two countries, and by the German imperialists' success at utilizing the Common Market to their own advantage.

Said Marchais at the Congress, "The destiny of our peasants is decided in Brussels [the seat of the Common Market], that of our currency in Washington, the future of our country will, if our people don't take action, be stopped short tomorrow in Luxembourg [NATO headquarters], or rather Bonn, by the headquarters of the reactionary forces and the multi-national trusts of Atlantic Europe."

Further, "The politics of Giscard d'Estaing [the current President of France] which consist of making France a doormat for West Germany, are criminal; any Frenchman that cares about the interests of the nation cannot and should not accept them. It is a veritable national betrayal..."

Rather than appeal to the interests of the international working class against NATO and the Common Market, Marchais tells the French bourgeoisie: We will do a better job of defending your interests vis a vis the other imperialist powers than your own chosen representatives.

The significance of the French Congress lies not in the abandonment of Marxism-Leninism, for that occurred long ago, but rather in now giving up not only the substance but the trappings of revolutionary working class politics. The French party is joining the Italian party in bringing their rhetoric more in harmony with their practice.

By so doing the PCF has sharpened the international crisis of revisionism. Revisionism's opportunist essence is now drawn into sharper relief. This is a source of great embarrassment to the Big Daddy of modern opportunism, the CPSU. Marchais' frank rejection of proletarian dictatorship contradicts the CPSU's attempt to generate a left cover for international revisionism.

At first Pravda censored its reports of Marchais speeches; later it carried high-level articles warning of "social-democratization" of the western communist parties and of "anti-Sovietism." This does not bother the French "communists," who are not at all averse to putting as much distance as possible between themselves and their mentors in Moscow in the public eye.

Simply put, the chickens are coming home to roost for the CPSU. The Soviets would like to forget that twenty years ago they themselves repudiated the dictatorship of the proletariat at the infamous 20th Congress. The Soviet revisionists eagerly tutored the European parties in the lessons of revisionism and now when these parties apply what they have learned a little too eagerly, it is causing their mentors to squirm. Revisionism, as a sham Marxism, must maintain a careful balance between left phrases and right policies, and in this respect the French and Italians are proving to be poor students.

IMPERIALISTS STILL FEAR FRENCH CP'S RISE

If the French and Italian revisionists are made of such pale stuff, why are Ford, Kissinger and the rest of the US imperialists so uptight? As *Time* magazine put it on March 15, "A strong case can be made that there are unacceptable risks to the West in allowing the Communists to come to power."

What are these "unacceptable risks"? First of all, an al-

ready seriously weakened NATO would be further undermined. While the Italian CP has expressed a willingness to remain within NATO, and the PCF is putting distance between itself and Moscow, nevertheless these folks are still not welcome in the war room at Brussels. For all their political tameness, they cannot be counted on to promote aggressive military mobilization and "defense" against the USSR.

But more centrally, the bourgeoisie fears not so much the revisionists as the social forces that their coming to power would unleash. The working classes of Italy and France would insist that the Popular Front governments in which the communist parties would participate deliver on their promises. In spite of the intentions of the revisionists themselves, such a situation could generate a revolutionary threat.

It is the popular base of the revisionists, more than the revisionists themselves, that throws fear into capitalists both in Europe and in the US. The broadening of support for the left and the growth of mass militancy are definite harbingers of an approaching revolutionary situation.

While this is understandably threatening to the bourgeoisie, as Marxist-Leninists we realize that unless a serious revolutionary leadership, a genuine Marxist-Leninist party, emerges, the coming revolutionary crisis will result in defeat and demoralization for the working class.

Part of the significance of the French Congress is that, by further exposing revisionism, they are providing Marxist-Leninists with new opportunities. The masses are being increasingly drawn into political life, and the revisionists are doing their best to draw clear lines of demarcation between themselves and revolutionary politics—they are exposing themselves with a vengeance, and the working classes of France and Italy, with their long and rich traditions of Marxism, will come to understand this—particularly their advanced sections. Thus, the perspectives for the construction of an authentic vanguard party of the proletariat are rendered more favorable.



The Paris Commune of 1871 was the first time in history the working class seized state power. Today's revisionist French Communist Party has publicly abandoned this revolutionary tradition.

WHAT ARE THE IMMEDIATE PROSPECTS?

There appears to be little sign of a break from within the ranks of the PCF. Out of 22,705 delegates in 98 "federation" (the CPF's districts) conferences preparatory to the Congress, only 12 voted against the final draft resolution, with 85 abstaining. Undoubtedly, there was more real opposition than these figures reveal—but it could not have been substantial. The most lively debate during the discussion period prior to the Congress came around a paragraph in the Draft on "morality," condemning moral "perversions," etc.

But outside the PCF the picture is unfortunately not very promising either. The largest anti-revisionist organizations in France are thoroughly dogmatic and sectarian, and are unable to put forward a serious alternative to the CPF.

A national conference of several thousand militants representing the clandestine PCMLF (which publishes *L'Humanite Rouge*) was held in Paris February 14, and a call was launched for "unity of Marxist-Leninists" (the PCMLF had issued such calls in July and September—continued on page 21)

JOBLESS ON THE MARCH

UCP takes on city council!

On March 11 around 60 employed and unemployed workers, led by the Unemployment Council of Philadelphia, demonstrated in the chambers of City Council to demand jobs.

The demonstration began at the 5th and Olney Unemployment Office and was followed by a motorcade of a dozen cars bearing banners and slogans reflecting the demands of the UCP. The motorcade proceeded down Broad Street, speaking to the people on the street and playing the song of the unemployed ("Them Awful Laid-off Blues") and explaining the destination of the motorcade, finally ending at City Hall where the City Council was holding its weekly two-hour meeting.

Carrying signs and banners, they took up seats throughout the Council Chambers and began spirited and militant chanting of slogans such as

*Men and women, Black and white:
Jobs for all—that's our fight;
Full employment is our right!*

and

*We need jobs—
Keep PGH open!*

This second slogan was particularly important, because in the Council at the same time were 15 or 20 mostly Black workers from PGH who were demanding that the hospital be kept open (see article on PGH in this issue of the *Organizer*). This demonstration of working class solidarity was right in line with the policy of the UCP to build links with the rank and file struggles taking shape in Philadelphia.

The demonstration was able to bring together a number of people representing various rank and file groups in the city, and to show concretely that the employed and unemployed can join together in common struggle to defend the right of all workers to a decent job at union pay.

The UCP came to City Council with five demands:

- 1) A public jobs program aimed at solving the medical, housing, recreation, child care and education problems of the poor and working people;
- 2) Public hearings to expose the extent and effect of the unemployment crisis on the working class;
- 3) Free transportation for the unemployed;
- 4) No tax increase for working people;
- 5) No evictions, foreclosures or utility shutoffs.

The UCP had also gotten Lucien Blackwell, a progressive Black Councilman, to introduce two Resolutions into City Council—one on the jobs program and one on public hearings. After this was done, the people went outside City Hall and held a rally to bring home the purpose and lessons of the demonstration.

Here two people from the UCP talked about how they had no illusions about the ability or even the desire of the city government to deal with the problems of the working class—but that only through united mass action can workers force the government to deal with us and our needs. The demonstration was but a first step in this struggle.

As one UCP speaker said, "We are making demands that speak to the needs we have in our communities and our neighborhoods. . . We want to put us back to work where the work needs to be done! But it's going to take a fight—a long, hard fight, and together we can win. We are building a unified movement, and *together we can win!*"

A spokesperson for the UCP said that overall, the demonstration was a success, bringing together rank and file workers, unemployed of all ages, men and women, Black, white and Latin.

Further actions to push for the UCP's five demands are being planned. The UCP can be contacted at Box 24323, Philadelphia, Pa. 19120. Tel. DE 2-8300.



The Unemployment Council of Philadelphia joined forces with workers from PGH in demanding "Jobs for All" and "Keep PGH Open" in City Council in March.



THE AWFUL LAID-OFF BLUES

Chorus:

I got the blues,
I got the blues,
I got them awful laid-off blues.

Workin on the assembly line fighting for my life,
Tryin to make a living for my kiddies and my wife,
Boss comes up to me, whaddya think he do,
Gives me a layoff slip, says "you're through."

On the unemployment line waiting for my dough,
The size of the check left me feeling mighty low.
Debts piling up, bill collectors at the door,
These unemployment hassles make me feel real sore.

Went lookin for a job just the other day,
Everywhere I went they had just one thing to say.
Not hiring now, no time soon,
Nothin left but to sing this tune.

President on the TV set just the other night,
Says things are gettin better everything will be all right.
Tighten your belts, just a little more,
There'll be full employment by 1984!

Well the bosses, politicians, and all the big tycoons,
They're driving the country to rack and ruin.
Don't give a damn if we don't have jobs.
They're happy from the profits from the workers they've robbed

So come on all you workers, let's get wise.
We gotta get together, we gotta organize.
Join the UCP, ain't no other way,
Demand decent jobs at union pay!

Millions Suffer Addiction to 'Daytime Drama'... Selling Soap & Sexism

Are you familiar with life in Somerset, Pine Valley, Salem, Genoa City, Landview?

These are the towns of "another world" -- the world of soap operas, also known as soap serials, stories, daytime dramas. All the towns of soap opera life are medium-sized towns, small enough for everyone to know almost everyone, big enough to boast a medical center such as General Hospital or Hope Memorial.

Often they are located near a big city, like New York or Chicago. People in soap operas go to the city to vacation, to plan a divorce, to have an affair, to check on a cancer diagnosis, to have an abortion... but nobody lives there! No, they live in a small little compact world, far from the complexities of urban life, with room for nothing but the human melodrama of inter-personal relationships.

THE WORLD OF THE SOAPS

Just as people in the soap operas don't live in cities, hardly any of them are part of the working class. The towns of the soaps are populated largely by doctors, along with a spattering of lawyers, writers, nightclub owners.

Wanda the waitress, and Liz Foster -- the factory worker who dreamed of living in her employers' mansion and even had her dream come true -- these working class characters give the stories a dash of "realism." Because we all know that not everyone is a doctor or a lawyer, right?

Prior to the civil rights movement, the soap opera world was lilly white. Now every soap has a token Black person. But the Black people in soap operas, with the exception of their skin color, are just carbon copies of the whites -- more neurosurgeons and lawyers!

And those Black women in the commercials must be their wives, using acrylic floor wax on a wide, spacious and luxuriously modern kitchen while the trees sway outside the picture window.

The world of soaps has as much relation to the day-to-day reality of most Black people, who are forced into the worst jobs and boxed into rotting ghettos, as life on another planet. While Black people in real life encounter discrimination and racism, in soap land there are no barriers to advancement and all the white folks are miraculously free of even a hint of prejudice.

Far from the crumbling row houses, the pollution, the garbage that the city never collected, live the people of the soap operas.

Their homes are as neat and shiny as those in the soap commercials themselves. Crime and violence? Save most of that for "night-time tv," for "men's tv." On the soap operas, the characters have only room for their emotional lives. They worry constantly about marriage, sex, abortion, pregnancy, health and the fidelity of their spouse, their best friend, or their best friend's spouse and the real paternity of any number of children in the community.

It's a narrow and one-dimensional world. The highest aspirations in life are: a stable marriage, a career which is respectable and provides an adequate middle-class income, loving children, faith in God, and friends who openly tell you all their deepest secrets.

WHO WATCHES?

Lots of people sneer at soap operas, although many of the sneerers have a favorite "story" they've followed for years.

People of all ages, both men and women, watch them. You might hear a man in the unemployment line say to a friend, "Say, did you hear Mike Powers was gonna marry Toni again?" "What?" the friend answers, "When I was laid off in '74 he was dead!" "Oh, no, I been laid off since June, and he was alive the whole time in Singapore!"

Yes, there are certainly all kinds of people who secretly know that after all these years, Mickey Horton finally found out that Michael was really Bill's son, and it sent him straight to the insane asylum. But we all know that soap operas are really "women's tv."

Why? Well, although soap operas certainly have a degree of universal appeal, they are clearly geared to the housewife. The position of women in this society is still "a woman's place is in the home." Even though 90% of all women work at some point in their lives, and the workforce is now over 40% women, most women spend a good period of their lives as housewives, most likely before their children are of school age.



Housework is one of the most oppressive jobs in this society, largely because it is carried out individual by individual, isolating women in their homes, separating them from socialized production and political life, confining them with pre-school children as their only companions for conversation.

Ask any unemployed or recently retired man if he could have stood such a life! No wonder women who are in this situation start climbing the walls! No wonder warnings on the dangers of alcoholism are a theme of nearly every soap opera on the air!

SOAP OPERAS SELL SOAP...

Relief from the oppression and isolation in the home consists of a trip to the supermarket, a radio show, and especially, the soap operas. Cleaning out the kitchen cupboards? Turn on the tv for company, and you'll even get some hints on a more "fantastic" cupboard cleaner. Ironing, or baking a cake?

Turn on the soaps, and you'll hear which fabric softener or cake mix makes your laundry or cake "lighter and fluffier." Feeding the baby her lunch and longing for some adult conversation? Flick on the kitchen tube, and learn which food is "best for baby" plus a bonus tip on how to get the spinach stains out of her socks!

The Number 1 reason for soap operas is, you guessed it, to sell soap. Get out your stop watch some time and you'll discover that you get about 10 minutes of commercials for every half hour drama. And because they're serials, soaps are incredibly addictive: Why not just tune in and see if Betsy found out yet that her husband is a bigamist? And once it's on, why turn it off? A day of tv can add up to hours of commercial time!

... AND SEXIST IDEAS

It is no great revelation that tv is owned and operated by the capitalist class, mainly for the purpose of advertising their products. But soap powders, pampers, and pills for "those days" are not the only products the ruling class wants to sell us.

They also want to sell us on their ideology, the ideas they want us all to believe, the ideas that keep the working people in their place. These ideas are fed to us in school, where we're taught that "everyone in America has equal opportunity" and in the newspapers, where we learn that the US government is "only trying to help (not

by the woman who is looking for too much.

Kathy Phillips, promising young lawyer, is called away on a job which takes her out of town for several weeks. The consequence? Her husband begs her night after night to come home, or something dreadful might happen. Sure enough, it does. He gets a sexy young college girl pregnant (couldn't blame him, could you?), divorces Kathy, later leaves his new wife who miscarries, and becomes an alcoholic.

On "General Hospital" only male doctors were to be found for years, then enter the women's movement, and enter a female doctor on the seventh floor. Leslie Williams is, we must presume, a great physician, but she is given to hysteria and bursting into tears and temper tantrums right in the medicine closet.

Like other career women of the soaps, she is more than willing to drop her whole professional life to devote full-time to a newly-discovered teenage daughter (long presumed dead as an infant). The lesson: You silly woman, you can't do both!

Even a woman like beautiful Laura Norton is really nothing but a glorified gossip, a "super-confidante" psychiatrist for everyone to tell their troubles to; she's "super-mother" to the whole town, and they all cry on her shoulder -- strictly professional of course. And anyone who sees "The Doctors" knows that while Dr. Davis is a fine doctor and independent woman, the main theme of her life is "Will she find The Right Man or will she continue to pretend to herself that life is satisfying as is?"

THE LESSON: YOU'RE BETTER OFF AT HOME

The careers of the women on the soap operas are just a trick to give the housewife a vicarious thrill. First and foremost, it's a very tiny percentage indeed of women in this society who can choose a career as a doctor, lawyer, night club singer, author or boutique owner.

The stories are a pure fantasy world which give women stuck at home the chance to dream of a glamorous career. Still, underneath, the lesson is always the same: These interesting people of the soap operas are really just like you.

Glamorous careers mean very little really; they are primarily concerned with husbands, health and extra-marital affairs. In fact, you are probably better off, considering the number of fatal illnesses, miscarriages and divorces that keep the stories hopping!

Ever wonder why there's so much tragedy on these stories? The reason for so much illness, death of children and divorce is simply to keep the viewer involved with "somebody else's" misfortunes, and then to realize that, relatively speaking, her's are not so terrible after all!

So we find that the soap operas offer a not-too-subtle remake of the old sexist theory that there are "two kinds of women." While we have on the one hand the content, stable, and wise older housewife, such as Nancy Hughes or Kate "Gram" Martin, we also have the foolish women -- some sympathetic, others outright villains -- who are discontent with traditional roles, but fail utterly in trying to get more out of life.

We have middle-aged Jennifer Brooks who questions what her life was all about when her children outgrow their need for her mothering -- but her search for her identity

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International Women's Day 1976



ERA March, Women's Fair in Phila.

Throughout the world, International Women's Day has traditionally been marked as a day of celebration of women and their struggle for equality. This year was no exception as various events were held in many cities throughout the US.

While all the events were extremely diverse in character, common themes emerged in response to the immediate needs of women during the past year. For these events took place in the midst of an intensifying drive to deny women the gains which have been made over the past decade of struggle.

This attack has focused on several issues:

1. Ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment is facing serious setbacks.
2. The Supreme Court decision legalizing abortion is under widespread attack.
3. The unemployment crisis is reversing the gains women and national minorities had made in equal employment.
4. Government cutbacks in social services are affecting women by denying them the vital services which are needed.

These issues were the focus of many rallies, demonstrations, and programs throughout the nation.

ERA MARCHES

In Philadelphia, a march and teach-in to support ratification of the ERA was sponsored by NOW (National Organization of Women) on Saturday, March 6. Other organizations supporting the event included: the ACLU, AFSCME, American Postal Workers Union, Grey Panthers, National Black Feminist Organization, Oil Chemical and Atomic Workers Union, PUSH, PWOC, UE Local 107, and others.

Approximately 200 people, mostly young white women, assembled at noon at City Hall, marched through Center City to the First Unitarian Church. The demands and slogans were limited to abstract calls for passage of the ERA. Calls for class-wide unity in this struggle were notably absent. An exception was the PWOC initiated chant: "Men, women, Black and white; Unite to fight for equal rights."

Following the march a teach-in was held at the Church, whose main speakers were women involved in a NOW-sponsored campaign to pass the ERA.

The main speaker was Karen DeCrow, the national President of NOW. In her speech, she stressed the fact that it is not the majority of women that are creating the backlash against the ERA -- that the polls indicate in fact, a majority of support for the amendment.

Rather it is the corporations, and the legislatures -- that is, those who hold power and will lose profits by men and women gaining equal rights -- who are backing the well-financed reactionary campaign against the ERA.

While she recognized that it is only a broad visible campaign which will win passage of the ERA, she still however, tended toward a narrow legislative approach to the struggle. She stated, for example, that in the end, it is a change in the personnel of the state legislatures that will ultimately affect the passage of the ERA, and encouraged all present to become involved in supporting pro-ERA democratic candidates.

ERA marches such as these occurred throughout the US, the most successful being held in San Francisco, where nearly 1000 people were mobilized for a rally in Golden Gate Park.

WOMEN'S FAIR HELD

On that same day, in Philadelphia, an International Women's Day Fair was held in cooperation with the ERA march at the Center City YWCA, sponsored by the Women's Union of Philadelphia and other groups.

Among its goals for the day were: to celebrate International Women's Day as marking an historical tradition of women's struggles against oppression all over the world, to bring together women from various areas of the struggle to defend and improve our living and working conditions, to promote recognition that the struggles of women are part of a larger struggle of all people against economic exploitation, racial discrimination, and sexual discrimination, and to make visible women's contributions to and participation in history.

There were over 20 booths on subjects ranging from housing and health to women in other countries, to women in prisons, as well as booths for various participating organizations such as the Puerto Rican Solidarity Committee, the Women's Union, Philaposh, Medical Committee for Human Rights and the PGH Coalition, Choice, Parents Union, the United Farm Workers, the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, Black United Liberation Front, the Philadelphia Workers Organizing Committee, Workers Viewpoint, and others.

There was a continuous program of films, skits, and music throughout the day, including films such as "I Am Somebody," about an 1199 strike, "Women Health Workers," "Why We Boycott," by the UFW, "Women in Prisons," and "A Day in the Life of a Cuban Woman."

While the event was an overall success and brought a variety of perspectives to the celebration of International Women's Day, it remained, as have such events in previous years, too limited to the "movement" in terms of attendance and participation. Many of the booths, literature tables, skits and films had the potential for drawing numbers of working class women into the celebration. While this potential remained unrealized in 1976, it is something which can be built on in future International Women's Day Celebrations.

Soaps

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leads only to tragedy for herself and those close to her. And Erica Caine, a selfish and mean young woman who ruins her first marriage by destroying her husband's love and trust when she has an abortion in order to continue her evil modeling career.

And Cathy Craig, the independent young writer who lives by her own values, having her baby alone rather than enter a loveless marriage. But what becomes of her? She loses the child, and gives up a chance for happiness with a man who really loves her, because she wants independence. So she's independent and miserable!

The basic lesson of the soap operas is clear: *Don't question your situation, little housewife, because there's no alternative that can ever work out. You're better off than you realize! And now, stay tuned, and we'll show you a new and truly exciting way to clean your oven!*

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**RACISM AND THE
WORKERS' MOVEMENT**
FREE!

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French C.P.

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ber of 1975 as well). A delegation of the other large anti-revisionist organization, the PCRML, attended, but made it clear unity is not on the immediate agenda. This is probably just as well, for it would be unity around dogmatism, not Marxism-Leninism.

For example, the PCMLF (which, by the way, is the organization put forward by the October League (ML) here in the US as the leading force of French Marxist-Leninists) wants to explore the possibility of a "historical compromise" between Marxist-Leninists and other political forces "against the imminent invasion of Russian social-imperialism."

Such a political line, no matter what the subjective intentions of those that advance it, can only lead to objective unity-in-action with US imperialism and its lackeys in France. One is reminded of the insane behavior of certain ultra-left forces in Portugal recently, who united with outright fascists to sack Communist Party headquarters!

Undoubtedly, there are authentic Marxist-Leninist forces in France who understand the disastrous character of this nonsense, and who are actively involved in developing an authentically revolutionary current within the workers' movement. But unfortunately little information is available regarding their work.

By providing an object lesson in how *not* to make a revolution, the PCF has rendered a certain service to Marxist-Leninists. Here in the US a much weaker revisionist party, the CPUSA, preaches an Americanized brand of "historical compromise" and the peaceful, parliamentary road to socialism. The French experience ought to strengthen our resolve to out-organize these fakers, so that when the revolutionary crisis matures here they will be on the sidelines where they belong. If they're on stage center we are in trouble!

E.R.A.

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MILITANT UNIONISM NEEDED

Unorganized women workers face two problems in relation to the so-called protective laws:

First, how to deal with protective laws that work against you -- such as Nevada's maximum lifting law of 10 pounds for women -- you can be denied employment on this basis.

Second, how to get the positive protective laws enforced consistently without getting fired! The situation at worst is total violation of the laws and at best (if you can call it that) racism and favoritism in enforcement.

In any case, the second part of the problem, the question of equal and consistent enforcement, is the most important. With or without the ERA, unorganized women workers have nowhere to turn in the face of racism and exploitation but to each other and to their fellow male workers. Only through unionization and real organized mass pressure can protective laws mean anything.

In conclusion, we need the laws for all workers, but we need the bodies to back them up or we all end up losers. Under capitalism real equality for women is impossible, but does this mean that real gains can't be made? Sure, the bosses will try to turn the ERA to their advantage, just like they try to turn every real reform into its opposite, but does this mean we abandon the fight for reforms?

Sure, the big politicians are only supporting equal rights in order to win votes. So should that mean we oppose ratification and accept second class status for women? NO -- we're first class citizens, working class citizens and we need to use every opportunity available to better our conditions at work, at home, in society at large.

With regard to the Equal Rights Amendment, that means: *ORGANIZE and make passage of the ERA a victory for all workers: men, women, Black and white!*

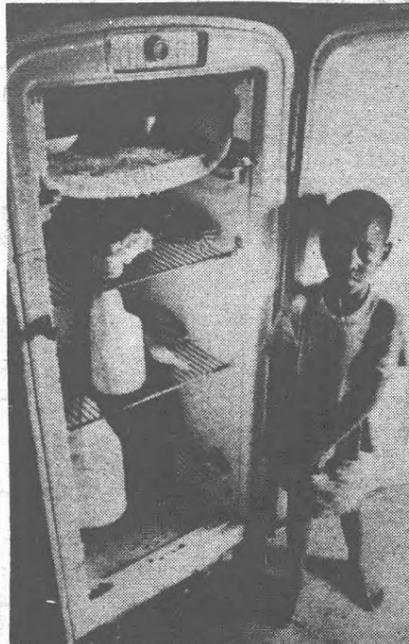
NUTS & BOLTS

Nuts and Bolts will be a regular feature in the Organizer. Its purpose will be to arm rank and file organizers with information and analysis that can be of practical value in the struggle on the shop floor and in the unions. Basic labor law, parliamentary procedure, and health and safety information are some of the technical areas we will cover

in future columns. Also, we want to deal with problems in building rank and file caucuses, starting an organizing drive and other practical concerns that face workers in their struggles with the employers. If you have a problem or a question that we can help answer, write Nuts and Bolts, c/o The Organizer.

DPA Rolls Keep Growing; What Are ...

- ** You were laid off from your job more than a year ago, your unemployment checks are about to run out and there just aren't any jobs. What do you do?
- ** Your husband just walked out on you and your two small children; you have no income and you can't work because there is no one to take care of your children. What do you do?
- ** You were fired by your boss for telling him what he could do with his lousy job and you just lost your last appeal for unemployment compensation. What do you do?
- ** You graduated from school last June, you still cannot find work, you don't have any income and your parents can no longer support you. What do you do?



can blame the ones that do? With the prices the way they are these days, you have to hustle just to keep your head above water.

Welfare recipients drive around in big cars and own color TV's, you say? In most cases that is simply not true. And those cases of welfare recipients with cars, TV's, and stereos are more often laid-off workers. An increasing number of unemployed workers are running out of their compensation checks and are being forced to apply for Public Assistance. Should they be made to sell all they own first?

Another myth is that only Black people receive welfare. Many of the white unemployed workers now on welfare probably held this racist belief until they, themselves, faced the alternative of starving if they didn't go on Public Assistance. In fact, the majority of welfare recipients are white.

Then there is the myth that women keep having babies to stay on welfare. Again, I refer you to the payment scale. Does it seem logical that any woman would go through all the trouble of having another child for a lousy \$50 more a month?

You say the welfare system is too big and the government is taxing you to death to pay for it? It is too big. It shouldn't have to exist at all. The Pa. Department of Public Assistance estimates that 17.6% of the Philadelphia population is currently receiving some kind of Public Assistance.

The federal government should be providing decent-paying jobs for everyone and forcing the wealthy and the big corporations to foot the bill. Big business has laid off millions of workers while paying little or no taxes and making their highest profits in over thirty years!

It should not then be surprising that the fiercest opponent of welfare and the most vicious spreader of lies about welfare is big business. They try to use racism and sexism to pit one segment of the working class against the other so they can carve out even larger profits. We must oppose their "divide and conquer" tactics and struggle to improve the welfare system, at the same time as demanding jobs for all at decent wages.

If in applying for public assistance, you run into any problems or have any questions about your rights, talk to the Welfare Rights Organization. They are educating poor and working people about their rights to Public Assistance and are aiding them in dealing with the problems and hassles involved. Welfare Rights Organization can be reached at: 1231 N. Franklin St., Phila, Pa. 19122, 684-3600.

YOUR WELFARE RIGHTS

In all the cases above, the only alternative to the threat of starvation is Public Assistance -- otherwise known as "welfare." This article will tell what Public Assistance is, who is eligible for it, and the problems involved in collecting Public Assistance, and expose some of the myths that are currently held by a number of people about welfare and welfare recipients.

WHAT IS PUBLIC ASSISTANCE?

Public Assistance is the last resort to avoid starvation. It is a survival program which poor and working people struggled for and won years ago. Public Assistance is designed to administer financial support to those with little or no income. However, it is also a very limited, highly inadequate program with a number of drawbacks and catches which humiliate, degrade and harass the recipient.

WHO IS ELIGIBLE FOR PUBLIC ASSISTANCE?

Anyone whose income (including unemployment compensation) falls below the Public Assistance payment level is eligible for Public Assistance.

The payment levels are as follows:

Family Size	1	2	3	4
Monthly Grant	\$164	\$247	\$302	\$360
	5	6	each addi-	\$50
	\$409	\$445	tional person	

All "non-earned" income like Social Security, Unemployment Compensation, veteran's benefits, etc. is deducted dollar for dollar from the monthly grant.

WHAT RESOURCES ARE YOU ALLOWED?

If you are receiving Public Assistance, you may have no more than-

1. \$50 cash savings
2. \$2000 savings for each school child.
3. insurance with \$500 in cash value.
4. one home.

There is no limit to household furnishings, clothes, cars or other household goods such as TV's or stereos.

HOW DO YOU APPLY FOR PUBLIC ASSISTANCE?

The first thing you must do is call any one of the seventeen district offices and ask for an appointment. According to the Department of Public Assistance (D.P. A.) there is a wait of only a few days, but be prepared to wait two or three weeks for an April-May '76, page 22

appointment. Once you receive the appointment, you must bring with you the following:

1. identification
2. proof of any income
3. rent book or receipts, mortgage book, utility receipts
4. Social Security numbers for all family members
5. employment card from State Employment Office
6. divorce, separation or support payments
7. bank book

Your first check should arrive two weeks after your appointment.

If you feel at any time that you are being treated unfairly, you have the right to a hearing and you should get someone (like Community Legal Services) to represent you in the hearing, because you may get screwed if you go it alone. You also have the right to an appeal if your welfare checks are cut off. They must send you a notice if they are going to cut them off and you must return this notice with your reason for appeal within 15 days. *They can't legally cut off your checks until they give you an appeal hearing.*

WHAT ARE THE CATCHES?

There are a couple of problems built into the system which are designed to harass you and keep you from receiving your full amount of benefits. First, there's the lien the State puts against your home for the amount of Public Assistance you collect.

They cannot collect the lien however, unless you or your children try to sell the house; then they will attempt to collect what they figure you owe them. DPA is considered by the State as a "loan"!

The second catch is the requirement that "legally responsible relatives support the welfare recipient." This means that if you have adult children and you go on welfare, the State may try to sue your children for support. This also applies to parents under the age of 60. Husbands and wives are also considered legally responsible for each other. There are a few exceptions to this rule. The relative is *not* responsible to provide support if he or she:

1. is over 60
2. has 6 dependents
3. has been missing ten years
4. has a low income
5. is a housewife
6. is the father of a child born out of wedlock

7. would threaten or injure the recipient if required to pay
8. is receiving assistance

EMERGENCY CHECKS

In some cases, you can get an immediate emergency check. If you have had no income for 30 days or more, or you have unpaid bills for necessities like rent or gas, or you have unusually high expenditures from your last income, you may be able to get an emergency check.

This emergency assistance system can be used while you are waiting for your first unemployment check to arrive. However, you must pay this money back as soon as you begin receiving your unemployment compensation.

Besides providing money for living expenses, Public Assistance also provides medical assistance and food stamps to help pay medical and grocery bills. Ask about these programs when you call for an appointment for Public Assistance.

MYTHS ABOUT WELFARE

There is much criticism these days of the welfare program. The arguments made against the system of welfare for poor people are, for the most part, built on myth, not fact. For instance, the belief that people on welfare stay on it because they make out so well is stupid. Just take another look at the payment scale above and try to imagine yourself providing for a family of four on a *monthly* income of \$360!

A lot of welfare recipients are hustling on the side, you say? Not that many and who



"I always hated those bastards on welfare... Now I am one!"