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ESPAÑOL

# The ORGANIZER

Newspaper of the Philadelphia Workers' Organizing Committee

January 1977



Vol. 3 No. 1

.....  
**law and order,  
philly-style**  
p.12  
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his peanuts**  
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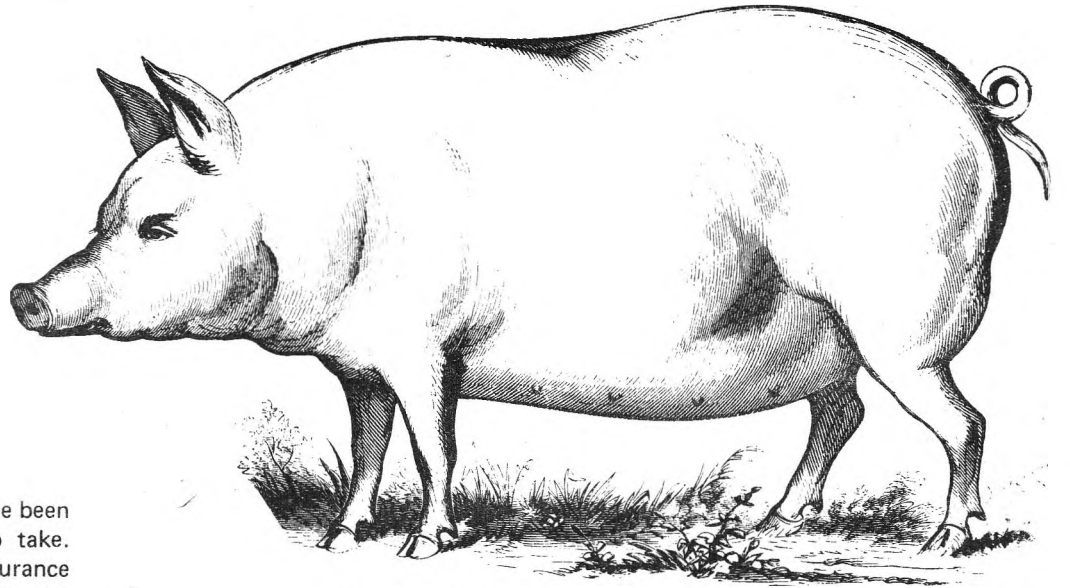
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whitman park p.14*

*and rank and file action news!*



# Flu Vaccine Program Dies After Months Of Controversy



\*\* Dr. W. R. Barclay, editor of *The Journal of the American Medical Association*: "... There is a strong possibility of an influenza epidemic in 1976 - 1977."

\*\* Dr. Albert Sabin, oral polio vaccine developer: "There's less than a 1 in 10,000 chance there'll be an epidemic."

\*\* Col. J. Bartley, M.D., chief of preventive medicine at Fort Dix, the army post where to date the only death associated with the swine flu has occurred: "We don't have much evidence that swine flu is any worse than any other flu virus."

\*\* British Medical Research Council, Salisbury, England: *Six volunteers infected with the Fort Dix swine flu virus actually developed symptoms milder than the more common A strain flu.*

\*\* U.S. Advisory Committee on Immunization Practices (ACIP): *85% of those over 25 receiving the vaccine will have adequate protection.*

\*\* Dr. J. A. Morris, former Food and Drug Administration virologist: "The 200 unit dosage being administered is too low. It would take 350 to 400 units to give protection. . . but that high a dosage would make a lot of people ill. That would've meant a lot of unhappy Americans in an election year."

Following months of controversy and skepticism based on contradictory statements like those above, the swine flu vaccination program was suspended by the government in late December. By mid-December 40 persons had died after being inoculated, while the ACIP continued to announce that side effects were inconsequential.

But when over 200 vaccine recipients came down with a temporary paralysis called Guillain-Barre syndrome, the Center for Disease Control suspended the program indefinitely. Millions of Americans, confused about whether or not to get the shot, are glad it's over.

But not all the parties involved have been confused as to what direction to take. For example, the drug makers' insurance companies clearly realized that the vaccine's risks posed a threat to the health of their profits. They refused to insure the drug companies against damage suits and, in turn, the drug companies refused to make the vaccine, which delayed the immunization campaign for over 2 months.

The drug manufacturers in partnership with the insurance companies forced the government to assume liability for deaths or injuries caused by the vaccine, and set a precedent which will surely serve them in the future.

It is estimated that this could cost the government anywhere from \$50 million to \$25 billion in addition to the \$135 million already laid out for the program. (And they say the swine flu shot is free!) Without hesitancy, employers, recalling the billions lost to the '68 Hong Kong flu epidemic through absenteeism, have made the vaccine available and strongly encouraged workers to get the shot.

## WHO DECIDES ABOUT OUR HEALTH?

When all is said and done, we may not have learned more about flu epidemics, but an analysis of the immunization program can teach us some basic principles about our health care system. First of all, the people or authorities more closely tied to the people's welfare have little say in determining health policy. Had consumer advocates been involved in the swine flu decision process, they would have demanded more information and assurance about the vaccine's safety, and pushed for stringent quality controls in its manufacture. Instead, not only was there no comparative investigation of the quality control measures of the different drug companies, but the government -- through taxpayers money -- will be footing the bill for their mistakes.

State health officials could have balanced the need for a mass flu immunization campaign against other, possibly more crucial, health programs. Because our

government places such a low priority on health care, implementing the immunization campaign necessarily means taking money, staff and time from other health programs. Of the \$135 million allotted to the vaccination program, only \$26 million (less than 12%) has been left to administer it. The bulk of the money was used to purchase and test the vaccine; that is, *most of it lined the pockets of the drug companies.* This illustrates another basic feature of our health care system: it produces profits for industry much more effectively than it makes people healthy.

Oddly enough, the drug companies were reluctant to support the vaccination program. They wanted to continue their

unusually high rate of profit (15% compared to 6% average) by concentrating their production on more profitable drugs, regardless of their usefulness and safety of course. Many health authorities, including Dr. Sabin, fought to have the vaccine made and then stockpiled to be

## ATTEMPT TO "SELL" PRESENT HEALTH SYSTEM

But a more central reason is that the mass immunization campaign provided an opportunity to attempt to convince us that the present economic system -- the capitalist system of private enterprise -- can meet people's needs.

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## Philadelphia Workers' Organizing Committee

# WHO WE ARE



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

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

The masses of people in the US have always fought back against their exploitation and today the movement in opposition to the monopolists are rapidly growing both

in numbers and intensity. What is lacking is the kind of political leadership that can bring these movements together, deepen the consciousness of the masses, and build today's struggles into a decisive and victorious revolutionary assault against Capital.

To answer this need we must have a vanguard party of the working class, based on its most conscious and committed partisans, rooted in the mass movements of all sectors of American people and equipped with the political understanding capable of solving the strategic and tactical problems that present themselves on the difficult road to revolution. The PWOC seeks, in conjunction with like-minded organizations and individuals throughout the US, to build such a party -- a genuine Communist Party. The formation of such a party will be an important step forward in the struggle of the working class and all oppressed people to build a new world on the ashes of the old.

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# Profits vs. Pregnancy:

## Women Lose Again



On December 7th, the Supreme Court ruled that employer benefit programs which do not provide sick pay for pregnancy leave are not discriminatory under the provisions of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. The ruling came in response to a class action suit initiated by Local 161 of the International Union of Electrical Workers (IUE) which represents GE workers in Richmond, Virginia.

The union argued that the provisions of the sickness benefits program discriminated against women by providing coverage for time lost by men for voluntary procedures such as hair transplants or vasectomies.

This decision threatens other gains of the women's struggle for equal rights in employment in the past several years. The right to a leave for pregnancy and childbirth without losing seniority rights has only recently been established, but it is threatened by this decision, which gives employers a green light to avoid any consideration of the special needs of women workers.

General Electric estimates that American industry will save \$1.3 billion if this decision stands. The other side of the coin is that working class families will have to put out that money for the privilege of having children.

The number of women entering the workforce full-time is steadily increasing, as it becomes harder and harder to support a family on the wages of just one worker. Today, 45% of all women are in the labor force full-time, and their loss of pay for the period of their disability during pregnancy and childbirth will be a severe financial blow to the families of working mothers.

This decision comes at an opportune time for GE. With the economy starting to turn down again, this decision is just one more way for them to cut costs so that they won't have to cut profits.

Of course, women workers and the labor movement will not sit back and watch their rights be pulled out from under them. Already a conference was convened in Philadelphia, and a meeting held with Senator Birch Bayh to introduce a bill overturning the Supreme Court decision.

There is no law now, however, which prevents contracts between unions and corporations from specifying that pregnancy leave include sick pay, and the failure to take up this demand in the past has led in part to the present problem. IUE, in its negotiations with GE, Westinghouse, RCA and others, did not make this a contractual priority, even while they were fighting it in court!

It is not enough simply to push for laws. Like every other demand of working people for their rights, this one will be gained more completely and solidly if it is actively supported by all working people; and it is especially the responsibility of the unions to educate their members and organize real support for this demand.

## XMAS AT ALAN WOOD

# Workers Refuse 15% Wage Cut

This article was submitted by a member of Local 1392, USWA, from Alan Wood Steel Co. in Conshohocken.

As the cold weather set in, its time for the annual Alan Wood Steel Gala Christmas present. Yes friends, once again those fine bosses of Alan Wood have thought up a bunch of new ways to make the holiday season brighter for those of us who make the mills run, and the bosses rich. If you remember last year, the bosses gave us two weeks off, all expenses unpaid, during Christmas and New Years', plus asked us to take a \$2.00 an hour wage and benefits cut. Well, we refused that pay cut, but Harleston Wood decided to bring that song out one more time, this time with a few more lines.

In late November the Company proposed to the Union that each worker take an immediate 15% reduction in gross wages plus contribute \$20.00 per week to pay insurance benefits. The Company also wanted immediate suspension of certain work agreements. And they also wanted us to agree to throw out job descriptions, and eliminate work practices which represent cost for which no production value is received.

The union negotiators sent back a counter-offer of a 5% cut in pay, re-evaluated every three months, and paid back retroactively when the company turned a profit. The company mailed a letter to every worker telling us that Alan Wood could take nothing less than what they asked for. The Union held two meetings on December 7th to decide the fate of the workers of Local 1392.

The rank and file made their decision and it was a damn loud and angry answer to the company. By an overwhelming vote the rank and file said *no* pay cuts, *no* change in the contract. . . *period*.

The feelings of the rank and file, built by years of being lied to, bullied by the company, treated like machines, could and should have been heard all the way from the Union Hall to Harleston Wood's office.

"When the company made big profits two years ago, we didn't get any of that money. The foremen got big bonuses then, we didn't."

"Alan Wood is always claiming that they are losing money and that they will have to shut down."

"How about all the damn foremen they got working, in some places one foreman for three workers."

"They're speeding us up, double jobbing us and now they want us to work for less money."

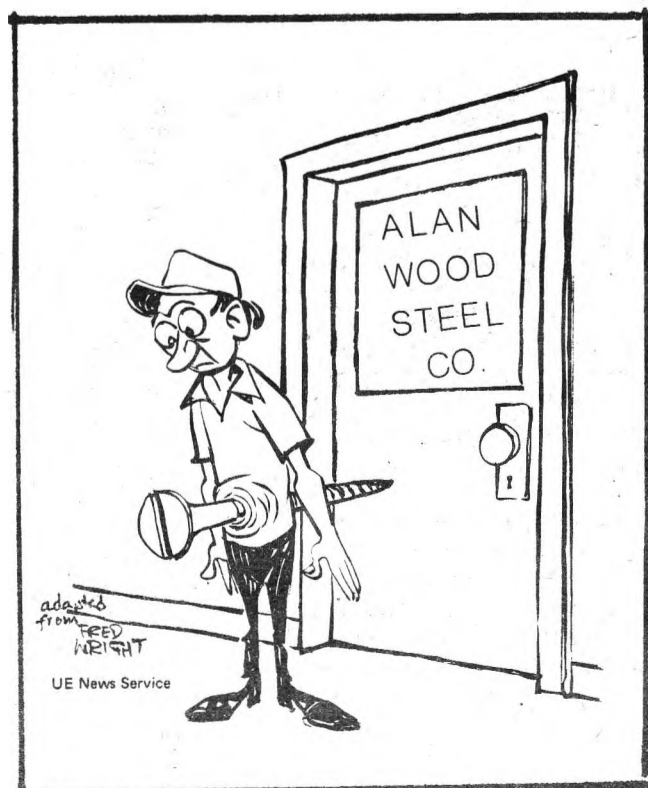
"Hell, the company isn't guaranteeing that if we take this cut that they won't shut down anyway. If we're going down we might as well go down with the money in our pockets and in style."

The company had stated that if it didn't get everything it asked for, AW couldn't make the payroll after Dec. 15th and the plant would have to close. Well, its after Dec. 15th, and the company has made public its plans on how AW will run next year. The company is shutting down one of the mills (the hot strip mill) permanently, but even the company admits that

they would have closed the hot strip mill even if we had taken their pay cuts!

In other parts of the plant mills which were on layoff have been started up, some of us are working six day weeks, and there are rumors that AW has big orders for the first quarter of 1977. It would seem that Harleston Wood was playing poker with us, and we called his hand and found he was bluffing.

It's just right nice of Harleston that he was using us workers, and our families, as the chips. One day the cards will be turned, and it will be we workers doing the dealing. Right now we have to fight to keep the workers of Hot Strip from losing their jobs. We also have to prepare for the negotiations and contract coming up this year. But Harleston Wood, we won't forget.





# Jim Crow - Alive and Well in the Building Trades



by John Malachi

The policy of excluding Black workers from craft unions is as old as the unions themselves. In earlier times the policy of Jim Crow was expressed openly in no uncertain terms. As the following delegate at the 1905 convention of the Railway Carmen put it: "I believe that God in his infinite mercy made the Negro but he never made him to be a car worker. I do not believe the time will ever come when he should come into a union along with carmen. I want to tell you I am a northern man, born of an abolitionist father, but when the time comes when I must sit down in social equality with the Negro, I want to be carried to the nearest insane asylum."

Today's craft leaders hide their racist policies behind phrases about equality and how their craft union is open to workers of all races, but the truth is that in the building trades, the largest, best paid and most powerful of the crafts, the percentage of Black membership has changed little in this century.

The racist stance of the leadership of the building trades unions is not just a matter of concern to construction workers. These aristocrats of labor dominate the leadership of the AFL-CIO (George Meany comes from their ranks) as well as many local central labor councils (here in Philadelphia Ed Toohey is a case in point.)

Indeed, the "pro-Rizzo" stance of the labor movement in Philadelphia is the result of the alliance of Rizzo forces with Magrann and the sell-out local leadership of the Philadelphia building trades. This leadership has historically worked closely with Rizzo in his racist attacks on Black

and Spanish-speaking communities, while remaining silent on the Rizzo administrations raising of city wage and real estate taxes.

#### POWER TO PICK AND CHOOSE

Unlike most industrial unions, the building trades have virtual power over who becomes a union member, and thereby power over who has the opportunity for employment. But rather than use this power to set an example of anti-discrimination for the labor movement, the building trades are unrivalled in having developed skills and techniques to thwart both legal and community pressure.

According to the unions, the road to full membership in the building trades is through an apprenticeship program. Admission requirements vary from local to local, but generally a local will have criteria stating age (18-30); education (high school diploma); and aptitude (pass an examination). The unions and the employers form a joint apprenticeship committee which supervises the apprenticeship program.

The joint apprenticeship program is handled by an apprentice coordinator who is usually a union member. This person meets with the applicants and provides them with information regarding the apprenticeship program.

The apprenticeship program basically consists of working in the trades while attending classes in the evenings. The program is from three to five years depending on the trade. Upon successful completion of the program the union membership has to make a final determination, basically by voting on whether or not the

apprentice will be accepted into the union.

#### RACIST BARRIERS

In practice, however, the major prerequisite for becoming a journeyman is blood ties. Since Blacks have been historically denied access to the trades, this procedure clearly perpetuates the discrimination. Also, the union uses terms like "good moral character" in order to maintain non-specific ways of keeping Blacks out of the union. These procedures, it should be noted, also have the effect of keeping out many potential white applicants, due to the vagueness of the requirements.

The unions tend to take a flexible attitude regarding the apprenticeship program. Family friends of union members are given various advantages and considerations regarding union membership. Yet Black applicants are told that they must be accepted into an apprenticeship program regardless of past experience. However, a 1964 U. S. Department of Labor study estimated that only 48.9% of construction workers nationwide had acquired their skills through apprenticeship programs.

When Blacks apply for the apprenticeship programs, they usually get discriminated against by administrative policy. A recent investigation of Locals 1 and 54 of Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers gives a typical example of union tactics. In this case a Black applicant was awarded point totals differently than the white applicants. The Black person received an average of 17 points from three evaluators for his educational attainments (high school diploma

and some vocational training in brick-laying); whites with only a high school diploma received more points. The Black applicant was given an average of 8.3 points for his past experience, whereas several whites with less experience received much higher scores. The Black applicant was given an average of 2 points for his references; whites with no more relevant references were awarded higher points.

The racism of the building trades does not stop at the apprenticeship level. Indeed, it may even intensify for Blacks who become journeymen. The locals' major instrument for regulating the labor supply is the hiring hall.

#### BLACKS DENIED USE OF HIRING HALL

The use of the hiring hall has been denied to Blacks by various means. The local union's business agent will explain procedures to whites while providing Blacks with no information or misinformation. Blacks are not told about eligibility for referral on the basis of the referral procedures established by local unions' collective bargaining agreements and by-laws.

Currently in an employment discrimination case being litigated against Local 542 Operating Engineers, some of the union's techniques have been revealed. In one instance Black workers were sent over 200 miles from Philadelphia for work when available work was in the city. In another instance, three Black union members were brutally assaulted at the union hall during a grievance proceeding.

In 1969, in response to protest of Black workers and the civil rights movement, the Nixon administration put forward the Philadelphia Plan as the solution to resolving employment discrimination in the building trades. The plan covered iron workers, plumbers and pipefitters, steamfitters, sheet metal workers, electrical workers, roofers and waterproofer, and elevator construction workers. The first plan required planning tables by the contractors which set forth the number of minority workers. However, the government set no standard regarding acceptable numbers. The plan was altered to state that all contractors working on federally assisted construction projects exceeding \$500,000 had to adhere to goals and timetables.

Another approach promulgated by the federal government was the hometown plan. These plans were voluntarily negotiated by all parties: labor, management, and representatives from the minority community. These hometown plans devised obligations that related directly to



Mike Peters, Dayton Daily News



unions as well as contractors. Unions were required to accept minority employees as "trainees" and put them on a track that led to a journeyman's status. However, these workers were given "permits" and did not have the same rights as journeymen or apprentices.

#### PHILADELPHIA PLAN FAILS

Both the Philadelphia Plan and the home town plan approach have been categorical failures. Under the Philadelphia Plan employees seldom made progress toward union status because employers could satisfy the plan by hiring non-union workers and minority workers were only used on jobs with federal contracts. It had no power over trades other than those enumerated above.

Also, the Office of Federal Contract Compliance, (OFCC), which was to enforce the Plan, has never aggressively been able to make either labor or management comply. Similarly, the home town plans were merely a buck-passing sham by labor and management. All hometown plans were voluntary and placed enforcement on the same parties, labor and management, whose history of racist practices had given rise to the need for the plans.

A survey of various locals in the Philadelphia area further illuminates the lack of progress in breaking down the racial barriers in the building trades. Except for the laborers' locals, which are the least skilled and lowest paid, there are no good examples, as the following will show:

	White	Black
Boilermakers	770	21
Electricians	1649	67
Ironworkers	846	9
Operating Engineers	4239	253
Plumbers	2451	28
Steamfitters	2873	62

The most successful attempt to integrate the building trades has been the struggle of the United Construction Workers Association (UCWA), a Black workers group in Seattle, Washington. They combined a Title VII lawsuit with massive job

closures in Seattle to bring pressure on the unions and contractors. Five Seattle building trades, as a result of UCWA's struggle, went from less than five Black journeymen in 1969 to over 400 in 1976.

During the struggle in Seattle, the corrupt union leadership used thousands of dollars of workers dues to keep Black workers out of the union. They even established a temporary fund which workers were to pay into in order to fight the just demands of Black workers to join the union.

#### BLACK WORKERS FIGHT IN INTEREST OF ALL

As Black workers gained entrance into the unions in Seattle, they began to see that the rank and file were being misled by the sell-out leadership of the unions. They began to initiate and support struggles that benefitted all union members. One recent example was a strike initiated by Black electricians on a job site to support a strike of white operating engineers on the same site. This was done over the attempt of the leadership of the electricians' local to keep other trades from supporting the struggle. The Black work-

ers have also been initiators of a struggle within the union bureaucracy to provide for rank and file control of the pension fund, to make the referral system fair to all workers, and to deal with safety concerns.

Struggles to break down the racial barriers in the building trades continue as can be seen by the recent events in Boston, New York, and the current court case against the operating engineers in Philadelphia. The tactics of the unions remain the same: use the union dues of its members to keep Black and other minority workers out of the unions.

Rank and file construction workers are currently under sharp attack. Cuts in government funded construction and the growth of non-union contractors like Altemose here in Philly have led to large scale unemployment in the trades. The only way out for construction workers is a policy of labor solidarity and militancy. White tradesmen have got to take up the fight to open up their crafts and end discrimination within them. The Seattle experience has shown that Blacks will support and initiate struggles as union members that benefit all workers. Only

the contractors will gain if the unions continue to allow racism to divide the workers from each other and their real interests.



"First, take 20 years and learn this intricate tool."

## Fischer Porter workers ask: Is an international union the answer?

Fresh in the minds of workers at the Fischer Porter plant in Warminster is the memory of the last contract signing, when there was a three week strike with little to show for it. Most people there agree that the company got one over on them, as they see their wages eaten up by inflation, and job security go right out the window with the recent layoffs.

The company took a hard-nosed approach then and is trying to take the workers on the same trip this time. A new contract is coming up this May 1. Gearing up for this contract the workers know that their union, an independent union needs to develop its strength now more than ever before.

Fischer Porter has grown. Years ago it was the one man show of Kermit Fischer, but today it is a multinational corporation intent on developing a highly structured managerial system. Workers have seen the company develop its expertise in making profits at the workers' expense, but they see their small independent union as increasingly unable to deal with this corporate giant. They are asking the question: What about an International Union?

**AN INTERNATIONAL THE ANSWER?** An international has resources an independent local could never develop; researchers who can expose the company's poor-mouthing at contract time, lawyers

skilled in labor law to defend the union and the workers in the legal arena, and experienced negotiators who know how to get a decent pension or medical plan. Such professionalism is impossible for union officials working full time in the plant to develop.

However, it is important that the workers at F & P proceed with their eyes wide open in making their decision. This professionalism, though important, is not the main ingredient of a strong union. Rather, the key point is an *actively involved and strongly united rank and file*. That is what will put the union on the offensive in the struggle with the company. Whether the union remains independent or becomes an international, this is what's essential.

The independent union at F & P has been weak. The members are not kept informed; there are union meetings only twice a year; and there is no regular communication between the membership and leadership. The struggle for racial unity, to overcome the racist tactics of the company to divide the workers, is ignored, with Black and Spanish speaking members getting the most rotten jobs in the two local subsidiary plants.

A union is strong only if there is a hard-fisted fight against any injury to any of its members. When there is discrimination involved, which there is at F & P, the union must rise to knock down this racism, and in the process build real unity. These changes must be brought about by an active rank and file.

Only a strong, active, and united rank and file can pressure a powerful international to use its vast resources for the benefit of the workers. Most international unions are run by labor bigwigs who are more interested in their careers than in militantly representing the workers in the plants.

F & P workers need an international that will protect their jobs from being shipped out by organizing the unorganized shops, both here and in the South. They need a strike fund to back them up in their fight for a better contract. They need a union that can take up broader questions that face all working people, such as unemployment, inflation, racism. A united and militant rank and file, joined in solidarity with other working people, can make international unions into a political force which is capable of turning events in favor of working class people.

## WORKERS' VOICES



*William Z. Foster grew up in South Philly around 17th and Kater Sts. He started working at the age of 10, in 1891, and went to work in lumber, farm, construction, chemical and transport industries. He became a militant advocate of industrial unionism and one of labor's great organizers. He was a key leader in the drive to organize packing house and steel workers during and after World War I. Foster was a founder of the Trade Union Educational League which in the 1920's did much to promote class struggle unionism. Foster joined the Communist Party and eventually became chairman of the Party. Foster wrote widely on questions of trade union principles and tactics. The following is part of a speech given in 1929 as part of a campaign to build for the convention of the TUEL. Foster's understanding of the whole of racism stands in stark contrast to the pathetic ignorance of the AFL delegate quoted in the beginning of the article on racism in the Building Trades elsewhere on this page.*

Of all the shameful treason to the working class committed by the misleaders who head the old trade unions, none has been more disastrous than their systematic betrayal of the Negro workers. It has long been the policy of the employers to draw a line between white and black workers, to set one group against the other in order to better exploit them, to cultivate the worst forms of race prejudice among the whites. They have deliberately and systematically discrimina-

ted against the Negroes, giving them the worst work, the lowest wages, and subjecting them to the most brutal repression.

Were the A. F. of L. leaders imbued with even a semblance of real working class spirit, they would take it upon themselves as a first and basic task to defeat the plans of the employers by organizing the Negroes and by mobilizing the whole labor movement behind their elementary demands. But they refuse utterly to do this. On the contrary, true to their role as agents of the bourgeoisie in the ranks of the workers, they fall in line with the program of the employers and join hands with them to oppress the Negroes. They cultivate race chauvinism among the whites, they prohibit Negroes from joining the unions, they cooperate with the employers to keep the Negroes at the poorest paid jobs. All this constitutes one of the most shameful pages in American labor history.

But the T. U. E. L. convention represents the revolutionary forces that will stop this historic treachery. The convention will be made up of a body of workers of both sexes and all nationalities, of Negroes who understand and dare to strike a blow on behalf of themselves and their class, and of whites eliminating all white chauvinism from their ranks, recognize the Negro workers as class brothers and who will fight with and for them all the way to the end for complete social emancipation.



# exclusive! The Real Poop from Plains

## An Interview with Jimmy



by J. Reed

*You all remember Jimmy Carter's Playboy interview, where his confession about the lust that lurks in his heart got him in trouble with some sections of the electorate? Well, now the Organizer has scooped Playboy with an even more candid, exclusive interview. Last week, over some fast fried chicken at the Colonel Sander's franchise on the edge of Plains, Georgia, President Elect Jimmy spilled his peanuts to the Organizer.*

**Q.: Mr. Carter, the Organizer is interested in what specifically you plan to accomplish as President over your four years. Our particular concern is how your programs will affect the oppressed nationalities and the working. . . .**

A.: Well, as you know -- or should know if you bother to read the papers -- I've recently been engaged in a very slow and detailed and thorough and deliberate process choosing the major Cabinet officers who will serve with me for the next four years.

It's very important that I devote a major portion of my time to these selections because I intend for my Cabinet to play a role in Government exceeding that of recent years.

And I think that the way in which I have pursued my Cabinet appointments is indicative of the kind of leadership the American people want.

**Q.: We are interested in your Cabinet appointments, but first, we would like to ask you the following question. During your campaign for President you were very critical of President Ford for what you characterized as a callous attitude toward the millions out of work. You made a commitment to pursue jobs for the unemployed as your first priority. But recently you seem to be backing away from substantial reductions in unemployment. In fact, on November 24th you said that your goal in your first year of office would be merely to reduce unemployment to 6.5% or nearly six and a half million people still unable to find jobs.**

A.: Well, first of all I think you should be clear that I never made any commitments to reduce unemployment to a specific figure. Nor could I have. When you approach a question like unemployment you have to realize that it is just one factor in the total economic picture. You also have to take into consideration the effect that a reduction in unemployment could have on such serious problems as inflation and the competitiveness of American industry. As an experienced Georgia businessman, I realize that a certain amount of unemployment is necessary to keep inflation and business expenses in line.

Furthermore, it's obvious that our economic circumstances are much worse than we anticipated six months ago. The growth of our economy which began this year at about nine percent dropped to six percent, 4.5 percent, and in this last quarter will probably come to less than four percent. The unemployment rate which had been declining recently as a result of our economic recovery just jumped to 8.1%, which is the highest rate yet recorded in 1976. At the same time inflationary pressures are undiminished. So you see, our overall economic problems are very severe.

With the recent reversals in the economic picture, reducing unemployment is going to be a great deal more difficult than I had expected.

**Q.: Are you saying, then, that we can expect a general unemployment rate of at least 6% or higher and double that for Blacks and other oppressed nationalities?**

A.: Well, yes, the limits of our economy are such at this Dec - Jan, '77, page 6

moment that that is a likely prospect. Of course, I'm morally opposed to higher unemployment rates suffered by Blacks. But at present I'm helpless to do anything about it. At least you can count on this: in contrast to previous administrations I will personally see that statistics on Black unemployment are published regularly. That way I can keep an eye on the problem.

**Q.: Couldn't you encourage Congress to pass a major bill like the Humphrey-Hawkins Bill, which you said that you supported during the campaign?**

A.: Yes, I could certainly propose something similar to the Humphrey-Hawkins Bill. But really, since I promised I would never lie to the American people, I should tell you that the Humphrey-Hawkins Bill was always more words than substance. There were really no concrete program proposals, just a government commitment to provide a job for every American willing to work. And since I'll become President in January and have promised to end unemployment, there is really no need for a Humphrey-Hawkins Bill.



Furthermore, as you know, I'm firmly committed to the free enterprise system, which means that I believe that private industry should provide the necessary jobs to put our people back to work. Federally funded jobs programs on a major scale can actually interfere with this long range goal. Such programs would have a tendency to drive wages up and thus threaten the overall profit picture of American industry. And profits are already much too low.

So I think that in the long run we will be better off if we restore the profitability of American industry and develop our full employment programs in this way. It may take a little longer but it's more in conformity with our national interest.

**Q.: When you speak of the 'national' interest, don't you really mean the interests of the large monopoly corporations and their owners?**

A.: Yes, I do. I really don't see any difference between the interests of the nation and that of the monopoly corporations and their owners as a whole. Occasionally an individual corporation or a group of owners will

step out of line and we have to 'jawbone' them. Most of the time, however, these corporations, particularly the big banks, have the people's interests at heart. The greatness of our country has been founded on the profit system. It has given us the most advanced society in the world and along with it great responsibilities for exercising our moral leadership of the free world. I remain firmly convinced that Americans want our government to be as honest, as decent, and as moral as the average corporation is.

**Q.: Aren't there some situations in which the real interests of the people and the monopolies clash? For instance on the defense budget: doesn't defense spending actually mean a net reduction of jobs, programs for the poor, and in addition, an inflationary stimulus to the economy?**

A.: Because some people may perceive their interests to be in conflict with the corporations around defense spending doesn't mean that it's really the case. Many people don't really understand what is in their best interests. Defense spending taken in isolation from other factors, may appear to diminish funds for jobs, poverty programs, and the like; it may appear to provide an inflationary stimulus. And to be perfectly candid, in a certain sense, it does all these things. But this is only one side of the picture.

Defense spending is also a profit stimulus to industry. While putting money directly into housing, hospital and school construction may create more jobs, it actually conflicts with profit making concerns already engaged in those areas. And I'm opposed to that. Anyway, the defense industry is a major employer and that in itself contributes to reducing the need for poverty programs.

Nor can we forget the Russians. My friends in the CIA-- and even that newspaper *The Call* have pointed out how dangerous they are.

**Q.: Can the American people expect you to initiate any new programs in the areas of housing, health care, welfare, etc?**

A.: Yes, I think I'll be able to whip a few new programs out there. But remember this, I intend to keep my commitment of a balanced budget at the end of each of my four years, and I'll be very cautious about implanting any new spending program until I'm convinced that it can be accommodated within that commitment. I think that tough, competent, businesslike management of the Government, that Mike Blumenthal, my nominee for Secretary of the Treasury, and Bert Lance, the nominee for the Director of the Office of Management and the Budget and others can help me carry out will help to ensure that a balanced budget will be achieved. Blumenthal should be particularly helpful in this regard as he brings to the Treasury unusual skills. While studying international economics at the University of California, he tested his knowledge in his job as a shill in a gambling casino where he lured customers to gamble with house chips.

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**Q.: In regard to your attitude to the pressing demands of Black people and other oppressed nationalities, given that you would never have won the election without their votes, don't you owe them at the very least a political debt to try to bring about necessary political reforms, provide jobs, lessen discrimination in housing, etc.?**

**A.:** As far back as Labor Day I said "I owe the special interests nothing. . . I owe the people everything" and I meant it. While I grew up in Plains side by side with Blacks and I have successfully persuaded my church to allow them to pray with us, I do not feel any special debts to them or any other special interest. Of course, I am very thankful for their support and will even appoint one Black to my cabinet. Maybe two. . .

**Q.: Aside from appointments of Blacks, what about your appointment to the all-important post of Attorney General a white judge who is regarded by virtually all civil rights advocates as, at the very best, a foot dragger and, at worst, an "evil genius" of the resistance to equality for Black Americans?**

**A.:** Well, I feel people aren't giving my good friend, Judge Bell, a fair shake. Its true he supported Harold Carswell for the Supreme Court, but everyone's entitled to one mistake or so. Some people have criticized his decisions around desegregation of schools, but his view that desegregation, er, I mean bussing, is a last resort, concur with my own I wouldn't have appointed him otherwise. And don't forget about that other distinguished Georgia buddy of mine, good old Andy Young, who I've appointed Ambassador to the U. N. a cabinet position, mind you. The people who don't like Bell are going to love Andy!

**Q.: U.N. Ambassador is reputed to be a Cabinet level position without a significant role in policy making — basically a subordinate to the Secretary of State. Will you depart from this conception of the role? Will Congressman Young be making policy, particularly with respect to southern Africa?**

**A.:** Well, Congressman Young, who was the first major Black figure to have the wisdom to support me, has stated his commitment to aggressively pursue majority rule in southern Africa. Now I have stated my position on this question at least once. I'm unequivocally in favor of majority rule in southern Africa, especially in Rhodesia and South West Africa. As far as South Africa is concerned, we are committed to democracy there, and I think progress is being made.

The question as I see it is a tactical one. What we have to do is achieve majority rule gradually over time in such a way that we can ensure a moderate Black government

which will protect over \$2 billion in U. S. investments in South Africa. We have to move South Africa to majority rule — it is inevitable in any case — but avoid any radical change. Within these limits Congressman Young will be making policy. It will be his job to convince the Black African nations that we really are committed to majority rule.

I cannot resist the opportunity — although I'm a modest man — to say a few humble words about my genius in choosing Congressman Young as Ambassador to the U. N. Many Black African countries in the post-Watergate-Vietnam era have been raising questions about our commitment to democracy and racial equality. Andy has a whole history of civil rights activity; as Dr. King's chief lieutenant he faced fire hoses and police dogs in Birmingham, Alabama, and was threatened, harassed, beaten, and jailed in Selma. He has a reputation as a Black militant. That alone should convince the Black African nations that we are committed to equality and majority rule.

**Q.: What kind of proposals would you outline to ensure that progress is made on the question of desegregation of schools, especially given the recent trend in the federal courts away from bussing orders?**

**A.:** The way to desegregate our schools is for all of us to send our kids to predominantly Black schools, like Roslyn and I did with Amy. Even though we love Amy very much, we felt this was little enough sacrifice we could make for the American people.



Moral leadership and voluntary desegregation: that is my proposal. As I said during the campaign, I support forced bussing only as a last resort. And as I stated in my debate with President Ford, I think this last resort is being overused and I like the way the Burger Court seems to be recognizing this.

I know you'll say the voluntary approach has never worked before and Blacks have waited long enough for



"Enough black?"

quality, integrated education. But I'm confident that with a high-minded, moral man like me in the White House, and with little Amy down the street at Thaddeus Stevens elementary and with love beaming out of my administration into every corner of the land we'll make a go of it this time around.

**Q.: What is your attitude toward the recent Supreme Court decision on disability payments to pregnant women, and what proposals do you have to make progress in the struggle against sex discrimination?**

**A.:** Roslyn — who is my closest advisor — and myself are opposed to discrimination on the basis of sex. Would I consider a woman for a Cabinet position if we weren't? And I still favor passage of the ERA. At this point I don't have any concrete proposals for women. As far as the Supreme Court decision, I haven't had time to study it. But I will say this. It has been estimated that the cost to the large corporations of disability payments to pregnant women would run in the neighborhood of \$1.3 billion dollars; such a sum might be inflationary.

**Q.: In summation, then, Mr. Carter, what you are telling us is this: working people can expect as much progress on the questions of unemployment and jobs, minorities and women can expect as much progress towards equality, and the American people can expect as democratic a government as the limits of the profits of the monopolies and the interests of their owners allow?**

**A.:** Did you have to put it that way?

# SEPTA Puts It On The Workers

The TWU's contract with SEPTA expires this spring. Among the workers' most important demands are a substantial wage increase, and paid sick days.

At the same time, citizens of Philadelphia — through the Coalition for Better Transportation — are crying out against cutbacks in service and the proposed fare increase.

We can expect that the SEPTA Board will use its typical tactics of blaming unsafe riding conditions, poor service, and a fare increase on the transit workers themselves. Price increases in industries as diverse as steel and hospitals are blamed on "greedy big labor" as workers seek to keep pace with skyrocketing inflation which keeps eating away at their paychecks and standard of living. In the case of public employees, this tactic is even more effective, as politicians faced by protesting citizens point the finger at workers who are paid by "your tax dollars."

However, the time has come when working people — both public employees and the community of working people they supposedly serve — can see through this farce. In the case of transit workers, many of them are Black, and they know the full brunt of the racist cutbacks in their communities. Curtailment of "nightowl" service came down hardest on lines which serve the Black community, while this is the sector that needs public transporta-



tion the most. Similarly, the layoffs resulting from these cuts affected Black SEPTA workers most.

All working people in Philadelphia have an interest in defeating the cutbacks in SEPTA. Similarly, we have an interest in supporting to whatever degree necessary the struggle of the TWU in its demands for a decent contract. An end to cutbacks and restoration of service means more jobs and an end to layoffs for transit workers as well as better and more consistent service for the communities. Vehicle safety means safe working conditions for SEPTA workers, decent jobs in

maintenance, and safer riding for the public.

At the same time, we must support the demands of the SEPTA workers for a better wage, while opposing the fare increase and insisting that the corporations and big business be taxed on their profits to foot the bill. After all, even though they never have to ride the rickety EI or wait in the snow for a half hour for a bus, these bosses depend on SEPTA to get us to work.

Working people — both the riding public and the SEPTA workers — need better,

cheaper, safer public transportation. Make those who can afford it pay! Support the SEPTA workers in their struggle for a decent contract!

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# as contract deadline looms Budd Co. On The Move Against The UAW

Budd is using the "Godfather" negotiating technique: "Make them an offer they can't refuse". But the rank and file may be fed up.

by Joe Lewandowski

LNS/cpf

As the January 15 contract termination date nears, Budd workers are still in the dark about the concrete goals which their union plans to achieve at the bargaining table.

The Budd Co. has, however, been a little clearer about its objectives. True to its slogan, the Budd Co. is "on the move" against the UAW and the rank and file workers in the shop. In its initial bargaining proposal the company showed that it intended to take a hard line by demanding several "take-away" provisions including reduced union representation and the reduction of company-paid benefits.

## SKILLED TRADES: NEXT IN LINE FOR ATTACK

The skilled trades, in particular, are the focus of a serious company attack this year. In all of the bargaining units, the company is demanding greater freedom in combining skilled trades job classifications, a measure which will lead to the loss of many jobs.

With so little information coming from the union leadership, it's pretty difficult to know exactly what's happening behind the negotiating room's closed doors. But most Budd workers will admit that the situation looks like a prizefight in which one fighter is down nine rounds, is trying to protect his head, and backpedaling at the same time. Both local unions in Philadelphia have been dealt some crushing body blows, and neither have yet shown any heart -- much less effective counterpunching.

Throughout the whole preceding year the company has been on the offensive. The aim of this attack has been to increase productivity through speed-up and the elimination of jobs, to strengthen management's disciplinary control, and to seriously threaten the power of the union at every level.

These are some of the losses Budd workers suffered during the past year:

\* Last spring, Budd announced that it was re-evaluating its Red Lion plant because of serious losses in its automotive division. It proposed eliminating maximum production quotas (production caps) for automotive workers as the first of "several sacrifices" workers would be asked to make -- none of which would guarantee the salvation of the plant or 2000 jobs. Without even a pretense of challenge, the UAW International and the Local 92 leadership swallowed this one hook, line, and sinker.

The result has been speed-up, some rate cutting, and increased management harassment for press operators and assembly workers. The lone shop steward who opposed the company's proposal was

suspended for 30 days on trumped-up charges. The local union leadership treated this attack on one of its own representatives as if it were a minor matter and ultimately lost the steward's grievance.

## HUNTING PARK LOSES HUNDREDS OF JOBS

\* The company is now in the process of closing down a whole section of its Hunting Park plant because it is an old and unsafe building (and has been for years).

Although the company had sufficient space to locate the displaced jobs elsewhere in the plant, Local 813 leadership failed to mobilize the rank and file in a campaign to retain the work in the plant. As a result, about 400 low-seniority workers will be laid off, many permanently. They will be joining hundreds of skilled workers from the tool and die shop who have been put out on the street over the past few years.

\* Some 1500 workers at Hunting Park were laid off for about two months on the heels of the Ford Strike. When about 1000 of them returned to work the first week in December they were notified there would be overtime during the holiday vacation week. This meant that the 500 laid off workers would stay laid off and lose their holiday pay. It also gave the company an opportunity to build up its inventory to protect itself against a strike in January.

Obviously, this offensive is being planned and coordinated from the highest offices in Budd's Detroit headquarters. Management shake-ups, increased disciplinary activity, rate-cutting and job-cutting and

attacks on union representatives have been evident throughout the Budd system. In the past few months, workers at Budd's Gary, Indiana plant have wildcatted twice to protest rate-cutting in their plant.

## BUDD'S TACTICS: DIVIDE AND CONQUER

Throughout this campaign the company has shown that it is skillful at divide and conquer tactics. It pits local leaderships against one another in competition for jobs. It often attacks one division, one classification, one group, one union representative or worker at a time.

## RACISM MEANS DEFEAT FOR ALL

The victims of that attack were the automotive workers who are still bitter at being abandoned by their brothers in railcar and the skilled trades, where the majority of workers are white. The next victims may well be the skilled tradesmen who are under attack in this contract. Will they be able to count on the support of production workers as long as they allow discrimination to keep Black workers out of the skilled trades and fail to defend production workers against company speed-up plans?

## RANK and FILE CONTRACT PROGRAM

### JOB SECURITY

1. Restrictions against outside contracting, including NO contracting to non-union shops and NO contracting during layoffs.  
Restrictions against the movement of work out of any plant.

### EQUALITY

2. Eliminate discrimination in upgrades by getting a contract commitment from the Company to significantly increase the percentage of Black workers in skilled and semi-skilled jobs. All production workers upgrading into the skilled trades to hold reclaimable seniority in the event of a layoff.

3. In-plant job posting and upgrades on the basis of seniority. Opportunity to learn the job before a worker can be failed out.

### SAFETY & HEALTH

4. Right of a steward to shut down a job that poses an immediate danger.  
5. The right to strike over safety grievances.

### WAGES

6. Downtime at average wages, and payment for ALL time lost.  
7. Wage increase for skilled trades of 35 cents up front.  
8. 50 cents up front for service workers.

A classic example of divide and conquer strategy won Budd a big victory at the Red Lion plant this year. Although the plant has two divisions -- chassis and railcar -- the company has focused its attack on incentive workers in the chassis division, which has the greatest concentration of Black workers. The workers in other areas of the plant were told they had a choice: either to accept the company proposal which would lead to worsening conditions in automotive but which would not affect their own job, or face the possible loss of their job. Thanks to the company intimidation and the union leadership's support, the company proposal won by a narrow margin in a mass rank and file vote.

By maintaining racial segregation in the skilled trades and other job classifications, and by provoking and manipulating racism in the shop and in the union, the company has found the key to easy successes at its Hunting Park and Red Lion plants.

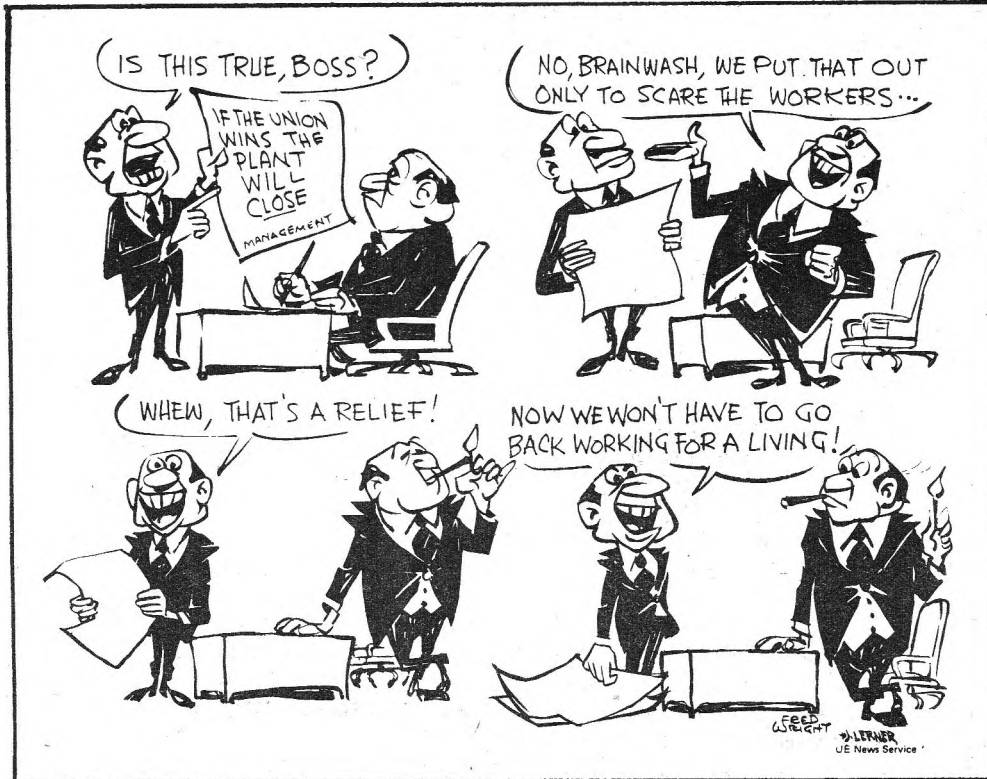
With the company nine rounds up and one round to go, what can Budd workers expect from the bargaining table? Even though the Budd Company is enjoying record profits of over \$27 million dollars in the past year, the national Budd Council may have to call a strike just to get something less than the pitiful pattern established by the Big Three. Two other small parts producers, Dana and Eaton, have already settled for less than the pattern.

The company will probably be toughest in the local agreements. Besides targeting skilled tradesmen, the company is calling for greater disciplinary powers and some method of controlling absenteeism. Budd is well aware that the local unions in Philadelphia are weak and on the defensive and may very well force a strike in order to make their victory over the union decisive.

## RANK AND FILE MOVEMENT DECISIVE

If push does come to shove, the most significant factor determining a defeat or a victory could be the strength and organization of the rank and file movement at the Hunting Park and Red Lion plants. For months rank and file caucuses at both plants, the Blue Ribbon Group of Local 92 and the Concerned Members of Local 813, have been preparing for this

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contract with contract surveys, a rank and file convention and educational newsletters distributed throughout the plant.

These rank and file caucuses have consistently opposed and fought against the company's offensive at both plants and in doing so have gained the respect and support of hundreds of workers.

The rank and file forces believe that the tide could be turned, that the union could go on the offensive and that significant improvements could be made on the weak pattern established at Ford.

At the Budd UAW Rank and File Convention in November an eight-point contract program was agreed upon. All the demands except for the economic

demands could be won in local agreements. (See box for rank and file contract program.)

The rank and file movement has had a significant, but not as yet a dramatic effect on the bargaining committees at both plants. The local leaderships have given lip service to the demands which the rank and file are urging them to take up, but there is little evidence that they are willing to fight for these demands in earnest. However, they also realize that the rank and file at both plants will not continue to suffer further defeats at the hands of the company.

If the company does force a showdown strike, many workers at both plants who have been sitting on the fence will look to the Blue Ribbon Group and the

Concerned Members to provide the leadership and organization necessary to turn the strike into a solid victory for the rank and file.

At this point, a victory for Budd workers is critically important. A defeat in this contract could cause setbacks in wages and working conditions that will take years to reverse. The current recovery in the auto industry has kept most Budd workers steadily employed for the past 18 months. But while Budd workers may have money in their pockets today, they still have no guarantee that they will have their jobs a few months from now.

All economic indicators point to an economic downturn in the future. Sales of 1977 model cars for October were significantly below industry expectations.

If sales fail to improve by the spring, big inventories of unsold cars may lead to plant closings and layoffs throughout the industry. If the economy continues downward to another recession, Budd workers will face a very tough three years before they have the opportunity to get a decent contract.

Now is the time for Budd workers to act. A good contract is not a contract that falls short of the pattern agreement. A good contract is one that begins to meet the vital needs of Budd workers for job security, equality, health and safety, and economic security. Only an active, unified and vocal rank and file movement will bring that kind of contract home this year.

# Building THE ORGANIZER: an appeal to our readers



'The company was demanding that our union accept a 15% wage cut. They told us that they would move the plant if we didn't go along. People wanted to fight against this, but we couldn't figure out what we would do to stop the company if they actually tried to follow through on their threat.'

Knowing what to do is where the *Organizer* comes in. More and more workers are coming to understand that its just not enough to get angry at what the monopoly corporations are doing to us. From the shop floor to the trade unions and on the whole spectrum of local, national, and international issues that face the working class we need political understanding and organization if we are going to go forward. The *Organizer* tries to fill this gap.

Newspapers like the *Bulletin* and the *Daily News* also offer "analysis" of the questions facing working people today. While this analysis is presented as objective, fair-minded reporting with no axe to grind, the fact is that these newspapers, owned as they are by the capitalist class, look at the world from the viewpoint of the owners. We look at things strictly from the standpoint of the working class. Our viewpoint, Marxism-Leninism, represents the experience of struggle of the working class, not only here in the U. S. but all over the world. It is this science of society, developed by Marx and Engels and further advanced by Lenin, Stalin, and

movement. A newspaper that will actively draw people into the struggle in the shops and neighborhoods...whether it be for a decent contract in auto, desegregation of schools, recalling Rizzo or getting the U. S. out of southern Africa. We don't think these are separate struggles but part of one larger struggle...the struggle against monopoly capitalism. We want to show the relationship of these struggles in our paper and help in merging them into a broad revolutionary movement. To do this the *Organizer* not only must inform but must organize as well.

In the almost two years we have been publishing the *Organizer* we believe we have made real strides in this direction, but we are far from satisfied. There are not enough workers actively involved in writing, distributing, and studying the *Organizer*. The *Organizer* itself is not timely enough. Its coverage of whats going on in the shops needs to be improved.

In the coming year we are planning to bring out the *Organizer* on a monthly basis (instead of bi-monthly as presently is the case). We hope that a monthly will be much better able to aid the struggle in the shops. But this will only be the case if we get more participation from you, our readers.

PWOC but who relate to the *Organizer* as a means of building the rank and file movement.

We want to use the pages of the *Organizer* to expose the conditions in the shops and help build the fight for militant unionism, rank and file democracy, and racial equality in our union locals. To do this we need more workers to be correspondents for the *Organizer*. We need more articles like the story on Alan Wood written by a steelworker in this

issue, or the interview with an activist in the Red Lion Budd local which appeared last month. If you work at a plant where we distribute the *Organizer* and there's a shop or union problem you want to see reporting on, let us know. Or better yet, write it up yourself and give it to us.

We want to build up a whole network of correspondents who will write more or less regularly for the *Organizer*. To be a worker correspondent you don't have to agree with everything in the paper and you don't have to be a great writer either. If you're into building the struggle in your shop and you think the *Organizer* can help, get in touch with us, either by writing to us or talking to one of us who distributes the paper at the plant.

### DISTRIBUTE THE ORGANIZER

Right now we give away the *Organizer* in many plants, but when we go monthly we will be selling most issues. A paper can have fine content, but if it doesn't get into the hands of readers, its useless. We need workers to distribute the paper both in their own shops and out in front of other shops. This is an essential task in building the newspaper. It is also a good way to meet other politically minded activists who are attracted to the paper.

### JOIN AN ORGANIZER CIRCLE

The best way to use the *Organizer* to educate ourselves is to discuss its contents

with other workers who have similar interests and problems. An *Organizer Circle* is a study group organized around the paper. The Circle meets in somebody's home, generally once a month, and is led by a member of the PWOC. Usually two or three of the most important and relevant articles are discussed in depth, with the discussion leader providing a brief presentation to give some background on the topic. The emphasis is on getting people's questions out and developing some answers out of discussion.

Ideally, an *Organizer circle* is based on people from a particular shop or industry so that you are in a group with people with whom you share common problems and a focus for common work. When this is impossible the Circle consists of people from different shops and industries.

While the focus in an *Organizer circle* is on study and discussion, it is not study divorced from our everyday problems as workers. The Circle tries to provide the kind of knowledge and understanding that will aid us in our practical organizing work in the rank and file movement. Many of the questions the Circle will take up will have a direct bearing on that work... an article on a contract settlement in your industry, for example, while others will be more general...the importance of the struggle against racism in building the rank and file movement, for example, or why we need a new Communist Party for another example.

So if you like the *Organizer* and you think it can help in solving the problems faced by the working class, talk or write to us about joining a Circle.

More worker correspondents, more worker distribution agents, and more *Organizer circles* in the shops. . . . These things, along with a monthly format, are the key elements we see in building the *Organizer* in the coming year. . . . And we are going to need your help.

### WANTED: WORKERS CORRESPONDENTS



Mao Tse-Tung, among others, and applied to the concrete conditions of today to the best of our ability is what provides the analysis that appears in the *Organizer*.

### THE ORGANIZER: WEAPON FOR STRUGGLE

The *Organizer* does not exist just to inform. We want to build a newspaper that is a weapon in the hands of the workers

The *Organizer* is published by the Philadelphia Workers Organizing Committee. We get the money to print the paper from subscriptions and sales, and make up the rest from dues our members pay. We presently have no full-time staff or professional writers. Most of our articles are written by members of the PWOC who also work in the shops. Others are written by workers who are not members of the



# Rank & File Unionism Threatens Steel Bureacracy

by Anna Gold

"The workers and the boss have nothing in common. It is a class question." Sounds like a soapbox speech from the 30's, right? Certainly it couldn't be an official from the Steelworkers' Union talking!

After all, labor statesman Abel forced the steelworkers in 1973 to swallow the Experimental Negotiating Agreement - an agreement by labor not to strike even if collective bargaining fails - and that hardly sounds like a class struggle approach! And yet that statement did come from a steelworkers' official - 38-year-old Edward Sadlowski.

Sadlowski isn't just talking to hear himself talk either. Currently director of District 31, covering the concentration of mills around the southern end of Lake Michigan from Chicago to Gary, Indiana, Sadlowski is challenging Lloyd McBride. Abel chose McBride personally to succeed him as international president of the 1.4 million member United Steelworkers of America, the largest union in the AFL-CIO. It's Sadlowski and his loosely organized army of rank and file supporters against Abel's well-oiled, professional machine - and the machine is worried about the outcome of the February election.

## RANK AND FILE CHALLENGE

And it's not just Abel who's worried. Sadlowski represents today a new movement in the trade unions. He is the latest and perhaps one of the strongest to openly attack the iron grip of the class collaborationist labor bureaucracies. Sadlowski is just the tip of the iceberg, and the bureaucrats and the capitalists whose interests they represent are afraid of the rebellious rank and file movement he represents. The ruling class knows full well that a working class conscious of its own potential and its own strength can no longer be held back, and that is why a challenge such as Sadlowski's, however mild it may seem, is a very serious threat.

To the vast majority of Americans, Sadlowski is a real radical, and he and his campaign have been consistently red-baited. "You can make it sound like any kind of revolutionary rhetoric you want", he answers, "but the fact is it's the working class versus the coupon clipper. The boss is there for one damn purpose alone, and that is to make money, not to make steel, and it's going to come out of the worker's back."

The race is more than just a contest between two men. It is a test between two concepts of trade unionism. The difference between McBride and Sadlowski can best be illustrated by three main campaign issues: Sadlowski believes that the rank and file should have the right to ratify any and all contracts before they are approved by the union, while McBride believes as does Abel, that membership ratification in basic steel would weaken the union's ability to bargain with the major steel manufacturers. While McBride supports the ENA, Sadlowski has actively opposed it: "It is diametrically opposed to my views of what a labor agreement should be. . . . It strips labor of what it is all about. ENA removes the threat of a strike, which is often more powerful than even a strike itself." Finally, Sadlowski has opposed the recent dues hike and insists that it should have been submitted to the membership for approval, and McBride considers that such an impractical and pure sort of democracy could only end in chaos.

## MILITANCY AND DEMOCRACY

As each campaign issue unfolds, Sadlowski and McBride fall on opposite sides of the fence around two basic principles: how much rank and file democracy is necessary, and how militant a union should be with respect to the manufacturers.

Sadlowski is fighting for a union leadership which is forced to be responsible to the base, while Abel's machine considers such a position to be idealistic and impractical -- a mere attempt to court votes by charisma and sweet-talk.

Sadlowski is looking for the union to return to the militancy of the thirties, a militancy which depended on the strength of the people united rather than on the sophisticated, statesman-like negotiations of today's labor bureaucrats. A good many of his followers take very seriously his stand for the six-hour day, an end to layoffs during the length of a contract, an end to compulsory overtime, and other such reforms.

Sadlowski's history as an independent and militant trade unionist goes much farther back than this particular cam-

He has made some advances: while Abel considered the consent decree a tremendous victory for minority workers in steel, Sadlowski has called for the struggle against racism to go further. He has supported the demand for a total reform of the seniority system, more bidding for jobs, and plant or corporation-wide seniority.

His slate includes both Black and Spanish-speaking candidates, while Abel included a Black member on his racist team only recently and as a result of pressures from the rank and file. These steps are only a beginning, however, and must be followed up by a more systematic program against discrimination if Sadlowski is truly to establish a new kind of unionism.

Sadlowski has also shown real weakness in his understanding of the need for a frontal attack on anti-communism. While he has consistently opposed red-baiting, he has not understood the need to defend the right of communists to play an active part in union politics. His vacillation around this issue leaves the door open for red-baiting to successfully silence union members, despite his insistence on his be-

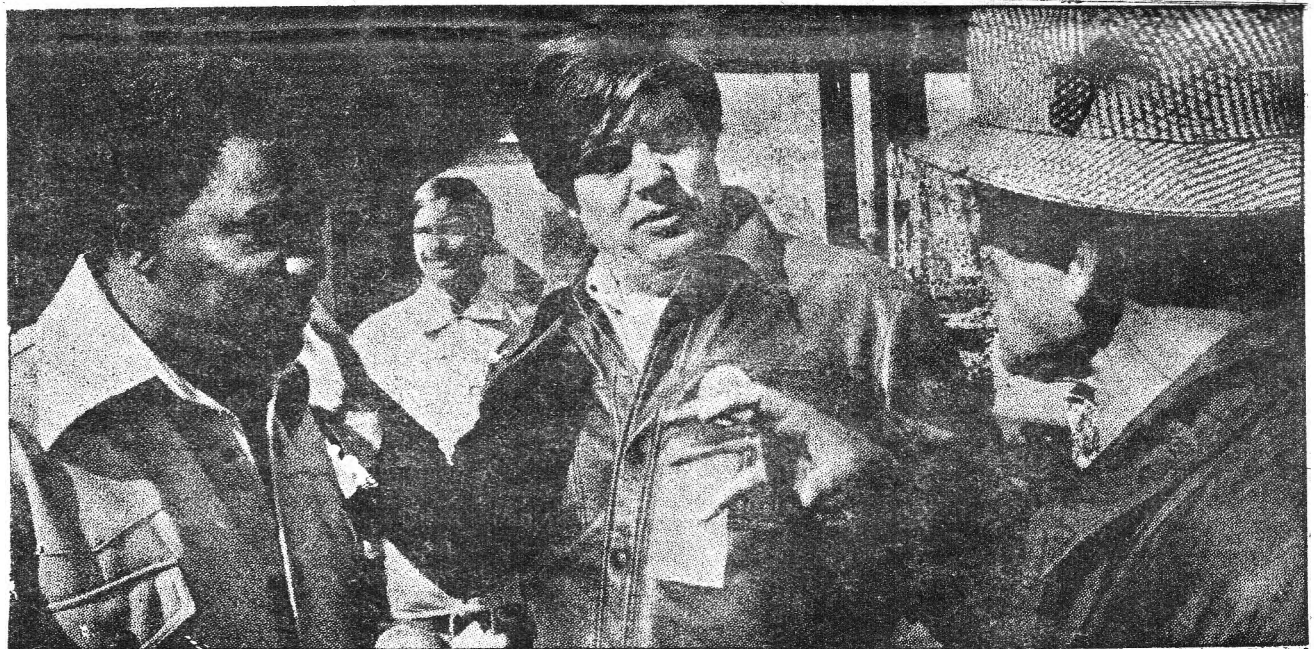
lowski victory, can force the new administration not only to carry through on already defined goals, but also to expand its understanding to class struggle unionism.

## DOGMATISTS DENOUNCE SADLOWSKI

Sadlowski isn't a communist, he isn't a socialist, and his program definitely suffers from real inconsistencies. His weaknesses have so outraged the dogmatists like the October League that they have even called for a boycott of the elections.

"Ed Sadlowski in the USWA. . . ha(s) latched onto and even developed caucuses as instruments for derailing and suppressing the genuine rank and file rebellion at the same time that they promote themselves into positions in the trade union bureaucracy", argues OL. Sadlowski, they argue, hopes "to turn rank and file anger away from its developing revolutionary directions." For the first time in many years the class collaborationist Abel machine is being forced to face a serious challenge to its policies, spontaneous discontent is being organized and is finding a voice, and the OL calls

## SADLOWSKI CHALLENGES ABEL MACHINE



United Steelworkers union insurgent Ed Sadlowski (center).

At 25 years old he beat the incumbent of 25 years on the basis of his reputation as a fighter for the rights of rank and file workers. In 1968 he was an active opponent of the Vietnam War, speaking against it in the union's convention as well as leafletting against it in the mills.

Even his recent election as director of District 31 came only as a result of a four year struggle which included petitioning the Labor Department for a new election in 1973 because of massive vote fraud. He was elected in 1974 by a large margin, despite active opposition from Abel's machine.

Clearly, Sadlowski's major weakness is his failure to put forward a consistent and strong program against racism and sexism. However, to the extent that his campaign and his strength is dependent on the support of the rank and file, to that extent he will be forced to develop this area.

lief in the right of all members to voice their opinions.

The bosses aren't nearly so confused about what Sadlowski represents. They know that the campaign around him has the potential of unleashing years of worker discontent and militancy, and as the president of Illinois Slag and Ballast Co. said, negotiations with him would be "a new ball game".

The Sadlowski movement could indeed force a whole new ball game, but the future of their program depends much less on the man himself than on the strength of the rank and file movement. The Sadlowski campaign has initiated the formation of a network of fightback committees based in the shops and mills and run by rank and file dissidents. It is these committees and others like them that can force the success of the rank and file movement behind Sadlowski. It is these committees which, if they remain organized and active even after a Sad-

for a boycott of the elections to protect the purity of some mythical "pure" revolutionary workers movement!

Instead of looking for reasons to boycott this tremendously important mass movement, communists and radicals must join actively in the Sadlowski campaign. They must dedicate themselves to the task of consolidating rank and file organizations spontaneously formed around the campaign, and they must fight for the adoption of ever more advanced programs by these same committees.

The rank and file organization must provide both the basis of support necessary to Sadlowski to carry out his promises and the pressure to insure that he remembers them. As Sadlowski himself has pointed out repeatedly to his supporters, the only way to insure that the membership will receive honest and responsible union leadership is to "keep your foot up my butt"! It is up to the activists and the left wing to make sure that the rank and file makes this suggestion a reality.



# Bell Hike Hits Worker and Consumer

By MEGAN O'MALLEY

In the past few years our take home pay has shrunk so much that paying for bare necessities is not easy anymore. While food and rent have doubled, the electric company has raised their rates 200%, the gas company plans to double their rates this year and now the phone company is demanding more of our hard-earned money.

Bell of Pa. recently requested that by January 4th the Public Utilities Commission allow them to charge \$139 MILLION more for telephone service this year. Our December telephone bill included an outline of just who will be paying this additional \$139 Million if the rate hike is approved.

paper only, to end discrimination against its Black employees, it continues unchallenged its equally racist discrimination against Black and other minority customers.

## BELL WORKERS FACE LAYOFFS, SPEED-UP

Bell workers, along with customers, will be paying a high price for rate increases. For Bell of Pa. workers this rate increase not only means taking a greater chunk of their pay, but for many it could take their jobs as well. In other cities where the Directory Assistance charge went into effect layoffs took place almost immediately.



organizer graphic

	We pay now	We would pay after the Rate Hike
*Basic Monthly Charge	\$8.20	\$9.50
*To use a pay phone	\$ .10	\$ .20
*Directory Assistance (411) Charge	Nothing	\$ .20 per call
*O' Operator Assistance — (Verify a busy signal, make a local connection)	Nothing	\$ .25 per call
*To call time of day	\$ .05	\$ .15 per call
*Installing, moving, or changing telephone service will also increase.		

While none of us can afford to pay higher telephone bills, the people who can least afford it will be hardest hit. Those people who are on fixed incomes; Senior Citizens on Social Security and the people who are unemployed and trying to live on either Unemployment Compensation Insurance or Welfare. Black and other minority communities who already suffer higher telephone bills, but who get poorer service, will be shouldering more of the burden.

## RACIST POLICIES HIT BLACK CUSTOMERS

Bell's racist policies come down hard on Black customers. This is clear if we look at some of the many ways Bell discriminates against customers simply on the basis of their being non-white.

Bell classifies its customers A,B,C, or D, depending on which part of town you live in. For instance, if you live in a predominantly Black community like North Philly, you are rated "D" and have to pay an enormous deposit just to get a phone installed. On the other hand if you live in a predominantly white community like Balu Cynwyd, you are rated "A" and do not have to pay a deposit at all.

Again, "D" rated customers immediately have their telephone service shut off if they are a few days late in paying their bill. It makes no difference how regularly the customer has paid the bill in the past. To get telephone service restored the "D" rated customer would have to pay that huge deposit all over again.

The "A" rated customer, however, who is late paying their telephone bills would not be inconvenienced at all. They would simply pay it the following month with no interruption in service.

Studies have shown that it takes longer to get a phone installed and you have to wait longer to get it repaired if you are Black or Puerto Rican. Telephone business offices are only open from 9 to 5 on weekdays and are almost never located in the Black community. This makes it next to impossible for Black people to follow through on complaints of over-billing errors or poor service.

There are no Spanish speaking operators being hired to serve Chicano or Puerto Rican neighborhoods. Even in emergency situations where the caller spoke no English, operators have been disciplined for speaking Spanish at the Board.

While Bell has been forced to agree on

In Atlanta, Ga., 250 employees were laid off as a result of the D.A. charge. In Cincinnati, Ohio, the charge reduced calls going into Directory Assistance by 80% and 200 jobs were lost. Michigan Bell laid off 400 employees one week after they received a \$53 Million rate increase. In New York, 500 operators hit the streets while 2,000 more were forced to work a 4-day work week, at 4 days pay of course. Bell of New York is again requesting another rate increase! Just to mention a few.

## MEANWHILE PROFITS KEEP CLIMBING

You could almost understand a company charging more for their product if they were truly losing money. But just the opposite is happening at Bell of Pa. Look at who has benefitted from the last two rate increases:

Year	PUC Approved Rate Increases	Bell of Pa. Profits	Number of Employees
1974	\$116 Million	\$335 Million	33,660
1975	\$52 Million	\$395 Million	33,004



peg orwill  
— LIBERATION NEWS SERVICE —

The figures show that Bell of Pa. profits are sky-rocketing from rate increases paid by the public. The figures also show that Bell of Pa. employees are losing their jobs. Between 1974 and 1975 Bell got rid of 656 employees through automation and speed-up.

This is just the beginning of a serious cutback in the Bell workforce. Between 1976 and 1979 the company will be eliminating 3,000 operator jobs throughout

Pa., due to automated equipment. The new telephone stores, one in Fort Washington, where you can buy a phone and install it yourself will be eliminating many many installing jobs. Plans to do away with Switchmen are next.

In Chicago, Bell introduced the No. 4 Electronic Switching System which will do away with at least 3,000 long lines craft jobs. This system will be installed and working early in 1977 in Wayne, Pa. Not even considering this latest request for higher rates the amount of money that Bell will be saving on wages through fewer workers will literally run into the Millions.

Automation could be a good thing if it weren't being mis-used by the company. It could make jobs easier for their employees instead of just higher profits for Bell. Workers who don't end up getting kicked off the payroll because of automa-

tion end up doing twice as much work with no more pay.

## BELL EMPLOYEES WORK TO STOP THE RATE INCREASE

A leaflet protesting this rate hike was recently circulated by a group of Bell employees, the Rank and File Committee of Local 1944. The RFC urged all Bell employees to take a militant stand against this rate increase and suggested ways

employees can work to save their jobs.

The Rank and File Committee of Local 1944 explained that American Telephone and Telegraph Co., owner of Bell of Pa. (and the other 22 Bell Telephone companies across the country) recently made a PROFIT OF OVER ONE BILLION DOLLARS IN ONLY THREE MONTHS. They called AT&T a "greedy monopoly" and rightly so.

The Rank and File Committee suggested that instead of taking their profits directly out of the hides of the public and their employees that Bell should cut Executive salaries -- DeButts, Chairman of AT&T makes \$341,000 a year and the President of Bell of Pa. makes \$160,000 a year. Hundreds of Bell and AT&T executives line their pockets with high salaries off the profits of our labor, says the Rank and File Committee.

The Rank and File Committee suggested reducing supervision would be a money saver. "We don't need all those highly paid management spies who do not work but constantly spy and harass the workers" they said.

Another way AT&T needlessly wastes money cited by the Rank and File Committee is through advertising. They spend \$80 Million on advertising each year. Why does a monopoly that has no competition need to advertize? The best suggestion is to let "Big Business" shoulder the burden of AT&T's profits, not us. It makes sense since it's big corporations who use and need phone services to keep making those high profits; they can afford to pay more for phone service, we can't

The Rank and File Committee of Local 1944 feels that if enough pressure is put on the Public Utilities Commission that we all could stop the rate hike. They suggested that we use the power of our unions to stop Bell.

\*Insist that your Union leadership file a Formal Complaint with the Pennsylvania Public Utilities Commission in Harrisburg, Pa. protesting the rate hike NOW.

\* Attend the Public Hearings that the PUC intends to hold in Phila.

\* Support the Bell workers by attending upcoming demonstrations planned in conjunction with CEPA.

The PUC has delayed their decision until July 1977. The Pa. Public Utilities Commission will automatically let Bell have this new rate increase unless we try to stop them. We can if we ACT NOW!



# LAW AND ORDER PHILADELPHIA ST

by Belinda Williams

Donald Woodruff, twenty-four and white, was the third cop in the history of Philadelphia, and the first in over five years to face charges of homicide. He was charged with voluntary and involuntary manslaughter in the shooting death of Michael Sherard, a Black youth. (See *the Organizer*, April - May issue.)

In February of 1976, officer Woodruff and his partner spotted sixteen year old Michael carrying a television set and immediately suspected that it was stolen "because it was a Sunday, and all the stores were closed and many homes were empty because people were at church."

Doris Eaton, who lives on the fifth floor of the Queen Lane projects, was sitting by the window that morning waiting for her daughter to return from church when she saw a young man being chased by a policeman enter the playground.

"The policeman was behind him, (Michael), he dropped to his knees and aimed. I heard two shots -- bang, bang -- and the boy fell flat on his face."

## ACCORDING TO THE MANUAL . . .

Philadelphia police are instructed from the very beginning of their training that police officers are to use their guns only under very limited circumstances. A police officer is justified in using deadly force when he believes he is shooting at someone who has committed a serious crime involving violence, and only when that person may escape and injure or kill someone. An officer may shoot in self-defense if he "reasonably believes" he is shooting at someone who has the intention of killing him first.

In the case of Michael Sherard, the defense argued that officer Woodruff had reason to believe that he was chasing a felon -- and that his suspicions were justifiably aroused when he saw the youth carrying a television set on the street in an area with a high burglary rate. The defense attorney argued further that the cops suspicions were confirmed when Michael threw the television set and ran.

## RACISM IN THE COURTROOM

In his hour and a half summation, Peruto made a subtle appeal to the prejudices of the all-white jury. He argued that Woodruff was a defendant in this case because he is a "good cop." If he weren't a good cop, he wouldn't have pursued and gotten his man. The implication of that argument being that Michael -- a young Black man -- would be alive today to roam the streets and burglarize at will, if Woodruff wasn't the good cop that he is.

Peruto's racism was not so subtle though, in reference to the witnesses for the prosecution. Peruto said the jurors should view the prosecution witnesses as "biased



and prejudiced." He asked the jurors if they would buy a used car from the community people based on their credibility as witnesses. "Every citizen bent on crime in that area (Pulaskitown) knows about the regulation not to go into the building (housing project) alone. Every time they (cops) come near, stones, bottles, and chicken bones come out of the windows."

Donald Woodruff was acquitted of manslaughter in the shooting death of Michael Sherard.

## "MAYBE THE LAW WAS UNCLEAR"

Despite the fact that Woodruff was acquitted, six of the twelve jurors said they did not feel that the cop was justified in shooting the youth. The single largest question that arose among the jurors was whether or not the cop had a right to kill. During the day and a half of deliberations, the jurors votes changed several times. "We had so many doubts about almost everything that we were convinced we couldn't convict beyond a reasonable doubt," one juror said. Another juror explained that "by voting not guilty we were not saying we felt Woodruff was innocent. Too many of us just thought the policeman acted improperly. But we were confused by the law. . . Maybe the problem was that the law was unclear."

One juror who at first voted guilty and then changed his vote several times, said of the deliberations, "It was mind-boggling. To me it was cut and dry. A cop killed a kid. There was no provocation. The cop was guilty." Another question that arose which disturbed the jurors was that they and the policeman were white and the victim was Black. One juror asked, "What if it was a white kid killed by a Black cop? How would we feel as a jury?" Most jurors felt that they were not racially prejudiced, but it was clear that none of them could know what it's like "to live in a Black project where the police and the kids are enemies."

It is obvious that the outcome of the trial was a most decided victory for the Philadelphia Police Department. What is important to underline here is that three

policemen in this city's history have been indicted on homicide charges, but *none has ever been convicted*. The power of judge, jury and executioner continues to be vested in the blue uniform. And as Michael's mother, Jane Sherard, said during the trial, "This is not just the Sherard case, this is the Germantown, Philadelphia case, and if the Philadelphia Police Department allows this conduct to go on, who will be next?"

Jane Sherard is right of course -- Donald Woodruff is still on the street, as are many other nameless cops who are allowed to brutalize, wound and even kill the citizenry with impunity. It is clear that we must begin to seek other means to put a curb on the police who have a long history of harassment and abuse particularly in the Black and other oppressed minority communities.

## HAPPIER CIRCUMSTANCES: THE PISTACHIO CASE

If the Sherard case is any indication, it is clear that we won't get far by going after policemen in the criminal courts. Some real victories have been won, though, in civil suits for victims of police abuse. In 1975, about \$400,000 in damages was paid out by the city to people who made claims against the police department.

Elliott Branch, a student at the University of Pennsylvania, recently was awarded \$53,000 in damages for what the *Philadelphia Inquirer* called the "\$.79 Pistachio Nut Case." Branch, who is Black, had been roughed up and threatened at gun-point by a harassment-happy detective, Martin Vitkow, for allegedly having lifted a bag of pistachio nuts from the Penn Fruit at 43rd and Walnut.

Vitkow, who is white, denied ever touching the student. Penn Fruit never pursued the charges, and Elliott Branch gained a victory for himself and the people of Philadelphia.

Another series of events which involved two young white firemen is significant for several reasons. Vincent Marvasi and John Hilferty were not ordinary citizens in the same sense that Michael Sherard, an unemployed youth, and Elliott Branch, a student, were ordinary citizens. Marvasi and Hilferty were firemen -- second cousin to the police. That these two could be harassed, threatened and physically abused by a member of the police force would be unthinkable except that ultimately police brutality is no respecter of color -- or stripe. In addition, this case is one of those rare instances where the police officer in question was actually convicted. Earl Shorty, the cop who blackjacked Vincent Marvasi inside the 17th district station house, resigned shortly after the conviction -- another rarity.

The story goes back to January, 1972, when Marvasi and Hilferty were firemen at the firehouse at 30th and Grays Ferry. It was New Year's Day that year and Hilferty and Earl Shorty had a few words

about two cars parked in front of the stationhouse. Shorty pushed and threatened the fireman, and Shorty was suspended for five days because of that incident after a hearing at which both Marvasi and Hilferty testified.

Six months later, Shorty arrested Marvasi, and beat him with a blackjack. As a result of the beating, Marvasi was hospitalized at PGH for 16 days, off from work for six months, and was retired from the fire department because of his physical inability to perform a fireman's duties. When Hilferty tried to have the police department and the state Attorney General's office do an investigation of the incident, he was fired -- the city said his sideburns were too long, and he had refused to take the psychiatric treatment which the department felt he needed.

## THE \$200,000 REWARD

Both firemen sought damages from the city. The city settled and has agreed, out of court, to award a total of \$200,000 to

# GARY TYLER

## Thousands n



-By AARON GIBBS

Gary Tyler, 18-year-old victim of a racist frame-up, continues to face the death penalty or life imprisonment in Louisiana. Tyler has been confined in jail for over two years despite the fact that the state's key witness repudiated her testimony against Tyler nearly a year ago.

The shooting with which Tyler is charged occurred on October 7, 1974, at Destrehan High School in Destrehan, Louisiana, thirty miles upriver from New Orleans. On that day a series of fights broke out between white and Black students.

## MOB ATTACKS BLACK STUDENT

When the Black students were on school buses to leave the campus, a racist mob of some 200 white youth and adults attacked them with rocks and bottles and

## AN OPEN COMMUNITY FORUM

"Police Brutality and Repression in the Black Community"

January 12, 1976 at 7:30 pm  
Church of the Advocate  
18th and Diamond Streets

sponsored by:  
The Muhammed Adil  
Defense Committee  
The Malik Chaka Defense Committee





# PHILADELPHIA STYLE: 3 CASES OF POL



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As Marvasi said after the trial, the money is "not going to take away the pain and hurt I've been through in the last four years." He still fears retaliation from the city -- "What's to stop them from planting an ounce of marijuana in my car and arresting me?"

While these civil suits were real victories, the civil suit route is unlikely to provide any real deterrent to police brutality. The fact that the city might end up dishing out some of the taxpayers' money to vic-

tims of brutal cops isn't going to do much to make the cop on beat think twice before he goes up side of your head with his night stick.

Hundreds of cases like the Sherard case here in Philadelphia and elsewhere across the country have made it clear that the courts, left to their own devices, will not effectively prosecute police abuse, whether it be corruption or brutality. Still less can we expect that the police department will police itself.

As John Hilfirty pointed out after his case was completed -- nothing gets changed. In reference to his own trial, he said, "the Rizzo administration (has) demonstrated once again that the Philadelphia Police Department is incapable of policing its own, or unwilling."

A Civilian Review Board, with the Black community and other oppressed national-

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## GARY TYLER, Victim of a Racist Thousands mobilize to defend him



The Call/cpf

-By AARON GIBBS

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The shooting with which Tyler is charged occurred on October 7, 1974, at Destrehan High School in Destrehan, Louisiana, thirty miles upriver from New Orleans. On that day a series of fights broke out between white and Black students.

#### MOB ATTACKS BLACK STUDENT

When the Black students were on school buses to leave the campus, a racist mob of some 200 white youth and adults attacked them with rocks and bottles and

attempted to turn the buses over. It was during that attack that a shot was fired, killing a 13-year-old white youth, Timothy Weber.

Throughout the attack, the police on the scene refused to lift a hand to control the racist mob. After the shooting, police immediately dragged the Black students off the buses with guns drawn and searched the bus.

The next day, Tyler, who was on the bus at the time of the shooting, was charged with first degree murder and jailed. A year later, November 1975, Gary Tyler was found guilty by an all-white jury and subsequently sentenced to die in the electric chair.

The facts surrounding the shooting

overwhelmingly attest that Tyler is the victim of a racist frame-up. Many students on the bus and the bus driver testified that the shot came from the white mob, not the bus. Authorities, however, neither held nor searched anyone in the mob, nor has subsequent investigation even looked into the possibility that the shot may have come from the white mob.

#### TYLER RESISTED "CONFESSION"

Tyler was, in fact, singled out for persecution because he protested when the cops put guns to the heads of Black students to force "confessions."

The alleged murder weapon, a .45 automatic pistol was "found" on the bus after it had been taken to police headquarters several hours following the shooting, and after several searches had already been conducted at the scene.

The telling blow to the state's "house of cards" evidence came in March, 1976, at the hearing for a retrial. Two of the state's three key witnesses testified that they had been coerced by authorities to give false testimony at the original trial. Natalie Blanks, a young Black girl who was on the bus, testified that she was forced by police to lie that she had seen Tyler fire the gun, only after she was stripped, roughed up and threatened with "99 years across the river" if she refused. In spite of Blank's new testimony, the judge, who also presided at the original trial, denied the motion for a retrial.

#### MOVEMENT TO FREE TYLER GROWS

Meanwhile, a broad movement to free Gary Tyler is growing throughout the country. At the November 10 hearing for a new trial at the Louisiana Supreme Court, a large number of supporters demonstrated outside, demanding "Freedom for Gary Tyler" and "Stop Racist Murders and Attacks on the Black Community."

Tens of thousands have demonstrated and signed petitions to free Tyler in a number of other cities as well, including Philadelphia. Scores of mass organizations, union locals, civil rights and Black liberation organizations support the Free Gary Tyler campaign.

An important aspect of the movement to free Tyler is the demand to outlaw the Klu Klux Klan. For well over a hundred years, the capitalist class has used fascist groups like the KKK to brutally attack the Black liberation struggle and the



# TYLER: 3 CASES OF POLICE TERROR

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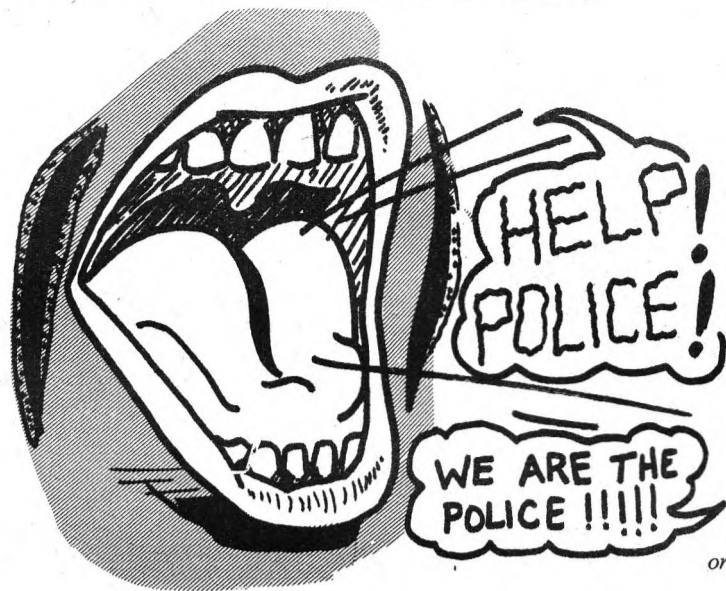
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A Civilian Review Board, with the Black community and other oppressed national-



ities adequately represented on it, with the power to discipline law enforcement personnel and the authority to indict and prosecute criminal cops, would be a real step toward bringing the police to heel. But ultimately, the only deterrent is the

people themselves. A powerful mass movement against racism and repression will put the cops and the courts on notice that we are not going to tolerate any more Michael Sherards bleeding to death in our streets.

## ER, Victim of a Racist Frame-up Mobilize to defend him



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### MOVEMENT TO FREE TYLER GROWS

Meanwhile, a broad movement to free Gary Tyler is growing throughout the country. At the November 10 hearing for a new trial at the Louisiana Supreme Court, a large number of supporters demonstrated outside, demanding "Freedom for Gary Tyler" and "Stop Racist Murders and Attacks on the Black Community."

Tens of thousands have demonstrated and signed petitions to free Tyler in a number of other cities as well, including Philadelphia. Scores of mass organizations, union locals, civil rights and Black liberation organizations support the Free Gary Tyler campaign.

An important aspect of the movement to free Tyler is the demand to outlaw the Klu Klux Klan. For well over a hundred years, the capitalist class has used fascist groups like the KKK to brutally attack the Black liberation struggle and the

worker's movement, particularly in the South.

In the events surrounding the Tyler case, we can see clearly how the KKK continues to play its deadly racist role. The Klan was a visible part of the racist mob who attacked the Black students before the shooting. On that same day KKK grand dragon David Duke arrived in Destrehan from Boston, where he had promoted racist terror against Black people and busing.

### TYLER SUPPORTERS TERRORIZED

Since then, the terror campaign by the KKK, in collusion with the state, has continued. In March, 19-year-old Richard Dunne was murdered by two white thugs in New Orleans, as he was leaving a dance organized to raise money for Gary Tyler's defense. Despite wide protest, the police refused to investigate KKK involvement in the murder.

Gary Tyler's family, particularly his mother, Juanita, has played a leading role in the national movement to free Tyler in the face of vicious harassment. Terry Tyler, Gary's brother, was arrested in May for an alleged robbery, and released on \$5,000 bail along with another Black youth, Donald Files, who had testified in Tyler's behalf. In fact, Terry Tyler had been in Detroit at a rally on the day of the "robbery." Files reported that while they were being held he overheard a deputy say, "I don't want to attend any more trials. I wish it was like the old

days when you just hung them 'niggers.'"

Standing between the desire of Louisiana's ruling elite and the Klan to return to these "old days" is the people's mass movement against racism and repression. As Gary Tyler himself has pointed out, we cannot rely on the authorities, that is, the law enforcement agencies and the courts, to outlaw the Klan and lynch justice, for in many cases they are the Klan. What is going to be decisive is the strength and militancy of the mass movement. That is the lesson of the whole civil rights struggle in the South.

The attempt to legally lynch Gary Tyler is an important chapter in a long history of deadly attacks on Black people. To this day, the number of Blacks and other national minorities on death row in US prisons continues to be over five times their proportion of the general population.

In July, the US Supreme Court ruled invalid the Louisiana death penalty law because it made death the mandatory sentence for murder. This had the temporary effect of taking Gary Tyler and 46 other prisoners in Louisiana out of jeopardy of being executed.

However, a new "constitutional" death penalty law went in effect in Louisiana in October whereby those prisoners will be subject to re-sentencing. There is also evidence that the US Supreme Court is reconsidering their July ruling.

### FREE GARY TYLER; LEARN FROM OUR HISTORY

The movement to free Gary Tyler and all political prisoners stands between the oppressed and the state's gallows. That this battle can be won is certain.

Over 40 years ago, a broad movement based on Black and white unity and led by communists saved nine Black youths from certain execution. The fight to save the Scottsboro Boys, who had been framed on a rape charge in Scottsboro, Alabama, is a living example to our movement today.

The struggle to free Gary Tyler is a vital part of the general struggle for democratic rights for Black people. To wage it and win is a victory not for Gary Tyler alone, but will be a giant step forward for the workers' and Black liberation struggle as a whole.

attempted to turn the buses over. It was during that attack that a shot was fired, killing a 13-year-old white youth, Timothy Weber.

Throughout the attack, the police on the scene refused to lift a hand to control the racist mob. After the shooting, police immediately dragged the Black students off the buses with guns drawn and searched the bus.

The next day, Tyler, who was on the bus at the time of the shooting, was charged with first degree murder and jailed. A year later, November 1975, Gary Tyler was found guilty by an all-white jury and subsequently sentenced to die in the electric chair.

The facts surrounding the shooting



Defense Comm./cpf

Mrs. Juanita Tyler who has been working tirelessly in her son's defense.



# The Whitman Park Controversy What Does It Mean?

By Sara Murphy

Twenty years ago, an area of South Philadelphia surrounding Front and Oregon was designated an "Urban Renewal Area" and was slated to receive federal funds for improvement of housing, including construction of a public housing project for low income Philadelphians in need of homes.

In 1971, fully fifteen years later, a class action suit was filed on behalf of national minority people eligible for public housing, claiming that the city's failure to construct this project was a violation of these people's civil rights, that the effect of not building the housing promoted racial segregation in the city and denied Blacks the right to a decent place to live.

In November of 1976, just a few weeks ago, U. S. district Judge Raymond Broderick ruled that the failure to build the Whitman project was in fact discriminatory, and the City was a prime party in promoting racial segregation. He ordered the project to be built immediately.

Within days, the City of Philadelphia had filed its appeal to this ruling. The City claims that the project would become an enclave of Blacks in a mostly white neighborhood, and would therefore create added racial segregation. The City is willing to fight all the way to the Supreme Court, spending hundreds of thousands of dollars along the way, to see to it that the Whitman Park Townhouse Project is never completed.

## THE CITY'S ROLE: PROMOTING SEGREGATION AND RACISM

What has been the history of the City's stand in regard to this situation? From its very inception, the City has blocked in every way possible the construction of the Whitman project. In fact, through all its public housing plans and projects, the City has done nothing to promote desegregation of housing in Philadelphia, but rather has reinforced racism through a policy of maintaining segregated housing patterns throughout the neighborhoods. Public projects located in Black neighborhoods are over 75% Black (with a large proportion of the remaining 25% being other national minority people) while those in white neighborhoods are 90% white.

Beginning in 1970, when construction of the Whitman Project was begun by Multicon Corporation, the city administrations have sabotaged the work. Under Mayor Tate's administration, obscure building regulations were dug out of the cobwebs and applied to Multicon. When a fence was put up around the area without proper permits, (which the Streets Dept. had told the contractor were unnecessary), the City had workers out with jackhammers within a half-hour to dig up the fence. Then the contractor was forbidden to continue work until the sidewalks were repaired. Meanwhile, white residents of the area blocked construction, and the City refused to enforce an injunction which would have stopped their racist protest. Subsequently, Multicon was ordered to cease construction which would create an atmosphere of violence in Whitman.

Frank "Fights For You" Rizzo actually campaigned on a platform that stated the Whitman project would never be built. Upon becoming mayor, he had Multicon Corp.'s contract voided, and directly sought White House intervention to pressure HUD to abandon its plans for Whitman. In a letter to John Whitaker, Nixon's Deputy Assistant for Domestic Affairs, Rizzo said, "Although (HUD Phila. Area Director) Patterson states in his letter that he seeks to protect the interest of the taxpayers, it would appear he is doing the opposite." Clearly, Rizzo's definition of taxpayer is "White Taxpayer"!

## WHITMAN RESIDENTS' OPPOSITION: RACISM A MOTIVE?

The basis of the City's blocking of the Whitman project and the justification for its court suits has been that it must support the "community" of Whitman which opposes the project. We put "community" in quotes because the community of Whitman has been altered somewhat since the redevelopment work began. In fact, in 1950, 46% of the people who lived in the row houses on what is now the project site were Black! This area of South Philadelphia was historically a small integrated pocket in the city.

But by 1970, when all the bulldozing for the urban renewal had taken place, these people had been removed from their homes, and there were left NO Black families in the southeast area of the renewal. Although 100 new homes were built on a portion of the cleared site, all



are occupied by white families. In fact, the building of the Whitman Project would only have the effect of restoring the former racial balance of the area!

This pattern of "urban renewal" can be observed in many areas of the City. In the early 1900's there were Black people living in all parts of Philadelphia. Small Black communities lived side by side with white communities from Frankford to Whitman. But one at a time, these old Black neighborhoods have been wiped out, "ethnic purity" has been established, and Blacks have been able to find homes only in the ghetto neighborhoods of North, West, and South Philly.

So the Whitman "community" which has protested the building of the Project is only the white community which remains after the clearance of the Black people of Whitman. The judge's ruling which found the City in violation of the Civil Rights Act, also found that the Whitman residents (Whitman Area Improvement Council) were *not* racially motivated. But the history of the opposition to the Whitman Project paints a different picture. As in the case of white opposition to bussing, white protest against public housing is for the most part not openly racial but couched in racially neutral arguments (whites aren't against desegregation, they're just for neighborhood schools). The problem, we hear, is that a high rise would lower property values and disrupt the pattern of the neighborhood. So the plans are changed to construct a low-rise. Then we hear, the problem is that a project would promote segregation by plopping a big project in a white area. So the plans are changed so that street patterns are maintained, individual units built similar to surrounding rowhouses, and an integrated project planned. Now we find that the problem is that when people rent the homes are less apt to be well-maintained. So a new federal project which makes residents eventual homeowners through a "lease-to-buy" agreement is instituted. Still, there is adamant opposition.

## BEHIND THE SMOKESCREENS: RACISM

Behind all the various smokescreens, the problem is that public housing means poor people and most poor people in Philadelphia are Black. The opposition to the Whitman Project is fundamentally racist.

This doesn't mean white working people are wrong or somehow selfish to be concerned about their property values and the safety of their neighborhoods. These are real and legitimate concerns and so often the white liberals who are quick to down the white working people live off in the lily-white suburbs where there isn't a public housing project to be seen.

The problem is that because of the strength of racist ideas many white workers concern is misdirected. They blame Blacks, who like the white working people are

continued on next page



## White working people must join Blacks in the fight for decent housing: Aim our blow at the real enemy!

Imagine a movement of working people of all nationalities, Black and white alike, strong and united, demanding that the government, through taxes on corporate profits, renovate our neighborhoods: fix the houses, plant trees, create playgrounds, repair the streets....

It's a dream that can never come true as long as white workers fall for racism, opposing all public housing that comes down the pike. . .opposing the idea that we need and deserve decent living conditions. . .and that victims of racism need it most of all.



continued from last page

victims of this system, rather than the owners of the monopoly corporations who run this society and control the vast sums of money which could be used to build decent housing for all.

Racism blinds the white opponents of the Whitman Project to contradictions in their own arguments. The opponents make a big point of the fact that they worked for their homes while the residents of the public housing will be getting "something for nothing". They overlook the fact that actually *all* residents of Whitman benefitted from the Urban Renewal Project. White homeowners in the area had made available to them — and had no trouble spending — \$13 million in federal home improvement funds. And nobody begrudges them that money — on the contrary, we need *more* federal funds to improve housing in *all* working class neighborhoods! What is it but racism which says "we'll take the assistance, but those who have even less than we do don't deserve it."

Another point is that the Project homes will be "worth" more than the rest of the houses in the area. At a recent meeting of Whitman residents, a typical comment was: "We live in \$15,000 homes, and now our tax dollars are going to build homes that are twice the cost." What is it but racism which blinds these people to the simple fact that when proposed, the Whitman Project would have run \$3 million and after being held up so long it will now, because of inflation, cost \$5 million. And who held it up so long?

The Rizzo administration is claiming that it stopped the project because of the possibility of "violence" from protestors. This is a monstrous racist hypocrisy. Rizzo and his cronies encouraged and incited the protest in the first place. And even more to the point, since when have Rizzo and the city administration shown any concern for the violence that is being done to the predominantly Black residents of public and private housing that is already built. . . the Black children whose minds and bodies have been destroyed from teething on old lead paint, the elderly who have to spend the night in front of the oven because there is no heat, the homeless who watched their homes go up in smoke because of substandard wiring or illegal heating systems? Rizzo and Co. are quick to stop construction of badly needed housing in the name of preventing "violence" while finding hundreds of excuses to allow racist violence by slumlords, the banks, and the city itself to go unchecked.

### BLACK AND WHITE NEED BETTER HOUSING

We are often reminded that we live in the wealthiest society in the world. If so, why can't the slums of Philadelphia all be transformed the way the once-slum area of Society Hill was? Why can't all the neighborhoods have pastel-colored shutters and window flower boxes adorning clean, brick-front rowhouses? Why can't all the streets be clean, repaired, the sidewalks recobbled and

trees and flowers planted all along? Why can't all the roofs be fixed?

The answer is clear: the working and poor people, Black and white alike, can't afford it, and the system we live in won't do the work because it is not profitable. Working people, Black and white together, must join in a strong, united movement which can force the necessary funds for improvement of our housing from the government and the big corporations. A house, like food, is a basic need and a basic right — and we mean a house that is not falling apart.

As long as white working people are fighting to see that Blacks do not receive better housing, none of us will see improvements in our neighborhoods. Black neighborhoods will continue to be the worst, and white neighborhoods will also continue to deteriorate. White working people must join their Black and Puerto Rican brothers and sisters in fighting for better housing and more home and neighborhood improvement funds for all, starting with those most severely victimized by this racist system: poor national minority families. This can only come about through a united fight for desegregated housing, where neighbors of all nationalities can truly join together to fight for better living conditions. The building of the Whitman Park Townhouse Project would be a step in that direction.

# 25 Non Fire Safe Schools Endanger Phila. Children

Thousands of students in the Philadelphia school system attend class daily in schools which are labeled "Non-fire safe" by Fire Department standards.

Throughout the city there are 25 public schools which have been declared unsafe and yet the city does nothing to change this situation. The city's lack of action around this problem just adds salt to the already gaping wound of low quality public education. Provisions in the most recent School Board plans to close these

schools have been dropped indefinitely and so students will continue to be placed in daily jeopardy!

All of these schools (see map) because of faulty alarm systems, open staircases, insufficient number of exits or generally dilapidated structures pose a constant threat to the safety of the students and personnel attending them.

The overwhelming majority of students attending these non-fire safe schools are Black — 20 of the 25 schools in question

are located in districts in which the majority of students are Black. A significant number of Latino and lower income white students are also attending these schools.

In some instances, a particular neighborhood school, for example, Sheridan, may be primarily attended by white students. In the past, rather than have their children bused these parents have fought to keep the unsafe schools open.

The racism of these parents in opposing busing might well cost the lives of their children. It has already blinded them to their common interests with the parents of Black and Latino students in other unsafe schools.

We cannot afford to wait for the tragedy of a fire to move us to action. The city has made their position clear through years of inactivity and racist neglect. The

situation isn't getting any better. As time passes, the conditions in these schools are getting worse. Now is the time for a united group of parents, students, teachers, and other members of the community — Black, white, and Latino — to fight together for their mutual rights to decent safe schools.

The Committee for Quality Education and Desegregation (QED) is in the process of gathering more information about this situation and possible solutions. It plans to organize a campaign to pressure the city into closing, repairing, or rebuilding these schools which are unfit for attendance, let alone learning! The QED Committee meets on the third Tuesday of each month at the Friends Center, 15th and Arch St., 7:30 p.m. For more information, write: QED

3rd & Dauphin Sts.  
Phila., Pa. 19133

## ✓Check It Out: Are your kids - and your co-workers' kids - attending public school firetraps?

The overall picture district by district is as follows:

### DISTRICT 1: 90.2% Black (3 non-fire safe schools)

- 1. -- Bryant, 60th and Cedar Ave. -- GR 6-6952
- 2. -- Dunlap, 51st and Race -- GR 6-1328
- 3. -- McMichael, 36th and Fairmount -- EV 6-0714

### DISTRICT 2: 83.3% Black 10.2% white (4 non-fire safe schools)

- 4. -- Bache, 22nd and Brown -- PO 5-2114
- 5. -- Benson, 27th and Wharton -- DE 4-3884
- 6. -- Childs, 17th and Tasker -- DE 4-2642
- 7. -- Landreth, 23rd and Federal -- DE 4-0257

### DISTRICT 3: 54.3% Black, 38.4% white (3 non-fire safe schools)

- 8. -- Key, 8th and Wolf -- DE 4-1308
- 9. -- Vare, 24th and Snyder -- DE 4-1504
- 10. -- Stoddart-Fleisher J.H., 13th and Green -- MA 7-2083

### DISTRICT 4: 95.5% Black, .04% white (5 non-fire safe schools)

- 11. -- Leidy, Belmont & Thompson -- TR 7-5897
- 12. -- Overbrook, 59th and Lancaster -- TR 8-8200
- 13. -- Pratt-Anna, 22nd and Susquehanna -- CE 2-1221
- 14. -- Stokley, 32nd and Berks -- PO 9-1713
- 15. -- Walton, 28th & Huntingdon -- BA 9-1812

### DISTRICT 5: 41.3% Black, 32% white (3 non-fire safe schools)

- 16. -- W.F. Miller, Howard N. of Diamond -- RE 9-1543
- 17. -- Powers-Willard, Frankford and Somerset -- RE 9-5626
- 18. -- Edison, 8th and Lehigh -- BA 3-4400

### DISTRICT 6: 80.1% Black, 18.8% white, 1.1% Spanish (2 non-fire safe schools)

- 19. -- Levering, Ridge and Girard -- IV 3-2521
- 20. -- JE Hill, Rittenhouse and McCallum -- VI 3-2929

### DISTRICT 7: 33.5% Black, 58.7% white, 7.5% Spanish (2 non-fire safe schools)

- 21. -- Olney, Front and Duncannon -- DA 9-1770
- 22. -- Sheridan, G and Ontario -- RE 9-3911

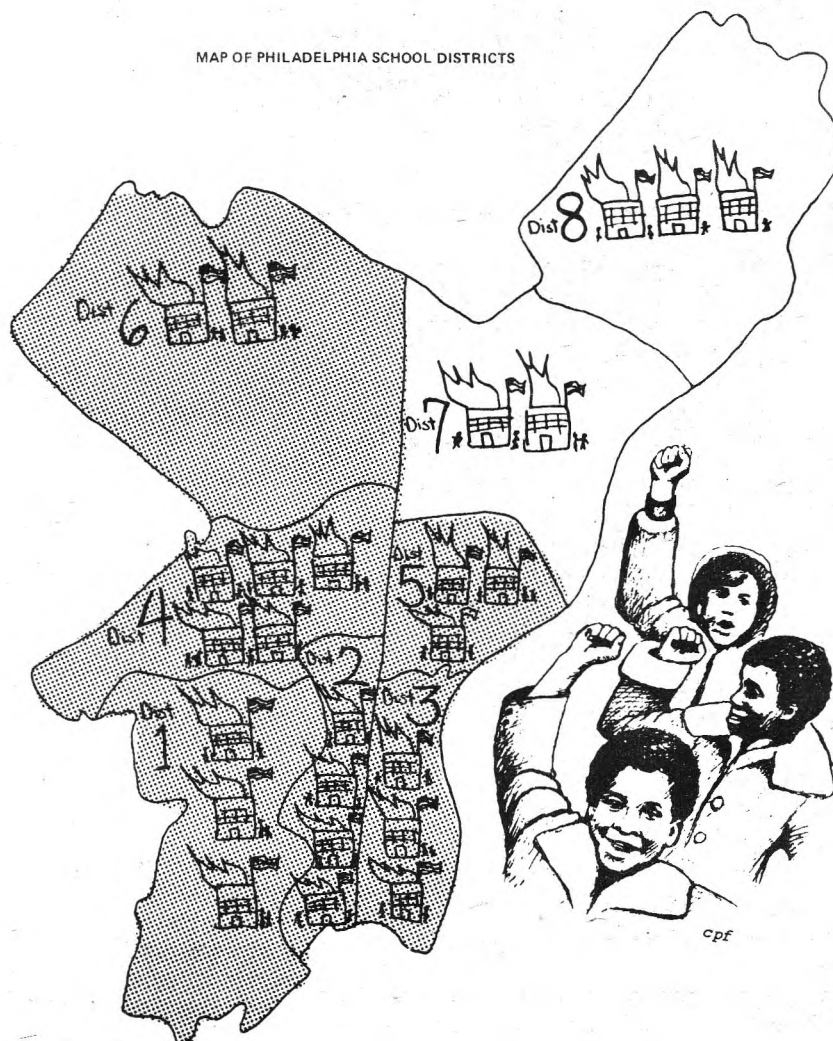
### DISTRICT 8: 95.5% white, 3.5% Black (3 non-fire safe schools)

- 23. -- Crispin, Rhawn and Ditman -- MA 4-5385
- 24. -- Lawndale, Hellerman & Bingham -- PI 5-0782
- 25. -- Jacobs, Bustleton & Welsh Rd. -- OR 3-8078

A majority of the students in Districts 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6 are Black and Puerto Rican.



MAP OF PHILADELPHIA SCHOOL DISTRICTS





# Shuttle Diplomacy in South Africa

by S. Bunting

Is the United States, through its number one diplomat, Henry Kissinger, a neutral arbitrator in the conflicts in southern Africa, or is it a very involved party working double time to protect its interests?

While the outgoing Secretary of State has tried to project himself as an intermediary between the racist regimes and the "terrorists", innocently working to achieve a just, moderate solution to southern Africa's racial problems, a close look turns up something else—a racist spokesman for over \$2 billion in highly profitable investments, doing his best to make sure those profits aren't jeopardized by the African peoples' struggle for freedom.

## U. S. : LONGTIME FRIEND OF APARTHEID

The U. S. has a long history of friendly relations with racist South Africa. While most of the world has moved farther away from South Africa as its legal racism and inhuman oppression of the Black majority become more intense and more open, the U. S. has remained a staunch friend. The U. S. has provided military aid, and financial and diplomatic support in South Africa's darkest hours.

In the United Nations, the U. S. has voted against every resolution criticizing apartheid, South Africa's system of legal racism, and has used its Security Council veto to defeat any significant measures to pressure South Africa to change.

There are two important reasons for this. First, the racist regime guarantees record profits on the two billion dollars worth of investments there by American firms, because of the extreme oppression of Black workers. Second, South Africa provides a base from which to oppose and disrupt progressive political movements throughout Africa. Racist minority rule in South Africa means that the strategic Cape of Good Hope is controlled by a government which is 100% hostile to all socialist and progressive countries.

## OPPOSE RACISM ABROAD, ACCEPT IT AT HOME?

Any talk of opposing racism by a top representative of the U. S. government can hardly ring true to most of us, familiar as we are with racism in this country. While Black people here are the victims of super unemployment, discrimination when they are hired, bad schools, flagrant police brutality and a concerted effort by the courts and government to take away the gains won in the '60's, how can we take seriously Kissinger's concern with the plight of Black South Africans and the people of Zimbabwe (the African name for Rhodesia) and Namibia (South West Africa)?

In speaking of southern Africa's problems as purely racial, and by describing the armed liberation struggle as a "race war", Kissinger and his ilk are misleading us. Racism in South Africa, as in the U. S. is a cover for economic exploitation. The white government of South Africa has said many times that it needs Africans for their labor. By denying all civil and political rights on the basis of color, and by promoting the myth that Africans are naturally inferior, the government and corporations can exploit African labor even more intensely, and cut them off from support by white working people.

Kissinger knows quite well that the liberation movements are fighting not only racism, but also the underlying system of economic exploitation, and that whites willing to give up their unjust privileges and prejudice are welcomed by the movements. This has been shown in their practice, their political statements, and by the experience of Mozambique and Angola, whose leaders are quite close politically to the leadership of the liberation movements of Zimbabwe, Namibia, and South Africa.

The purpose in presenting the conflict as a "race war" is to prevent people in this country from understanding and supporting a legitimate struggle for independence and democracy. Kissinger's position also encourages racism in this country by obscuring the past oppression of Africans by the settlers, and creating the false image of "blood-thirsty Blacks killing innocent whites".



## KISSINGER'S SHUTTLE IGNORES AFRICAN LEADERS

In fact, the content of Kissinger's diplomacy and proposals has been obviously racist. He has clearly been concerned only with developing a plan for Black rule in Zimbabwe and Namibia which is acceptable to John Vorster and Ian Smith, Prime Ministers of South Africa and Rhodesia. Kissinger has met with Vorster directly twice, but has never met with or solicited advice from the internationally recognized African leaders of these countries.



Julius Nyerere

The only Africans he has met with are Kenneth Kaunda and Julius Nyerere, presidents of Zambia and Tanzania, because he saw them as the weakest links among the countries bordering the racist regimes. Because these two countries are economically more dependent on the U. S. and South Africa on account of the history of colonialism, and because they did not have to resort to war to gain their independence as did Mozambique and Angola, he hoped to force them to moderate their support for the liberation movements. However they, along with the presidents of the other "front line" countries, Mozambique, Angola, and Botswana, have held firm in their support of the liberation movements and the armed struggle, and have refused to pressure them to accept any of Kissinger's or Vorster's solutions.

The plan presented by Kissinger with the help of Great Britain shows the same arrogance toward the African people as was shown in his style of diplomacy. The most important points of the plan were:

- 1) A two-year transitional government before majority rule. In this government there would be a majority of Black participants, but the Ministries of Defense and Law and Order would remain in the hands of the white minority.
- 2) An end to the armed struggle as a pre-condition for talks.
- 3) \$2 billion in compensation to whites who would leave Rhodesia rather than live under a democratic government. (This money would come largely from U. S. taxes.)

## PLAN REJECTED, BUT NEGOTIATIONS BEGIN

This program was denounced by the frontline states and by the African leaders of Zimbabwe. They understood that with the Rhodesian Front, Ian Smith's party, still in control of the army and police, that Black faces in the legislature would mean nothing. Stopping the armed struggle would only give the die-hard racists time to recoup their forces.

The time period and structure of the government were also set to encourage "divide and conquer" techniques, with Kissinger and Smith hoping to sell the plan to opportunist leaders in negotiations.

The plan to compensate whites shows most clearly Kissinger's racist contempt for the African people. The people of Zimbabwe are engaged in a military struggle to win back land stolen from them in military campaigns by white settlers, and to free themselves from slave-like forced labor for the benefit of western monopoly corporations. To pay whites to leave peacefully is nothing more than paying a ransom to recover stolen goods.

Today, military experts of the U. S. admit Rhodesia can hold out only for a limited time, probably less than two years, unless they can find some new way to derail the armed revolution. And this is what Kissinger hopes to do.

## WHY NEGOTIATE?

If military victory is coming, why do the Zimbabweans negotiate? Contrary to the image projected in the U. S. media, the liberation movements do not want war, even if they believe it is inevitable. Nor do they want all whites to leave Rhodesia. Despite their understanding of Kissinger, Smith, and Vorster's motives, they have come to the table to demonstrate that they do want peace, and that it will not be they who slam the door on a peaceful solution. That the Zimbabweans are negotiating in unity from a position of strength can be seen from the fact that Smith has been forced to drop his demand for an end to the war as a pre-condition for talks.

## KISSINGER MEDIATES FOR U.S. CORPORATIONS

Kissinger has been a mediator in southern Africa. He is attempting to mediate between the needs of U. S. corporations investing in that area, and local white reactionaries. The "problem" in southern Africa, as Kissinger and his backers see it, is that the extreme brutality of the white racist regimes will encourage the African people there to seek a real end to exploitation and not accept merely the substitution of Black rulers for white without real social change.

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# . . .what's Henry the K really up to ?

continued from last page

American corporations see that the best way to preserve their control in southern Africa may be through a corrupt Black government, one which will not challenge foreign investment so long as it is assured privilege and control within the country. Zaire is an example of the type of Black government the U. S. likes to see in Africa. President Mobutu speaks of African socialism and national pride, but the people of Zaire remain uneducated, poverty-stricken, and unemployed. U. S. and Belgian mining firms control the economy and make billions off copper and other minerals. It is this type of government, known as neo-colonialism, which the U. S. hopes will result from Henry K.'s initiatives.

The "radicalization" which the Secretary of State fears means following the example of the socialist People's Republics of Angola and Mozambique, where more has been done in one year to improve the conditions of the people than has been done in Zaire in twelve years of independence. With these two contrasting examples before them, it seems too late for any amount of fast-talking by Kissinger -- or Cyrus Vance -- to persuade the people of Zimbabwe, Namibia, and South Africa itself to settle for a neo-colonial solution.

## AMERICANS SUPPORT LIBERATION MOVEMENTS

There are many Americans who support the rights of the African people to control their own countries, and who understand that the struggle against racism goes beyond our own borders. They are working in local groups and in nationally-coordinated efforts to educate working people in this country about the conditions in southern Africa, the programs of the liberation movements, and the meaning of U. S. involvement.

Confident that the people of southern Africa, like those of Mozambique and Angola, can build societies free from racism and exploitation once their independence is gained, and confident that without support from the U. S. the racist governments cannot long survive, their universal demands are -- "End U. S. Support for the Racist Regimes" and "Victory to the Liberation Movements".

In Philadelphia, the United Peoples Campaign Against

Apartheid and Racism is working to build support for southern African liberation as well as for the struggle against racism in Philadelphia, and invites the participation of all interested people.

The *Organizer* supports these demands and supports UPCAAR, and will continue to report on events in southern Africa and what they mean for working people in the United States.



## puerto rico's election results don't tell the whole story



With approximately 80% of the total votes counted, the New Progressive Party (NPP) and its candidate for Governor of Puerto Rico, Carlos Romero Barcelo, are clear winners with 670,909 straight ballots. Barcelo is the ex-mayor of Puerto Rico's major city, San Juan, and will replace Rafael Hernandez Colon and the Popular Democratic Party (PPO) with a vote tally of 640,958 straight ballots. (Mixed ballots have not yet been tabulated.)

The two pro-independence parties, the Puerto Rican Independence Party (PIP) and the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP), polled 74,368 and 10,232 straight ballots respectively -- although their final tally should rise significantly, since they are expected to be the main beneficiaries of the mixed ballots. . . especially two PSP candidates, for the Senate and the House of Representatives, Pedro Grant (head of the United Workers Movement -- MOU, the progressive labor federation in Puerto Rico) and Carlos Gallisa, a former Representative.

The elections represented a major defeat for the PDP, the pro-Commonwealth party loosely associated with the Democratic Party in the US. The NPP -- the pro-statehood party loosely associated with the Republican Party -- swept the majority of seats in the House, as well as the top office. The NPP's major campaign themes were corruption in government and demagogic speculation on the Colon administration's repression of the labor movement; most observers agree that the

victory of the NPP does not represent a 'Pro-statehood' sentiment.

The PSP's returns fell well short of their expectations, although the combined votes for the two independence parties was the highest in twenty years. However, the issue of socialism was raised in a really mass context through the electoral effort. For instance, Juan Mari-Bras, Secretary General of the PSP, participated in televised debates with the other candidates (and was judged to be the winner of one of them by the Puerto Rican Bar Association.)

The extent of support for the Independence movement cannot be gauged by simply looking at the colonial election results. Boycottist sentiment has always been strong among independence minded Puerto Ricans and this election was actively boycotted by the Revolutionary Anti-Electoral Front, a coalition of Independence groups.

It would appear that the people of Puerto Rico, in the grip of terrible economic problems directly caused by the colonization of the island by the United States, voted *against* the existing government, rather than for the other party -- much as voters in the US voted against Ford more than they voted for Carter. Meanwhile, the independence parties, while far stronger than left electoral forces in the US still have not broken the stranglehold of the two "servants of US Imperialism," the PPD and the PNP, on the electoral process.



# Pornography: Who Benefits from the So Called Sexual Revolution?

By JIM GRIFFIN

When many of us were kids the drive-in was a place for "family entertainment". . . triple features, cowboy flicks, Walt Disney, Martin and Lewis, Rock Around the Clock. The nearest thing to sex that ever appeared on the silver screen was Rock Hudson in hot pursuit of Doris Day. If the drive-in had any place in our sexual development, it was because of what went on in the back seat, not because of anything we saw on the screen.

Been to a drive-in lately? Good chance you'll see triple X rather than triple features of stuff for the kids. Last week one local drive-in, for example had a special feature. . . five XXX-rated films all dealing with nurses.

It's all part of the new "permissive" attitude toward sexuality. Not only can you see X-rated movies at the local drive-in, but the regular movies now as a matter of course usually manage to include a minute or so of footage of exposed breasts or a simulated rape scene to spice things up.

And of course it's not just movies . . . the "adult" book business has pushed out from the seamy downtown tenderloin districts into the suburbs and shopping malls. The Playboy or Esquire "cheesecake" photos of the fifties which tamely restricted themselves to the upperhalf of the female anatomy have given way to photo magazines that deal with explicit sexuality in full color.

While the 1950's saw great legal battles and moral controversies over the language and relatively restrained descriptions of sexual activity in novels like D.H. Lawrence's *Lady Chatterly's Lover* and Henry Miller's *Tropic of Cancer*, today's literary masterpieces use four letter words routinely and report freely on all the varied sexual exploits of their characters.

## FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION OR PROFITS?

How did this situation come about and what does it all mean? From a strictly legal standpoint the present "permissiveness" is the result of hard-fought battles by artists and intellectuals, joined by civil libertarians, to expand free expression. . . to free the creative process from the restrictions imposed by small-minded, puritanical censors.

But the irony is that the main beneficiaries of these legal victories have been the pornographers who have utilized recent court interpretations to build a multi-million dollar industry based on the exploitation of sexuality. Meanwhile legitimate artists, who for the most part have nothing but contempt for pornography, find themselves struggling even harder to make a living from their work. The market for legitimate publishing is shrinking under the impact of an expanding pornography industry.

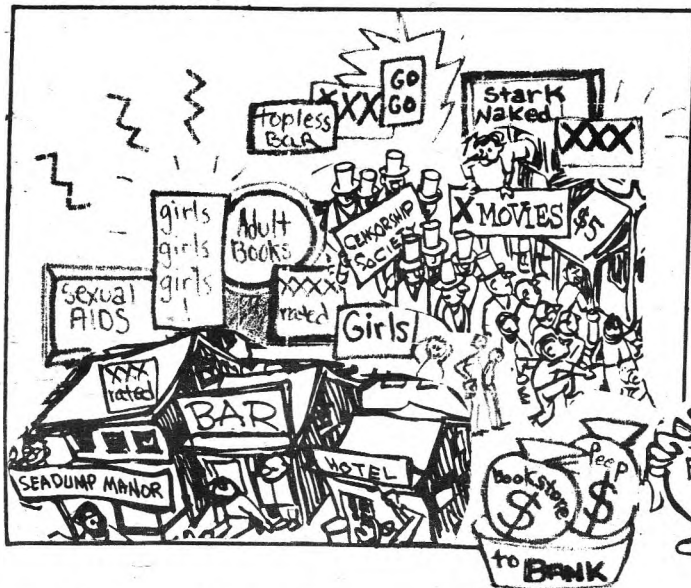
The changes in the law are themselves only one expression of changing cultural definitions regarding sexuality . . . the so-called "sexual revolution." The apostles of this "revolution," like Playboy's millionaire publisher Hugh Hefner, claim that whereas in times past, sex was a dirty word and something to feel guilty about, today people are free to enjoy sex in all its forms. . . and that this is a form of liberation.

They refer to the work of sociologists like Kinsey and Masters and Johnson who have studied sexual behavior and report the growth of extra-marital and pre-marital sex, the growth of sexual activity formerly regarded as taboo. These changes in sexual norms and values are reflected culturally, so the argument goes, in the growth of "erotic" literature, films, etc.

The great debate around pornography between advocates of "sexual liberation" and establishment circles, clergymen and politicians centers around the whole question of whether or not pornography stimulates sex crimes and deviant behavior. This whole debate manages to sidestep the real questions about the cause and effect of pornography.

## PORNOGRAPHY AND PURITANISM: TWO SIDES OF SEXISM

Pornography is at its roots an expression of male supremacy in capitalist society and its effect is to further



organizer graphic with thanks to Fred Wright UE

degrade women. Neither the advocates nor the critics of the new permissiveness see this, because both are operating from the same set of assumptions regarding the position of women in society.

The so-called "sexual revolutionists" want women to be "free" to satisfy all the sexual and emotional needs at the expense of the women themselves, while our critics merely want to keep the women locked into the traditional role as subservient wife and homemaker. It is a debate between men over what version of womanhood, the permissive or the traditional, will be best for men.

Let us look more closely at the "sexual revolutionaries" notions of the new "liberated" woman. It is most clear in its crudest expression -- hard core pornography. In the X-rated movies and "adult" books, women are portrayed purely and simply as objects to satisfy men's sexual fantasies. In real life, women are complicated sexual beings with their own set of needs which require sensitivity on the part of males to satisfy. Not so in the fantasy world of pornography. . . women are simply extensions of the sexual needs of men.

Pornographic films are peopled by lusty uninhibited women who are ready to go at a moment's notice and who seem to get all their pleasure from doing what men enjoy. This "adult art" also specializes in promoting myths that are deeply rooted in male supremacist ideology regarding sex. Pornographic films regularly feature sexual assaults in which the woman initially resists but realizes half-way through the act that she really loves being raped.

And rape isn't half of it! Women are subjected to every form of brutality: whips, chains, manacles and foreign objects being shoved into their genitals. The latest form of this degradation is a rash of films featuring men urinating on women to the mutual pleasure of both parties.

The message is clear: women exist to satisfy the needs of men, no matter how warped. And most of the time, they're pictured as actually enjoying their humiliation just so men won't have to feel any twinge of guilt.

Pornography also specializes in racist sexual myths. Pornographic movies feature interracial sex that is a throwback to slavery and the plantation south. One film features a man who looks like Colonel Sanders offering "his" young Black woman to another white man who of course willingly takes up the offer. Black men appear in pornography as mindless sexual machines to fulfill the jaded fantasies of white women, as imagined by white men.

Let's get out of the peep shows and into the pages of our more sophisticated "men's magazines" like *Playboy*. Here they put away the whips and the chains, but the message remains the same. The thing about our new "liberated" woman that is repeated over and over again is that women today are much "freer" to meet the varied needs of men. Women today don't go for all that crap about courtship and marriage . . . today you can get

a woman into bed without promising her anything. . . you don't have to tell her you love her or commit yourself in any way. . . in many cases you don't even have to spring for dinner and entertainment. Our "mature and liberated" woman understands that men need variety so she is not going to complain about extra-marital affairs. She's too "sophisticated" to expect a sense of responsibility from a man.

Whereas in hard-core pornography women have no identity separate from their sexual attributes, the ideal woman of *Playboy* is blessed with a mind, although it is far less important than the size of her bust. But the intellectual or artistic achievements of women are not seen as something important in their own right. Instead they are "extra added attractions" that boost the value of the man's female property in the eye of other men. The guys at the office are even more impressed if your well-proportioned "playmate" also has a PhD in Chemistry.

Racism is another stock in trade of *Playboy*. In recent years the photo sections of *Playboy* have been integrated so that occasionally there is a Black Playmate of the Month. But the Playboys for which this whole world of sports cars, \$300 sweaters, revolving beds and women to fill them exists are solely white men, and white men who make upwards of \$25,000 a year at that. The sometime inclusion of a Black woman only makes the magazine's racism more blatant.

The sexual revolution as it's portrayed by *Playboy* is a sham. All the rhetoric about the "liberated" woman is nothing but an attempt to conceal the fact of the continued sexual exploitation of women.

## WOMEN WON'T BE VICTIMS OF "LIBERATION"

But women themselves are in the process of staging a "sexual revolution" of their own, one that threatens the Playboys and the Pornographers. Spurred by the women's movement, women are increasingly speaking out openly about what they want out of a sexual relationship with a man. Needless to say it is not to be urinated on and paraded around like a new set of golf clubs.

New research and the growing candor of women has made it clear that many if not most women are sexually and emotionally unfulfilled by relationships with men. . . largely because of the sexist notions men bring to these relationships. Women want their sexual needs addressed in a relationship and they want to be taken seriously as complete human beings instead of being treated as sex objects. Women are rejecting the "anything goes" version of sexual revolution because they realize the first thing to "go" is the woman's emotional needs and dignity.

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While women show no signs of wanting to return to an earlier version of sexuality in which repression of their needs was the order of the day, they see no "liberation" in a situation which legitimizes selfish and irresponsible behavior for men while freeing women to be the victims of this behavior. Women understand that there is little liberation involved for a pregnant teen-age girl, a prostitute, or a married woman whose husband plays around.

From the vantage point of the working class, the "sexual revolution," Playboy style, is a fraud for men as well. Certainly working class men under the influence of male supremacist ideas victimize women. But where do these ideas come from and who really benefits from them?

#### MALE SUPREMACY HURTS ALL WORKERS

Capitalism needs to put women down. Inequality

between men and women is part of its foundation. The capitalist system needs women to provide free labor in the home so a future generation of workers can be raised up to be exploited. It needs women to provide a reserve army of unemployed, so that the employers can secure the labor of women at a wage below that of men and thus drive down wages for all workers.

To maintain the oppression of women, the capitalist class in a thousand different ways promotes the ideas and attitudes that women are inferior and less than fully human. Male sexuality is not by nature selfish or bestial. Men are conditioned in their sexuality by capitalist society. Very early on in life, from what they see in the home, what they learn in school, what they read and see on T.V. and ultimately what they get from other men, they learn that women are there for them.

These ideas and attitudes and the behavior they breed, prevent working class men from seeing the basic unity of interest between laboring men and women and the interest the whole working class has in ending male supremacy as part of the fight to emancipate itself. The whole ideology of male supremacy blinds the workers to the reality that they, men and women, are all victims and it is only the capitalists who benefit from the oppression of women.

In a socialist society in which women realize full equality, sex will be neither a dirty word nor a warped male religion. It will be, for both men and women, a more mutually satisfying and richer part of our lives.

# Food Workers 196 Election Aftermath... 'Down But Not Out'

*"As soon as they started counting the ballots you could tell we were beat. It was a miserable feeling; I almost forgot how many gains we had made by running in the election. You know, there can be victories in a defeat. That's how I feel about it."*

In November, the Amalgamated Food Employees Union Local 196, AMC-BW, held elections for all top officers and executive board members. It was a hotly contested election as the incumbents were challenged by candidates representing the two year old Rank and File Reform Committee. This was the first opposition ticket in the Local's thirty year history.

The Rank and File Committee concentrated its efforts on the executive board positions rather than the highly paid top officer jobs. On the ticket were seven workers representing the following companies: Bluebird Food Products, Pathmark, Great Scot, and Shopping Cart. The Committee had put a lot of thought and effort into running a truly representative slate. There were four Black candidates, three women, both full and part-timers, plant and retail workers, cashiers, a grocery clerk, and a meat cutter. Three of the candidates were shop stewards and one was on the Executive Board. Almost all of the candidates had worked in the industry for many years and had a lot of union experience.

Accompanying this representative and experienced slate was a strong and progressive platform. All the candidates campaigned on it and were accountable to it. The Committee had decided that educating the membership was as important as winning the election, so a lot of literature was given out. Three key areas of the platform were focused on: union democracy and rank and file control, strong and fighting unionism, and equality and an end to discrimination.

#### RANK AND FILE HITS RACISM

A special pamphlet was put out about discrimination. The Committee saw the need to educate the membership on how racism was used by the companies and sometimes by the union officials to maintain divisions and prevent unity. The platform called for stricter seniority clauses to prevent discrimination and also on the job training for all positions. It also called on the union to take necessary action against those companies that refuse to hire Black or women workers.

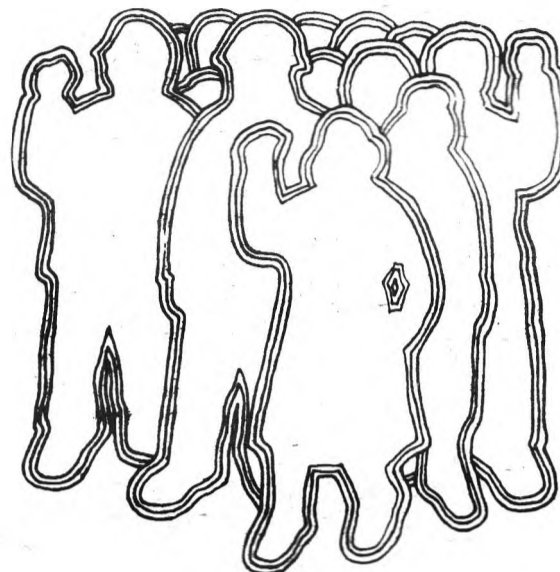
The Local is made up of over 100 workplaces and many of the candidates had to

take time off from work to campaign. Plants and markets as far away as Doylestown, Pottstown, and Media made campaigning very difficult. This was aggravated by the fact that the union officials refused to give the Rank and File candidates a list of the names and addresses of the workplaces in the Local!

This is only one example of the kind of questionable and illegal tactics used by the incumbents. Also, voting instructions for the mail-ballot election were only in English in spite of the fact that there are many Spanish-speaking members. A large number of members never received ballots. Workers at the Seafood Center were told that they would no longer have representation if they voted for the Rank and File candidates.

Many workers voiced their fear about putting their name and address on the envelope as is required. They were afraid that the union officials would find out how they voted. Of course, the usual rumors and lies were spread about the Rank and File candidates and a mailing was sent out to the entire membership attacking them. The members were told that their families would suffer great hardships because the Rank and File candidates would cause long and unnecessary strikes. On the one hand, the election platform was called false promises; in another section, however, the incumbents claimed it had been stolen from them! This seemed unlikely as they campaigned on their good looks and vague promises about improved wages and working conditions, and they refused to take a stand on any issues.

On top of all of this, the Rank and File had fought a losing battle against the mail election, as these are almost impossible to supervise for fairness. The ballots came in over a two week period and were sorted and bundled according to workplace before Rank and File observers were even present. The union officials assured everyone that the campaign would be honest as it was supervised by the American Arbitration Association. But as one Rank and File member said, "Who are they but a bunch of lawyers trying to make money? Why should we trust them?" They had fought to have the election take place at a mass meeting of the membership but the incumbents said this wouldn't be democratic!



The Rank and File Committee feels that it learned a lot from the election experience. They gained exposure and got their ideas out to the membership. They now intend to struggle to get the election platform implemented. There are important contracts coming up in the spring -- Habbersetts, Mrs. Paul's, and Retail

including Pathmark, Great Scot, Shipping Cart, Holiday, and Thriftway.

The recent achievements in the Bluebird contract struggle are an example of how the committee intends to do this. With help from the Rank and File Committee, a Committee for a Decent Contract was organized in the plant. A key demand was won: all members received copies in writing of all the proposed contractual changes, additions, and deletions before voting. This was done in both English and Spanish! The Committee intends to see that this is repeated in all future contract ratifications.

At the union meeting immediately following the elections, the victors made speech after speech against the Rank and File Committee -- called them union wreckers and the losers club. Members were prevented from giving out a leaflet. They obviously thought that a few more good kicks might do in the Committee for good. They were mistaken. As one of the Reform candidates said, "One out of four people voted for us. That mean's we're doing something right. And we intend to keep at it."



organizer photo

The Rank and File Committee for the Reform of Local 196 Campaigned on a Platform Calling for Militancy, Union Democracy, and an End to Race and Sex Discrimination.

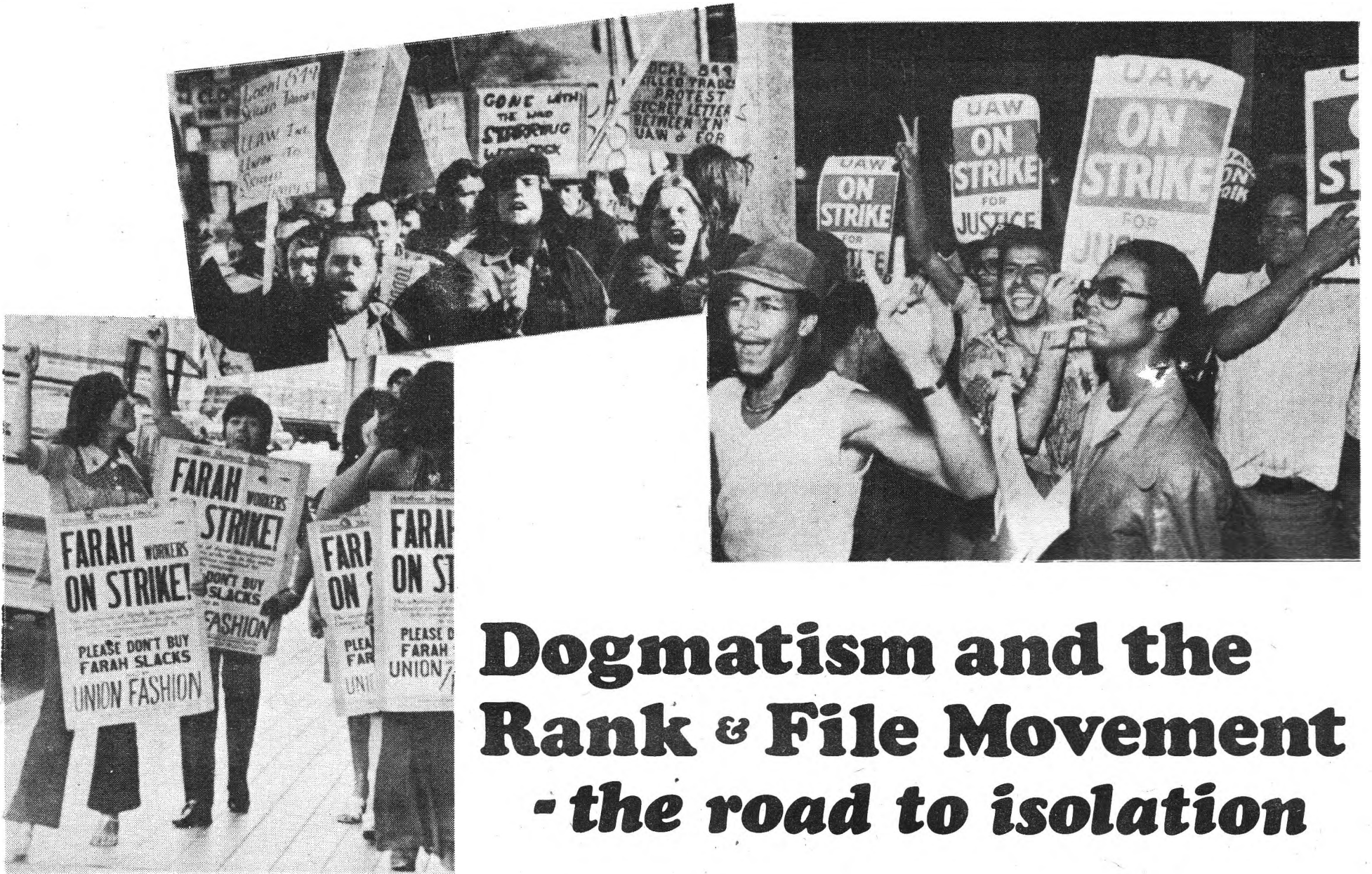
## WANTED: Organizer Sustainers!

Through correspondence and conversation with numbers of our subscribers, we know that many are finding the ORGANIZER a valuable tool both in organizing and in developing ideological clarity. As we enter our third year of publication, we are aware of many of the shortcomings as well as the strengths of our paper. To further meet the needs of the growing communist and workers' movements, we plan to publish the ORGANIZER monthly beginning in mid-1977.

As a workers' press, the ORGANIZER has no "big money" benefactors, but depends on our readers and supporters to keep us going. You can help by contributing \$5, \$10, or \$25 monthly. ORGANIZER sustainers will receive free subscription to the paper, advance copies of new materials published by the PWOC as well as copies of materials already in print.

We recognize that a financial commitment to the ORGANIZER is a political commitment which will aid the struggle for a new communist party in the U.S. Become an ORGANIZER sustainer! Support the PWOC in our efforts to expand the ORGANIZER and help draw together the scattered forces in our movement!





## Dogmatism and the Rank & File Movement - the road to isolation

*It's 6 a.m. Monday morning, you got up too late for your first cup of coffee and you're standing in line at the truck parked in front of your shop to buy a little hot brown water and a piece of rubber called a Danish. Yesterday's union meeting is still fresh in your mind -- yeah, it's going to be another shaft; three more years of worrying about whether or not the kids will get new shoes. If you could only get your hands on that damn Woodcock!*

*Just as you're about to enter the shop, you're surrounded by about ten people (Good thing it's cold or there'd be even more) with four different newspapers and all of them are telling you about the "sell-out" and about that traitor bureaucrat Woodcock: "The working class must unite to fight the capitalists! Join the new Communist movement!"*

*It's all as stale as the piece of rubber you're eating for breakfast. Where the hell were they yesterday when you and your friends were shouted down in the meeting? And where were they the last time you walked out without the "bureaucrats" permission, and as a result some of your friends are still walking the streets without a job? How the hell are you going to beat those "bums" by waving newspapers at folks at 6 a.m. on Monday morning?*

Indeed, where was the new communist movement this year when about 4.5 million workers were represented in contract negotiations? In November, when the terms of the Ford contract became clear, the anger and frustration of the masses of auto workers rose to a new pitch.

The RCP, claiming to speak for the workers in revolt, called a demonstration of protest in Detroit for noon that day. Only a handful of workers showed up. The Independent Skilled Trades Council, a large rank and file formation based in the skilled trades but trying to reach out to production workers, and at this point totally independent from any communist group, called a demonstration for later that afternoon and at least 2000 workers showed up. The OL, a national communist organization claiming to be on the verge of forming a new communist party, didn't even have the forces to call anything.

We can learn a lot from the events of that day. Clearly the rank and file forces are there and ready -- and if we needed any proof of that the Independent Skilled Trades Council should prove it. However, the Council is plagued by serious weaknesses. Based in the skilled trades, it is almost entirely white and not only out of contact with the masses of production workers, the majority of whom are Black, but in addition doesn't recognize the central importance of fighting racism in the auto industry and in the UAW. The membership of the Council fails to understand the potential role of national minority and women workers.

What the Independent Skilled Trades Council is missing is class consciousness. What the so-called communist groupings are missing is a concrete understanding of the issues -- and without that they have no following. The entire auto workforce is paying the price of the split in the form of a bankrupt three-year contract.

### RANK AND FILE MOVEMENT REMAINS SPONTANEOUS

The rank and file movement has been growing by leaps and bounds in the past few years. Primarily organized around contract or election time and focused on a single issue, caucuses tend to die out as quickly as they were formed. The crucial element missing in the majority of these groups is class conscious leadership. The influence of the communist movement has not grown to meet the needs of the spontaneous rank and file rebellion and as a result that revolt remains disorganized, directionless, and impotent. While the Communist Party has become professional in its policy of conciliation with the bureaucrats and tailism behind the rank and file leadership, the sectarianism of the anti-revisionist communist movement has isolated it from the mass of workers.

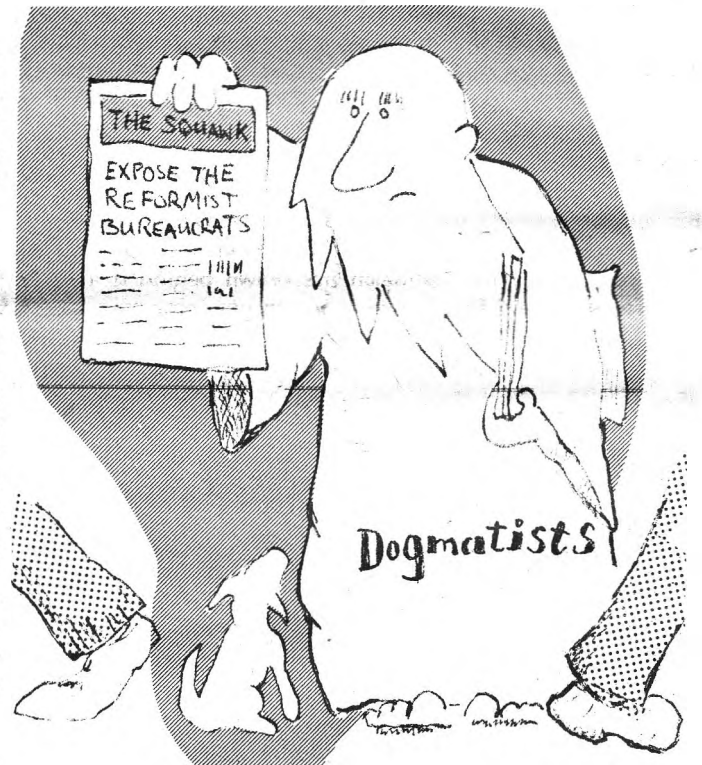
There is a great deal of talk in all of the new communist movement's press about the importance of building the workers' movement. If one just counts the number of times this is mentioned, one would be very impressed by how seriously these groupings take the task of revolutionizing this movement. Reading a bit more carefully, however, one discovers very quickly that neither the RCP nor the OL for example, ever get beyond vague generalities and abstract polemics when they treat the question.

Neither organization has come forward with a comprehensive treatment of the Trade Union Question, and neither has anything which comes close to a strategic approach to the problems of class-collaborationism in today's unions. Both organizations have shown themselves to be incapable of explaining in any concrete way why the rank and file movement has not developed further, or what should be the main thrusts of class struggle trade unionism in this period.

### THREE DOGMATIST ERRORS

The dogmatists make three consistent mistakes in their work in the trade unions. First, they have shown themselves unable to distinguish between middle and right forces, between entrenched bureaucrats and honest but conservative officials, and between opportunist rank and file activists and militant but unconscious leaders. Such an error leads them to label -- in fact, to attack -- all but the most foaming-at-the-mouth "revolutionaries" as sell-outs. In doing this, they seriously offend the bulk of sincere trade unionists who are not only allies but will form the backbone of the new rank and file movement.

Secondly, the dogmatists lack any understanding of the dialectical relationship between the reform struggle and the revolutionary movement, and are characteristically



attracted to adventurist behavior -- their proposals often spelling clear disaster to the masses. They have done nothing to develop the class' understanding of the united front work in the trade unions.

Finally, the dogmatists have forgotten that people learn from their experience. It is not enough to lecture the truth and to point the correct direction from afar. The dogmatists have failed to root themselves firmly in the working class movement (which involves much more than just working in a shop). They shun spontaneous rank and file formations in favor of the fightback organizations of the OL or the independent workers' organizations of the RU. They all see the sum total of their work to be the exposure of opposition candidates for their reformism on the one hand, and propaganda for socialism on the other. Their day-to-day trade union work has no focus outside of these goals.

### MILLER AND SADLOWSKI: HOW TO VIEW THEM?

The errors of the dogmatists can be most clearly understood when we look at their relationship to two of the most important rank and file rebellions of the period: Miller's challenge to Boyle and to the Boyle forces, and Sadlowski's campaign against Abel. Neither of these rank and file leaders are communists or even very consistent leftists. Both have made serious mistakes with respect to the struggle against racism, and even in the fight for trade union militancy. But what is most important in both of these cases, is that these individuals are only symbols for a massive upsurge of rank and file militancy. Both to a certain extent represent a new kind of democracy to the masses and both are speaking to the real questions facing their constituency.

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In both cases, the dogmatists have responded to the movements in a totally undialectical manner. While Miller has clearly shown that his version of reformism is severely limited, the sectarian approach of organizations like the OL has blinded them to the objective realities of the situation in the Miner's Union -- realities like the fact that the Executive Board is still dominated by Boyle supporters, that the union is just recovering from years of intense divisions, that today's problems are the accumulated effects of years of class collaborationism, and that the rank and file movement that elected Miller no longer exists in an organized form. Miller still correctly sees the main danger to the union as coming from the right and incorrectly has chosen to appease this right at the expense of the rank and file movement.

Our attitude must be to extend support to Miller to the extent that he takes steps in the direction of a class struggle program. Our focus must be on trying to build the understanding among the base for the need for consistent class conscious trade union policies. We must be very careful that while we push for more militant leadership that we do not play into the hands of the Boyle forces who are still very strong. We must move the masses around concrete program, building the kind of organization which can force Miller to carry out the thorough reform of the UMW while at the same time defeat the ideas of the right.

Sadlowski is a very similar phenomenon, only a few years later and perhaps as a result, a bit more sophisticated. Again, he is not a class conscious fighter. However, he has committed himself against the sell-out of the ENA, has made a stab at dealing with the need for a concrete struggle against racial discrimination beyond the consent decree, and has committed himself to the development of rank and file democracy in the Steelworkers Union. He has also come out against the anti-communist clause in the constitution, though careful to make clear that he has no ties himself to communism.

He is obviously much stronger around issues that he understands -- the struggle for militant trade unionism and the development of rank and file democracy. However, his slate shows to some extent his understanding of the need to develop unity within the workforce -- it is representative of the multi-national workforce as well as the various job categories within the union. And most important of all, his campaign has drawn behind it a powerful rank and file following, which has come together in the beginnings of a real rank and file organization. It is in this organization that one will find the advanced workers of the Steelworkers Union.

What has been the attitude of the left to these groupings? The CP has played out the tailism implicit in its revisionist political line. It has maintained an almost completely uncritical support of both Miller and Sadlowski. There is practically no mention of the weaknesses of either leader or of their programs in the Daily World, nor does there seem to be any attempt to influence these rank and file movements away from their reformism and towards class struggle unionism.

On the other hand, the dogmatists have gone to the other extreme. The OL, for instance, at first supported the Miller forces almost uncritically. But very soon they were disillusioned by what they hoped would be the great knight in shining armor, and screamed hysterically against this sell-out. They chose this year's convention to propagandize against the so-called Miller brand of sell-out-ism, effectively denying that there could be any difference between Miller and the Boyle forces. The net effect of their actions was necessarily to push Miller into the arms of the right.

When the rank and file desperately needed the kind of leadership which would show them how to pursue the struggle within the union and which would tie Miller directly to the forces which he was elected to represent, the dogmatists washed their hands of a difficult situation and shouted revolution from the rooftops.

This error is being repeated around Sadlowski, but this time in an even more acute form. The OL said on Aug. 9 that "Sadlowski's opposition to Abel in no way promises any real significant changes in the USWA because it, like Abel's is based on reformism and big business unionism rather than class struggle." Earlier they say that "Sadlowski in the USWA and especially the revisionist CP have latched onto and even developed caucuses as instruments for derailing and suppressing the genuine rank and file rebellion at the same time that they promote themselves into positions in the trade union bureaucracy." In other words, they reduce Sadlowski to an opportunist whose whole rebellion has been geared for the sole purpose of getting himself a cozy job. The absurdity of this argument should be obvious.

But what about linking Sadlowski with Abel as essentially two sides of the same coin? This too is patently absurd. While Abel stands for the ENA, appointed posi-

tions within the union, and physical and verbal intimidation of all opposition, Sadlowski has opposed the ENA as being diametrically opposed to what a labor agreement should be, has favored the 6-hour day and outlawing layoffs contractually, and has demanded the ratification of all contracts. Finally, while Abel only recently added the first Black officer to his white and racist leadership team, and this only in the face of the Sadlowski challenge, Sadlowski's running team is multi-national.

#### DOGMATISM ISOLATES COMMUNISTS FROM WORKERS' MOVEMENT

The net effect of the errors of the OL, errors which are reflected a thousand-fold in national as well as local situations by dogmatists of all stripes, is to isolate the communists from the real and viable rank and file movement. The OL has lost its influence even in shops and unions where they still have cadre working. By attacking a rank and file movement which is admittedly reformist in outlook at this time, the dogmatists are objectively giving support to the present bureaucracies -- they are attacking the rank and file itself.

Their own theory should have explained to them that without communist leadership and a consistent well-organized base, every new trade union leader, no matter how honest and well-meaning, will necessarily be pushed to the right. That is the very nature of trade unionism pure and simple! The solution is not to wash our hands of each new leader because he or she plays out our understanding, but rather to create the conditions to make such a swing to the right much more difficult or

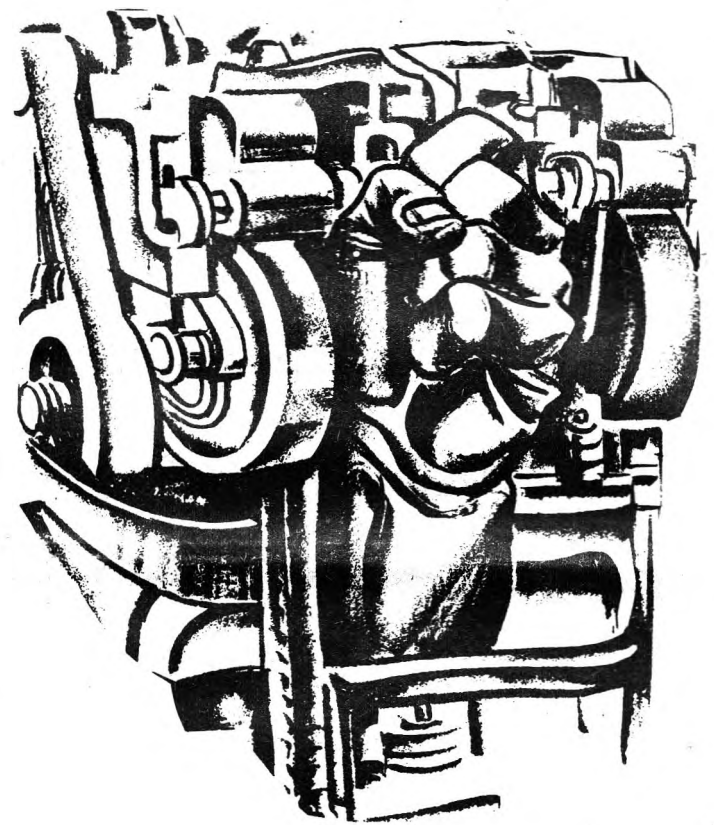
impossible. We do this by working closely with and within the reform movements within the unions.

What we must develop, and what is completely lacking in the dogmatist approach, is the correct application of united front tactics to the trade union movement. Our caucuses must be united fronts. The united front is the conscious coming together of workers from all political persuasions in order to accomplish specific, well-defined, partial goals. The united front does not demand unity of political belief, nor does it necessarily demand unity of motives. A united front is a principled agreement to act together to accomplish a specific goal dictated by the urgent demands of the masses.

The emphasis is clearly on *action*, because we recognize that the working class must learn the lessons of the class struggle through its own experience. It is in the process of leading and interpreting the reform struggle that communists teach the masses the lessons of Marxism-Leninism. Our only requirements are that the program of the united front clearly lead the working class a step forward towards its emancipation and speak to the immediate felt needs of the masses.

The future of the trade union movement depends on the development of this united front, the left-center alliance. Communists have the special responsibility of providing the glue which holds the alliance together. This glue comes in the form of concrete and politically correct program.

## P.W.O.C. conference focuses on trade union tasks



Why has the new communist movement tended to remain isolated from the growing rank and file rebellion? Why have most spontaneous rank and file groupings limited themselves to a single issue? How do we combat the tailism of the Communist Party and what is wrong with the policies of the dogmatist organizations such as the October League? What should be our main trade union demands in the coming period? How do we accomplish the all-important task of defeating racism and developing class unity? How does our trade union work relate to party-building?

These were some of the most important questions addressed during a trade union conference sponsored by the PWOC in mid-November. Invited to the conference were those individuals and organizations whose closeness to the PWOC has been developed through repeated contacts or joint work. The goal was to establish a united focus for our trade union work and to identify areas where differences of line exist.

The most important topic addressed throughout the conference was how to pursue the struggle against racism and how this struggle relates to united front activity, how it relates to our party-building tasks, and how it affects every other aspect of our trade union work. While there was unity on the importance of tackling every division within the class, particularly sexism and anti-communism, the centrality of winning white workers to the struggle against racism was emphasized. There can be no class struggle trade unionism without a consciously united working class, and this unity depends on an aggressive anti-racist policy.

The conference began with a PWOC presentation on the state of the workers' movement today. Included was a discussion of the relationship of the rank and file movement to the trade union leadership, the strengths and weaknesses of that movement, and how the dogmatism of the anti-revisionist communist trend pre-

vents the fusion of communist theory with the rank and file movement. The presentation concluded with an in-depth analysis of the meaning of united front strategy to the trade unions today, showing how the policies of the OL are a roadblock to the development of the rank and file movement.

The presentation was followed by a panel which elaborated on the main thrusts of class struggle trade unionism: union democracy, militant trade unionism, the struggle for class unity, and the development of independent political action.

The relationship of our trade union work to the critical task of building a revolutionary communist party was addressed in the evening. We focused on the propaganda and recruitment tasks of communists, underlining the importance of making our theory address the pressing needs of the working class. Our ability to build a communist trend in the trade unions and on that basis to found a communist party capable of leading the class in fact and not just in words depends on our ability to make our theory concrete.

We ended the conference by addressing the day-to-day tasks of the movement: caucus building and organizing the unorganized. Workshops discussed how to deal with red-baiting, guidelines for participation in union elections and contract struggles, how to form a new caucus, and so on.

The conference represented a small but important step towards building a united national communist current in the workers' movement. The PWOC plans to host more such events which would involve the many other communist trade union organizers across the country who could benefit from such joint work and who could add valuable insight into our discussions. Copies of the two major presentations are available from *the Organizer* for \$1.00 and interest in future conferences should also be addressed to *the Organizer*.



# NUTS & BOLTS

## Researching Your Company

How often have you heard that old song and dance, "You're demanding too much money. If the Company agrees to these demands, it will force us to go bankrupt and shut down. You don't want to lose your jobs, do you?"

Whether this old saw comes from the executive office at contract time, or from Company mouthpieces in the top ranks of the AFL-CIO, the intent is the same -- to scare us into working for low wages with lousy working conditions.

Starting false rumors designed to confuse, mislead, and frighten the workers is standard Company practice, especially at contract time. But armed with knowledge of how to research your company's real financial position and profits, you can beat this propaganda and add weight to your just demands.

### IN THE KNOW

Researching your Company can also tell you how many of the Company's other plants are unionized, and in what unions. You can learn whether to expect layoffs and an extra-hard line management, or new orders, expanded production, and construction of new plants.

Knowing these facts helps a union or rank and file caucus know the company's strong points and weak points. Knowing them also helps in determining what problems are likely to be the most severe in the next few years, and therefore what demands are most important to protect the membership during the term of the next contract.

In two parts, beginning with this NUTS & BOLTS, we will explain how you can research your industry and your company, using the capitalists' own facts and figures. All of the sources listed here can be found in the Free Library Central, or the University of Pennsylvania or

Temple University libraries. Ask the librarian to show you how to find what you're looking for.

There are many details that we won't get into here -- if you want to go beyond what's in this article, send your questions to NUTS & BOLTS c/o the Organizer. Very little technical language is needed to do this research, but if you run into technical terms, use the McGraw-Hill Dictionary of Modern Economics to find their meaning.

sections) by Industry and by Company. Check out at least this year's and last year's listings. Funk and Scotts Index will refer you to articles in many different publications; the most useful articles are usually found in *Business Week*, *the Wall Street Journal*, *the Journal of Commerce*, and *Fortune*.

### AND YOUR "OWN" COMPANY

Now that you know the big picture, you want some details on your own employer.



K. Fox

### GETTING THE SCOOP ON THE INDUSTRY...

The first thing you want to know is: what's going on in your industry? What changes are happening, and what's likely to happen in the next few years? The best sources for this information is Standard and Poors *Industry Surveys*. This is a breakdown of the US economy into 44 major industries, published in two editions (the *Basic Analysis* once a year, and the *Current Analysis* three times a year.) Ask the librarian for the latest edition of both the *Current Analysis* and the *Basic Analysis*.

If you want more details (and also to find detailed information on your particular company), check Funks and Scotts *Index of Corporations and Industries*. This is an index of dozens of business magazines and newspapers, broken down (in two

The best single source for this information is the corporation's *Annual Report to Stockholders*. This is a booklet, usually 10-30 pages long, that management prints up to keep the stockowners informed and to attract new investors.

Call up any brokerage firm in the phone book (Merrill-Lynch is good), ask to speak to a broker (he's a stock salesman). Tell him you're thinking about buying a few shares of the company's stock, but would like to see a copy of the annual report first. They'll mail it to you for free in a day or two, with no hassle. Some *Annual Reports* can be found in the library.

If you want really detailed information

on the company, ask the broker to send you a *Prospectus* also. This is a document that must be prepared whenever a Company offers a new batch of stock for public sale on the stock exchange. The language is a bit technical, but it includes the amount of stock held by members of top management, which unions represent the employees, and very detailed financial figures.

A brief summary of the contents of the annual report, plus a short history of the company, can be found in *Moody's Industrial Manual* (for manufacturing companies), *Moody's Utility Manual* (for gas, electric, and similar companies), or *Moody's Transportation Manual* (for truck, bus, and similar companies). *Moody's Manuals* are published once a year.

The other good source on individual companies is the *Value Line Investment Survey*. This survey publishes one-page information sheets on most corporations, several times a year. There are lots of figures crammed into that page, most of them worthless for our purposes. At the bottom of each page are a few paragraphs giving details on the company's business; you can find a lot of facts here that won't be in the *Annual Report*, and it's worth going back and copying the last 5-10 sheets on your company to get these facts. This part of *Value Line* often has information on major new orders, plans to build new plants or tear down old ones, and what divisions are making or losing money.

In the next issue's NUTS & BOLTS, we will explain where to look in this same *Value Line* to figure your employer's profits. Although capitalist book-keeping is good at masking true wealth, we'll give a few rules of thumb you can go by to answer the Company when they cry, "We can't afford it!"

## Swine Flu (Cont.)

continued from page 2

used if and when the swine flu threat became real. But the drug companies resisted taking such a financial risk and that idea was buried. Another possible approach would have been to treat the swine flu carriers -- the pigs -- and eradicate swine flu. But the pork industry,

having suffered losses in a recent cholera epidemic, didn't need bad publicity and successfully defeated that idea.

With so many uncertainties surrounding swine flu and the vaccine, together with the relatively low profit to be made by

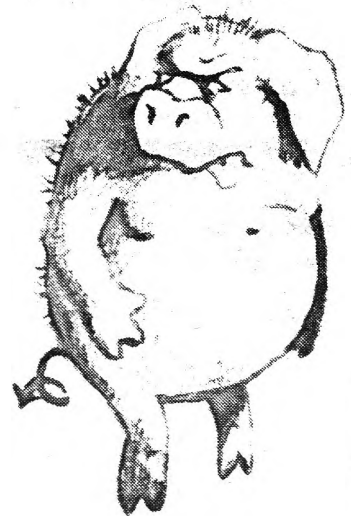
the drug companies, why did the government aggressively undertake such a program? Many congressional representatives appeared honestly convinced that a serious epidemic was likely and were unwilling to be held responsible for not supporting preventive measures. Bold campaigns, especially in the area of health and welfare, are popular in a presidential election year.

In a *Journal of the AMA* editorial Dr. Theodore Cooper states: "The US preserves and supports a private health enterprise in the belief that this system of medical care best meets the needs and expectations of the American people. . . the public and the private sectors are challenged to demonstrate that they can combine their energies. . . each contributing what it is best able and equipped to do." The swine flu campaign, then, could show that capitalism delivers the goods and "prove" that nationalized health care is unnecessary.

Have the American people bought it? If Philadelphia is any example, the answer is NO! As of late November, only 6% of eligible Philadelphians had received their shots. Urban Black participation has been extremely low on a nationwide scale. Such suspiciousness and resistance to the campaign is not at all surprising when one considers the years of racism Black people have experienced in their struggle for quality health care.

Health care for Black people has either been largely unavailable, inaccessible, of inferior quality, or downright criminal, involving flagrant disrespect, force, exper-

imentation and abuse. To expect Black people to embrace the vaccine in the face of systematic denial of other health services (as evidenced by the declining rate of immunization against childhood diseases among urban Blacks, for example) is ludicrous.



Malcolm McNeill

Instead of a campaign against a questionable epidemic using a vaccine of uncertain safety and effectiveness, we need a real public preventative health program -- a program that immunizes all our children against diseases known to be serious and preventable, such as measles, mumps, etc.; that puts a stop to the thousands of injuries, diseases, and deaths we face at our workplaces; that gives us all regular physical exams and treatment *before* we acquire irreversible diseases. We need a health care system that is free of racism and sexism; that serves us, not the capitalist class.

## BLACK LIBERATION TODAY

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BLACK LIBERATION TODAY -- AGAINST DOGMATISM ON THE NATIONAL QUESTION. PWOC's position on the Afro-American national question. Includes summary of the general Marxist-Leninist theory; concrete analysis of the Black Belt, historically and today. Plus discussion of the Black people today, and strategy for Liberation. Points out unity of dogmatist and revisionist positions.