



The ORGANIZER

REMEMER SOWETO!

Marchers protest
apartheid in S. Africa
and
racist cutbacks here

page 4



Banks Demand School Cuts: Phila. children lose out

by JACK OWENS

"They can find enough money for everything else they want. Why can't they find money for the schools?"
—mother of three public school children
(Phila. Tribune, 4/2/77)

"This community isn't as wealthy as it used to be. . . that's a fact of life . . . this city cannot afford the school system it has any more."
—John Bunting, Chairman of the Board,
First Pennsylvania Bank
(Phila. Inquirer, 5/5/77)

On May 31, the Philadelphia School Board (SB), after two months of confusion and uncertainty, surrendered without a fight to local bankers and submitted a 1977/78 school budget decimated by cuts totaling \$170 million dollars.

As a result, we can look forward to schools reopening in September with no kindergarten, no libraries, no bus transportation, no counseling, no alternative programs, no remedial reading programs, no athletics or extracurricular activities, to name a few. Thirty-two schools are scheduled to be closed and up to 10,000 of the school districts' 26,000 employees face lay-offs as of June 30.

CUTS REFLECT RACISM

The resulting shell of a school system will hurt every child in Philadelphia, but clearly minority children — who make up two-thirds of Philadelphia schoolchildren — will suffer the most. Since their schools are the oldest and most hazardous, it is no surprise that most of the 32 schools to

be closed are in the Black community. Oppressed minority children often benefit the most from kindergarten, and the remedial and alternative programs which are being eliminated. This is racism pure and simple, as is the proposed elimination of bilingual programs.

Racism, of course, is no stranger to supercop Frank Rizzo who, ten years ago, led the police assault on Black school children in a November, 1967 demonstration outside of the Board of Education building. Racism and disregard for poor and working class people is no stranger to this city administration which in the last year has closed PGH, skyrocketed taxes, and raised SEPTA fares while cutting service and throwing a few crumbs to the SEPTA workers. And racism is no stranger to the SB which has, for nine years, refused to desegregate Philadelphia schools as ordered to do by the Pennsylvania Human Relations Commission. This latest move by the SB completely strips away the last shred of credibility for its so-called "voluntary" desegregation plan which depended on the alternative programs now being so thoroughly and casually swept away.

Meanwhile, while the city, state, and SB all scurry to blame everyone but themselves, the bankers tell us that we just can't afford extravagant frills like kindergarten, adult education, and special programs for the physically and mentally handicapped.

WHO REALLY CONTROLS OUR SCHOOLS?

While it is easy to become confused in the welter of statistics, charges, and countercharges, the current crisis does highlight some fundamental facts about the financing and control of our schools.

Traditionally our schools obtain money in several ways — from real estate taxes which fall heaviest on the working class homeowner; from the sales of long-term bonds which pay high interest rates to the banks and financial institutions which buy most of them; from state and federal subsidies; and from short-term bank loans. This system, with its ever-increasing bank debt, leaves the school district chronically in crisis; it is designed to line the pockets of the banks and to place the double burden on the working class of higher taxes and worse schools.

The current disaster has its seed in the spring of 1976 when the SB submitted a budget for 1976/77 with a deficit of \$67 million and a proposed 1977/78 budget with a \$106 million deficit. The SB expected the state legislature to come through with the difference. However, the legislature balked and the SB was faced with closing the schools on May 15 unless \$32 million could be found to pay off the most immediate debts.

Then . . . on May 5 John Bunting, Chairman of the Board of First Pennsylvania

(continued on page 4)

Phone contract coming up

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Women: the facts

pg. 10

China: The Gang of Four

pg. 8

Letters To The Editor...

Readers support monthly Organizer

To the Organizer:

I have read your paper, *The Organizer*, with great interest.

On March 19, 1977 I was able to attend a rally at the Calvary Methodist Church. The people, the food, and the program were all very much appreciated by me. Thank you very much.

Also, I have read in your paper *The Organizer* that beginning in May, 1977, *The Organizer* will be a monthly publication.

I would like to become a monthly sustainer at the rate of five dollars per month.

I wish the new monthly *Organizer* every success.

Thank you very much for your time and consideration.

Very sincerely yours,
H.B.
Philadelphia

Comrades,

I want to sustain *The Organizer* as the newspaper of the organization now leading the way for the party-building movement in this country. May I pay you quarterly, \$60.00 per year? I look forward to the expanded *Organizer*.

In Struggle,
K.B.
Cincinnati

P.S. I plan to become an "Organizer" agent as soon as my newly-planted workplace roots are developed enough.

Dear PWOC,

I would like to become a sustainer of *The Organizer* for \$5 a month to start. I'm also sending \$1 for your trade union conference papers.

I'm a machinist in the IAM and am getting out, as a member of one of the rank and file groups you talked about in the

last *Organizer*, a newsletter in my local. I'm the only Marxist-Leninist in the group and the force of those ideas have put me in a defacto type leadership position. And that's good and bad. I'm a former radical college student and later a NAM member.

I've been organizationally isolated since I quit NAM nearly three years ago. I was fed up with the left and the kind of dogmatism *The Organizer* has been pointing out. Until recent developments in *The Guardian* and getting a subscription to your paper, I've felt that the left wasn't going to have a chance in this country.

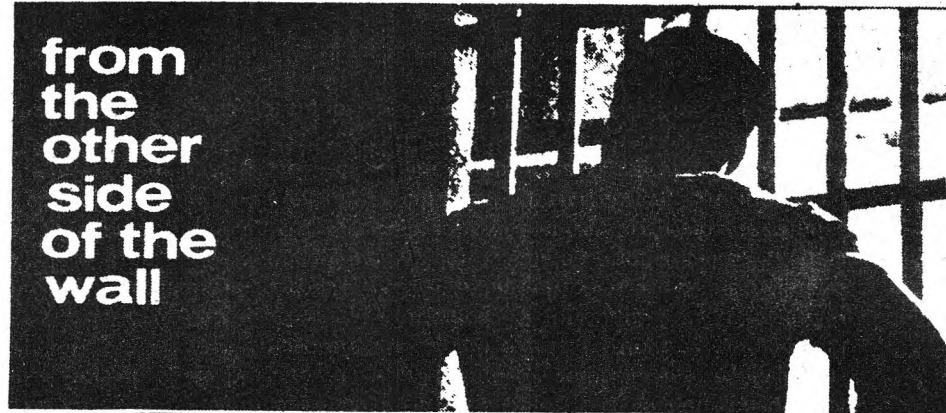
I'm from an industrial working class family that is solidly so and back for at least three generations. I've grown up in industrial working class communities and worked in plants since I was 16 and until now I've felt that the left was never going

to help unleash the social hurricane that's brewing there. Anyway, I think your approach to Marxist-Leninism as a method or process, a way to understand what's happening and to deal with it, unafraid, is the manner in which we should proceed.

If you people put on any more conferences having to do with the trade union question or shop organizing I would be interested in attending. I'm not ashamed to admit that I am confused as a result of being isolated from any kind of Marxist organization for so long, and admit that I am unclear as to how to proceed very much further in the group I'm in.

I'm enclosing my first month's pledge and a dollar for the trade union conference papers.

Solidarity,
N.G.
East Dundee, Ill.



from
the
other
side
of the
wall

hearings closed

The following communication is from the National Committee to Support the Marion Brothers. The Committee is calling for open hearings before Congress and the public to expose the criminal practices of the jailers at Marion. We urge our readers to write to Congressman Robert Kastenmeier and members of the House Judiciary Subcommittee on Administration of Justice in support of these demands.

Illinois Federal Judge James Foreman has been holding illegal hearings on prisoners' lawsuits inside the U. S. penitentiary at Marion, Illinois. The practice of holding hearings inside the prison began in 1975

after 100 people attended the public trial of a class action suit, *Bono vs. Saxbe*, to close the long-term control unit at the Marion Prison. Marion prisoners have protested the practice, but higher federal courts have ruled against them. Another set of hearings is scheduled inside the prison on May 31st.

"We want our lawsuits to be heard in open, public court," says Omar Yusef Ali (William Alexander) in protest of the policy. "We have the right to public hearings. By holding hearings inside Marion, the court intimidates the public and the press. Who's going to come inside this prison to hear our cases against the prison system?"

While Marion prisoners' suits against the prison are heard inside the prison, all criminal cases brought against prisoners are heard in federal courthouses in southern Illinois. Sentencing on criminal cases, however, is done inside the prison.

"The result is that the public only hears about cases against the prisoners", says Audrey Aronson Myers, Director of the National Committee to Support the Marion Brothers. "And since the sentencing is done in the prison, they never hear about what's happened to these men after they've been tried. It's a double standard, and it just reinforces in the public's mind that prisoners are animals and the prison system is there to protect the public from them. The public never hears about crimes the prison system has committed against the prisoners."

The Marion, Illinois, Federal Prison is the maximum-security prison in the federal prison system. It contains the infamous long-term control unit, a special behavior modification unit where prisoners are kept in solitary confinement for indefinite periods of time. In a recent court decision, the Chicago Federal Appeals Court ruled that special sensory deprivation cells (known as boxcars) inside the control unit itself "represent the type of solitary confinement which has been equated with the rack, the screw and the wheel as a means of compulsion used throughout the centuries to obtain confessions." A decision in the *Bono vs. Saxbe* suit to close the control unit is expected in late spring or early summer.

For more information contact:
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6199 Waterman, St. Louis, Mo. 63112
314-862-4878

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A PWOC Pamphlet

RACISM AND THE WORKERS' MOVEMENT

\$1.00

Order Today

Philadelphia Workers' Organizing Committee

Who We Are



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

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

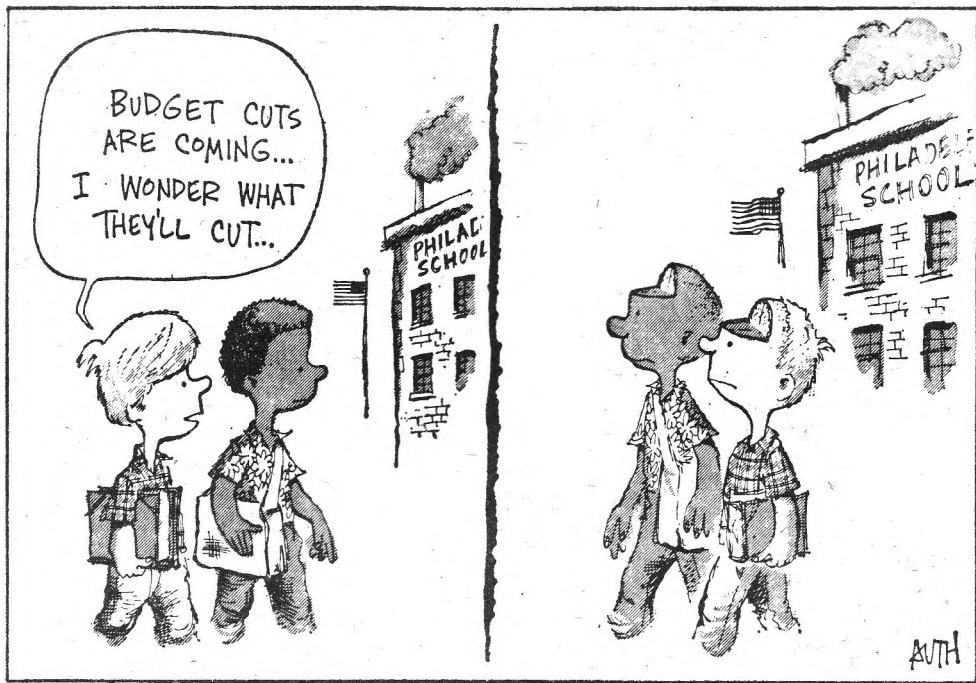
handful of monopolists -- by the rule of the many -- the working people.

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

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

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

Labor Round-up



PFT Leaders Won't Join Community Actions on Schools

The leadership of the Philadelphia Federation of Teachers made it clear in a general membership meeting June 13 that at this point they are opposed to a serious struggle against the cutbacks.

In the meeting, the newly-formed Ad Hoc Committee on the cutbacks, with the support of the School Employees Action Caucus, moved that a committee of the union, including both rank and file and Executive Board members, be formed to seek the greatest possible community support and action against the cutbacks. In response, the Executive Board maintained the position that parents are the enemies of teachers, that no unity is possible between union and community, and that the rank and file has nothing to do but write letters to Harrisburg.

The public logic behind the leadership's position is that parents blame teachers' salaries for the School Board's debts and are willing to see them cut. Therefore, the union must go it alone to protect their wages and working conditions. The unspoken, racist logic is that the PFT does not want to be held responsible to the community in any respect for the quality of education delivered to its children — and it would have to accept some responsibility in this area if it actively sought parent support. In particular, the union has resisted efforts by the Black community to share in the de-

velopment of educational programs, and has failed to struggle against racism toward students on the part of its membership.

Of course, neither the union alone nor the parents alone are capable of solving the problems of Philadelphia schools. United in demands for quality education, desegregation, and good working conditions for School Board employees, union and parents together could bring enough political pressure to force Rizzo and Shapp to act. However, the union's approach at present makes this impossible and gives the bankers and politicians a perfect wedge to divide them from the parents, while public education continues to deteriorate in Philadelphia.

The rank and file made one important gain: A resolution was passed calling for a change in the by-laws to guarantee the right of laid-off members to retain their membership rights. At present, to be admitted to membership meetings of the PFT, members must show the most recent pay stub. Laid-off workers, of course, do not have pay stubs. The motion, presented by SEAC, called for full union rights for laid-off members who pay \$2 monthly dues. If acted on, this means full participation in union affairs for those members most directly affected by cutbacks.



Supreme Court Upholds Racism in Teamster Case

On May 31 the Supreme Court ruled that national minority and women workers who were victims of discriminatory hiring practices before the Civil Rights Act became effective are not entitled to retroactive seniority.

The ruling resulted from a case against a Texas trucking company and the Teamsters which represents most of the workers there. Separate seniority lists exist for "line" or over the road drivers and city or local drivers. The line drivers receive better wages, better jobs, and greater protection against layoffs, and are nearly all white. Most of the city drivers are Black and Chicano.

Most of the discriminatory hiring took place before 1965, and now the dual sen-

RALLY SUPPORTS STEVENS WORKERS

On May 25 local unions, community groups, and clergy participated in a rally and march sponsored by the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union in support of the 45,000 J. P. Stevens workers' struggle to unionize.

At the rally the featured speaker was Addie Jackson, a fired J. P. Stevens worker from Statesboro, Georgia. Representatives from the ACTWU and AFL-CIO also spoke. The working conditions and anti-union practices of J. P. Stevens were addressed and how organizing J. P. Stevens was the key to opening up the South to unionization of all its industries. After the rally, participants marched from JFK Plaza around Gimbel's and Strawbridge and Clothier, two department stores which have refused to boycott Stevens goods. AFL-CIO delegates from the state convention came over and joined in the march.

The struggle to organize J. P. Stevens has been going on for 14 years. Stevens has fired hundreds of union organizers and sympathizers, and pitted white workers against Black workers, spreading rumors that unionization means a Black takeover. Despite these tactics, 3500 workers in the Roanoke Rapids, South Carolina, plants, voted to be represented by the ACTWU in August 1974.

However, the company has stalled in negotiations since then. One Stevens worker from Roanoke Rapids said, "We're just one factory and Stevens has 80 different factories. . . . even if we went out on strike to get a contract here, they would just send the work someplace else. So the only way we're ever going to get any-

thing done is to keep our union strong in Roanoke Rapids and for pressure to continue to come from the outside."

Since June, 1976, the ACTWU, with the support of the AFL-CIO has been pushing a nation-wide boycott of Stevens products. In Philadelphia, the Citizens Committee for Justice for J. P. Stevens Workers, which co-sponsored the rally and march, has been sending delegations to department stores asking them to boycott Stevens' goods. Strawbridge and Clothier flatly refused, but Wanamakers agreed. A member of the delegation said the representative from Wanamakers said, "We went through that Farah thing; we don't want to go through that again."

One member of the Citizens Committee said he felt that the ACTWU was just "making a show but not seriously trying to get the rank and file involved or even informed." He said he had spoken to a clothing worker the other day "who hadn't even heard of J. P. Stevens." He also said "If racism was mentioned during the rally, I didn't hear it, and when the union does address it, it's just paying lip service, not a real commitment to fighting racism". And yet the victories that have been won at Stevens are due to newer Black workers providing militant leadership and growing unity between Black and white workers.

It is clear that to assure victory to Stevens workers, rank and file workers in Philadelphia and across the country must actively promote the boycott and push their union to turn token support into militant support actions.

BOYCOTT STEVENS PRODUCTS!

SHEETS AND PILLOWCASES:

Beauti-Blend, Beauticale, Fine Arts, Peanuts (comic strip), Tastemaker, Utica, Utica & Mohawk

BLANKETS: Baby Stevens, Forstmann, Utica

CARPETS:

Contender, Gulistan, Merryweather, Tastemaker

SLIPPERS: Always in Step

DRAPERIES: J. P. Stevens

HOSIERY:

Big Mama, Finess, Hiplets, Spirit

TOWELS: Fine Arts, Tastemaker, Utica

WOOLENS & WORSTED FABRICS:

Boldeena, Forstmann, Hockanum, Worumbo

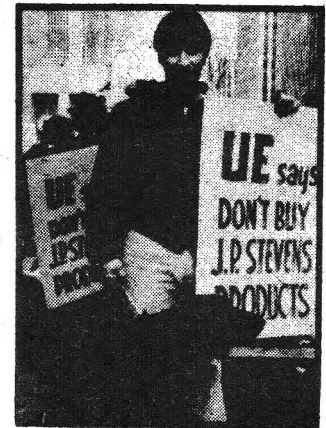


TABLE LINEN: Simtex

COTTON FABRICS:

Academy, Lady Twist Twill, Twist Twill

SYNTHETIC & BLEND FABRICS:

Blen Tempo, Coachman, Consort, Carousel, Gesture, Stevetex, 20 Below, Lady Consort, Windsheer, Linebacker, Wefmatic (cotton-nylon knit)

iority system maintains discrimination since city drivers lose all seniority if they become line drivers. Victims of racist hiring after 1965 may demand retroactive seniority, but the Court ruled that those Black and Chicano workers hired before the Civil Rights Act are not entitled to retroactive seniority.

What this decision means is that a whole generation of middle-aged and older national minority and women workers will be frozen into lower paid jobs.

The court also decided that the seniority system was not "intentionally" discriminatory. This is just the most recent in a line of decisions in the past several months which are rolling back civil rights

legislation of the '60's. First, the Supreme Court blocked a school desegregation plan in Austin, Texas, and then in Indianapolis claiming that there was not enough evidence that the School Boards "intended" to segregate the school system. The court has also ruled that companies must show "intent" to discriminate in hiring. It is not enough that a hiring policy results in discrimination.

Clearly, we can't rely on the courts to fight discrimination. Rank and file organizations are going to have to fight for an end to dual seniority systems and discrimination in hiring, for affirmative action programs which ensure equal employment and for metropolitan desegregation plans to ensure desegregated and quality education for our children.

Take the money from apartheid, put it into our schools!

organizer photo



(Above and at right) Marchers move through the streets of Center City to commemorate the Soweto uprisings.

(Below) Rosemary Mealy-Whitehorne of the Third World Coalition addressed a rally at the First Pennsylvania Bank and described the role of the banks in the Philadelphia school crisis as well as their role in South Africa.

organizer photo



"Hey John Bunting, what do you say? How many schools did you close today?"

Over 150 marchers turned the heads of thousands of Chestnut St. shoppers Saturday morning, June 18th, on their way from the School Board at 21st and the Parkway to the head office of the First Pennsylvania Bank, 15th and Market. Chanting the slogan above and also "U. S. Out of South Africa — end Apartheid Now", the demonstrators made the point that while Philadelphia's banks and politicians are broke when it comes to providing education for our children, First Pennsylvania's money flows easily when profits made from South Africa's brutal racist labor system are available.

The demonstration, which was initiated by the United People's Campaign Against Apartheid and Racism (UPCAAR), was first planned as a commemoration of the rebellion of the students of the segregated township of Soweto, South Africa, one year ago.

Educational opportunities for Black South Africans have always been very limited and costly. When the South African government further attacked the poor educational system, the students began protesting.

From June 16th, 1976 when student demonstrations began, to August, the

South African police went on a bloody rampage, killing thousands of young Black people and injuring and arresting many more.

In Philadelphia, Black children, and white children too, are under attack. The same banks which are supporting the apartheid system of South Africa with investments and loans, touched off a crisis in the Philadelphia school system by demanding drastic cutbacks in the school budget. The demonstrators made the point that banks such as the First Pennsylvania support racism by investing our money in South Africa, while withdrawing it from the education of our own children.

The apartheid system in South Africa and the attacks on the standard of living of all working people here are both rooted in monopoly capitalism and its imperialist policies. Workers in South Africa, and workers here Black and white, have a common fight, and the UPCAAR march was a signal that Philadelphia workers are starting to take up that fight.

The Puerto Rican Socialist Party, School Employees Action Caucus, House of Umoja, Venceremos Brigade, Philadelphia Student Union, Committee for Quality Education and Desegregation, the Third World Coalition, and the Philadelphia Workers Organizing Committee — the Organizer — were among the sponsors.



organizer photo

School Crisis

(continued from page 1)

Bank and one of the area's most influential capitalists sprang his deal — area banks would loan the SB the \$32 million in exchange for a balanced 1977/78 budget — that is, a \$170 million black-mail.

Bunting has been remarkable in his arrogance and his frankness. About the cuts he said, "You'll be able to see what they (the SB) put a priority on. . . the blood will be out there for everyone to see. . . It's what you have to do every once in a while." That the blood to be spilled is our children's doesn't concern him. He clearly spelled out the banker's priorities, "We (the banks) have our own credibility at stake."

After being content to stay behind the scenes for so long, it might be asked why now are the banks able and willing to so openly flaunt their power? The answers tell a lot about our city — and our society.

First — the political climate in Philadelphia is one of free reign for big business — witness the Rizzo administration ending the corporate profits tax and the refusal to extend the special tax levied on the oil refineries.

Second — the SB was, in the banks' eyes, recklessly spending money it did not have and needed to be shwon, publicly, who exactly was boss.

Third — our bankers are counting on racism to keep us divided and weak. They hope that the more affluent and mostly white Northeast, less affected by the cuts,

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will not be motivated to join inner-city Blacks in a tough political struggle. Similarly, they hope that racism in the poorer white communities will blind these people to the need for unity.

WHO'S TO BLAME? EVERYONE BUT ME

In addition, the banks, along with the SB, are attempting to shift the blame elsewhere. The Philadelphia Federation of Teachers has especially come under attack. The SB went on record early in April that the deficit was due to inflation and salary increases "required by union contracts".

There has been an attempt to shift the responsibility onto the state government. The SB, the city, and the banks all agree now that it is up to Governor Shapp and the state legislature to provide funds to restore the cuts, and all are lobbying for the passage of several bills now pending in Harrisburg which would bring larger state subsidies to Philadelphia and other school districts throughout the state. The state government is, of course, busy shifting the blame back onto the city with rural and suburban legislators saying that they are tired of paying for Philadelphia's sins.

Moreover, if the state is eventually forced to ante up some extra cash, you can bet it will be the working class of Pennsylvania who will pay. Shapp is already pushing to increase the state sales tax from 6% to 7% and he earlier proposed that increased state school subsidies be

tied to a bill allowing local municipalities to raise wage taxes. Note that Shapp and the state legislature, like Rizzo and the SB, are definitely *not* talking about ending bank profiteering and taxing corporations and the rich.

STRUGGLE JUST BEGINNING

The response of Philadelphians so far has been primarily shock and disbelief. Like the tale of the boy who cried "Wolf!" we are used to an annual school crisis and are just beginning to realize that this year the stakes are higher, the threat more real.

So far the best organized opposition to the cuts, the Save Our Schools task force of the Home and School Council, has focused all its energy on lobbying for the passage of the subsidy bills. The political weakness of this group is shown by their changing the day for a mass demonstration and lobbying effort in Harrisburg from the end of May until June 7 so that they could be joined by that well-known friend of minorities and working people — Frank Rizzo!

Faced with the layoff of 10,000 teachers and other school employees, it would seem logical that the unions, and especially the Philadelphia Federation of Teachers would be leading the fight. Sadly, the union voice has so far been most conspicuous by its silence. Beyond a statement by PFT president Frank Sullivan rejecting the suggestion that they give up their \$43 million in salary increases, and voicing support for the subsidy bills,

the PFT leadership seems to be doing little. While there are some signs of rank and file organizing it has not, so far, had any visible impact.

But . . . the struggle has just begun and the Organizer along with all concerned people in Philadelphia will fight to see that our children's futures are not sacrificed for the sake of John Bunting's credibility. We believe that a united campaign should include not only a demand for the full restoration of the original school budget, but also the following:

1. An explicit recognition of the racism of this attack as the basis for forging the multinational unity necessary to win this struggle. This also means demanding full desegregation of the schools without which true quality education is impossible.

2. The building of a mass movement that will fight not only for a full restoration of the cuts but for an increase in money to begin to improve the schools. It must be made clear that lobbying, while a legitimate tactic, must be only one thrust of an overall campaign.

3. A demand for a permanent financial restructuring which will do away with profiteering. The financial burden of our schools must be taken off the backs of the working class and minorities and placed squarely on those who can afford it and who have been so far reaping the benefits of the present system — the banks, big corporations, and the rich.

Voters reject Fitz and Freeman

Rizzo exposed! The king has no machine



organizer graphic

by JOE LEWANDOWSKI

Two months ago, Frank Rizzo seemed to be the king of this city's powerful Democratic Party, the ruler of one of the few remaining big city political machines. The last chapter in the saga of Rizzo's rise to political control was to be written in the May Democratic Party primary.

Rizzo lackeys Emmett Fitzpatrick and Andrew Freeman were supposed to walk to quiet victories over independent candidates Edward Rendell and William Klenk in the contests for D.A. and for City Controller. But on May 17 a political hurricane hit city hall, and when the winds died down after the vote count, it became clear to everyone: "King" Rizzo has no clothes -- at least he has no machine.

By a two-to-one margin Philadelphia voters rejected the "machine" candidates. The vote was clearly a rebuff of the Rizzo regime and a rebellion against Fitzpatrick's arrogance and corruption rather than a vote for the personalities or programs of the victorious candidates. In fact, although Klenk, as the incumbent city controller, had established a certain amount of popularity for exposing Frank's budget slight-of-hand, his running mate, a political unknown, fared even better in the voting tabulations.

RIZZO'S FUTURE BLEAK

The Rendell-Klenk victory may be the death blow to Rizzo's political future. Rizzo, of course, claimed that the defeat would have no impact on his personal prestige and popularity. "It'll be a different ballgame when Frank Rizzo is on the ballot," he boasted.

But for the moment, at least, Rizzo's boast is little more than hot air. The problem he first must face is getting on another ballot.

Rizzo has two options in his political future -- a 1978 gubernatorial race or a 1979 mayoral race. According to the present City Charter, if Rizzo were to run for governor he would first have to resign as mayor. The Charter also restricts a mayor to only two successive terms. Rizzo has planned to have these provisions changed for some time, but to do it he has to bring the changes to the voters -- the same voters who just rejected his candidates and who, by the tens of thousands, signed a petition demanding his recall from office just a few months ago.

Before the primary elections, the anti-Rizzo forces thought it best not to oppose the change that would allow him to retain his office and still run for the governorship. They intended instead to focus their attack against the provision which would allow Frank another term. But encouraged by their election victor-

ies, Rizzo's enemies are now considering a fight that would block Frank's path to Harrisburg.

RIZZO FOR GOVERNOR?

Whether or not they are successful in the charter battle, it is not at all clear that Rizzo really has a shot at being elected governor. Frank had considered taking on Shapp during his first term as mayor, but he couldn't get the solid backing of the Philadelphia banking and business community and was nearly laughed out of Pittsburgh by the powerful Mellon financial empire.

Now, with his machine in a shambles and with his personal popularity at an all-time low in Philadelphia, Rizzo will have an even tougher time persuading up-state and western Pennsylvania politicians that he is a legitimate political power.

Rizzo's future is so bleak that his personal public relations man and ego massager, *Inquirer* columnist Tom Fox, wrote Frank's political obituary two days after the elections. "The Big Bambino had lost the big one and there was no place for him to go but down," moaned Fox.

But Rizzo has been down before and has bounced back like the yo-yo that he is. Can he do it again?

The answer to that one hinges on two things: whether Rizzo will be able to come up with a political ploy to shanghai the required number of votes in the charter referendums, and whether the anti-Rizzo forces can build a successful organization and run a strong campaign.

RIZZO'S BOTTOM LINE: RACISM

Rizzo's political grab-bag is getting pretty light. He can't claim that he's honest, or that he's not a politician, or that he's just a working stiff, or that he held the line on taxes. For Frank it has to be back to basics -- law and order and whipping up racism.

For the past few years, Frank has been soft-pedaling his old law and order rhetoric and his head-splitting; Bull Connors style racism. The reason was, of course, that Frank had to get some votes from Philadelphia's growing Black community.

But as the political going gets tough in the next few months it will be safe to bet that the 'old' Frank Rizzo will again emerge from the shadows. The 'law and order' pitch has already begun to sprout up in his public pronouncements. But 'law and order' isn't as effective a ploy as it was a few years back. The Nixon-Rizzo duo have made people aware of just who is served by 'law and order.' Besides, in Philadelphia, lots of people are more afraid of the police than they are of any would-be muggers.

Rizzo may try to exploit issues like public housing and school desegregation and pose as the protector of white neighborhoods and neighborhood (white) schools. He may be able to again drum up some of the racist hysteria that has been his stock-in-trade in the past. If he is successful at this and if he is not met with effective opposition, yes, we may yet still have Frank Rizzo to kick us around for a few more years.

ANTI-RIZZO MOVEMENT NEEDS PEOPLE'S PROGRAM

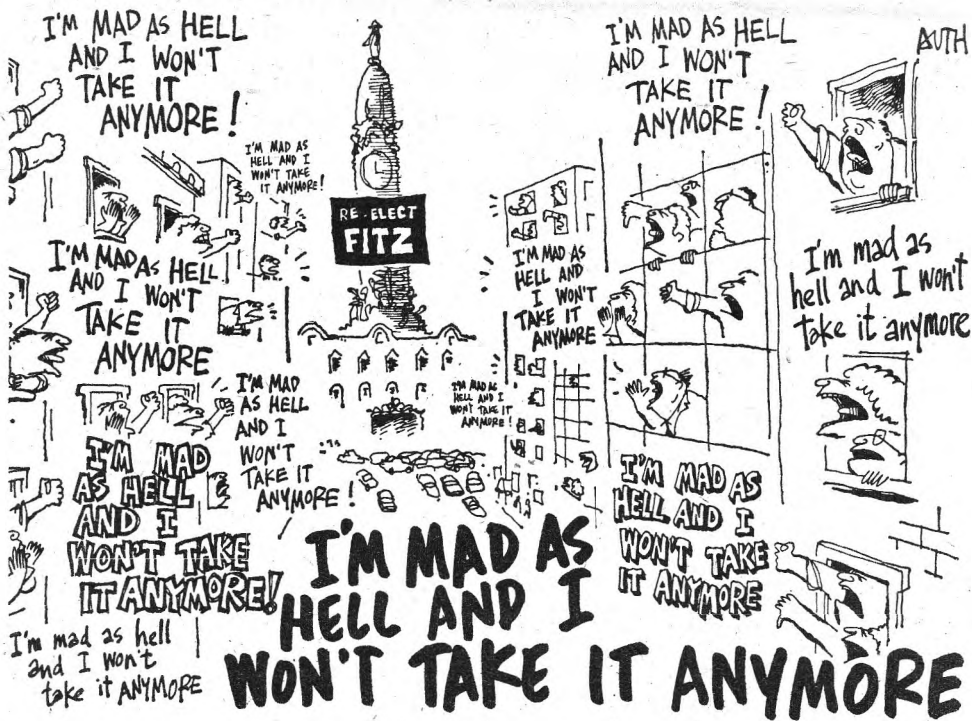
The anti-Rizzo movement has been as successful as it has been because its primary organizer is Frank Rizzo and his mouth. After years of bitter experience there is widespread opposition and an active, if not well organized, movement

against Rizzo. The primary problem, however, is its leadership -- a loose coalition of dissident ward leaders, center city liberal types and a few Black politicians.

This "leadership," Charles Bowser and William Klenk included, is not capable of proposing a program that can serve as a battle plan to fight the rule of banks and corporations in this city. Furthermore, Klenk has completely avoided saying a word about racism and even Bowser backs off of the issue when push comes to shove.

Grass roots organizers of the anti-Rizzo campaign should keep in mind that we can't fight Rizzo without fighting the racism which he represents. And we can't fight for better transportation, health care, education, and housing behind a "liberal" leadership that is quite willing to do the bidding of the bank presidents and corporate leaders.

Getting rid of Rizzo is a worthy goal, one which the present grouping of anti-Rizzo forces may eventually be able to accomplish. But the present anti-Rizzo movement, while containing important elements of a future people's party, cannot yet give leadership and organization to the political struggles of the working class and of the national minority peoples of this city.



Welder killed at Sun Ship

On June 17th another worker died at Sun Shipbuilding due to the company's complete disregard for workers' safety and lives. Janet Sloan, 22 years old, fell through a series of deck holes more than 40 feet to her death. Those holes were supposed to have been covered with gratings. Janet was also working alone, another violation. And it's possible that she bled to death before she was finally found.

Janet was being harassed for refusing job combination, a major thrust of the company to speed up and lay off workers. She had complained about the unsafe conditions of the job but her foreman forced her to work it anyway.

What happened to Janet is not uncommon

at Sun Ship. A worker dies with every boat. To quote a leaflet recently put out by several rank and file Sun Ship workers, "The company, interested only in production and profits, flagrantly violates even its own safety rules exposing us every day to unnecessary dangers which threaten our lives and health. The results are a steady stream of serious accidents and disabilities as well as deaths."

The union's leadership, Boilermakers Local 802, has not fought for health and safety, and severely weakened the two wildcats in the past year at Sun Ship over health and safety issues. Though the walkouts succeeded in winning the specific issues that sparked them, the larger problems of health and safety were not taken up largely due to the lack of organ-

ization and real leadership.

A group of Sun Ship workers, angry about the unsafe working conditions that caused Janet's death have met and are planning on raising a set of demands around health and safety and job combination at the next union meeting July 12. They are circulating a leaflet and petition in the yard to get as many workers as possible to unite around these demands and support them at the union meeting.

"It's clear that if we're going to improve our working conditions we're going to have to come together and organize to fight for them."

(Janet Sloan was a member of the Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist), formerly the October League, and had been active in Philadelphia radical politics and the workers' movement for years.)



Men's Clothing Contract... giant step backward

by Ron Whitehorne

On May 31st the leadership of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU) made an agreement with the Clothing Manufacturers Association covering the nearly 100,000 workers in the Men and Boy's Clothing industry. In the words of the ACTWU Rank & File Committee, which aggressively opposed the agreement, the new contract is a "giant step backwards".

Men's clothing is a seasonal industry. The contract presently expires in the spring — in the midst of the production rush for the fall season, which gives the union its leverage in negotiations. The new contract, however, is for 40 months and will expire in October, when work is traditionally slow. The clothing manufacturers expect to revert to a traditional three year agreement following 1980, leaving them sitting pretty with a contract that effectively leaves the union in a hopeless bargaining position.

UNION LEADERS SELL STRIKE LEVERAGE

With no strike fund, low wages, heating bills and Christmas coming up; clothing workers are in a poor position to wage a long strike in October while the companies have little to fear from such an action. The union leadership, following its class collaborationist logic to its natural conclusion, has traded away its remaining leverage in the name of creating a climate of stability and security for the manufacturers.

The other major concession the ACTWU leaders made to the clothing bosses is potentially even more serious. A fine print clause, which was not even mentioned in the contract information circulated to the rank and file membership, allows for re-opening negotiations in January on the question of imports. If the Carter administration fails to check the importation of men's clothing, the manufacturers have

the right to seek a clause that will give them the authority to import themselves.

SUBCONTRACTING THREATENS JOBS

This would allow U.S. based companies to sub-contract much of the production of the garment to overseas sweat shops, leaving only the finishing touches for factories in the U.S. If the clothing manufacturers win such a clause, it would mean massive layoffs in the unionized sector of the industry. It would be a mortal blow to the fortunes of men's clothing workers. The union obviously has a stake in fighting such a clause, but a union leadership that has consistently caved in to the manufacturers and has given them a foot in the door already on the imports issue cannot be trusted to take a firm stand.

What did the ACTWU gain in return for these huge concessions? The contract's only selling point was the wage settlement which gives clothing workers \$1.10 over 40 months, with 90 cents in the first 16 months of the agreement. This represented a modest boost in wages in comparison to the last agreement. But with inadequate cost-of-living protection and the wage cutting which is part and parcel of the piece rate system, these gains are largely an illusion. Gains in fringe benefits were, by the union's own admission, minimal.

RANK & FILE DEMANDS IGNORED

More importantly, the union leadership ignored rank and file demands for attacks of the abuses of the piece work system, an end to discrimination in upgrading, a shorter work week with no cut in pay, company funded daycare, and the right to strike. These demands, which address the most basic and urgent problems of the workers, did not even find their way onto the bargaining table. The union did call for the establishment of a base wage and lower retirement age, both demands raised by rank and file forces. They won a minimum rate a paltry 25 cents higher than the state or federal minimum wage, but made no gains in the area of retirement.

The method of contract ratification in the ACTWU is left to the discretion of each local joint board with the result that few clothing workers actually get to vote on their contract. In most regions the joint boards, which act as rubber stamps for the International leadership, vote on the contract on behalf of their members.

Where the rank and file did vote, there was significant opposition to the new contract. Here in Philadelphia the contract was ratified by a 6200 to 3900 vote margin. There was widespread dissatisfaction with the 40 month length. The imports reopener clause was left out of the union's leaflet on the settlement, a factor that might have influenced the vote had it been known.

NO CONFIDENCE IN STRIKE EFFORT

The large "yes" vote was less an indication of approval for the contract and much more a reflection of doubt in the minds of many workers that a strike could win a better agreement. The example of the SEPTA strike is still fresh in the minds of many workers. On top of this, the union leadership has consistently preached that a strike would be futile, and even dangerous, in that it would allegedly result in more plant closings. With no strike fund or preparations and a leadership committed to labor peace, it is little wonder that many workers lacked confidence in strike action.

In New Bedford, Massachusetts, workers in several shops struck against the new agreement and the ratification vote produced a 678 to 678 tie, a result that led to widespread charges of election fraud. As of this writing, results from other areas are not known but a nation-wide ratification can be assumed, given the restrictions on voting by the membership.

The consequences of this sell-out contract will be felt by clothing workers soon enough. January of '78 is shaping up as the next round in the battle between the rank and file and the Finley-Sheinkman leadership. The rank and file must mobilize to insure that the union does not give an inch on the imports issue if the companies reopen negotiation on this issue as expected.



New Contract at Fisher & Porter

Members of the Independent Union of Rotometer Workers ratified a new contract in May. After a good deal of discussion and exchange around contract time, including several leaflets and newsletters put out by the Concerned Members of IURW, the mood in the plant following ratification is calm and content -- for the moment.

One IURW steward told *the Organizer*, "The union leadership was pretty good at keeping us up to date on the negotiations. As changes were agreed on, a leaflet was passed out telling what the changes were. But the thing is, there's a difference, as we see it, between 'information' and 'education'."

"For instance, everyone knew the cap was coming off the COLA, but the officers failed to explain that because the new COLA would be based on 6 months instead of 12, removal of the cap was in fact no gain money-wise. They took away with one hand what they gave with the other. We need an educated and involved rank and file -- not just an informed rank and file."

WEAKNESSES OF NEW CONTRACT

Pointing to glaring weaknesses in the contract, some workers active in the Concerned Members explained that while everyone believed they had a good contract, and in fact there were important gains, the course of events in the next few months was bound to produce discontent among the membership.

"Sure, we got a half decent wage increase, but with no real improvement in the COLA, inflation could eat it up before we know what happened. This is why we wanted a two-year contract, but we still have to wait three more years."

Other weaknesses of the current agreement include no COLA for pensioners, no provisions against job threatening subcontracting, and no expansion of the bargaining unit to include many low level salaried employees. Job health continues to be a problem, and no union health and safety committee has been established.

Perhaps most important was the failure of the new contract to deal with racism. While the Fisher-Porter plant is mostly

white, the two subsidiary plants Warminster Fiberglass and Alloy Steel are overwhelmingly Black and Puerto Rican. Going into bargaining with worse wages, these mostly minority workers gained no catch-up wage increase. They continue to have two extra steps in the upgrading process, and no gains were made providing a non-discriminatory basis for upgrading -- which should be based on seniority, not "qualifications." All this, along with no on-the-job training, maintains minority workers on the bottom of the heap, and threatens the security of all IURW members.

TIME TO ORGANIZE

"The point is," said an IURW member, "the problems remain, even though things are cooled out at the moment. It's a good time to take stock and think ahead, plan and organize for the battles we know are around the corner."

There have been several rank and file groupings which have come together at Fisher and Porter over the last couple of years. The groups have come together in order to deal with specific problems of

the moment -- contract demands, the international union, elections, class action suits to fight racial and sexual discrimination, and various shop floor issues.

Many workers at F&P can see by this experience that while the groups and organizations come and go, appear then fade away, the problems themselves remain. What is needed is a strong and consistent organization of rank and file F&P workers which can speak to all the important issues affecting IURW members, a caucus of rank and file workers who would be committed to building a stronger union -- from the bottom up.

What are some of the things a caucus could do? One is education of the membership -- on the contract, on contract violations, about racial and sexual divisions that are weakening the union, and about broader class-wide issues that affect all working class people. Second, a caucus can develop a real fighting spirit within the union: F&P is no longer a family operation in a garage, but part of a multinational corporation. Their team of experts is figuring out how to squeeze more profits from the workers, so the workers

Phone pacts up in August

Bell workers fight rate hikes and layoffs

by SUSAN COHEN

On August 6, the contracts of telephone workers all over the country will expire. Negotiations began in May and will continue through June and July on both the local and national level. In Philadelphia telephone workers are represented by three unions: the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, the Federation of Telephone Workers, and the Guild.

This is the first time that the three unions in Philadelphia have had contracts expiring on the same day. This gives added strength to the rank and file members, as the unions have pledged to stick together -- if one goes out, all will honor the strike.

In Philadelphia, the 1500 operators represented by the IBEW are 'talking contract.' A Rank and File Committee (RFC) in the local recently printed its list of demands in their newsletter *Bell Workers' Voice*. In the main article, the RFC points out that AT&T cleared over five billion dollars in profits in the last five quarters and can well afford the demands that the rank and file workers need and deserve!

AT&T is the richest company in the world, yet its workers are not paid nearly as well as many other workers. As production workers, operators are grossly underpaid. Rank and file members hope to remedy this situation in the upcoming contract.

RANK AND FILE DEMANDS

The Rank and File Committee demands cover four main areas: Job Security, Equality, Union Rights, and Wages-Benefits. The union leaders have committed themselves to fighting for some but not all of the RFC demands. Now the rank and file operators must show the union leadership that these demands are necessary.

The issue of job security is one which many unions have been especially concerned about in the past year. It is of

have to get themselves organized for a fight if their standard of living is to be maintained, much less improved.

Third, a rank and file caucus can work to develop unity between Black, Latin, and white workers, between men and women. Clearly a fighting spirit means nothing if half of it is wasted fighting each other instead of the company. A caucus would work to show how all workers, white as well as Black, are hurt by racism.

In the immediate, a caucus could call for more union meetings, and raise pressing issues -- like health and safety, subcontracting, and discrimination. A caucus can say to the leadership, "Take this off the back burner! This hurts our union, and we won't stand for it!"

The first step is for all those interested in building a caucus to sit down and hammer out their priorities and goals. With unity around a clear program that speaks to the needs of all the workers the caucus can then tackle the job of winning the active support and involvement of IURW members.

As one IURW members said, "It's time for us to turn the tide in our union; to make it our union, that understands and fights for our interests."

special concern to telephone workers because of the ever-increasing automation in AT&T. In 1976, AT&T became the world's highest profit-making company. This is a fact which is well known.

However, not as widely publicized is the fact that AT&T was able to make this enormous profit by eliminating 128,000 jobs across the country. In Pennsylvania, Local 1944 of the IBEW, representing traffic employees (operators and some clerical workers) estimates that in the next three years 3000 jobs, or half of its present membership, will be eliminated. Layoffs have already begun in the more rural areas.

The elimination of jobs is brought about by the introduction of new, faster equipment and through continuous speedup and harassment. One demand of the RFC is that production quotas for speed and accuracy be set through negotiations with the union and that the negotiated production increases be coupled with a wage increase.

END ARBITRARY SPEEDUP

All operators are timed in their work and are monitored for accuracy. They must process a certain number of calls per hour and keep a stiff percentage of accuracy (97%) to be judged satisfactory. In January of this year, AT&T arbitrarily lowered the average amount of time that could be spent on each call. There were no negotiations with the unions and there was no wage increase. Now operators are receiving the same low pay and they are doing more work, making more money for the company. If this RFC demand were in the next contract, this situation could not exist.

As many consumers know, Bell of Pennsylvania has asked the Public Utilities Commission (PUC) for approval of a rate hike. Presently, the decision on this rate hike is scheduled to be made in July. Operators in Philadelphia have testified against the rate hike at PUC hearings along with consumer groups. In other states where the rate increase was approved, the volume of calls to the operator and directory assistance decreased significantly and caused layoffs.

NO LAYOFFS

For this reason, the RFC feels that one important demand is an automation clause guaranteeing that no jobs will be lost as a result of a rate increase or automation. Automation is usually seen as progress. However, rank and file telephone workers do not feel that progress should cause them to lose their jobs -- instead it should make their jobs easier.



WHICH ONE OF YOU SUGGESTED LAYING OFF MANAGEMENT!



Contracts will terminate in August for telephone workers all over the country. West Coast telephone workers walked the picket lines during the last contract fight. Rank and file workers here are now preparing for what promises to be a hard struggle against the profit-bloated Bell System.

It is not progress when AT&T just pockets more money at the expense of workers. A no layoff clause has been won by other unions, including the American Postal Workers Union for one, and it is one that telephone workers need.

A major focus of the work of the RFC operators at Bell is exposing the racist and sexist practices of the company. The company knows the benefits derived from a workforce divided against itself and they encourage this disunity. Over the past year, the RFC has exposed the so-called 'Upward Mobility Transfer Program' which supposedly exists chiefly to promoted minorities, as being a sham.

The program was instituted after Bell was fined millions of dollars by the government for discrimination. There are very few actual promotions, most transfers are lateral or downgrade moves and if you are white and male you move the farthest the fastest. However, the company encourages the myth that the program favors minorities.

UNITY IN FIGHTING RACISM

By exposing the program for what it is, the RFC has sought to win greater unity among workers and thus a stronger front against the company. Workers in the directory assistance office where the RFC originated learned during recent battles that when operators stood united against the company, their demands were met. The company is afraid of this strength and unity, and racism is their main weapon to diffuse it. This is why the struggle against racism is critical to rank and file members.

Upgrading at Bell of Pa. is not decided on the basis of seniority. In fact it is a mystery to many how it is decided. Workers' seniority is constantly being violated. Presently the union has no control over upgrading. The RFC demands that a system of job posting and job bidding be instituted (as is practiced by other Bell companies already.)

Because of its past discriminatory practices, Bell is mandated by the courts to meet a certain percentage of minorities and women in all areas of the company. This mandate is called an "override." While the RFC does support strict seniority, they understand the importance of the override -- necessary to compensate for past discrimination, and to end present discrimination.

MAKE THE COMPANY PAY

However, the RFC does not see why the workers should pay for Bell's discrimination. This is why they support a demand calling for strict seniority unless the override applies. In cases where the override would apply, the wage increase

would go to the bypassed worker immediately with a guarantee of the next available opening. The cost of past discrimination is then placed where it belongs -- squarely in the lap of the company.

The right to strike is another key demand put forward by the RFC. In one office alone, out of 15 grievances recently filed, 2 were won, one was lost, and 12 others disappeared. The rank and file members really need the power that the right to strike would give them so that situations like this could not happen. Certainly no one likes to strike, but without some kind of power to back up a grievance, the rank and file worker cannot win. This is the key to a good grievance system.

Money is usually a key issue in a contract struggle and this year Bell workers are no exception. Operators are tired of being underpaid. AT&T is the richest company in the world, yet its production workers in traffic start at only \$3.70 per hour. This compares to \$6.75 recently accepted by workers for the financially burdened SEPTA system or \$6.11 paid to unskilled postal workers.

The RFC is demanding a \$2 per hour wage increase up front for traffic employees. This increase would only begin to make up for a substandard wage. For plant workers, (installers, linesmen, repairmen) who currently make more money than those in traffic, the RFC demand is \$1 per hour up front. There is no question that the company can afford this wage increase.

In struggling to win these demands, the rank and file at Bell have many obstacles to overcome. First and foremost is the propaganda put out by the company. In a recent newsletter printed by the company, a worker was quoted expressing fear that he would lose his job if Bell did not win approval of the rate hike. The company actually has the nerve to cry poverty!

In response to the pressure of the rank and file, the union leadership has come forward with a set of contract proposals which is similar to many of the demands the RFC has put forward. The question is, will the union leaders really fight for these demands? The rank and file must make sure that they do. Better communication is needed between the leaders and the members. There was no union meeting scheduled for May or June. Regular meetings are important to keep the membership informed of negotiations and mobilize its strength to force the company to come to terms.

One thing for sure, rank and file telephone workers are prepared for a struggle. They are not going to accept the cry of poverty by the company. If necessary, workers are prepared to strike for what they know they deserve.



UPI

China and the Gang of Four

by BILL RICARD and JIM GRIFFIN

The fall of the "Gang of Four" from power in China — what does it mean in terms of the direction of the Chinese Revolution? If you read the capitalist newspapers all you are likely to learn is that Chiang Ching idled away her time watching Greta Garbo movies and "hen-pecked" Mao on his deathbed.

But beyond the sensational revelations about the personal behavior of the "gang" lie major issues of principle and policy. The present campaign against the Gang of Four is a continuation of the struggle that has been going on in China since the launching of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in the mid-1960's. At the heart of this intense debate and conflict is the question of the approach to building socialism and making the transition to communism; most directly in China, but by way of extension, in other societies as well.

WHAT IS SOCIALISM?

While China, Cuba, Vietnam, etc., are popularly called "Communist" countries, this is, from a Marxist, scientific point of view, true only in the sense that they are led by Communist parties. Strictly speaking, these are "socialist" but not yet "communist" societies.

This distinction is more than a quibble over words. Marxist-Leninists see communist society being divided into two distinct historical phases. The first, or lower phase of communism (called "socialism") is, as Marx put it, "in every respect, economically, morally, and intellectually, stamped with the birthmarks of the old society from whose womb it emerges."

In this first phase the legacy of capital is such that the guiding principle of communism "from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs" — cannot be realized. Neither the material abundance nor the consciousness necessary for such a social order has yet been created.

The character of socialism as a transition lies precisely in that its historic task is to develop the productive forces and with them the "all around development of the individual" to the point where it is possible to enter the higher phase of communist (classless) society. The experience of the revolutionary working class since the October Revolution in 1917 has demonstrated that this task is neither smooth nor simple, particularly in the given historical circumstances of economic underdevelopment and capitalist encirclement in which virtually all the socialist countries have had to face.

There is an inevitable tension under socialism between the overriding need to develop the productive forces — the industry and technology that is essential to improve the lives of the masses and ultimately create the kind of abundance on which a communist society can be realized — and the simultaneous need to root out old habits of bourgeois thinking inherited from capitalism.

These two tasks are interdependent. Without rapidly developing the forces of production, the attempt to transform consciousness becomes a harmful, utopian idea. Without consciously and systematically waging a struggle against the old



(Above left) The Chinese people demonstrate their support of the policies of Hua Kuo-Shanghai depicting the Gang of Four.

ideas and developing the initiative and creativity of the masses, the fight for production is compromised and the ultimate aim of the all-sided development of the individual is lost.

CLASS STRUGGLE UNDER SOCIALISM

These tasks are not simply a matter of diligence, hard work, and education, although all of these are involved. More fundamentally, these tasks represent a continuation of class struggle under conditions of working class rule (the dictatorship of the proletariat). Initially the working class must contend with the defeated but still present exploiting classes who seek to sabotage socialism in hundreds of ways. It must contend with the often substantial survival of capitalist production relations (small scale private farming, for example) which constantly regenerate and reinforce a capitalist outlook.

Finally, and perhaps in the long run most importantly, the working class must contend with bourgeois ideas and practices that arise within the ruling party and state apparatus, among party and state officials who have become isolated from the masses and acquired bureaucratic privileges and an outlook to match them.

In facing these tasks, the Chinese Revolution, in spite of the immense obstacles posed by the backward, semi-feudal character of Chinese society, was to bring definite advantages. First of all, the Chinese Communists had the Soviet experience, both negative and positive, to draw upon. Secondly, the Chinese Revolution,

developing as it did in a protracted fashion over some 20 odd years, had accumulated a wealth of valuable experience of its own. And thirdly, Mao Tse Tung and the Communist Party of China gave the revolution creative, independently minded leadership that would not hesitate to find its own path forward.

CHINA BREAKS WITH SOVIET REVISIONISM

The whole motion of the Chinese revolution can only be understood against the backdrop of the break with the Soviet Union. In the USSR following the death of Stalin, a revisionist trend basing itself on privileged elements in the party and state apparatus gained the upper hand in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Soviet revisionism represented an accommodation to imperialism abroad and bourgeois ideology at home. The Soviet revisionists preached "goulash" communism — a one-sided emphasis

on production of consumer commodities. The policies encouraged individualism and the development of bureaucratic privilege and power.

The Chinese Communist Party recognized that Khrushchev and Co. represented a deviation from Marxism-Leninism. From 1956 on, the CPC waged an ever more intense struggle against their influence, a struggle that was to lead to a complete break between the two parties and states.

At the same time, the Chinese Party itself was diverging over precisely the same questions of how to carry out socialist construction. In the view of Mao Tse Tung and the revolutionary-minded section of the party, a clique (personified

by Liu Shao Chi, then President of the People's Republic) had arisen that, if left unchecked, would move China down the path of revisionism. In 1966, a sharp struggle led by Mao but involving millions of workers, peasants and students was launched with the aim of purging the party, state apparatus and mass organizations of revisionism's influence. This mass upheaval was the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

What was the result of the Cultural Revolution? Mao himself characterized it as 70% good, 30% bad. The Cultural Revolution, by rousing and educating millions in the nature of revisionism and how to fight it, deepened the revolutionary understanding and will of the Chinese masses. The Cultural Revolution did not just result in the throwing out of a few bad apples in the Communist Party. It introduced important changes in policy which countered revisionism.



Women welders relax and chat. The role of women increased throughout Chinese society as a result of the Cultural Revolution.

Education under Liu Shao Chi had been weighted toward technical matters at the expense of politics, and promoted the notion of the superiority of intellectuals and intellectual activity, and had drawn a disproportionate share of students from the old privileged classes. The reforms introduced as a result of the Cultural Revolution subordinated technical to political education, taught respect for manual labor and changed the composition of student bodies so that the preponderance of students were of worker and peasant background. In many spheres of Chinese life revisionist policies were reversed.

The bad aspects of the Cultural Revolution were its excesses. In some areas the campaign to criticize the revisionists degenerated into violence. Many party cadre were unjustly mistreated. But in the long run the most serious negative result of the Cultural Revolution was the rise of an ultra-left trend within the party, a trend for which the Gang of Four, along with Lin Piao, were the leading spokespersons.

ULTRA LEFT IN CHINA

The ultra-leftists stood revisionism on its head. Both violated Mao's dictum "Grasp Revolution, Promote Production". The revisionists one-sidedly promoted production, while ignoring class struggle. The ultra-left pursued the class struggle with a vengeance, while belittling the struggle for production or assuming



ing and (above, right) caricatures in

it would spontaneously go forward if only revisionist ideas were routed.

This one-sided understanding of the relationship between class struggle and the fight for production led the Gang of Four and the ultra-left to seek to lead the Cultural Revolution beyond the boundaries defined by Mao. The ultra-left urged a violent and disruptive campaign summed up by Chiang Ching in the slogan: "To beat, wreck, and loot for Revolution is fine."

As a result of their activities, there was much armed fighting between factions. Production was seriously disrupted and trains with ammunition and weaponry for Vietnam were held up. The Gang of Four's attitude toward these disruptions was expressed as "it is better to have socialist trains that run late than capitalist trains that run on time."

The Cultural Revolution did not end the struggle between the right and the "left". Liu Shao-Chi and many revisionist elements were purged from the party. Within a short time, however, many of them, including Teng Hsiao-Ping, a former Lieutenant of Liu, were brought back to leadership having criticized their errors. Lin Piao, a leader of the ultra-left and at one point the heir apparent to Mao, was also purged following the Cultural Revolution along with many of his followers. The Gang of Four disassociated themselves from Lin and — apparently with Mao's blessing — continued to occupy positions of responsibility in the Party.

The Gang was particularly strong and influential in the fields of propaganda and cultural affairs. Their influence made for

a dry and dogmatic rigidity in the arts. According to the present Chinese leadership, they distorted the Party's theoretical and policy directives in a "leftist" fashion. Under the cover of the campaign to criticize Teng (Teng was once again removed from positions of authority in 1976) the Gang promoted its ultra-left line and attacked the effort to move the Chinese economy forward with a new five year plan.

The Gang opposed efforts to improve efficiency on the grounds that it was "punctuality taking command over politics". They accused those who promoted foreign trade of "serving the bourgeoisie". Allegedly, they even disrupted the earthquake relief efforts, charging it was a diversion of the campaign against Teng.

The Gang's penchant for accusing all who disagreed with them or who simply sought to promote production of "revisionism" had a chilling effect on both the party and the masses, stifling ideological struggle and hampering the fight for production. According to the Chinese leadership, the Gang sought to organize a coup following the death of Mao and after Hua Kuo-feng became Party Chairman. The coup attempt was defeated and Hua and the party leadership launched a full scale campaign to criticize the Gang and their ideas.

While there are many questions that remain to be answered about this whole series of events, the main outlines are clear. An ultra-leftist current in the Chinese Party sought to extend and consolidate its influence. It was instead routed, and the present leadership appears to be dealing effectively with the excesses associated with the Gang.

GANG OF FOUR — "CAPITALIST ROADERS?"

The most serious question associated with the campaign against the Gang is the characterization of them as "capitalist roaders" and "ultra-rightists". Some accounts have maintained the Gang were rightists in the usual sense that all ultra-leftists are objectively right — that is, the real content of their ideas and behavior strengthens the right. Others have ignored this distinction, and thus have the effect of liquidating dogmatism and ultra-leftism as a particular form of opportunism.

The Gang of Four very clearly represented a departure from Marxism-Leninism, but it was not revisionism of the right opportunist variety. In their ignoring of the role of production and in their "class struggle is everything" line, the Gang departed from Marxism-Leninism and fell into bourgeois idealism and voluntarism. It would seem that this distinctive and particular character of their error should be the focus of the campaign to root it out. The glossing over of this particularity by branding them as capitalist roaders pure and simple does not serve this end.

Perhaps this weakness is a reflection of a larger weakness, a tendency toward idealism shared by Mao and the present leadership as well. This tendency manifests itself in the habit of equating ideas with material forces. . . . thus the Gang of Four or Liu Shao Chi or Lin Piao were all variously part of a "new bourgeoisie" because they put forward bourgeois ideas. These elements may have been bourgeois in outlook, but they lacked the material character of that class, that is a group which owned the means of production and exploited labor. The most serious manifestation of this tendency is the CPC's line that the USSR's economy is capitalist or social imperialist because of the bourgeois line of its leadership.

Nevertheless, the Chinese Party and masses continue to show an amazing vitality in moving their revolution forward along a road with many twists and turns. The defeat of the Gang and the ambitious promotion of the new five year plan under the leadership of Hua Kuo-feng hold bright promise for the future of communism in China.

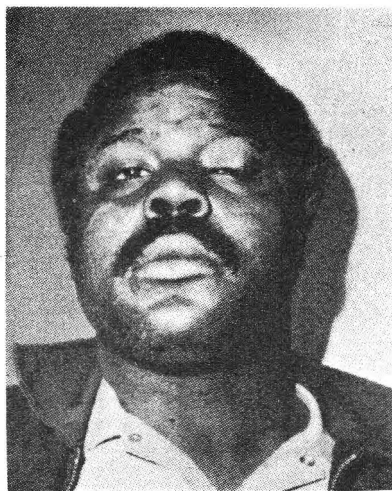
HELP! The police are coming!



by JOHN MALACHI

When Al Goode, owner of a gas station at Girard and Lancaster Avenues, asked a police officer to move out of his driveway he was told: "If you don't get out of my face I'll blow your brains out." Goode went back to work. Minutes later 7 police officers descended on the station and in full view of several witnesses beat the defenseless Goode with clubs and blackjacks for over ten minutes.

Goode was then arrested and received another beating in the police van. Goode was charged with assaulting police officers, resisting arrest and disorderly conduct. The charges were later dropped by the District Attorney for lack of evidence.



Service station operator Al Goode, after his beating by Philadelphia police.

POLICE BRUTALITY WIDESPREAD

An isolated incident? Hardly. The same day Goode was beaten the *Inquirer* was running a front page expose detailing the pattern of brutality and lawlessness in the police homicide division aimed at obtaining confessions. Shortly following the Goode case, a young Black man was assaulted by police in full view of numerous witnesses after driving through a stop sign in Society Hill.

Recent public hearings sponsored by the NAACP saw a parade of victims of police brutality testify. The Public Law Center of Philadelphia (PILCOP), a federally funded agency that surveys police behavior, issued a report this month charging that there is a "widespread" pattern of police beatings.

As the PILCOP report documents, no one is immune from the clear and present threat of police brutality. But it is the oppressed nationalities, the Black and Puerto Rican communities, which are most dramatically victimized. Out of 272 cases of police beating reported to PILCOP, 146 of the victims were Black. The police district with the highest number of complaints was the Ninth District, a predominantly Black and Puerto Rican neighborhood.

THE ROOTS OF THE PROBLEM

Clearly police brutality isn't a matter of a few rotten apples spoiling the barrel. It is no accident that police brutality is widespread. On the contrary — the very nature of the capitalist system demands this behavior. The police exist in order to enforce the rule of the monopoly capitalist class — to enforce laws that serve their interest — to deal with the crime and violence that their system inevitably produces, and finally to intimidate and terrorize those who, as they become conscious and organized, fight against this system.

The pervasive racism of the police department isn't simply because individual officers are prejudiced. It is because it is the "job" of the police to terrorize the oppressed nationalities into accepting unemployment, rotten housing and discrimination. Some of the first police departments in this country were organized to catch runaway slaves. Blacks and other national minorities are keenly aware that the function of the police department is still one of "keeping them in their place."

The "job" of the police is to protect the existing property and class relationships in the US. Monopoly corporations can cheat and bilk us out of millions, but who ever heard of the cops busting into a board of directors meeting and breaking heads? Meanwhile, workers out on strike for a few more well-deserved bucks get hit with injunctions and billy clubs.

RIZZO AIDS AND ABETS POLICE CRIME

In Philadelphia, police feel like they can get away with murder and they often do. They know Frank Rizzo is on their side. Rizzo and Police Commissioner Joseph O'Neill have consistently responded to criticism of the police with either "No comment" or with statements that deny the problem exists. As a result, police crime goes largely unpunished.

In the last year PILCOP forwarded 69 carefully screened complaints of police brutality and asked the Police Department to investigate them. According to Chief Inspector Frank Scaffidi of the Police Department's Internal Affairs Division, the Department found only one officer in all these cases guilty of misconduct. He was given a one day suspension.

Meanwhile, not satisfied with their near immunity from punishment, the Fraternal Order of Police is lobbying in Harrisburg for a Policemen's "Bill of Rights" which would, among other things, exempt police from ordinary interrogation procedures and give them the right to sue citizens who file complaints against them.

THE PEOPLE FIGHT BACK

In response to the mounting wave of public indignation over police brutality and the absolute failure of either the department or the District Attorney to curb it, the federal attorney's office and the state legislature are both launching investigations into the Philadelphia Police Department.

But to check the police, more than the prosecution of a few wrong-doers is needed. The monitoring, investigation, and prosecution of police misconduct must be taken out of the hands of the police department and the D.A.'s office. These functions must be vested in a Civilian Review Board with elected community representatives and adequate staffing.

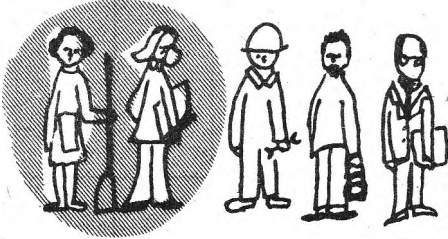
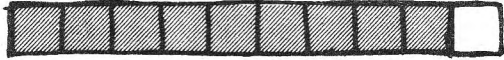
Only an organized mass movement against police repression can win such a reform, and only the vigilance of such a movement can assure that it will check police abuse. In the face of the intensifying attack of police on the citizens of Philadelphia, it's time to fight back!

Women Workers: facts and figures

There are lots of myths and misconceptions about women workers and sex discrimination. This month the Organizer is looking at a few "vital statistics" on women workers. Although most of the information comes from the Labor Department, the government sure doesn't make a habit of publicizing these findings! Of course, the facts and figures are only a surface picture. . . but seeing them together like this, a clearer picture of women's oppression, and of the special oppression of national minority women, begins to emerge.

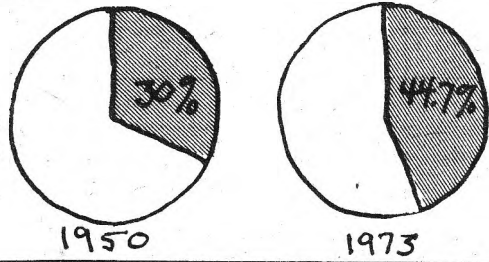
More Women on the Job

The numbers of women in the workforce keep growing, especially as economic conditions worsen. Today 9 out of 10 women work at some point in their lives. Black women have a consistently higher participation in the labor force than their white sisters, a reflection of greater economic need.

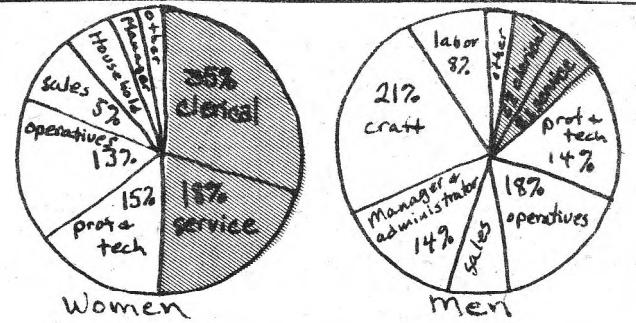


Two fifths of today's labor force is female.

Today, nearly half of women are working, while in 1950, only a third did.

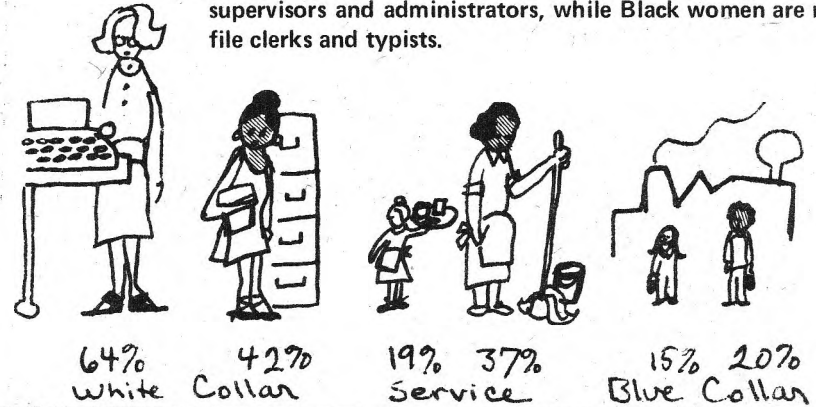


Where do Women Work?



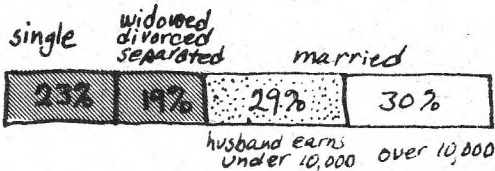
These charts compare job categories for men and women: this is what we mean by saying women are chanelled systematically into the most menial, low-paying jobs. Note especially -- 18% of women are service workers, compared to only 8% for men. Percentages of who are factory operatives are similar for men and women -- but women in the skilled trades are so few as to not even be listed, while the figure is 21% for men.

Black women have the worst jobs. And these figures only show part of the picture: Among white collar workers, for example, we know many white women are skilled secretaries, even supervisors and administrators, while Black women are mostly file clerks and typists.



Why do Women Work?

Women, like men, work because of economic need -- they work because they need to support themselves and their families, not for "pin money." The majority of women workers are single, widowed, divorced, separated, or their husbands earn less than 10,000 a year. Today, we know many women whose husbands earn over \$10,000 need to work too -- because \$10,000 doesn't go far in supporting a family of four anymore!



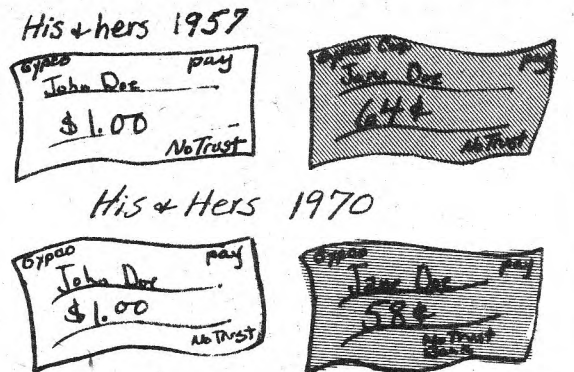
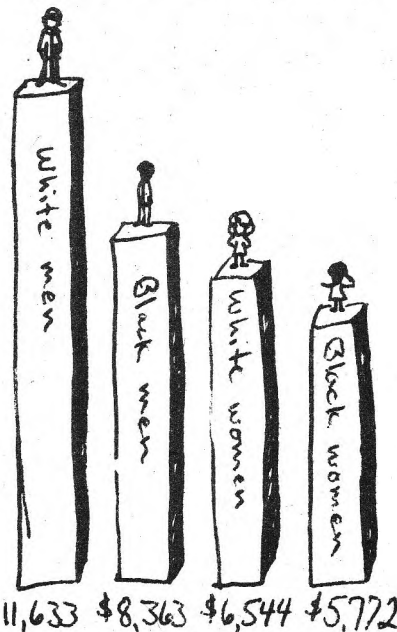
One of every eight households is supported by a woman.



Because of the history of racism and national oppression tearing the Black family apart, Black women are left more often to raise their families themselves. One of every three Black families is headed by a woman.

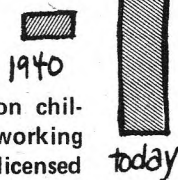
Women Earn Less

That women have gained "equal pay for equal work" is a myth. Just one glance at these 1973 figures show that women are still way behind, and that national minority women earn one half what white men do! In fact, the earning gap between men and women is widening, not narrowing: today, women earn 58% of what men do, while 15 years ago, the figure was 64%.

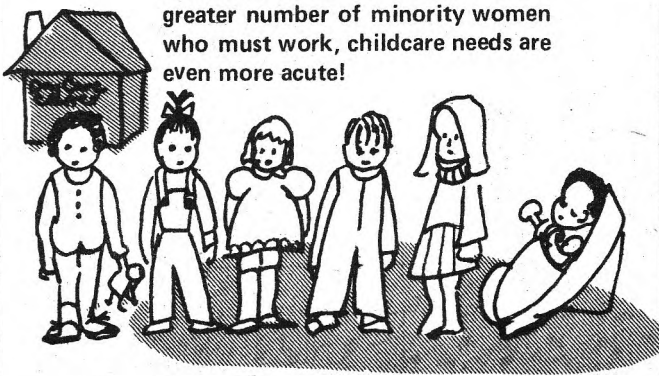


Working Mothers

Today, more women with young children are working than ever before. The number is nine times what it was in 1940.

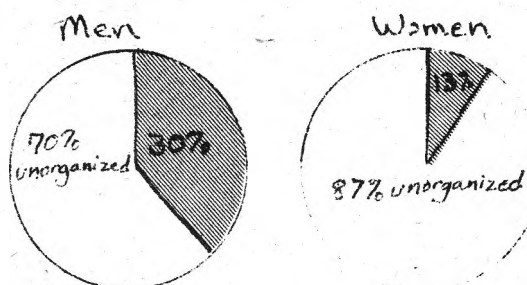


Today there are 6.1 million children under school age with working mothers, yet only 1 million licensed childcare places. Because of the greater number of minority women who must work, childcare needs are even more acute!



Women in Unions

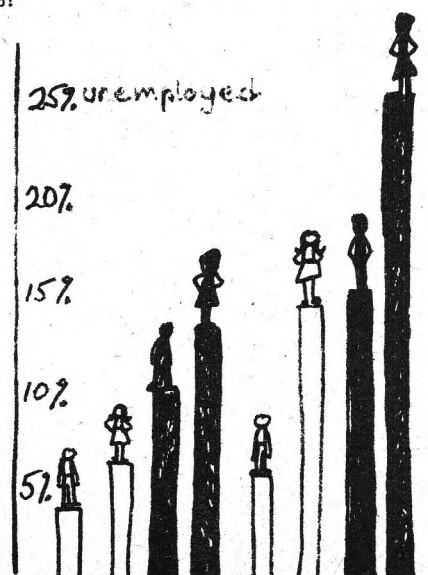
Most workers in the US are not organized into trade unions. However, women suffer even more than men, the lack of organization. In spite of the fact that new union drives of recent years are mainly women -- clerical, hospital, etc. -- unionization has not kept pace with the number of women entering the workforce: in 1963, 13.8% of women workers were unionized, while today the percentage has fallen to 12.5%.



organizer graphic
by SARA MURPHY

Unemployment

Women lack training, skills and education. They are discriminated against in hiring. Because of lack of maternity leaves and day-care, they are in and out of jobs and can't accumulate seniority. All this adds up to much higher unemployment rates. Black women suffer super-unemployment. The chart below shows not only the official figures, but also a second set based on those who are not actively looking for work now, but do want a job now -- here unemployment among Black women is upwards of 25%!



Dogmatism. . .

the root of opportunism in our movement

-by CLAY NEWLIN

In this concluding article in our series on dogmatism, we discuss why we regard dogmatism as the essence of the ultra-left trend within the anti-revisionist Communist Movement. Beginning with our next issue we will begin to take up differences on the question of party building among Marxist-Leninist forces who oppose both dogmatism and revisionism.

The Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) and the October League (OL) have some strong political disagreements. They have diverged sharply on how to approach the question of busing. Each has a radically different approach to trade union reformers such as Sadlowski. And they have differed severely on how to apply China's international line in the US.

In essence, however, they suffer from the same disease. Both have shown themselves in practice to be incapable of providing vanguard leadership to the working class. Both have demonstrated their political impotence in the powerful movements of the oppressed nationalities. And most importantly, both have been unable to apply Marxism-Leninism to the objective reality in the US.

In the Marxist-Leninist wing of the party-building movement, there is general agreement that the core of the RCP-OL disease is an ultra-left line. While both the RCP and OL have certain components of their political perspectives which are clearly rightist in both form and content (e.g. RCP's liquidation of the struggle against racism, OL's line on the family), their dominant aspect is 'left' in form, right in content.

That is, both have manifested a general overestimation of the objective content of the class struggle at this stage in its development, characterizing a level of class consciousness that the workers have not yet attained. This leads them to adopt an objectively adventurist policy, a policy of propagandizing the workers in favor of revolution, but ignoring the task of actually organizing the workers for that revolution.

ULTRA-LEFTISM OR DOGMATISM?

However, while there is general agreement as to the symptoms of this ultra-left disease, there are differences on how to correctly characterize it. We have used the term dogmatism. Others think that "left opportunism" or "sectarianism" are more appropriate.

While some may consider a discussion of which term most accurately conveys the essence of the ultra-left line not worthy of debate, a correct resolution of this discussion is essential to the future of the Marxist-Leninist movement. For while dogmatism, 'left opportunism and sectarianism' are all manifest in the ultra-left line and each must be combatted on its own terms, the specific weight of each form of opportunism is not equal. There is a root error and if that error is not singled out, the diseased plant will continually send forth new shoots.

In our opinion, the root error is dogmatism, because it is dogmatism which provides the theoretical basis for the ultra-left line. Generally speaking, it is dogmatism which has caused many basically honest communists to deviate from Marxism-Leninism.

Dogmatism separates theory from practice. It sees theory as existing apart from the living reality of the class struggle, as if theory had a life of its own independent from the social practice of the masses. It sees theory as a schema, a set of immutable propositions, whose veracity is determined only by their internal logic rather than by the sole criterion of practice.

CONCRETE CONDITIONS NEGATED

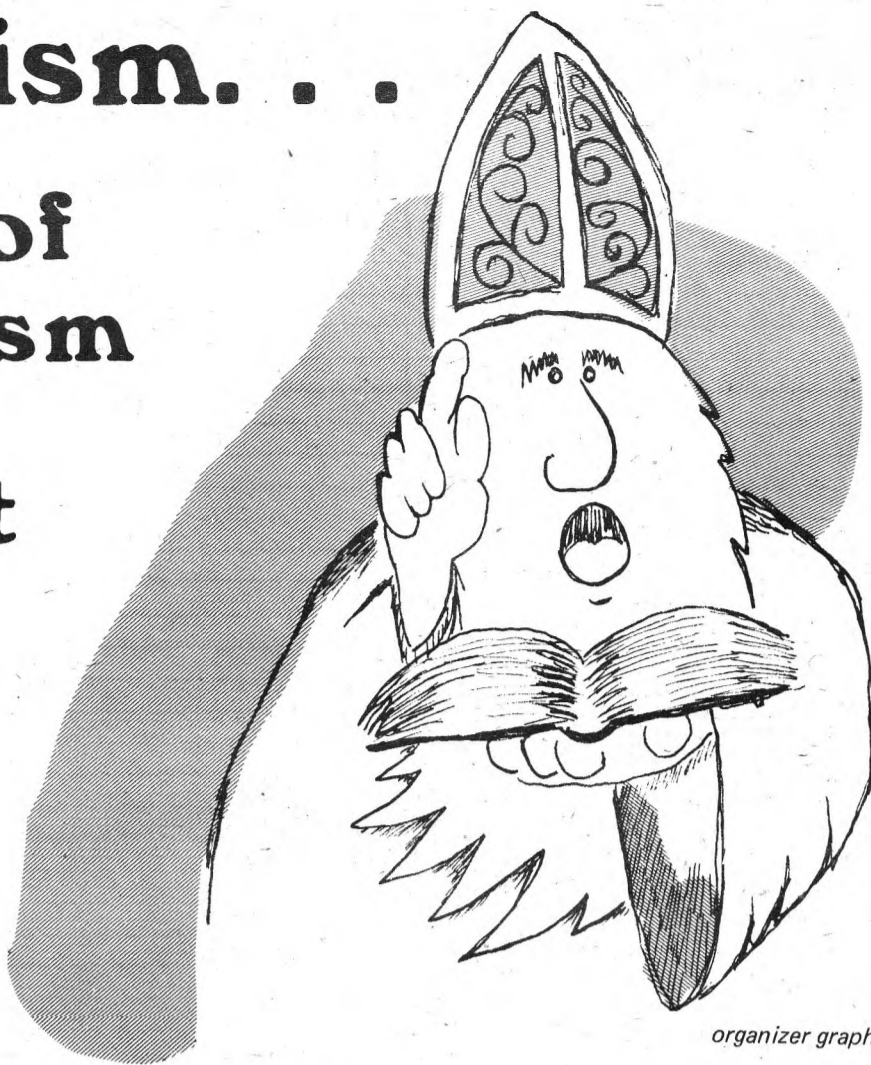
Thus for the dogmatist the study of concrete conditions is negated in favor of quotation and pedantry. All one has to be able to do is "to pick out passages from a book like a scholar whose head is a card index box filled with quotations from books, which he picks out as he needs them; but if the situation arises which is not described in any book, he becomes confused and grabs the wrong quotation from the box." (Lenin, Wks., Vol 29, p. 364.)

A dogmatist mechanically applies formulas which were derived from definite conditions in a specific time and place, to other and vastly different circumstances. The rich and varied, ever-changing reality is forced into a straight jacket of ready made axioms. New revolutionary phenomena are made to conform to outmoded ideas.

For the dogmatist, all theoretical problems have already been solved; our movement has no creative tasks. Our theoretical work is reduced to the mere recapitulation of the principles of Marxism-Leninism as summed up in the classics. Marxism is static; it needs no development.

Who can deny that our movement suffers from an overdose of these dogmatist "card-index-box-heads" who unfortunately forgot to file this remark of Lenin's:

'Our theory is not a dogma, but a guide to action,' Marx and Engels always said, rightly ridiculing the mere memorizing and repetition of 'formulas', that at best are capable only of marking out general tasks, which are necessarily modifiable by the concrete economic and political conditions of each particular period of the historical process. (Emphasis in original, Lenin, Wks. Vol. 24, p. 43.)



organizer graphic

Certainly, it is easiest to recognize this error in the childish absurdities of such organizations as Workers' Viewpoint which builds whole positions out of quotes from Lenin or the Marxist-Leninist Organizing Committee which, quite literally, strives to reduce the tasks of our movement to reprints and xeroxing.

But it is also manifest in both RCP and OL. Both have exhibited strong dogmatist currents in their lines on the relationship of the struggle for democracy to the struggle for socialism and the Afro-American national question (although on this last question RCP revises Marxism-Leninism in the service of dogmatism). And both reflect the very essence of dogmatism in their treatment of international line, and the class character of the Soviet Union.

The characterization of the ultra-left line as dogmatism, however, does not just lend clarity in that it identifies the base of the RCP-OL opportunism. It has two additional distinct advantages. First, it implicitly ties the ultra-left line to the main accompanying form of right opportunism -- revisionism. Dogmatism developed in direct relation to -- or rather in direct reaction to -- the growth of modern revisionism as represented in the CPUSA.

REACTION TO REVISIONISM

Revisionism transforms Marxism-Leninism into a muted doctrine of radical reform. It renounces the revolutionary core of scientific socialism which it argues is outmoded in modern conditions. Nature makes no leaps and the working class will evolve into socialism -- this is the credo of revisionism.

In response to revisionism, genuine Marxist-Leninists have sought to resuscitate the revolutionary essence of Marx's doctrine. In order to achieve this it was necessary to turn to a thorough study of the classics and to defend them from the revisionist attacks. Unfortunately, however, some forces got bogged down in their study, were not able to internalize the essence, the dialectical kernel, of the doctrine and turned to repeating phrases as if Marxism was a catechism.

Lost in the world of study and books, what became primary for them was not the conformity of theory to the actual path of societal development in the world and in the US, but the correspondence of a theory with what Lenin or Mao said -- and this often misquoted and misunderstood. From a living science Marxism was transformed into a dogma.

FIGHT DOGMATISM TO DEFEAT REVISIONISM

The present ultra-left line is, therefore, the penalty our movement is paying for the sins of revisionism. Moreover, we are combatting dogmatism because it is presently the main impediment to striking a decisive blow against revisionism by developing a vanguard party. If the CPUSA was not a consolidated revisionist organization, our movement would not exist. In the final analysis, it only has real political significance as a movement against revisionism. Thus, if in the heat of the struggle against dogmatism, we lose sight of this fact, we will only aid revisionism which is in the long run an even greater danger than dogmatism.

It is the characterization of the ultra-left line as dogmatism which most clearly highlights this relationship between revisionism and dogmatism. In method, dogmatism is the exact opposite of revisionism; revisionism negates the proven principles of Marxism in the name of modern conditions, whereas dogmatism negates the modern conditions in the name of the principles of Marxism. In combatting revisionism, there is an inherent tendency to go over to the standpoint of dogmatism and vice versa.

Furthermore, the characterization dogmatism provides more clarity in one final respect. As a movement in the party-building stage, we face immense theoretical tasks. The struggle for correct theory plays a central role in determining the overall success or failure of our efforts. Without correct revolutionary theory there can be no question of developing a vanguard party in the US.

More specifically, our paramount theoretical task is the development of an independent elaboration of Marxism-Leninism for the concrete conditions in the U. S. Certainly the defense of the "inherited legacy of scientific socialism", as Comrade Silber of the *Guardian* put it, is the indispensable starting point for such an elaboration. But it is only the starting point. What is truly "paramount" is the development of an application of those principles for the actual struggle of the working class against actual and real enemies who stand in the actual path of social and economic development" (Italics in the original, Lenin, Wks., Vol. 1, pg. 298).

METHOD THE KEY

The key to making such an independent elaboration is correct method. Once the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism are grasped, the solutions to our theoretical tasks depend on the application of the dialectical and historical materialist method to the concrete conditions and objective course of development in the US.

The term dogmatism serves to feature the most debilitating aspect of the ultra-left line precisely in relationship to our most pressing theoretical task. For while indeed serious, ultra-left errors are a natural product of a movement in its infancy. No great harm is done, as long as Marxist-Leninists prove capable of recognizing their errors and correcting them. With dogmatism as our method, however, such a correction is impossible. Reality serves to best demonstrate the real essence of a bankrupt political line. As we have pointed out above though, reality is of little importance for a dogmatist.

In conclusion, it is dogmatism which provides the best characterization of the ultra-left line. It is the term which emphasizes the theoretical base of the prevailing left opportunism and sectarianism. It ties the present ultra-left line to its most dangerous cousin. Finally, it is dogmatism which is the most dangerous block to the fulfillment of our pressing theoretical tasks in the present period.

The UAW Convention - It's Howdy Doody Time

by DUANE CALHOUN

"The Convention was one big joke, it was Howdy-Doody time." -- That was how a Black delegate from Ford Local 600 described the "democratic process" at the United Auto Workers 25th Constitutional Convention.

Almost 3000 delegates from the US and Canada met May 15-19 in Los Angeles to set policy for the union for the next three years. Delegates with a rank and file outlook clashed with the International officers several times during the five day convention, putting up a good fight against the usual railroading carried out by the top officers.

These battles centered on two key issues -- a proposal to introduce direct election of officers by the membership, and a move to reaffiliate with the AFL-CIO.

Thirty two locals, representing almost 170,000 UAW members, brought resolutions in favor of direct election of International officers to this convention. The resolutions called for selection of top officers by a referendum vote of the entire membership. Under the present system, International officers are elected by the convention delegates, keeping them two steps removed from rank and file control. Direct elections would be another lever that the membership could use to pressure the International to respond to rank and file demands, and would also make it possible to elect leaders who would fight for the rank and file instead of against them.

ROLL CALL VOTE NEEDED

Pete Kelly, a leader of the United National Caucus and the Independent Skilled Trades Council, the two most important national rank and file groups in the UAW, explained the strategy for winning the referendum was centered on forcing a roll-call vote on the change. In a roll-call vote, each delegate must state for the record how he or she is voting.

This makes delegates more likely to vote for direct elections, since this measure is so popular among the membership. Also, the number of votes each delegate gets in a roll-call ballot is tied more closely to

"IT'S PERFORMANCE THAT COUNTS"



TO LOCAL 007
BROTHERS and SISTERS:
WORKING HARD AS USUAL.
WISH YOU WERE HERE.
signed, YOUR LEADER



UAW delegates go through their paces. The convention agenda left no room for discussion of the issues that really interest the UAW rank and file.

the size of their locals; this also favors the referendum since it is the large locals that are pushing the hardest for direct elections. Of course, the International sought a show-of-hands vote, where only they (and not the members back home) could tell how each delegate voted, and where each delegate is counted as one vote regardless of how many members she or he is representing.

Over 500 delegates signed a petition demanding a roll-call vote on the issue, but the International out-maneuvered the opposition by using the power of the chair to delay the referendum resolution until late in the last day of the convention. By this time, many delegates were too tired to face a 3 or 4 hour roll-call, and were also discouraged with the chances of winning. The result was a quick end to the debate and a show-of-hands defeat of the referendum resolution.

Both retiring President Woodcock and newly-elected President Doug Fraser pushed a resolution calling for a special convention in the fall to consider re-affiliation of the UAW with the AFL-CIO. The UAW pulled out of the AFL-CIO in 1968, partly over UAW opposition to the conservative policies of AFL head George Meany. Even more important than the policy differences was a personal power struggle between Meany and Walter Reuther, who was President of the UAW at the time.

OPPOSITION TO REAFFILIATION STRONG

Opposition to reaffiliation is strong among the UAW membership -- nearly a dozen resolutions rejecting reaffiliation were submitted by local unions, and Fraser himself admits that the membership would vote it down if given the chance.

Opposition to rejoining the AFL-CIO comes from different places. Some auto workers object because they fear that the

union will become even more conservative and pro-management if it rejoins the AFL-CIO. These workers want no part of George Meany, the reactionary head of the AFL who opposes strikes, backs up the blatant racism of the building trades unions, and supports CIA and US military subversion in foreign countries.

Many of these workers give the UAW leadership credit for being more progressive than they really are, but they honestly feel that rejoining the AFL-CIO under the domination of Meany would pull the UAW further into the swamp of labor-management cooperation. There are also those who oppose the reaffiliation for more narrow and backward reasons, such as a desire to avoid paying dues to an "outside" organization for any reason.

Added to this, two members of the International Executive Board (Secretary-Treasurer Emil Mazey and GM Department and Vice-President Irving Bluestone) are expected to break the rules of the administration caucus by openly opposing reaffiliation at the fall special convention. Between this split at the top and the opposition in the ranks, reaffiliation may well be a dead issue for the time being.

A resolution calling for a freeze on further dues increases was also brought to the floor, over the opposition of the International. It was defeated, but did pick up over a third of the delegate votes.

FRASER -- WOODCOCK'S PICK FOR PRESIDENT

An entire day was spent on the election of former Chrysler Department head Doug Fraser as the new International President. Fraser was the chosen candidate of the union's top officers, including outgoing President Woodcock. Although he is a bit more liberal than Woodcock, Fraser is expected to run the union just about the same as Woodcock and Reuther before him.

Fraser's only open opposition came from Hank Wilson, Black president of the Ford Assembly Unit of Local 600. Wilson stepped up to the podium to denounce the undemocratic and racist practices of the International. After making his point that not everyone was happy with the present leadership of the union, he withdrew from the race.

Other "highlights" of the convention included an appearance by President Jimmy Carter, whose speech was described by *Wall Street Journal* as one that "could just as easily have come from Gerald Ford." Despite that fact, Carter got an enthusiastic introduction from Woodcock and the other officers. Carter is expected to appoint Woodcock ambassador to China within the month.

The convention also approved the usual stack of vaguely liberal resolutions submitted by the International, which one delegate summed up with the comment, "There's not much you can vote against in them, but they just don't have any teeth."

RANK AND FILE NEEDS NATIONAL ORGANIZATION

After the convention ended, Pete Kelly described the International's agenda as "Goodbye Woodcock, hello Fraser, and that's about it." But Kelly also spoke of the broad coalition of rank and file and local officials that had been organized to fight for the referendum vote, and said that organizers would stay in touch with these people in hopes of uniting them into a more lasting national caucus in the UAW.

Rank and file activists are expected to call a conference in Detroit sometime this fall with the aim of putting together such an organization. If that conference succeeds in building real unity and organization around a meaningful program, then the next Constitutional Convention in 1980 could be a very different ball game.

REVIEW

"THE GREATEST"

— a not so great rendition of the Ali story

by JIM GRIFFIN

Muhammad Ali, aka Cassius Clay — the most controversial prize fighter of our time, perhaps of all time. The thing about Ali is that he is more than a boxer of enormous skill, more than a flamboyant personality. He is a symbol which embodies the spirit of resistance to racial oppression. It is this larger side of Ali which has won for him millions of fans throughout the world who don't know a left hook from a right jab. And it is this same quality which has also earned him the bitter hostility of those who think Black people ought to "keep their place".

Ali has never kept his place and that is why for so many he is the greatest. He may or may not be a better heavyweight champ than Dempsey or Louis or Marciano but that is a secondary question. And it is a question that will probably never be objectively answered because of the passions that surround his career outside the ring.

Now there is a movie — "The Greatest" — with Ali playing Ali. The movie tells the bare bones of Ali's story. But unfortunately the movie never goes very far beneath the surface and does not begin to really dramatize and underline the real essence of Ali's greatness.

We are introduced to young Cassius Clay as he steps off the plane in Louisville, Kentucky, having just won an Olympic Medal. Already he is recounting his feats in poetry. Already he is supremely self-confident. We meet his parents but we never find out anything about them. We don't get even a hint of what has made him what he is.

But very quickly we learn what he is not. The young Clay will not shuffle, bow, or scrape for the white folks. A Louisville matron wants to add him to her "stable". When she finds Ali petting her prize dogs, she is outraged by this act of familiarity. Ali gets the message and tells her he is not going to be another dog in her kennel. A syndicate of Louisville businessmen then sign Ali to a long term contract. Ali pops in on them at a dinner party at a fashionable restaurant. Much to their discomfort he pulls up a chair and joins the party. When he realizes they are embarrassed by his presence he leaves and in an act heavy with symbolism throws his Olympic Me-

dal off a bridge into the river. These scenes establish for us that young Cassius Clay is no Uncle Tom who will kowtow to whites. The trouble is that there is much more to racism than slights of this sort. Surely young Clay's education in the realities of U. S. society must have included more than this.

It is the superficial treatment of racism that makes the transformation of Clay into Ali lack credibility. Clay is about to enter a hotel with a white prostitute when he is approached by some Muslims. He ends up in a Muslim hall listening to a powerful speech by Malcolm X. He comes out well on the road to adopting the Muslim faith. This faith is tested when Ali is told by his white businessmen backers to renounce the Muslims or lose his title shot with Sonny Liston. Angelo Dundee, his white trainer, pleads with him not to blow his big shot. The head of the syndicate threatens him. Ali refuses to buckle and the syndicate, because big bucks are at stake, finally backs off.

ALI STANDS FIRM

The biggest test of Ali's convictions comes when after having won the title he is served his draft notice and refuses induction. When a reporter asks him if he is going to do his "patriotic duty" and go fight in Vietnam, Ali replies: "No Vietnamese ever called me Nigger." Ali is then stripped of his title and eventually sentenced to five years in prison for draft evasion. He spends all his money fighting his case and is deprived of his means of making a living since no boxing commission will license him and the courts won't let him leave the country to fight.

This whole chapter in Ali's career is his finest hour. His refusal to abandon the Muslim faith because whites don't like it, his refusal to fight in an imperialist, racist war and his message to Black people that their fight is here. . . . these are the things that make him "the greatest". The movie, while narrating these events, does not really explore their significance. We don't get more than a glimpse at who is so scared of the Muslims and why. The public and private events that led Ali to risk everything by opposing the war are not shown to us. We see Ali speaking to some

college students, walking through an anti-war demonstration, and signing autographs for some Black kids, but the real character of his rapport with the masses, based on his militant resistance to racism, is only hinted at.

The final chapter of the Ali story, his return to the ring, his battles with Joe Frazier, his defeat and broken jaw at the hands of Ken Norton and finally his regaining the title by upsetting George Foreman in Kinshasa has the same quality — the elements of the story are there but the movie's makers lack the imaginative power to really capture their meaning.

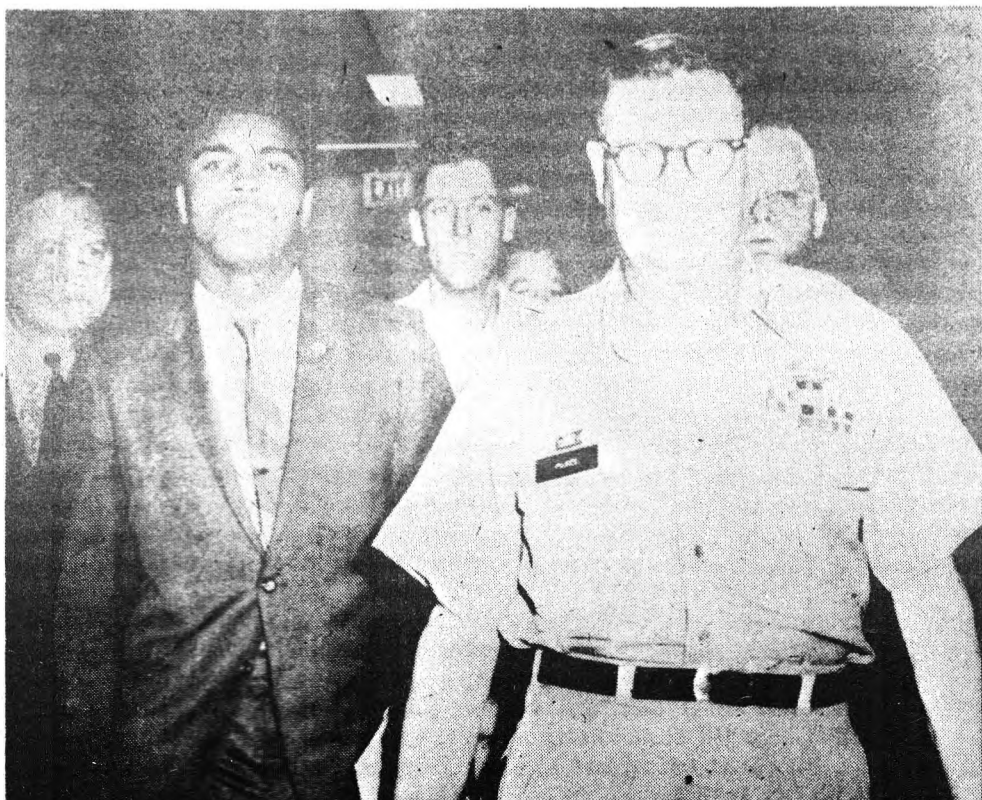
The worst scenes in the film concern Ali's relationships with women. Ali, himself, is hardly a proponent of the emancipation of women. Prior to being a Muslim he is portrayed as a "high liver" who frequents prostitutes; later he is an advocate of Muslim style puritanism in which the woman modestly and selflessly serves the man. But beyond Ali's sexism is the stereotyped sexism of Hollywood which treats women as nothing more than sex objects. Ali's first romance is portrayed largely as a mutual fascination between two rear ends. His second, with his wife Belinda is straight Hollywood boy meets girl stuff. Since the marriage has now gone on the rocks we know there is more to it than that.

"The Greatest" is worth seeing because Ali's story is worth seeing. There is enough of that story in the film to make it worth buying a ticket. But we come away feeling there is much left unsaid. An opportunity to do the Ali story justice has been lost in a sea of stale Hollywood cliches and conventions — the creative power and political vision necessary to make the "Greatest" great were simply beyond the hacks who produced this film. And this should not surprise us. We cannot expect the film industry, a key part of capitalism's ideological apparatus, to do real justice to an individual who has mocked and challenged some of the sacred institutions on which capitalist rule rests. As always, Hollywood sets out to tame and take the rough edges off America's rebels.

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Muhammad Ali is led into the induction centre in Houston, Texas, on April 28, 1967, where he took his stand against induction into the United States Army.

NUTS & BOLTS

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

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

Rights of Handicapped Workers

Hire the Handicapped? Most employers are reluctant to do it. In the US today, there are some 12 million handicapped people who are able to work but the number of them employed is well below the national average. But handicapped workers have won some rights under the law which can be a lever in breaking down this form of discrimination.

The law covering discrimination against handicapped people is Section 503 of the Rehabilitation Act of 1973. This law does not cover all employers. Every employer doing business with the federal government under a contract for more than \$2500 is covered. This includes about half the businesses in the US and virtually all large industrial concerns.

WHO ARE THE HANDICAPPED?

First of all, who are the handicapped? The law defines a handicapped person as anyone who: 1) has a physical or mental impairment which substantially limits one or more of his major life activities 2) has a record of such an impairment 3) is regarded as having such an impairment.

Number 2 means that under the law you can qualify as "handicapped" on the basis of your record even if you are presently no longer handicapped. For example, if you spent several years in a mental hospital but were presently sound of mind. Many employers would discriminate against you on the basis of this record, and such discrimination is illegal.

Number 3 means that even if you have no handicap, if people think you do that is often the basis of discrimination and as such is illegal. For example, a person who is slow of speech might be regarded as mentally retarded even if, in fact, he is not. It is illegal to discriminate against people falling into any one of these three categories if they are "qualified" to work.

Qualified means that a person must be capable of performing a particular job with "reasonable accommodation to his handicap" -- "reasonable accommodation" means the employer must be willing to bend some to allow the handicapped worker to perform his job. For example, an employer might have to put in a ramp to accommodate workers in wheel chairs or help a blind worker through a particularly dangerous part of the plant. Employment could not be denied a handicapped worker on the ground there were no such facilities. Only if the employer can show such accommodations "create undue hardship on the business" can employment be refused.

The law also provides that employers cannot deny a worker upgrading (promotion to a better job). Also, handicapped persons may not have their pay reduced because of any outside compensation they receive because of their handicap (disability pension for example).

AFFIRMATIVE ACTION

Section 503 not only restricts discrimination, but calls for "affirmative action." Employers covered under the act must take a variety of steps to increase the number of handicapped workers on their payroll. Employers must seek out handicapped workers, publicize job opportunities to them, review their work forces to



MASS ACTION BY HANDICAPPED resulted in signing of anti-discrimination statutes this spring. But as one disabled activist said, "A promise from Jimmy Carter isn't worth a plug nickel without pressure from the people." (Guardian photo)

see that already employed handicapped workers are being fully utilized, etc.

Each company is expected to develop an affirmative action program to hire and upgrade more handicapped workers. Job applicants who are handicapped may ask to be considered under this program. Any information they supply about their handicap is to be given voluntarily, kept confidential and if the job applicant refuses to give it, it may not be used as grounds for any adverse treatment. Employers may not require information about handicaps unless such information is clearly related to the ability to perform the job.

WHAT CAN YOU DO ABOUT DISCRIMINATION?

If you are a handicapped worker and you believe you are the victim of discrimination, here is what you can do legally:

1) You or someone authorized as your representative, file a written complaint with the Office of Federal Contract Compliance of the Department of Labor. With the complaint you must submit a signed statement specifying your handi-

cap. If further medical evidence is needed, you might be asked to provide it or undergo a physical exam at company expense.

2) If the company has an internal review procedure, the complaint goes there first. If not the Department of Labor investigates the complaint right away.

3) If the Department of Labor finds no violation you can ask for a review of the case. 4) If a violation is found efforts will be made to get the employer to comply with the law and state that he will take corrective action in writing. 5) If this doesn't work, the employer will be given a hearing. 6) If after the hearing the decision goes against the employer, the Department of Labor may impose sanctions or penalties and the employer's government contract could be terminated.

MASS ACTION MUST ENFORCE LAW

As in all attempts to get legal redress through the government machinery, the process is long and drawn out, and you

can't assume the Department of Labor is going to be your buddy. Experience has shown that workers must combine mass organization and pressure with using the government channels if they are going to win. These rights themselves, limited as they are, are only the result of years of organizing and lobbying by handicapped workers.

The treatment of the handicapped in US society is only one more indication of the callous indifference of the capitalist system to the needs of working people.

Thousands upon thousands of workers are excluded from productive work and a decent livelihood in the name of bigger profits. And many handicapped workers are handicapped in the first place because they have been maimed on jobs that are unsafe because it costs "too much" to make them safe. All this is in stark contrast to socialist society where everyone's labor is sought after and valued and no one is thrown on the scrapheap because of a handicap.

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