

The ORGANIZER

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VOTE NO TO STOP RIZZO'S POWER GRAB!  
THOUSANDS FIGHT CHARTER CHANGE

by JOE LEWANDOWSKI

All of the polls show that Rizzo's attempt to seek a third term is in trouble. They all predict that voters will reject a change in the two-term limit for mayor by a three to one margin.

Polls are not the same as election day tallies, however. The final tabulations on November 7th will depend on one thing--which side gets its voters to the polls. The Democratic City Committee is organizing for the Charter change which would allow Rizzo to run again in '79. The Charter change amendment is being opposed by a number of civic, community and labor organizations.

The Party machinery has traditionally been a formidable foe but the recent election of Controller Klenk and D.A. Rendell over Rizzo's opposition indicates the party may no longer be the powerhouse it once was. Are the odds tilting to the anti-Rizzo forces this time? Can the people beat the machine? These are the questions we will be examining in the following articles.

Opposition to a third term for Frank Rizzo is coming from every quarter. Most of the heavyweights in the city's banking and business community, with the exception of First Pennsylvania Bank chairman John Bunting, have lined up against Rizzo by opposing the Charter change. They have formed a "Charter Defense Committee" with a proposed quarter-million dollar budget to wage a media campaign defending the two-term limit for mayors.

These business leaders have their own reason for opposing Rizzo at this point. They fear the "strong mayor" form of government which the City Charter established could give the mayor too much power if it were not checked by a two-term limit.



Their opposition is tempered by the fact that the pro-business Rizzo administration generally carried out the bidding of corporate leaders quite well. But Rizzo's strong arm tactics, his racist rhetoric, and his shady buddies have become a big liability in the eyes of the Main Line gang.

Philadelphia is gaining a national reputation for police brutality and corruption in municipal government. That kind of rep is bad for business and economic growth in an already depressed economy. The bluebloods also fear an escalation in

race and class conflicts in a third Rizzo administration. They prefer racism and union busting in a lower key.

The liberals, too, have their own reasons for opposing Rizzo. Prior to the Rizzo administration, liberals were an influential minority in the Democratic Party machinery. When Rizzo came to power he vowed to crush the liberals and overpower the elements in the old machine which threatened his absolute rule. By his second term, Rizzo was more or less successful in consolidating his hold on the Democratic Party machinery.

The setbacks suffered by the old line liberals, most of whom came out of the Clark and Dilworth "reform" administrations of the fifties and early sixties, coincided with the ascendance of a new generation of liberal activists from the student and civil rights movements.

Schooled in the presidential campaigns of McCarthy and McGovern, the new young leaders of the Americans for Democratic Action (ADA) have used

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TEACHERS SET FOR LONG STRIKE

by RON WHITEHORNE

It may be a long time before Philadelphia school kids see the inside of a classroom again. Frank Rizzo has sworn that the teachers won't get "a dime more", no matter how long they strike.

The teachers, for their part have no alternative but to walk. The School Board wants to throw out the results of years of collective bargaining. Their proposal, besides offering no wage increase whatsoever, would eliminate health and welfare benefits, seniority and transfer rights and all provisions which give teachers a share in determining education policy and working conditions.

WHAT THE TEACHERS WANT

In the winter of 1972-3 the teachers struck for 11 weeks. In spite of injunctions, the jailing of union leadership,

and the arrest of hundreds of rank and filers, the teachers, with the backing of the city's labor movement, won the strike. The new contract provided for five periods of preparatory time per week and limited class size to 33 pupils. These gains meant better working conditions and more job security for teachers. They also meant an improvement in the quality of education. Common sense as well as scientific studies have shown that well-prepared teachers with smaller classes do a better job.

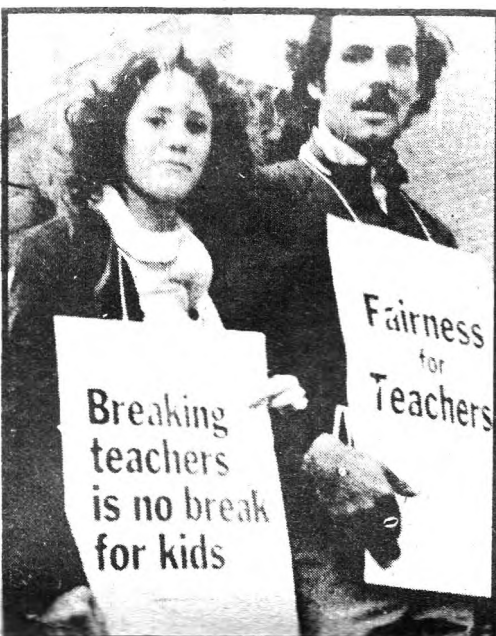
It is these issues that are at the heart of the present impasse between the Board and the Philadelphia Federation of Teachers (PFT). The Board's position is simple. To make up its deficit, 1700 teachers have already been laid off. Class size will be jacked up to 37 students and prep time eliminated. Fewer teachers will do

more work and students will get less attention. The Board's plan strikes at job security, working conditions, and the quality of education.

Not only does the Board want to raise class size. It wants to eliminate class size as a contractual issue and take complete control over this area. If the Board succeeds, future increases in class size are practically inevitable. In Baltimore, for example, where school management determines class size, there are forty students per teacher. In other cities, where the figure is determined by union contract, it is low (32 in New York).

On top of this the Board is holding fast to its no salary increase position. With rising inflation the teachers are, in effect, being asked to work more

(continued on page 5)



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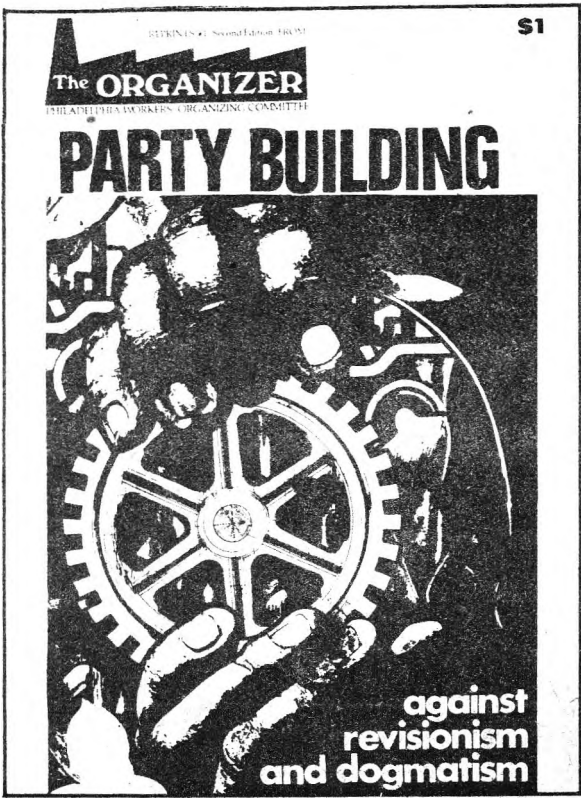
# Paul Robeson Gets His Star

There are a lot of things that make Hollywood different from other cities, but one of the most visible is that Hollywood Boulevard, the main drag, has pink sidewalks and gold stars on every other square. Inside these squares are the names of famous movie personalities--John Wayne, Lassie, etc. You may see the names of many people you have never heard of, or people you would like to forget.

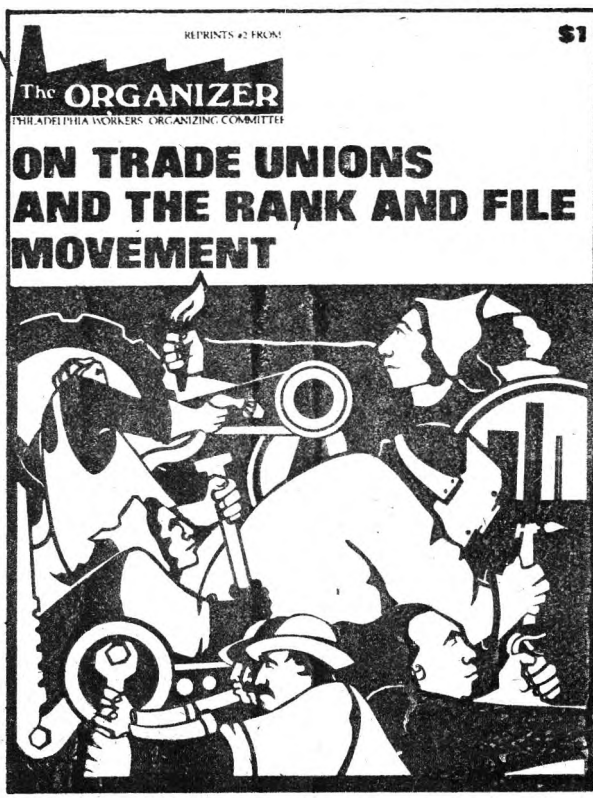
most widely known American singers in Europe, Africa and the socialist countries, and an outspoken social critic and, last but not least, a Communist.

Recently, the stars on the sidewalk became the battle ground for a longstanding political controversy in Hollywood--what rank in Hollywood history should Paul Robeson hold? Robeson, who died two years ago, was perhaps the greatest Black actor of the century, one of the

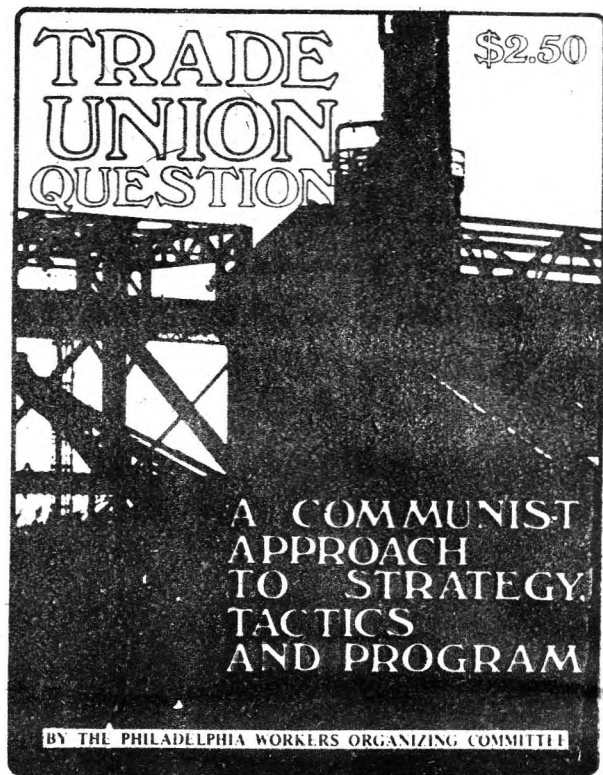
The powers that be in Hollywood tried desperately to keep Robeson's name off the sidewalk, just as they tried to bury his movies and erase his name during the McCarthy period. A coalition of Black and progressive citizens fought, and won, the right of tribute for this great artist, Black liberation fighter and communist. Robeson's star has been placed, among the names of many who stood as rabid anti-communists against him, but rightfully, where average people can see his name when they walk down the street.



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## Philadelphia Workers' Organizing Committee

# Who We Are



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

We seek to replace the anarchy of capitalist production with a planned economy based on the needs of working people. We want to end the oppression of national minorities and women, and make equality a reality instead of the hypocritical slogan it has become in the mouths of the capitalist politicians. We work toward the replacement of the rule of the few -- the *Organizer*, August-September '78, page 2

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

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

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

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

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# Labor Round-up

## Workers Win Discrimination Suit Against US Steel at Fairless Hills



Kansas City steelworkers after the 1956 strike. Black workers are consistently discriminated against in hiring. They are concentrated in the least skilled positions -- where the work is hard and dirty, and the wages are low. In addition, they are discriminated against in other areas: upgrading and promotions, discipline and discharges, layoffs and transfers.

After five years, a federal judge found US Steel's Fairless Hills plant in Bucks County guilty of discrimination against Black workers in their apprenticeship program and certain promotions. The suit was brought by Black production and maintenance workers at the plant.

The judge ruled that the company had intentionally discriminated in its apprenticeship testing program, but "unintentionally" discriminated in failing to promote Black workers to foremen. The case involved 140 workers who should have been in skilled trades for nine years and 50 who should have been promoted eight years ago.

However, the court dismissed charges that the company discriminated in initial assignments to undesirable jobs and in transfers to new facilities. And a year ago, the judge dismissed discrimination charges in several other areas: discipline and discharges, layoffs and transfers, claiming there was "insufficient evidence." Another discrimination suit from that plant has been filed and is now pending.

It's almost certain that all charges against the steel company were valid. What judges call "sufficient evidence" is statistics that take a research team years to compile. Fairless Hills is just another example of how discrimination and not "reverse discrimination" is the law of the land.

## Alan Wood Pensions

A few years ago a new law was passed by the federal Congress that was publicized as the Guaranteed Pension Act. Workers would no longer have to worry that their pensions would be messed with if their plant were to go bankrupt. We were all protected by those wonderful public servants in Washington. Well, start worrying.

I used to work at the Alan Wood Steel Company. Under the terms of our contract, if a person's job was eliminated due to a plant shutdown and they were covered by an age plus years service clause, AW employees could get a pension plus a \$230 a month additive. This condition was put into the contract to protect people who were forced to go into retirement due to a shut-down, but didn't have enough years with the company to get a decent pension (about 30 years). A lot of workers who fall into this group are in their mid-50's, had 20 or so years with the company, and are now having a hard time finding jobs. The pension money is important to make ends meet.

Well, the people in Washington who administer the pension law feel that this \$230 monthly additive is "fat" and as of August 1st, that \$230 is gone from the pension checks. Some asshole sitting in Washington decided that since the government is taking over the AW pension fund, they didn't have to pay the \$230 under the "Guaranteed Pension Law", and they aren't. This means that someone who now gets \$480 a month pension will now

only get \$250 a month. That is one hell of a drop. This is on top of the fact that pensioners have to now pay their own Blue Cross, Blue Shield and life insurance. Bankruptcy Court ended the company's payments to this contractual commitment.

Also, under the "Guaranteed Pension Law", the feds have the power to further reduce the pensions. They can go back five years from plant shutdown, and give you 100% of the pension then, and then 20% of increases in pension for every year after that. For AW workers, if the feds do this, it would mean another large cut in the pension. There is no word now whether or not the government is going to use this part of the "Guaranteed Pension Law."

The government also said that if you weren't in the pension program by June 5th, 1978, then you were out of luck until age 62. Let's say that someone needed another month, as of June 5th to have his age and service add up to get into the pension program. Let's say he is 55 years old. Now, instead of getting a month pension starting in July, he doesn't get anything until he is 62. That's seven years of not getting what, by the contract, he was supposed to get.

True, the new federal law on pensions puts us better than where we were before, when plants went bankrupt and workers would get nothing. But, as we AW workers are finding out, under the "Guaranteed Pension Law", we don't get much more than nothing.



LNS/CPF

## Germantown Speakout

On August 12th at Germantown and Cheltenham Avenues, the Germantown STOP RIZZO Committee and the School Employees Action Caucus of the Philadelphia Federation of Teachers held community actions on the closely connected issues of the charter change referendum and the upcoming school employees' strike.

The Germantown STOP RIZZO Committee had tables set up to register people to vote, and to get signatures on a petition to nominate the Consumer Party ticket in order to secure poll watchers to insure a fair vote when the charter change question is voted on in November. The Committee registered 100 people and secured 500 signatures on the petition. The Committee is connected with the STOP RIZZO Coalition, a city-wide coalition of community organizations against the charter change and Rizzo's re-election. The Coalition is planning on going door-to-door to register people to vote.

The STOP RIZZO Coalition is forming committees in all the different wards in the city. If you are interested in getting involved, call LO3-0636.

At the speakout sponsored by SEAC one teacher spoke about the increase in class size and elimination of prep time that the School Board and city are pro-

posing, and how it would affect the quality of education for the city's children. Another teacher pointed out how the Rizzo administration has one-half billion to spend on a commuter tunnel, but nothing for our children's education. Parents Yvonne Hutchins from the Parents Union, and Eversly Vaughn from the Northwest Task Force also spoke of how the quality of education of our children is at stake during this strike.

SEAC, in a leaflet put out for the Speakout, pointed out the role of racism in the cutbacks; how the fact that 68% of the school population is Black, Puerto Rican and other national minorities had a lot to do with why there was no money for schools. But also how this hurt white school children as well and how unity was needed to stop the cutbacks and get real quality education.

Following the Speakout in Germantown, a motorcade went to 52nd and Baltimore Avenues, and 50th and Market Streets, where people spoke as well. The caucus is planning on continuing these community speakouts with the aim of building a united community-union coalition that can fight together for demands that will both insure quality education for all of Philadelphia's children and a decent salary for school employees.

# Thousands March Against Rizzo and Police Brutality

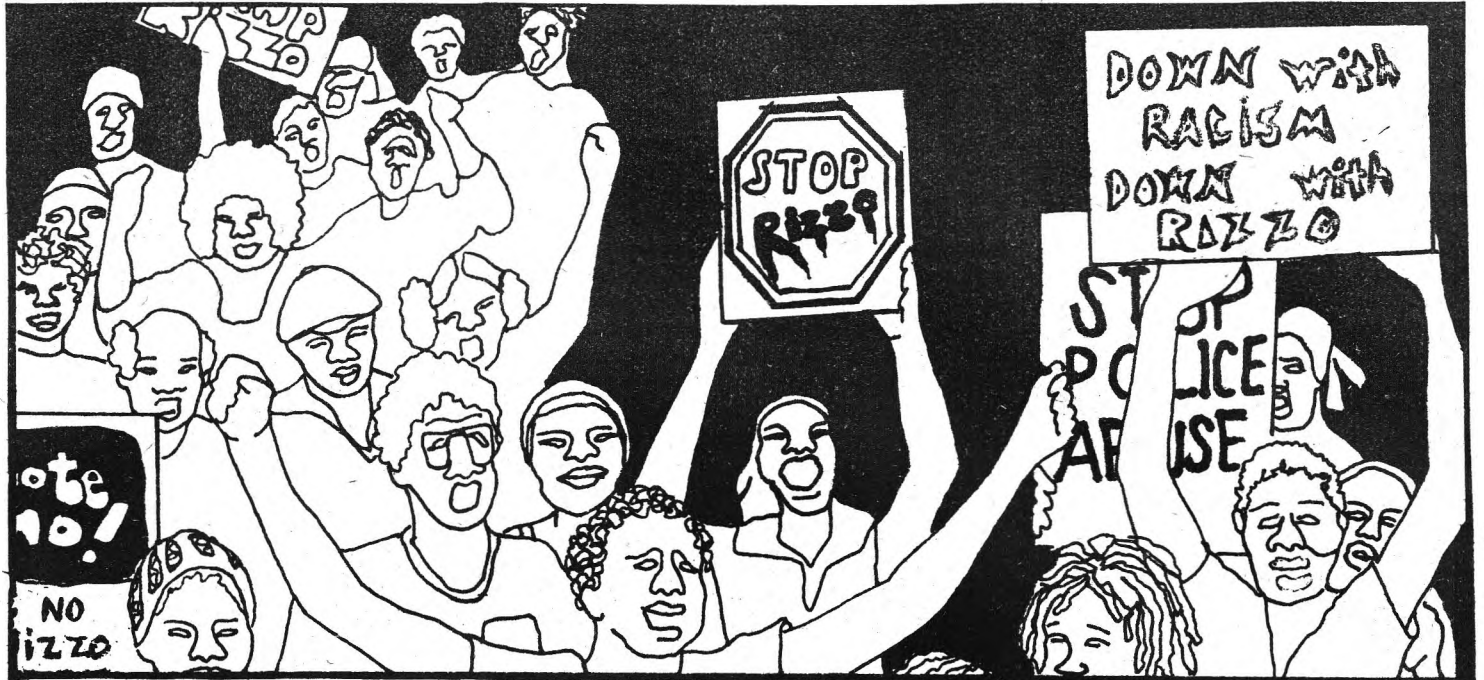
by JIM GRIFFIN

They came from the north, the west and the south, their ranks swelled by shoppers and passerbys. They chanted: "We're all fired up, ain't gonna take it no more" and "Four more years, hell no, Frank Rizzo got to go." By 12:30 somewhere between two and five thousand predominantly Black marchers had converged on City Hall. It was the most massive and militant demonstration locally in recent years, signalling the resurgence of the Black people's movement in the face of sharpening attacks by the Rizzo administration.

## STOP RIZZO THE THEME

It was the police beating of an unarmed Delbert Africa following the MOVE shootout that ignited the long smoldering resentment of police abuse defended and encouraged by the Mayor. But the focus of the rally was not on MOVE. It was an across the board attack on Rizzo and his racist policies. Signs, slogans and speeches singled out Rizzo's "white rights" campaign and his bid for a third term via the charter change.

Both state representative Dave Richardson and community activist Milton Street, two of the march organizers, focused on the task of registering and getting out the No vote to defeat Rizzo's third term bid this November. This theme was echoed by countless other speakers. There was also a call to boycott the First Pennsylvania Bank and the Gallery. First Pennsylvania is headed up by John Bunting who is actively backing the charter change. The bank had redlined Black neighborhoods, invested in South Africa and has been instrumental in bleeding the city's school system. The Gallery, the ultra modern downtown



shopping mall, symbolized the priorities of city planners who neglect the neighborhoods in favor of expensive center city projects.

Another theme of the rally was the need for Black unity to defeat Rizzo's attacks. This unity was reflected in the broad spectrum of political forces present. There was also clearly some division in the attitude of the demonstrators toward MOVE. While all united in condemning the police beating of Delbert Africa, many booed when a MOVE representative began quoting the thoughts of John Africa. And while speakers refrained from directly criticizing MOVE, there was a clear intention to keep the focus on the broader questions. MOVE's muddled philosophy with its emphasis on the rejection of technology and an outlandish life style

offers the masses of people, who are struggling to improve their living conditions, nothing. Furthermore, MOVE's all or nothing, no compromise stand in relation to the city is not "revolutionary" but in fact only plays into the hands of Rizzo. Black unity in the face of Rizzoism is important, but it cannot and should not be a cover for refusing to criticize actions and trends which are harmful to the Black Liberation Movement.

## THE TASKS AHEAD

Stopping Rizzo is a big task. The massive mobilization at City Hall and the call for voter registration are important ingredients of the recipe to beat Rizzo. It is also going to be important to build the broadest unity of all anti-Rizzo forces and to the degree possible, coordinate the campaign for a no-vote. Presently, the anti-Rizzo movement is fragmented into

several groupings who could and should be working much more closely. Even more important, beating Rizzo is not simply a matter of organization. The political orientation of the movement will determine whether it can fully mobilize the potential anti-Rizzo vote while undercutting and neutralizing much of Rizzo's support.

This means the movement must expose what Rizzo stands for. We have to bring home to the masses that Rizzo is the enemy of all working people and the friend of the most reactionary sectors of big business. We have to do this on the basis of the issues that affect the lives of the masses of Philadelphians. These political tasks are part and parcel of both the work in the wards and the city-wide actions. If we do all these things Rizzo's political coffin will be sealed.

## Rizzo's Lie on the MOVE Shoot-Out

The following is the text of a leaflet distributed by the STOP RIZZO COALITION at the massive August 17th rally protesting police brutality and a third term for Rizzo.

The STOP RIZZO COALITION adds its voice to the hundreds demonstrating today against the repressive and racist policies of the Rizzo administration symbolized most recently by the handling of the MOVE crisis.

Frank Rizzo is using the MOVE incident to help pull off his power grab for a third term. Once again we have Frank Rizzo, the man on horseback, the law and order advocate, who will rescue

us from lawless revolutionaries, permissive liberals and the media which allegedly panders to them. Rizzo is the guy who will pull the switch on the whole bunch.

Rizzo aims his message at white working people who are afraid of street crime and the decline of their neighborhoods. The truth is that Rizzo is no friend of the "rowhouse people." Rizzo is a spokesman for the very interests whom are responsible for the decay of our city. Rizzo's policies hurt both Black and white working people and benefit only big business. Rizzo wants to pit one set of victims against another. This is why he constantly fans the flames of racism. His actions and statements in relation to the

MOVE incident is only the most recent example.

To Black and Puerto Rican people Rizzo has another message. Simply put, he says "keep your place." When minorities demand equality Rizzo says they want special favors. When the Black or Puerto Rican communities protest police brutality Rizzo says there is no such thing.

After the MOVE shootout Frank Rizzo said in effect: One policeman is dead, no MOVE members are dead, therefore there is no such thing as police brutality. This was news to the families of Jose Reyes, Winston Hood and countless other victims of police terror. This was

news to the several hundred people in Powelton who were roughly dispersed with numerous beatings and arrests following the MOVE incident. And it was certainly news to the millions of people who saw newspaper pictures of an unarmed Delbert Africa being beaten to a pulp by the same police Frank Rizzo praised for their "restraint."

Some so-called leaders say this brutality was "understandable" because a cop had just been killed. But these same leaders did not think it was "understandable" when Blacks rose up in rebellion against oppressive conditions in Watts, Detroit and Newark. They don't think it is "understandable" when workers fighting for better conditions defy strike injunctions. For these leaders it is "deplorable" when ordinary people break the law, but "understandable" when cops do so. No "circumstances" excuse the police behavior. The wrongdoers should be immediately suspended and fully prosecuted.

Many questions remain surrounding the MOVE events. How can we believe the official version when we have been lied to so often by Rizzo and company. How can we believe it when we see Commissioner O'Neil telling us Delbert Africa came out of the MOVE compound armed. The answer is we can't. The Rizzo administration has a vested interest in covering up the facts. The only way to get to the bottom of what really occurred is through the creation of an independent investigation by a commission composed of people who genuinely have the confidence of the community.

JOIN THE STOP RIZZO MOVEMENT  
VOTE NO ON CHARTER CHANGE



MOVE members surrender; Delbert Africa being beaten by the police Rizzo praised for their "restraint."

# Teacher's Strike

(continued from page 1)

for less money. Having settled with the cops and firemen for 9% and non-uniformed city workers for 7%, the Rizzo administration has the gall to offer the teachers 0%.

Are the teachers overpaid as Rizzo claims? The maximum salary for a teacher with a BA degree is \$19,909, good money to be sure. However, only 52% of the teachers actually make this much and on average it takes ten years to reach this level. Starting pay is low at less than \$12,000 per year.

Philadelphia teachers rank somewhere in the middle in comparison to teachers in other big cities. The salary average in Philadelphia is \$18,600 compared to a high of \$20,150 in New York and a low of \$14,243 in Dallas. Teachers aren't driving around in limousines on these salaries. What's more, 99% of them more than earn their pay — putting in extra hours at home and working hard to help our children learn.

At stake in the confrontation between the teachers and the Board is the very survival of the teacher's union. Under state law the schools cannot be a closed shop — that is, union membership is not a condition of employment. Any union which accepted the kind of package the Board is offering would lose its bargaining strength and the confidence of its membership. The PFT would be finished as a force in the school system.

## BLACKMAIL BY THE BANKS

"O. K., but where's the money going to come from?" some might ask. The fact is that the schools have been the stepchild of the Rizzo administration. In 1976 Rizzo raised taxes to the tune of \$195 million. Only five million of this revenue went to the schools. While Rizzo cries that the bottom of the barrel has been scraped clean, it turns out his administration deliberately built some "fat" into the city budget which is now being used to pay the costs of the settlements with the uniformed and non-uniformed city workers.

For example, an extra \$2 million was appropriated for pension funding and another \$3 million for police overtime. These funds were never spent and were available last year when the schools were forced to borrow \$50 million from the banks. Rizzo's starvation of the school system, which has an enrollment 68% Black and Spanish-speaking, is another example of his administration's racist indifference to the needs of minority communities.

More fundamentally, the city's financial crisis grows out of the administration tax and fiscal policies. While raising taxes on wage earners and small property owners, the Rizzo administration simultaneously eliminated the net corporate income tax. More revenue is needed to fund necessary services, but it should come from taxation on the wealthy and the corporations.

The other central fact underlying the money shortage is the hold of the banks over the school system. Over the years the schools have gone deeper in hock to the banks, financing capital programs through bond sales and meeting ever larger deficits with bank loans. Last year the banks, in the person of First Pennsylvania's John Bunting, stepped in to protect their very profitable investment.

As a condition for a \$50 million loan, the banks imposed a 7% ceiling on annual budget increases. This means the banks are really running the city's school system, determining how much can be spent and thus forcing cutbacks in school programs.

The Philadelphia school system pays \$24.1 million a year in interest to the banks and other financial institutions. The total cost of the first year of the contract settlement outlined by the state fact-finder (and rejected by the Board)

comes to \$30 million. Yet we do not hear Mayor Rizzo saying "not a dime more" for the banks. If the teachers are greedy for wanting to keep their jobs and make a half decent living in exchange for their labor, what does this make John Bunting? How much does he make a year and what does he do for it?

To solve the school crisis would take a reorganization of the city's finances, shifting the tax burden to the rich and ending the dependence on the banks. Naturally Rizzo and the Chamber of Commerce crowd don't want to travel this route. Their solution is to cutback school programs, lay off teachers and generally starve the school system.

## TEACHER-COMMUNITY ALLIANCE NEEDED

A long strike will impose real hardships on children and parents alike. The Philadelphia Parent's Union and Clergy United to Save Our Schools have been working to bring about a settlement and avert a walk-out. Numerous community groups are planning to set up independent schools for the duration of the strike.

Unfortunately, many of these forces blame the union and the Board equally for the impasse.

Much of this sentiment comes from the PFT's historical failure to deal squarely with the question of racism. Philadelphia schools are for the most part separate and unequal. The PFT has failed to champion the cause of desegregated, quality education. The PFT leadership has generally ignored and sometimes outright opposed community grievances that focus on racist practices in the schools. The result is widespread distrust of the union in the Black and Puerto Rican communities.

If the union is to undercut this sentiment, it must reach out to the community. Some progressive teachers have been urging the creation of strike schools staffed by union teachers during the strike. Such schools could help parents and students while simultaneously educating the community about the issues and building support.

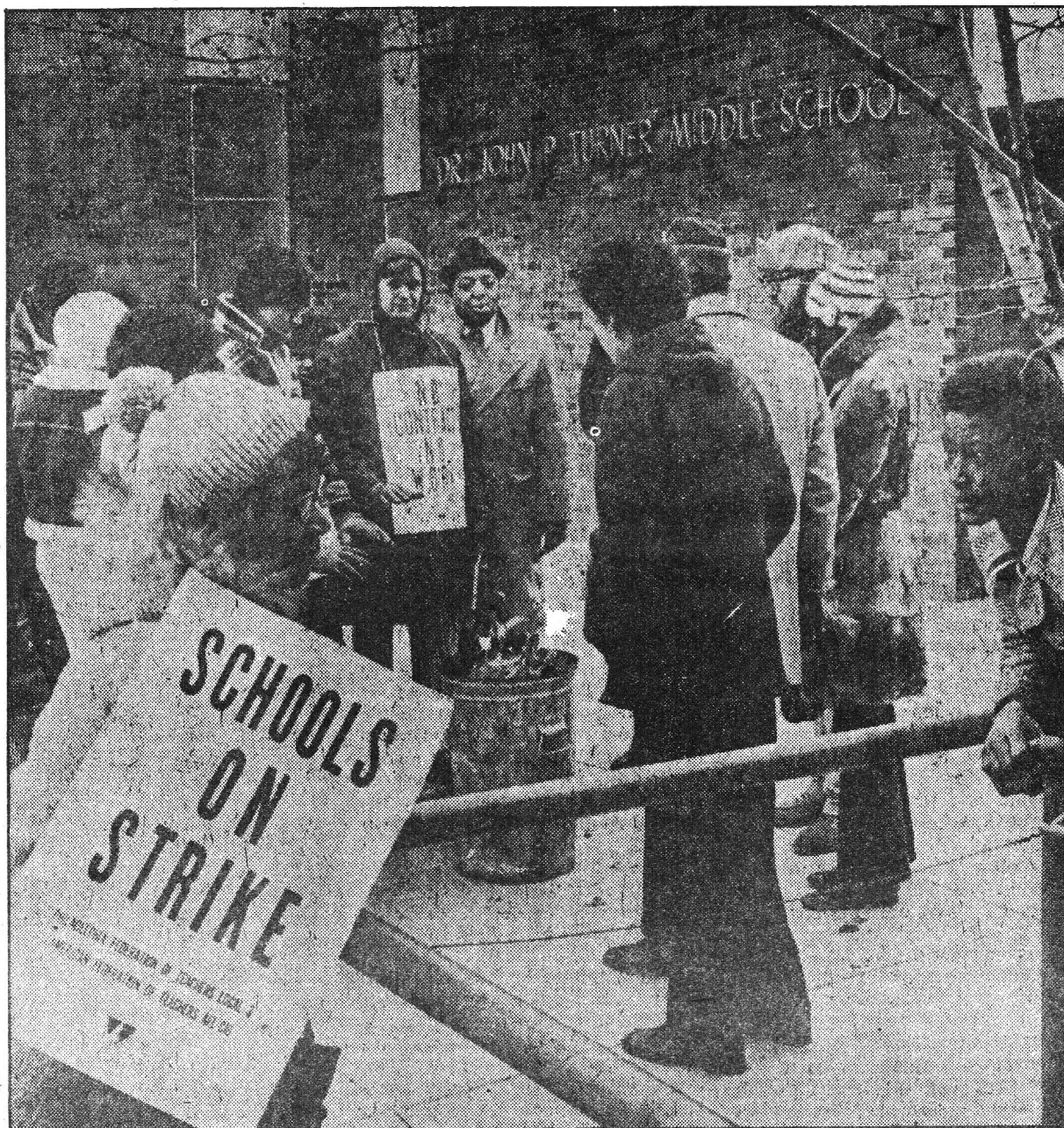
Parents and students need to understand that the union, in spite of its real shortcomings, is not the enemy. The union is fighting for demands that are vital to quality education. Ending the

strike as quickly as possible in order to get the kids back to school is, of course, important. But we can't be shortsighted.

The strike should be settled on terms that protect the quality of education and are fair to the teachers. Community activists should come out clearly for the teachers just demands and join them on the picket lines. We should be putting the blame where it belongs — on Rizzo and the Board.

If the union moves to build solidarity with the community and community forces support the strike, the result will be a powerful and a victory for all concerned. The alternative will be a divisive struggle that will strengthen the hand of the Rizzo administration and continue the downward slide of the school system.

Frank Rizzo has his own game plan. He wants to split the teachers and the community. He figures his re-election drive will get a big shot in the arm if he can project himself as the guardian of the interests of parents, school kids and taxpayers against the "greedy" teachers. Divide and Conquer has always been Rizzo's ace in the hole. But the odds are that he has played this hand once too often in the city of Philadelphia.



1973: The last strike in Philadelphia

## SCHOOL DESEGREGATION - DELAYED AGAIN

"We don't think it will be necessary to put a hammer (forced busing) over someone's head and say... If you don't do this (voluntary desegregation), this is what's going to happen... Give the people of Philadelphia a chance to succeed."

— Martin Horowitz, School Board lawyer, testifying for the voluntary desegregation plan before Commonwealth Court: June, 1977.

"I don't want to delude the public. Right now the budget has zero dollars for desegregation."

—Michael Marcuse, School Superintendent, April, 1978

If the people of Philadelphia are getting "a chance to succeed" in obtaining quality education, it's going to take a reincarnation of Houdini to see how. In a classic example of racist priorities, School Superintendent Michael Marcuse

announced the "delay" of the voluntary desegregation plan and the restoration of varsity sports in the same memo this spring.

For a public already facing more deleted programs and the projected layoff of 3000 school employees, the stalled desegregation plan is yet another slap in the face. It is ironic that the stated reason for the delay is..... racism! The Department of Health, Education and Welfare has refused to release needed federal dollars because of long-standing racial segregation of Philadelphia's public school teachers.

The same racism which has segregated our teachers has allowed our 62% minority school system to deteriorate. The same racism which has led a dismal succession of School Boards, School Superintendents and city administrations to actively oppose desegregation.

As recent events show, Marcuse and company are taking every opportunity to delay and destroy even the token desegregation of their "voluntary" plan. Many of the alternative programs on which the plan was based have been among the first victims of two years of massive budget cuts. School Board officials admitted privately earlier this summer that the Board has done little to publicize the remaining programs. And now this latest delay precipitated by the racist assignment of teachers.

When we look at the police budget; business oriented projects like the Commuter Tunnel; and raises for itself, we can clearly see that for this administration the problem is NOT money; it is racism and a callous disregard for the education of all the children of working people in Philadelphia. It is equally clear that it is up to us to make the changes necessary to sweep the racists out of city hall and off the School Board.

# City Sends Out Lay-Off Slips

by JIM GRIFFIN

Job security has always been the main virtue of working for the city. After all, people always need city services. They still do, but that has not prevented the Rizzo administration from eliminating over 1,350 city jobs. City workers are no longer secure. Because layoffs have hit some departments harder than others, and because many job categories have been eliminated entirely, workers with many years seniority are finding themselves on the streets.

While the full impact of the cutbacks is not yet clear, the layoffs are definitely going to dramatically affect the quality of city services. They reflect the priorities of the Rizzo administration.

The city has ignored its pledge that the layoffs would be across the board and affect all departments more or less equally. No police have been laid off. 75 rookies from the police academy were furloughed but then they were all picked up by SEPTA as a holding action until they can be rehired by the city.

By way of contrast the category of home health aides, whose service is critical to the city's sick and elderly population, has been completely eliminated and all these workers laid off. The libraries have also been hard hit. After Labor Day all neighborhood branches will be closed on weekends and in the evening, when most people use them.

Patronage employees, who are typically high-paid, do-nothing drones, have been spared the ax. AFSCME District Council 47 has brought suit claiming the layoffs are illegal because of discrimination in favor of the patronage employees.

Legal or illegal, the layoffs are for real. City workers still on the job are already feeling the pinch in the form of speed-up. The rest of us are going to find already inadequate city services slipping even further.

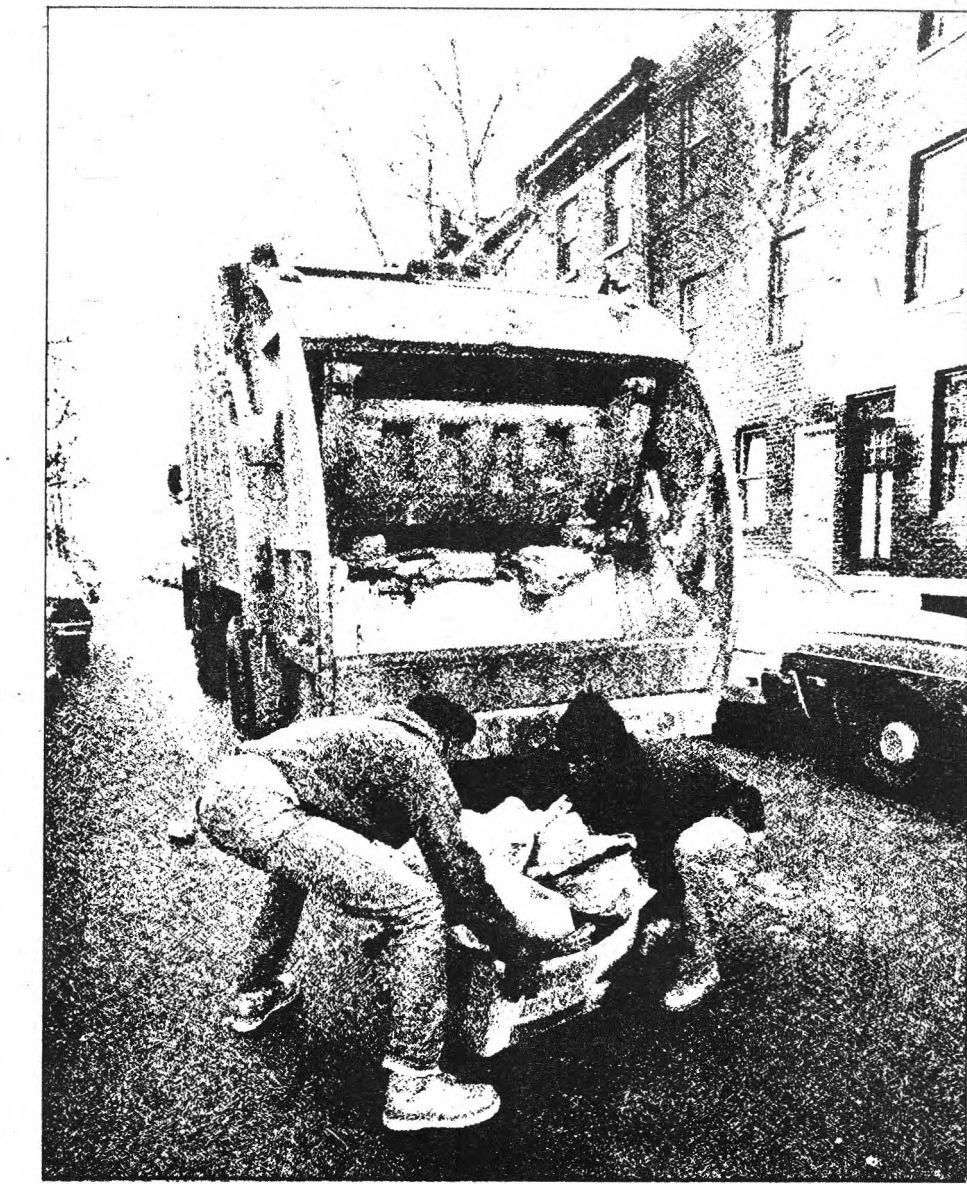
The layoffs grow out of the settlement between the city and American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees Districts 33 and 47. (AFSCME) following an eight day strike in July. The number one demand of the city workers was no layoffs. The Rizzo administration said it would have to lay off thousands of city workers to pay the 9% settlement with police and firemen.

City workers refused to roll over and play dead. They walked, demanding parity with uniformed employees and a guarantee that they would still be on the job after the strike. They failed to win either demand. Instead they got a two year agreement giving them a wage increase of 7% in the first year.

## EARL STOUT: TRAITOR TO WORKERS

The treachery of DC 33 leader Earl Stout (33 is the blue-collar district encompassing most of the non-uniformed workers) was a major factor in the defeat of the strike. Stout, for some years now a Rizzo ally, talked out of both sides of his mouth, first pledging a militant fight against any layoffs, and then turning around and trying to sell an agreement that offered no protection whatsoever.

During the strike Stout made no effort to organize systematic mass picket-



ing to stop scabbing, and offered no real resistance to the injunction threat. Clearly, his whole leadership aimed at softening up the ranks and breaking morale so that a sweetheart agreement could be pushed through.

Finally, Stout misled many workers by mysteriously proclaiming, after the tentative agreement was signed, that there would be no layoffs.

Stout acted like he had a rabbit in his hat. He pulled it out a week later and it smelled so bad no one would touch it. Stout pledged to forego wage increases in return for a City pledge to halt the layoffs, providing that police and fire-

men would agree to an identical wage moratorium. Naturally the cops and firemen passed this one up, so Stout was spared the job of selling this bit of statesmanship to his own rank and file.

Dissatisfaction with Stout's leadership is running high in the ranks. John Dykes, a business agent for the sanitation workers who opposed the settlement, appears likely to challenge Stout come election time. The rank and file should send Stout into retirement. Maybe Frank Rizzo, who we can expect to retire in 1980, will have a job for him up on the Chestnut Hill plantation. There are some doorknobs that are going to need polishing.

# Is Ma Bell Researching You Out of a Job?

by SUSAN COHEN

Job security provisions are important to workers. With the official unemployment rate over 6%, and technology and inflation pushing it higher, job protection is fast becoming more important than a wage increase.

Some unions have no-layoff clauses in their contracts already. Postal workers are protected by a no-layoff clause. Other

workers have attempted to win job protection clauses recently, but have so far been unsuccessful. In fact, in most recent contract negotiations, employers have tried to take back job security clauses already existing.

Telephone workers are among those who have failed to win meaningful job security clauses. In the recent contract, union negotiators not only failed to win a no-layoff clause, but agreed to mandatory

overtime. These unions will lose thousands of members to cutbacks over the next contract period. New and more advanced equipment is fast replacing many telephone workers.

## RESEARCH FOR WHOM?

AT&T owns one of the most advanced research laboratories in the world. Bell Telephone Laboratories are chartered to "do research of possible value" as well as "develop practical systems." They employ about 17,000 workers and operate on a budget of \$780 million annually.

Technological change under capitalism does not always have the best interests of the workers at heart. The motive for these changes is profit, so if the workers benefit it is accidental. Bell Labs is no exception.

Some Bell scientists are currently perfecting a talking computer. By punching a person's name on a push button phone, a customer will soon be able to receive that person's phone number by recording. In the near future, almost all directory assistance calls will be handled this way.

Bell Labs are also responsible for a new electronic switching system, ESS, used in transmitting calls. This new system is already eliminating jobs in plant departments throughout the country.

Telephone workers are now clearly in danger of losing their jobs. There have been layoffs of operators in Philadelphia already.

Technological advances could benefit workers. Most directory assistance operators find their jobs to be boring, monotonous and repetitive. If the job can be

mechanized, it could eliminate work which no one wants to do anyway. However, operators can support this change only if their jobs are protected. The company must guarantee placement in another department.

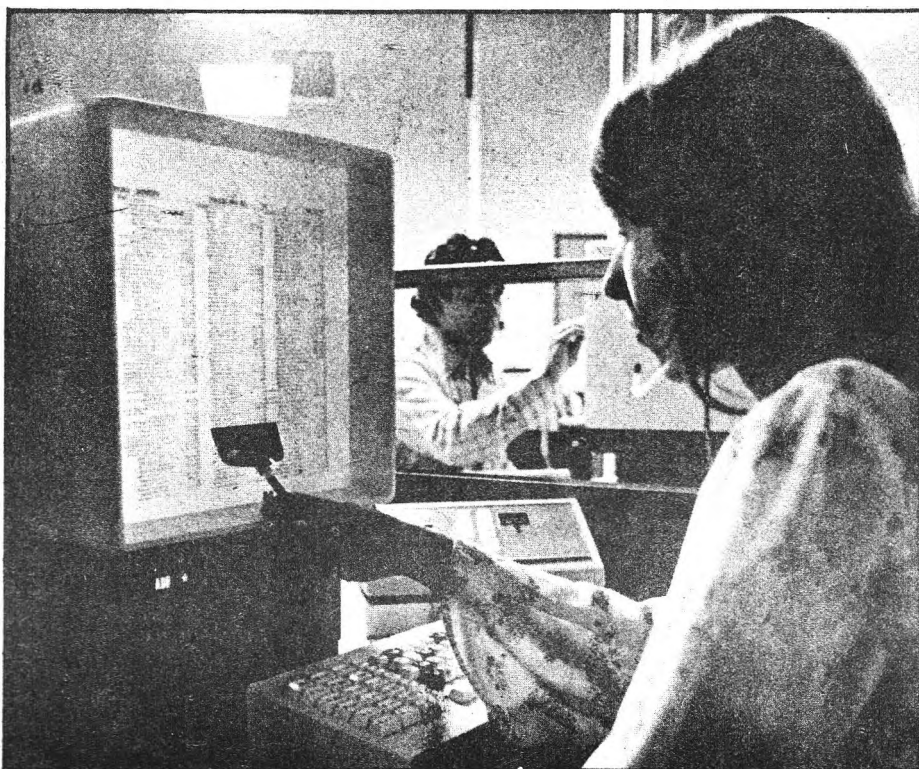
AT&T is one of the largest companies in the world. They are the richest company in the world. This wealth is produced by their workers and for their work these people deserve at least the security of a permanent job.

## SPEED UP MATHEMATICS

Bell Labs is responsible for more despicable research also, research that has no benefit at all for the worker. For example, mathematicians at the Labs work to schedule operators so that at every 15 minute interval precisely, the right number of operators are working. Operators are scheduled so that they are kept working absolutely non-stop. There are no time intervals between calls.

These mathematicians do not allow time in their scheduling for trips to the bathroom, time to take an aspirin or even moments to say hello to the worker next to you. This kind of research is purely for profit, is harmful to the workers and is inhuman. It is this type of technological change which is most common under capitalism. In a socialist system, where workers are in control of the work they produce, this would not exist.

The job before the union leaders and the rank and file worker then, is to develop immediate plans for protecting existing jobs. Layoffs have already begun because the union negotiators failed to take adequate steps in the last contract. Now this issue is the most important facing workers today.



Operators using the new DAS/M (Directory Assistance System/Microfilm) Console. Although technical advances could be beneficial, without job protection these machines could replace many workers.

# Labor Law Reform Bill Dead

by DUANE CALHOUN

The Labor Law Reform Bill, the number one legislative priority of the labor movement for 1978, was killed by the US Senate in July. The bill would have made laws governing union organizing somewhat less favorable to the employers. Some of the reforms in the bill would have required companies who fire workers for union activity to pay one-and-a-half times back wages, cancelled government contracts held by these companies, and required union representation elections to be held within three weeks of a request (rather than the eight months or more allowed under present law). Both the AFL-CIO and the UAW saw this bill as a key part of a successful drive to organize the unorganized, especially in the South. In 1977, the percentage of union members in the work force dropped to 23%, the lowest number since the early 1930's.

## ANOTHER POINT FOR NEW RIGHT

Right-wing senators organized a month-long filibuster against the bill (a filibuster is a means of preventing a vote on a bill; opponents make long speeches for weeks and months on end, and refuse to close debate and vote on the bill. While a bill needs only a majority vote to pass, a motion to close debate takes two-thirds). After six attempts by supporters of the bill to close debate, all of which failed, the bill was sent back to a sub-committee on June 22. Several "compromise" versions were drafted in this committee, but even these watered-down laws were too favorable to the working class for such powerful reactionaries as Democratic Senator Russell Long of Louisiana, and none of them have yet made it back to the full Senate. *Business Week* magazine concludes that the bill "is all but dead in the US Senate." If a compromise does get back to the Senate floor, it will have all of its teeth pulled and so be of little use to the labor movement.

The defeat of the Labor Law Reform was only the latest in a string of offensives by the "New Right", a recently revived coalition of reactionaries made up of Republicans, Democrats, and conservative independents. The "New Right" has been leading the opposition to everything from the Equal Rights Amendment for women, to the Panama Canal treaty, to minority group hiring and school admission quotas.

Their successful assault on Labor Law Reform was the first example of open cooperation between the "New Right" and the leaders of America's giant corporations. For the first time in

many years, the Board Chairmen and lobbyists of GM, US Steel, Goodyear, Sears, and the Chase Manhattan Bank, as well as big business organizations like the National Association of Manufacturers and the Business Roundtable openly joined forces with such "New Right" groups as the National Right to Work Committee (whose goal is to outlaw the union shop) and the Committee for a Union-free Environment.

Before now, these groups drew their main support from small and medium-sized businesses, while the corporate giants felt they could afford to cultivate a "liberal" image. This change is one more

against the bill, spending millions of dollars, spreading outrageous lies in the press about what was in the bill, and bringing thousands of businessmen to Washington, organized labor followed its usual strategy of trusting its liberal Democratic "friends" to carry the ball. The only mobilization of the millions of rank and file union members was to urge them to write letters to their Senators.

Doris Hardesty, a top AFL-CIO staff person, told the *Guardian* newspaper that at the last mass action organized by the AFL-CIO (the 1975 March for Jobs in Washington) "radical elements" had taken over the stage. "That's the kind of thing that deters us from that type of

mental body whose purpose was to foster peaceful labor-management cooperation. The group is chaired by former Secretary of Labor John Dunlop, and included eight big business executives and eight top labor leaders.

Fraser's letter of resignation said that big business was waging a "class war" against working people, and went on to explain, "My message should be very clear: if corporations like GM want confrontation, they cannot expect cooperation in return from labor." Fraser also came very close to telling it like it is about the Democratic Party: "The Republican Party remains controlled by and the Democratic Party heavily influenced by business interests. The reality is that both are weak and ineffective as parties, with no visible, clear-cut ideological differences between them, because of business domination..."

Fraser acknowledged the growing demands from the ranks for formation of a labor party, but stopped short of endorsing such a complete break with the Democrats. He argued instead for rebuilding the "links with those who believe in struggle", and forming a coalition within the Democratic Party of labor, women, minorities, the unemployed, the poor and farmers. Given Fraser's past record of support for "labor peace", rank and filers have reason to be skeptical about his newfound class consciousness.

But it's clear that Fraser's move does make an opening for workers who have been against class co-operation all along. It's up to these workers to demand that Fraser turn talk into action, by proposing to the UAW leadership concrete plans for action against the employers and their political house servants.

The AFL-CIO leadership, however, is unwilling to take even this half-step away from their partners in the corporate boardrooms. As the bill was about to die, Federation Secretary-Treasurer Lane Kirkland begged a group of business leaders meeting in New York to back off, reminding them that "management is singularly fortunate in this country. The American worker is uniquely free of class consciousness. His organizations and spokesmen are not plotting the nationalization of your enterprises." But this reminder of how faithfully Kirkland and his fellow traitors and chair-warmers have served the employers fell on deaf ears; business leaders went on to torpedo the Labor Law Reform Bill anyway.

As usual, it's up to the rank and file and honest local officials to draw the right conclusions from this whipping, and force their gun-shy union leadership to either fight back or step aside. If we leave it up to our present crop of top union leadership, who knows what rights we'll lose next?



sign that today's right turn in American politics comes mainly from a move to the right by the capitalist class, and not from a more conservative mood among the working people.

## "THE FRIENDS OF LABOR"

Once again, the Democratic Party showed its true colors as friend of big business, rather than the party of the common people that it (and its apologists in union office) claims to be. Sixty votes were needed to shut off debate and bring the Labor Law Reform bill to a vote. While a number of Republicans (including Heinz and Schweiker of Pennsylvania) voted to end debate, and while there are 61 Democrats in the Senate, the "friends of labor" still could not muster the needed 60 votes.

Although the "New Right"/ big business alliance fought hard and dirty

tactics" Hardesty said. At that demonstration, the union bureaucrats were terrified when thousands of angry rank and filers got fed up with empty promises and booed Hubert Humphrey off the stage, then rushed the podium chanting "JOBS NOW".

Even though such mass mobilizations are a much more powerful and effective form of pressure than lobbying or letter writing, it's more important to the labor bureaucrats to keep their rank and file safely under control than it is to win the fight for labor's demands.

## FRASER VS. KIRKLAND

The union leadership has responded in two somewhat different ways to the defeat of their number one priority. On July 19, Doug Fraser, president of the UAW, resigned in bitterness from the Labor-Management Group, a semi-govern-

# House Extends ERA Deadline

When 100,000 people marched on the Capitol on July 9 demanding an extension for the ERA, they were given little chance of succeeding. Yet, last month the House of Representatives extended the ratification deadline from March 22, '78 to '81.

While the extension faces an uphill battle in the Senate, its passage in the House can be seen as a major victory for women and for all who oppose reaction and strive for democracy and equality. It was clearly the mass action of thousands upon thousands of Americans that pressured Congress into action.

Forces of reaction also lost out as the legislators refused to sanction the "change of mind" of those states who, having already voted for ratification, later tried to withdraw support. While some call the deadline extension a change of rules in the middle of the game, the fact is that the US Constitution sets no limit on the ratification period.

In order to turn the tide of reaction that is attempting to "Stop the ERA," the women's movement must unite with the workers' movement and oppressed nationalities. The extension gives all democratic-minded people the time to organize a strong united movement to fight for equal rights.



Hundreds of thousands march on Washington, D.C. in July, in support of equal rights for women.

# Postal Workers Prepare for Strike Vote

by JEAN CARSON

Six hundred thousand postal workers are about to vote on a tentative agreement reached in July between union officials and the government. And the result of the vote and the possible strike following it will affect all workers, not just postal workers.

## CARTER'S DOMINO THEORY

The Carter Administration is attempting to start an anti-inflation drive with these negotiations. He has openly stated that he is determined to keep postal workers' wages down to set an example for upcoming negotiations, with the Teamsters for example. Why is it, we have to ask, that postal and other workers are expected to take wage cuts, layoffs and speedup to fight inflation when businesses are not asked to put any controls on higher prices, or take any cuts in profits?

Well, rank and file postal workers do not see that they are the ones to make sacrifices. On July 12th, before the tentative agreement was reached, 3,000 postal workers from the Northeast demonstrated in Washington for just that reason. The President of the New York branch of the American Postal Workers Union said, "We are here to demonstrate that our demands are just demands, our rights as American workers." Another member of APWU said, "We have had to come out today because the President of the US is throwing the weight of his office behind management. The government wants to make an example of us. They think we'll make an easier place to start than the miners or steelworkers."

But more and more it's looking like the postal workers are not "an easier place to start." Despite the fact that the top leadership of the three major postal unions, APWU, National Association of Letter Carriers, and Laborers International, have sold out, urging the membership to accept a bad contract and refusing to sanction a strike, the rank and file are preparing to fight it.

Immediately following the tentative agreement, postal workers in Jersey City, N.J. and Richmond, California wildcatted in opposition to the contract. The wildcats were broken with injunctions and the firing of 120 people, but other protests followed. Over 100 locals taking voice votes, voted "NO" to the contract. New York City has been key in opposing the contract. Leaders of the city's two largest union locals attempted to take a strike vote, but were blocked by a federal judge. Locals across the country are waiting for N.Y. to take the lead in starting a national strike. Also the advisory committee of the APWU, opposing the President of the union, voted 29-15 to reject the contract. And at the national convention of the NACL, 8000 representatives voted almost unanimously to reject the contract.

## CONTRACT ISSUES

Postal workers are asking for a modest wage increase of 14% over two years and a continuation of a cost of living clause. What they've been offered is 19.5% over three years with a cap on the cost of living, when inflation is expected to be between 24% and 34%. "So at best we'd be 5% behind and possibly as bad as 14%," said one worker. And the raise would not be across the board as demanded, but by percent.



Carter is determined to keep postal workers' wages down and hours long to set an example for future negotiations with other unions. Not falling for this logic, 3,000 postal workers march at service headquarters in Washington on July 12.

The issue of speedup is even more important to workers than wages. The union did win the retention of the no-layoff clause that the Postal Service wanted to eliminate so badly so they could close offices and mail centers, and begin large scale automation. But the Service has already found loopholes in the clause. Over 70,000 workers who have left in the last period have not been replaced while mail volume has increased by 6% during the same period. An important issue which the union failed to win is eliminating mandatory overtime which has forced postal workers to work routinely 60 hours a week. There is also no mention of route lengths for letter carriers whose routes have been extended to force them to work faster. Because of this speedup, accidents at mail centers have increased to the point that they have the highest accident rate of any federal agency. Finally, the union failed to win revisions in the grievance procedure which would strengthen it.

The rank and file's opinion is that the union leadership sold out, buckling under government pressure to hold down the cost of a settlement. At first, conscious of rank and file discontent, the leadership said they would strike July 21 if no contract was reached. No doubt

they were remembering 1970 when one third of the postal workers walked out without the leadership and won. But during negotiations the leadership dropped all demands but two: the continuation of the no-layoff and cost of living clauses. And they undercut the issues, only winning one, by signalling in advance that they would not strike to win those demands. And now, despite mounting opposition, the leadership is urging the membership to ratify the contract on August 24th.

More than two dozen rank and file caucuses have formed in various big cities over the last period around the issues at stake here. And they are gaining strength as a result of the proposed sellout contract. While it is clear that there is widespread dissatisfaction with the contract in the big city post offices and bulk mail centers, the rural and suburban centers are less likely to vote "NO" since the union will not sanction a strike.

So caucuses are holding meetings, leafletting and having other actions to gain more support for a "NO" vote. And added to the demands now is the reinstatement with no punishment for the 120 wildcats.

# Michigan Consumers Score Health Care Costs

The following article was sent to us by the Detroit Socialist Collective. While it deals with rising health care costs in Michigan, it could just as well be Pennsylvania or any other state.

In Michigan health care costs have been soaring at the rate of 16% per year. Thus a year ago, when Blue Cross/Blue Shield and the Michigan Hospital Association (MHA) came up with an agreement to hold hospital budgets to increases of 13%, the measure was ballyhooed as a big step forward in the fight against inflation.

In public hearings before the state insurance commission Don Jacot of People's Health Action burst the Blue Cross/MHA bubble. First Jacot expressed disbelief that the 13% figure was at all realistic, noting that the agreement makes no provision for the inclusion of capital costs (construction, material, and equipment), the single greatest source of hospital inflation.

Jacot also pointed out that the agreement left the door open for cut-backs in services. Jacot argued that what is really needed is the expansion of preventive medicine, something ignored by the cost containment measure.

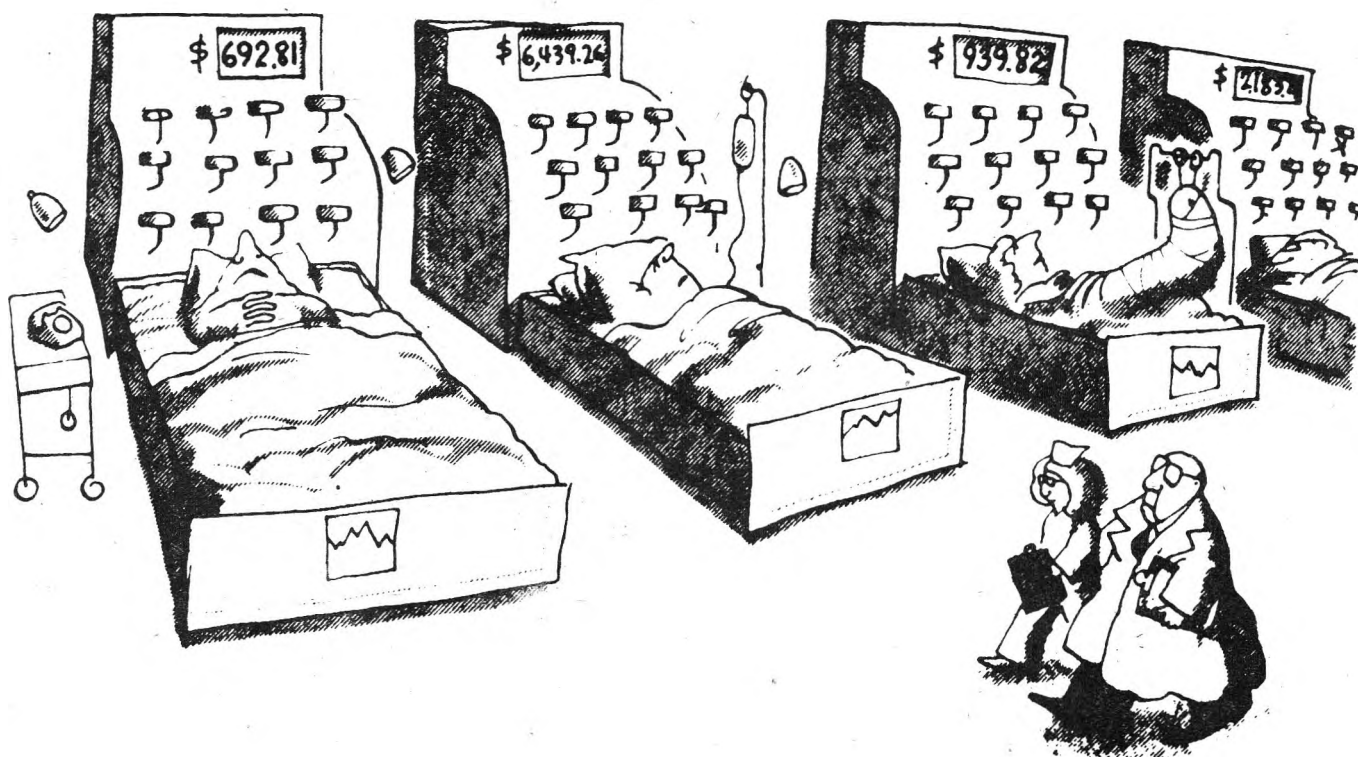
Finally, Jacot questioned billing a 13% increase as "cost containment". Even if the hospitals stuck to this figure, it was hardly acceptable to already burdened health care consumers. These criticisms were echoed by witnesses from the Michigan Citizens' Lobby, the Michigan Health Action, Citizens for Better Care, Coalition for Better Health Care and the United Auto Workers.

## CONSUMERS GET SHORT END

Underlying the MHA/Blues plan is the assumption that the consumer's interest is subordinate to the profit drive of the health care industry giants. Hospital administrators and the insurance companies take it as given that the rising costs of hospital construction, medical equipment and drugs must simply be passed along to the consumer.

Consumers are excluded from the important decisions concerning health care. Financing is in the hands of the administrators and corporate interests. The MHA/Blue Cross agreement continues this exclusion. The agreement creates boards to which a particular hospital may appeal if its projected budget is rejected. These appeal boards are completely dominated by MHA and Blue Cross.

During the hearings both MHA and Blue Cross argued that the so-called "adversary" relationship between hospital management and the insurance companies serves the interest of the consumer.





# LAY-OFFS HIT SUN SHIP

Another wave of heavy layoffs is now hitting the work force at Sun Ship in Chester, Pa., adding hundreds more to the over 1000 already on layoff.

## SHORTAGE OF WORK OR APPROACHING CONTRACT?

Why have these massive layoffs come down? Why at this time? The company's reason for the layoffs is a shortage of work. The scarcity of work on hand is apparent to anyone who looks around the yard, but when the company got a new contract for a container ship six months ago, most people thought that the yard would be booming by now. If the company had begun construction on the container ship months ago when they could have, work on it, together with the two tankers and repair work could have had the yard going full blast around contract time. Why the stall? It's obvious that the company is making plans for the contract struggle. They don't want the pressure of a tight production deadline when they make their contract offer. Sun Ship president Pete Hepp, despite all his talk about changing attitudes, teamwork and a new spirit of cooperation between labor and management, is sticking with the time honored Sun practice of putting as many people as possible on the street before the contract runs out.

It's also no accident that layoffs have struck hardest in the predominantly Black welding department and other departments with large numbers of Blacks and are now virtually wiping out the Black population in the shops where Black workers have low seniority because of years of discrimination in hiring. The company simply doesn't want likely sources of resistance to a bad contract, young and Black workers, around at contract time.

The company's tactics have been effective in the past because they've been the only really organized force during the bargaining and strike. Past leadership of Local 802, Boilermakers, has consistently failed to organize to fight for a good con-

tract or win a strike. They didn't try to involve the rank and file in the bargaining process or try to prepare and mobilize them for a strike. They struck only to diffuse rank and file militancy and anger, and tried to get people back to work as soon as possible without using the strike to wring further concessions from the company.

After the last contract was voted down 3-1, the union leadership held a second vote on the *same* contract, without going back to the bargaining table or notifying most of the members of the vote. They still had to stuff the ballot box to get it to pass. An unorganized rank and file was unable to force the union leadership to fight for a good contract or to take matters into their own hands when the union leadership sold out.

## UNION'S RESPONSE

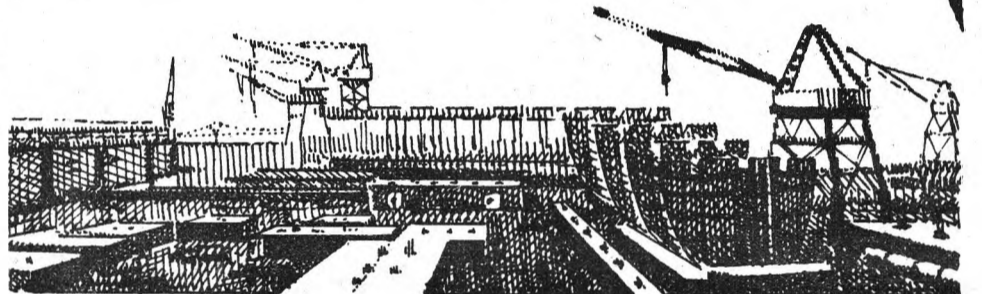
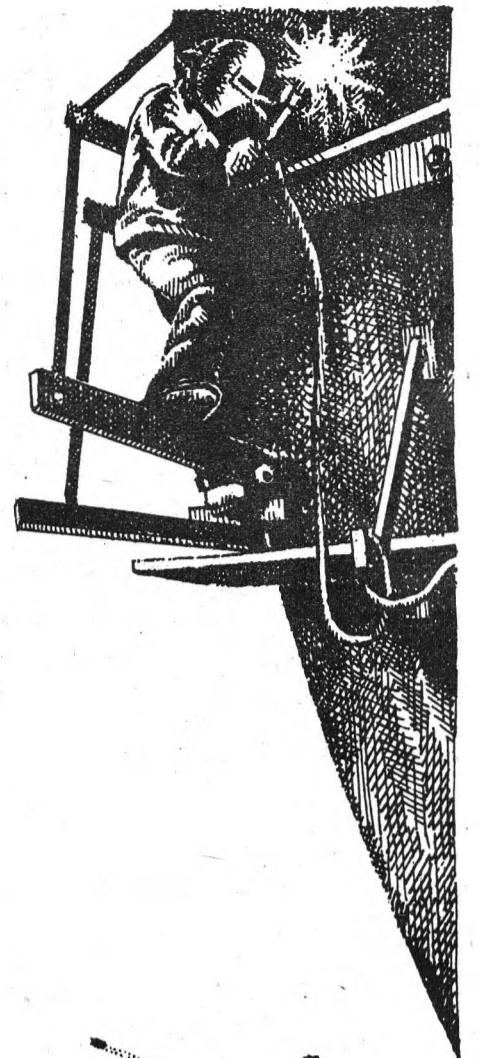
What about the current union leadership? They have taken a defeatist role around the layoffs on the one hand and a passive role around the contract on the other. They have accepted the company's explanation for the layoffs and have done nothing to draw out suggestions and involvement from the rank and file as to what should be in the next contract. What the union leadership has done has been to list its accomplishments over the past year and pat itself on the back.

Some of these actions have been positive and a definite improvement over the last gang that was in office, but none of these "accomplishments" have been taken far enough. On the whole, the present union leadership has failed to provide the "militant" leadership it promised when it was running for election over a year ago. *And the rank and file is acutely aware of this fact!* Unfortunately, this has resulted in defeatism and cynicism among many rank and file workers.

What the union leadership must do over the next few months if it is to regain the confidence and support of the rank

and file and win a good contract is to quit pretending Pete Hepp and his flunkies are interested in the welfare of the workers. All they are interested in is one thing--**PRODUCTION!** The union leadership must expose Hepp's "Safety Program" for the fraud that it is and begin closing down unsafe jobs. The union leadership must expose and fight the company's racist hiring and upgrading policies, which have for so long meant the exclusion of most Black workers from the more skilled crafts and kept the rank and file divided. They must begin involving the rank and file actively and democratically in the running of their own union and the struggle for a decent wage and working conditions. The union leadership must *immediately* begin preparing the rank and file for a long, tough strike, which will undoubtedly be necessary to win a decent contract.

What the rank and file must do now is throw off this shroud of defeatism and cynicism and go after the good contract they deserve. They should talk with fellow workers about the contract; decide what should be in the new contract; go to the union meetings and demand the leadership fight for the issues they feel are important. And if the leadership doesn't respond, the rank and file must organize to force them to either represent the workers or take a walk. In short, the rank and file must begin to play an active role in the struggle for their own contract. The other alternative is to rely on the generosity of Sun Ship. The choice seems clear from here.



# A TRIBUTE TO STEVE BIKO

UNITED PEOPLE'S CAMPAIGN  
AGAINST APARTHEID AND RACISM

## UPCAAR

### presents

## "Survival"

*A play written and performed by actors from Soweto, South Africa.*

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7:45 PM (Doors open 7:15)

MITTEN HALL  
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BROAD AND BERK ST.

\$3.00 -- tickets can be purchased at door

Quality Childcare Provided

SPEAKER from United Electrical, Radio  
and Machine Workers of America (UE)



*The leader of the Black consciousness movement of South Africa. Murdered one year ago while a political prisoner in South Africa.*

State interference or regulation would only disrupt the "natural" checks and balances of the market place, their representatives maintained. They held forward their agreement as an example of the fruits to be harvested by leaving the regulation of health care to the private sector.

As for "consumer input", Blue Cross trotted out its two house "consumers" to testify that they heartily approved of the cost agreement. Not to be outdone, the MHA announced that they were planning a grievance meeting where consumers could "get their complaints off their chests". Consumers don't need MHA to get their complaints off their chests. What they want is to get the burden of rising health care costs off their backs. And here MHA is unable to be of any help.

Leaving the control of costs to hospital administrators and insurance companies is leaving the fox to guard the chicken coop. Year after year, we have seen what their control means: spiralling costs and the decline of services. In the United States, the richest country in the world, working people pay more and get less to maintain their health.

Only a socialist US can take health care out of the marketplace and guarantee the well-being of all. Short of that, some reforms can better the situation -- such as the passage of the Dellums Bill, the National Health Service Act, and the nationalization of the insurance companies. More immediately, consumers need to fight to open all Blue Cross board meetings to the public, freeze Blue Cross subscription rates, roll back all medicaid and medicare rate hikes and co-payments, and establish provisions that insure cost cutting won't mean cuts in the quantity or quality of services.

# Why the Tide Is Turning Against Rizzo

by JOE LEWANDOWSKI

Most Philadelphia voters already know how they feel about four more years of Frank Rizzo. Two polls conducted by the *Bulletin* and at least three others which were privately conducted all showed the same results: by a 3 to 1 margin, Philadelphians are turning thumbs down on a City Charter change which would allow Rizzo to seek a third term.

The *Bulletin* poll, taken in June, shows 71% opposed to a change in the two term limit for mayors, 22% in favor of such a change, and 7% undecided. A *Bulletin* poll taken a year earlier showed similar results.

In the most recent poll voters were also asked if they would vote for Rizzo if he were allowed to seek a third term. More than 50% said they would not vote for Rizzo and only 25% said that they favored him. These figures seem to indicate that voters' views on the Charter change proposal are largely shaped by how they feel about Frank Rizzo.

Why public sentiment has turned against Rizzo is not difficult to understand. The Rizzo record speaks for itself. Vital services, especially public health care, have been drastically reduced during the Rizzo years. Over 1000 city workers have already gotten the ax and as many as 4500 may quickly follow in the next few months.

Although Rizzo would like to style himself a champion of the tax revolt, his

record plainly shows otherwise. After promising to hold the line on taxes during his bid for a second term, it only took Frank a few months to push through the biggest single tax increase in city history: a revolting 30% increase in city wage taxes and a 29% increase in property taxes. To show who his real friends are, Rizzo eliminated the city's corporate earnings tax and cut assessments on Center City commercial real estate.

## THE RIZZO RECORD

Under the Rizzo administration neighborhoods have continued to deteriorate. Some of them, like Spring Garden and parts of North Philadelphia, have been earmarked by city planners for "recycling", and are being disrupted or destroyed to make way for real estate speculation.

Rizzo has also opposed the construction of all low-income housing despite the thousands of people on Philadelphia Housing Authority waiting lists in need of a home, and nearly every neighborhood in the city has suffered as a result of Rizzo's policy of funneling millions of taxpayer dollars into commercial Center City projects such as the commuter tunnel, Franklinton, and Market East.

During the Rizzo administration Philadelphia has become nationally famous for unrestricted police terror against its citizens. Rizzo, first as police commis-

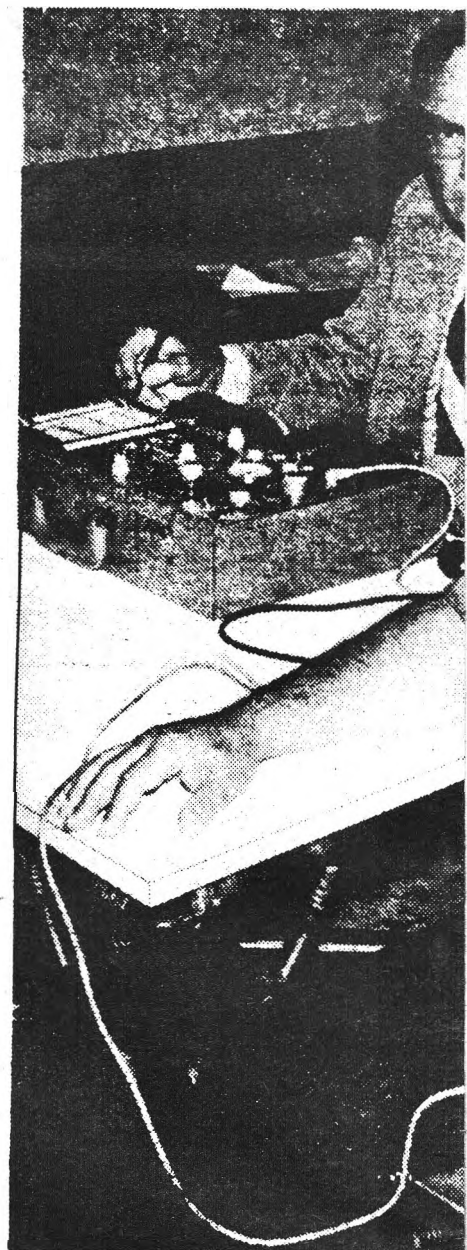
er and later as mayor, has opposed every measure aimed at making police more accountable.

With Rizzo's blessings Philadelphia police have been able to harass, beat, and even kill without fear of punishment. Most recently a Black man in handcuffs was shot and killed by a cop in full view of neighbors. The murder was declared "justified" by the Police Department.

Despite Rizzo's characterization of himself as a "man from the neighborhoods, a friend of working people", as mayor Rizzo has been the bitter foe of non-uniformed city workers, teachers, and SEPTA workers. His attempts to weaken and cripple the city workers union and the teachers' union threaten labor throughout the city.

As Rizzo made clear in his now famous "white rights" speech, the thread that runs through almost all of these policies is racism. Rizzo has consistently opposed desegregation, affirmative action, and anything else that would give a measure of equality to minorities. He has deliberately pursued a policy of pitting whites against minorities in order to further his own political career.

These are the policies which have made Frank Rizzo the real issue in the campaign to lift the two term limit for mayors from the City Charter.



The Rizzo administration means increased city wage and property taxes. "People" is a lie.

# City Council: It's the Pits

## Hearings railroad charter change proposal

by JIM GRIFFIN

Nobody's ever had any illusions that Philadelphia's City Council is one of the world's great parliamentary bodies. It's always been the refuge of political hacks and scoundrels. Who can forget Francis O'Donnell, whose record in Council was so undistinguished that when he died, the voters failed to notice and re-elected him anyway?

Or how about Isadore Bellis, who in a profitable career in and around City Hall stole everything that wasn't nailed down? But last month during the hearings on the proposed Charter amendments, Council descended to a new low. As one observer in the galleries put it - "This is the pits."

It's no secret that the sole purpose of the Charter change is to prolong the political career of Frank Rizzo. Yet City Council President George Schwartz got things going by announcing that no testimony pertaining to the Mayor would be allowed. Rizzo was not the issue, Schwartz said. This was news to the several hundred passionate Rizzoites who

sat in the galleries with bumper stickers plastered to their foreheads, reading, "Rizzo - Four More Years". It was also news to the hundreds picketing outside demanding no third term for Mayor Rizzo.

There were only two kinds of witnesses at the hearings - those who supported Rizzo and thus favored the charter change, and those who opposed Rizzo and thus were against the change. Since no one was allowed to discuss the true basis of their attitude toward the amendments the testimony necessarily took on an air of unreality.

Witnesses on both sides of the issue sounded like they were giving a high school civics class lecture rather than presenting views on a very practical and immediate question.

## RIZZOITES POSE AS DEMOCRATS

The line of the pro-charter change forces soon became clear. "Let the people

decide" was their slogan. A whole series of witnesses argued that the people should have the right to elect anyone they want as often as they want. Furthermore, the Council had an obligation to let the people have their say on the Charter change by putting the question on the ballot in November.

This line of reasoning met with the approval of the Rizzo forces in Council who naturally want the Charter changed but want to obscure the fact that the revision is a Rizzo power grab. Council members who for a variety of reasons oppose the change but lack the political courage to come out against putting it on the ballot, also found a convenient out in these arguments.

With the exception of an occasional polite question from Republican Beatrice Chernock, the Rizzoite argument went unchallenged. The Rizzo opposition, such as it is, was either absent or silent. Joe Coleman and Ethel Allen figured this was a good time to go on vacation. Lucien Blackwell squirmed in his chair but kept his thoughts to himself. Cecil Moore, while voting against the Charter change going on the ballot, consistently argued the Rizzo line during the hearings.

The kid glove treatment for pro-Rizzo witnesses was in sharp contrast to the rough handling given to those who spoke against the Charter change. Francis Rafferty, the ex-prize fighter from Gray's Ferry, Earl Vann, the one Black apologist for Rizzo in Council, and Cecil Moore, the old civil rights war horse who seems to have lost his bearings, teamed up to organize this inquisition. Witnesses were badgered, harassed, insulted, and in one case physically expelled from the hearings.

## PUTTING WITNESSES ON TRIAL

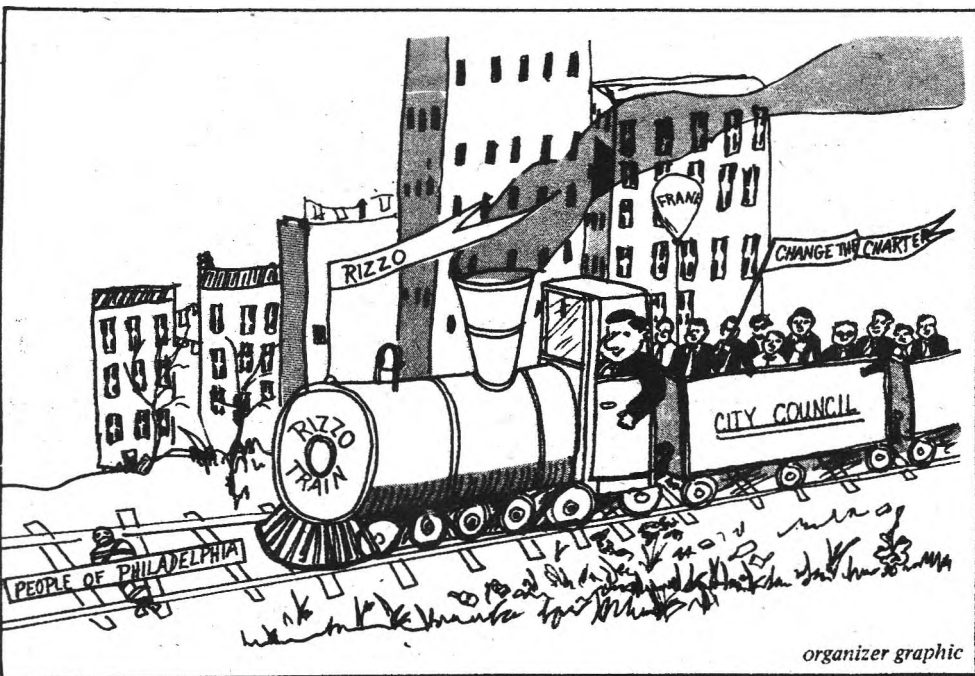
Things got rolling when a nervous young woman from the League of Women Voters got up to deliver the views of her organization. Simply put, the League opposes the revision because it tips the

balance of power in the city government too far in the direction of an already strong executive. Council's self-appointed truth squad ignored these arguments and centered in on the vital question of how many terms the LWV allows its president. When the flustered witness confessed that she wasn't sure what the policy was, Francis Rafferty blustered, "Who are you, coming here telling us what to do when you don't even know your own by-laws."

The same tack was used against Florence Cohen, speaking as President of the Ogontz Neighbors Association. Earl Vann thought he scored big when he got Mrs. Cohen to admit to having served several terms as president of the association. "I've discredited this witness", crowed Vann. Even George Schwartz was compelled to point out that discrediting the witnesses was not the purpose of the hearing.

Another tactic was to sound out the witnesses on their attitude toward their relatives. Florence Cohen was persistently asked whether or not she favored limiting the term of office for state representatives, since her son is a legislator in Harrisburg. Lenora Berson, testifying as chair of the Americans for Democratic Action, was quizzed as to what she thought of her husband, Norman Berson, also state representative, serving more than two terms. Both of these women were treated as appendages to the male members of their families rather than as important witnesses in their own right.

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# the po organization

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In response to the Charter change threat, the ADA and other liberal forces have formed the Committee to Protect the Charter (CPC). The CPC is basically an attempt to build the organization that was created in the 1976 recall campaign. The Recall Rizzo movement was a phenomenally successful grassroots effort which was able to gather over 220,000 signatures of voters willing to oust Rizzo. The recall movement drew its support from every area of the city and was particularly strong in Black and Hispanic neighborhoods.

Yet, the recall organization was best organized in the more affluent and traditionally liberal areas of Center City, West Philadelphia, the Northeast and the Northwest. The liberals were weakest in the predominantly working-class and poor neighborhoods of the city.

The Committee to Protect the Charter will be an important force in this election because of its past electoral experience and because it will be built upon the proven abilities of recall organizers.

The CPC, however, is handicapped by its political stance. Like the Charter Defense Committee, the CPC places emphasis on the good government issue with its slogan "Two Terms is Enough". Unlike the big business coalition, the CPC is explicitly opposing Rizzo, but this opposition is likely to be of a limited character. In the recall campaign the liberals emphasized corruption and mismanagement and shied away from hitting at the racist, anti-working class policies of the Rizzo administration. Given this political outlook, the CPC is unlikely to really mobilize the Black and Puerto Rican communities or win away support for Rizzo from among white working people.

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Rafferty's performance was rivaled by that of Cecil Moore. Moore attacked the character of almost every anti-change witness and pursued irrelevant lines of questioning. Significantly, Moore had no barbs to spare for pro-Rizzo witnesses. Moore saved his sharpest attack for Alfonso Deal, head of the NAACP action branch. Moore insisted on knowing why Deal had voted for Henry Wallace in 1948. He dragged out his own rivalry with Deal in the NAACP and challenged his right to speak for the organization.

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# the people: organization is the key to success

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the struggle in the trade unions and establish grassroots organization in the wards. There is a working agreement between the Stop Rizzo Coalition and the Committee to Protect the Charter to develop single committees and coordinators at the ward level to avoid confusion and duplication of effort.

The Stop Rizzo Coalition has been the most active so far, holding a demonstration at the City Council hearings, a city-wide mass meeting and launching local committees in Germantown, Kensington, and North and West Philadelphia. On this basis the coalition has attracted a sizeable number of volunteers and activists. Yet at this point the coalition has not gained the active involvement of many key organizations in the Black and Puerto Rican communities. It remains too narrow to effectively serve as the center of the movement. The Coalition's leadership realizes this and is making a concerted effort to broaden the Coalition.

Standing for the most part outside the various coalitions are the anti-Rizzo Black political leaders. Organized as the

Black Public Officials Association, they called the largest anti-Rizzo demonstration at City Hall on August 17th, and are organizing a voter registration drive. Of all the anti-Rizzo forces it is this grouping which commands the broadest influence, as the City Hall demonstration illustrated.

The forces in the Stop Rizzo Coalition and the more independent Black political leadership, such as Dave Richardson and Milton Street, share much common ground. Street's North Philadelphia Block Corporation has been active in the Stop Rizzo Coalition.

Over the next few months the SRC will concentrate its efforts on a voter registration drive, particularly in minority and poor communities. Through a variety of means, including demonstrations throughout the city, the coalition plans to educate voters about what Frank Rizzo has meant for Philadelphia. It, as well as the Committee to Protect the Charter, will organize ward by ward to get the voters to the polls.



organizer graphic

## rizzo's machine: a limosine or a clunker?

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Despite claims that the Charter change amendment is the spontaneous effort of civic-minded citizens throughout the city, the ADA study showed that 74% of the petitions were circulated by patronage workers and Democratic committee persons — the same old Rizzo crowd.

Who is in the Rizzo crowd and just how much kick do they have left? The Committee to Reform the Charter is now the primary organization which is directing the campaign to eliminate the two-term mayoral limit. It is being directed by Rizzo's good buddy, City Council member Al Pearlman, who is fast becoming the rising political star in Rizzo's camp. The number two man is Dominic Colosimo, the Democratic Party treasurer and the major weapons supplier for the police department.

Pearlman will be relying on the party machine to get the vote out on election day. Rizzo's machine includes those members of the Democratic City Committee who are loyal to him, hundreds of patronage workers, thousands of police and firemen, the support of some ethnic fraternal organizations and lodges, and backing from the leadership of the construction trades unions and a handful of other unions.

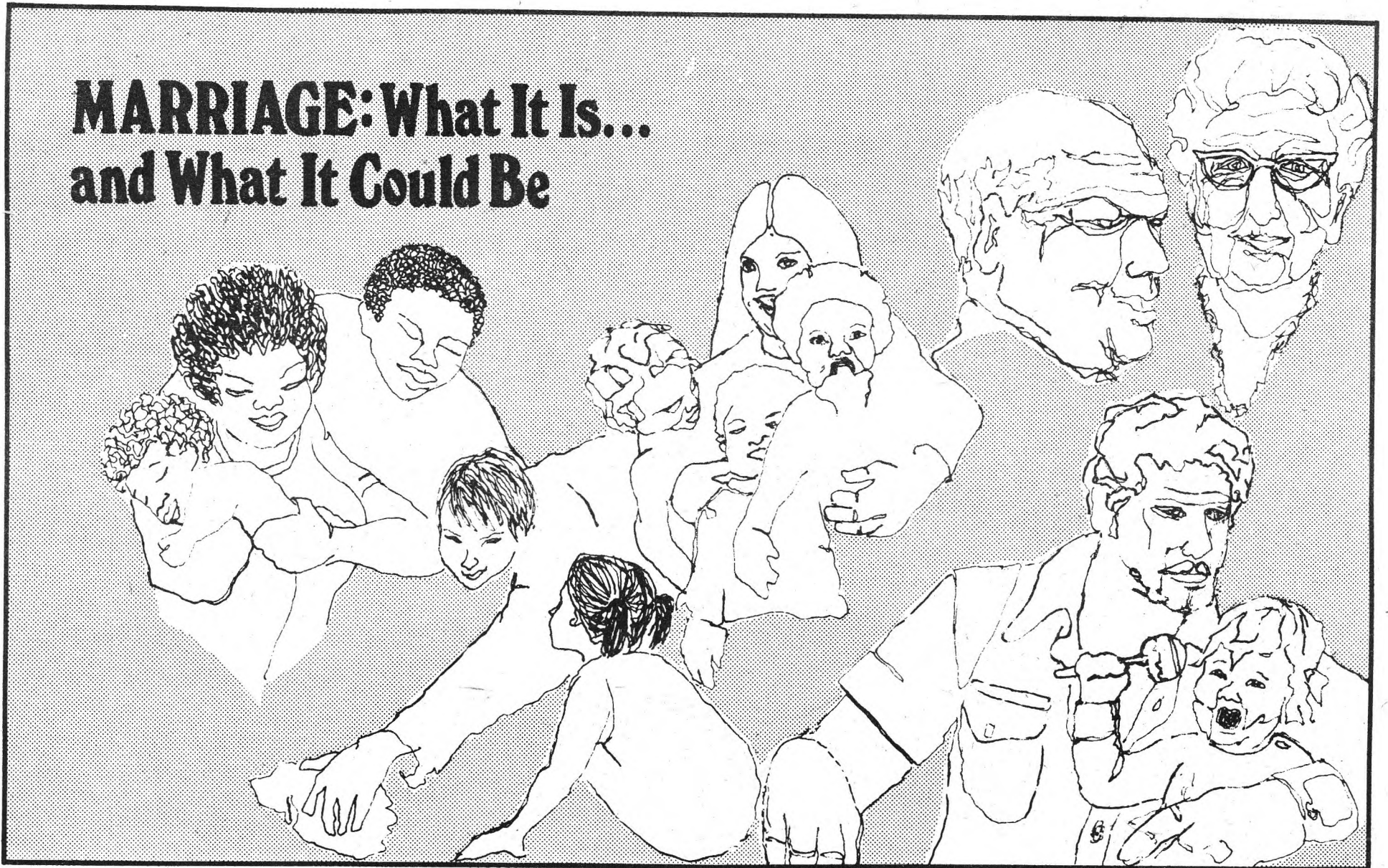
This "machine" is usually good for tens of thousands of votes just counting the family and friends of these Rizzo supporters. Thousands of votes are also routinely added by Democratic Party "miracle workers" — the dead come back to life to vote, the crippled walk again, and whole identities materialize from thin air. But can the "machine" produce enough votes to overcome the overwhelmingly anti-Rizzo sentiment of the voters?

You can bet that Rizzo will be giving this election his full attention, especially after the poor performance of the machine in the Controller and DA races a year ago. There will be plenty of arm-twisting to get the party regulars in line and out on the street on election day.

Yet the cracks are already beginning to show in Rizzo's organization. A number of past and present Rizzo supporters have their own ideas about taking Rizzo's job and they can't be counted on to give Frank their all on November 7. A group of six ward leaders in the Northwest has formed a Northwest Political Action Committee to register voters in opposition to the charter change. There are sure to be other defections as the movement to end Rizzo's reign gains momentum.

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# MARRIAGE: What It Is... and What It Could Be



by SARA MURPHY

*My niece just got married. She's only ten years younger than I am, but you'd think she was raised on another planet! Not only did she and Tom live together for two years without the benefit of clergy -- but now that she is married, she still wants to use her maiden name.*

*In my day I was proud to become a Mrs., but with these young women's libbers it's Ms. And her father, my brother, he was crushed when she said he wasn't to give her away at the ceremony. She wouldn't be given away like a cow, she says.*

*But I must say, the ceremony was nice. A little hippyish for my taste -- love, honor and obey was good enough for me -- but they wrote their own vows, and were very sincere about them. Really, there's no reason why the woman should promise to obey him, but not the other way around. It's pretty confusing -- I don't understand what they really want out of marriage these days.*

It is confusing. Today all kinds of attitudes about marriage exist in our society. Alongside the traditional church ceremonies, we hear about open marriage contracts. Young couples live openly together. Women become mothers when they're not married, and are perfectly unashamed of the fact.

While these situations are far from being the norm in our society, there is no doubt that there is a widespread and profound questioning of the traditional views of marriage. Is marriage old-fashioned? If so, does that mean that love and respect and intimacy are old-fashioned? Is marriage oppressive to women? If so, how do you explain that most women want it?

If there were no such thing as marriage, what would take its place? Does women's liberation mean doing away with marriage? Does communism mean doing away with marriage?

## TWO SIDES TO MARRIAGE

We live in a capitalist society, a society in which private ownership of the means of production and the exploitation of labor are the dominant facts of life. Capitalism has its own logic which influences all the institutions in society, often in ways that are not apparent on the surface. Marriage is no exception. A marriage is not simply a matter of the intentions of the participants. It will reflect the pressures of social and economic forces beyond the control of the individuals involved.

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There are many positive reasons why people choose to marry. Two people care deeply about each other and want to build a life together. They want the emotional satisfaction that can only come from a durable relationship that is based on a deep commitment. They want to raise children. In its best expression marriage represents a commitment to these aspirations. And many marriages succeed in realizing them to at least some degree. The best marriages provide stability and emotional support for both partners and for their children.

These positive aspects of marriage are real but they are not the whole story. To see only this positive side is to romanticize marriage, which is precisely what the capitalist controlled culture does -- we are all familiar with the "happy family" of the Dick and Jane reader we used in school, of countless TV shows from *Father Knows Best* to *Eight is Enough*, and thousands of commercials and ads which picture cheery Moms and Dads going about the business of doing the laundry, baking cakes and mopping the floors (with the cheery Mom doing most of the work).

This empty, sentimental view of the institution of marriage flies in the face of life as we know it. It contradicts the reality that 2 out of 5 marriages end in divorce and countless others that survive are filled with conflict and unhappiness.

**Marriage has an oppressive side, based on the social inequality between man and woman, an inequality symbolized by the marriage itself which calls only on the woman to "obey."** In its worst expression, marriage means isolating the woman in the home with little contact with the broader life of society. The woman is economically dependent on the man and this economic dependence means that she is in a poor position to insist that the decisions of family be made equally by husband and wife.

Typically she will assume the burden of housework and the lion share of the responsibility for raising the children, not out of choice or agreement between equals, but because she is powerless to do anything else. Over the years the woman is driven down, denied an opportunity to develop her own ability to contribute to society beyond the home, denied independence and the self-confidence that goes with it. The man and woman live separate, parallel lives. They grow apart with little to discuss at the breakfast table except the bills. She's the housekeeper, He's the breadwinner.

Marriage is supposed to be based on love and the desire to share a life together. This ideal conflicts with reality. There are powerful economic and social forces that push us toward the altar and act to keep us married afterwards, particularly for women.

A good education and a decent job are harder to come by if you're a woman. This is even more true for working class women and triply true for oppressed nationality women. These restricted options naturally act as a pressure to marry and stay married. Women who resist this pressure face the difficult task of surviving in jobs that are treated as "pin money" or a second income by the employers. Many are forced onto the welfare rolls. Thus, for most women, the decision not to marry or to leave a failed marriage is not an easy one. It is not a simple matter of Do I love him, or not.

Added to these economic pressures are the various stigmas that are attached to remaining single in this society -- the "unwed mother", the "old maid" and the "Mama's boy." Those of us who for whatever reason choose to remain single are made to feel incomplete, inferior or weird.

At the same time the economic realities of capitalist society generate pressures towards marriage, the logic of capitalism also tears marriages apart. Family life is in crisis because capitalism provides no basis for a stable marriage relationship.

The inequality within the home is a constant source of conflict and instability. For working class families, the simple business of trying to make ends meet, often with both husband and wife working, is a huge burden on the marriage.

Husbands and wives fight over money. *Where did the paycheck go? Why don't you work more overtime? Work less overtime? Can't you save more? Get a job. Get a better job. Don't get a job, because who will make sure the kids stay out of trouble?*

The Black family is the clearest victim of capitalism's assault on family life. While the Black people have struggled for a stable family life since the times of slavery, the racist economic forces of this society have torn the Black family apart. Today, one out of every three Black families is headed by a woman. Marriages break up because the man leaves to find work, because the welfare system won't support children if a man lives at home,

because poverty and drugs and alcohol take their toll, because the criminal justice system imprisons the poor while the rich rob us every day.

While the oppressive features of marriage fall most directly on women, this situation does not come about because men want to lord it over women and reduce their wives to an inferior position in the family. It is true that men are taught and constantly encouraged to keep their wives "in their place"... to "wear the pants" and generally maintain a dominant position in the family. Naturally, the prevalence of these ideas strengthens and reinforces inequality. But these ideas are not the root of the problem. They are themselves reflections of forces generated by capitalist society. And even when men are free of these ideas, the economics of capitalism promote inequality.

To understand this thoroughly we have to analyze the origins of the marriage institution.

## HOW MARRIAGE LAWS ORIGINATED

Thousands of years ago, in primitive societies, the people lived communally. In some parts of the world, it's only been a few hundred years since the old communal ways have broken up. In these primitive societies, everyone shared the wealth of their clan or tribe equally. Nobody owned property, nobody worked for anybody else, nobody was rich at the expense of their neighbor.

Marriage in the sense that we know it did not exist in these societies. Families were based on a complex system of descent through the mother. But within the clan were couples who lived together, had a stable relationship with one another, were equal members of their society, and had children together.

Men and women had different kinds of tasks, but one was not seen as inferior to the other. Caring for the children and the household was seen as equal to the men's work of hunting. However, as wealth built up and the communal society began to break up into class society, it was men who owned the newfound wealth. For it was not in the household that the wealth was to be gathered, but in the domestication of animals formerly hunted, and in the trading of animals not needed for food, and eventually in the capture of slaves.

It did not happen overnight, but over  
(continued on next page)

# WOMEN: Second Class Members of the UAW

by S. BUNTING

*Women have played an important role in the UAW (United Auto Workers) from the Flint Sit-Down in 1937 to the Essex strike in 1977. In most places and at most times, however, UAW women have been second class members, despite the UAW's official support for equality in employment. The UAW was weakest in support of its women members at the end of World War II, and the effects are still felt today.*

At the end of WWII, there was no question whether or not women could do traditional men's work; it was rather a question of whether they should do it. During the war, millions of women entered the factories. About 75% moved to industry from low-paying, traditional women's jobs, not from their kitchens, as myth has it.

Although big business employed women during the war, it did not want them to feel they were equal to men workers. The corporations knew quite well that there would not be enough jobs to go around once the war ended, so they laid the ground work for eliminating women, for sending them back to low paid "women's jobs", at the same time that they brought them into the factories. The last thing big business wanted after the war was a united movement of men and women for full employment, or demands for equal pay for "women's work."

Separate seniority lists were established, and men were given automatic seniority, even without previous employment at a company. Some jobs were classified "female" and others "male", with lower wage rates for "female". After the war, some were re-classified "male" to force out women workers. Black women were especially hurt, as their traditional employment was the lowest paying of all.

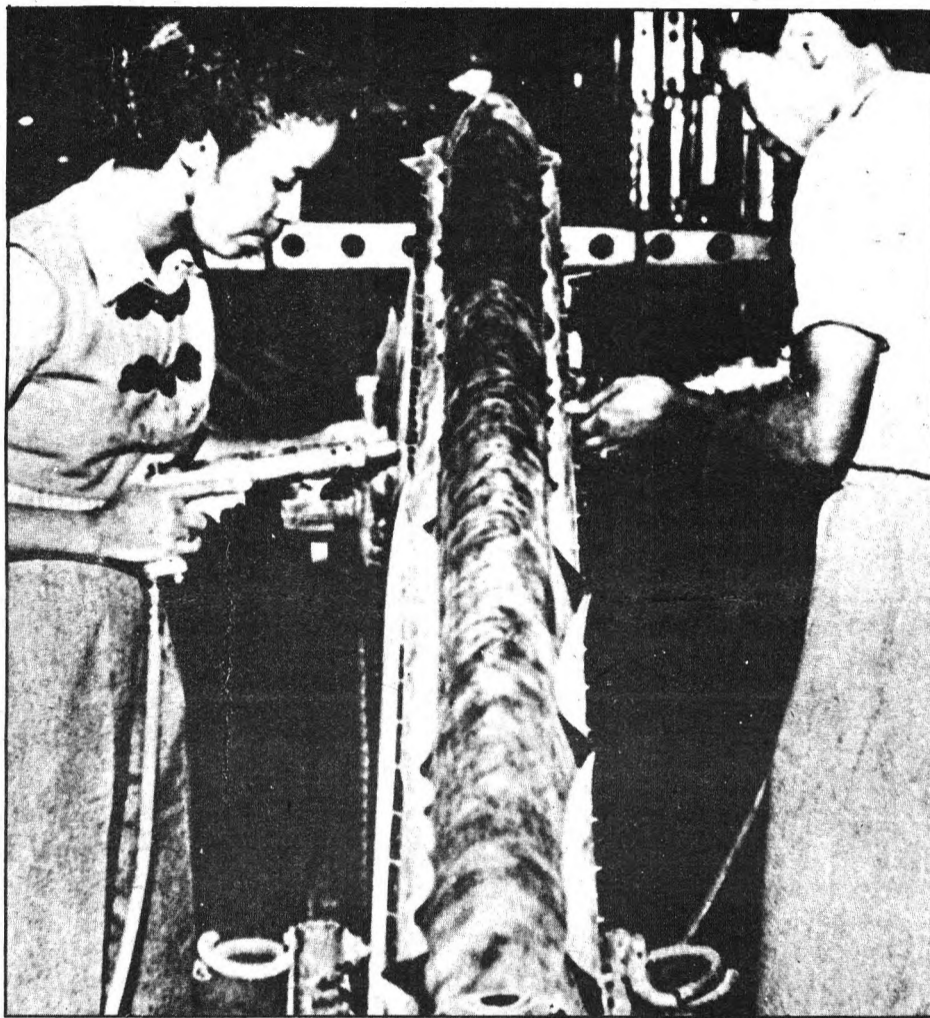
Daycare, funded by the government, not union contracts, ended in 1946 when the "war emergency" was over. This forced many women to leave their jobs. Almost three million left industrial employment in the post-war demobilization but 80% continued to work at low paying clerical and service jobs.

## UAW: PREACHING EQUALITY...

The UAW, with much of its membership in war industries, was about one-third women— between 300 and 400

thousand members. However, women never played the leadership role that their numbers would imply. There were two reasons for this— the lack of attention by the union to the special problems of women workers, including child care, transportation and the burden of a double role as homemaker and worker; and support for, or failure to oppose blatantly discriminatory practices by companies.

In 1944, the UAW organized a Women's Bureau as an investigative and advisory body to the International Executive Board. At the first conference of UAW women, the charge was made that: "... management is engaging in a vicious and deliberate campaign to induce women to quit by transferring them from one department to another, assigning women the least desirable jobs, and by an unceasing psychological drive to harass women out of the plants."



During WWII women moved from low-paying jobs into heavy industry where jobs were traditionally reserved for men. After the war women were driven out of these jobs and replaced by men. The UAW did not actively oppose this discrimination.

At the UAW Convention in 1946 in Atlantic City, a resolution entitled "Protection of Women's Rights in the Auto Industry" noted:

*"Whereas International Officers... and Local Union Officers... have in too many instances tolerated and even approved this discrimination in defiance of the mandates of our conventions and the principles of our Constitution; and... 'Whereas, as a result of this situation thousands of UAW-CIO women members, and especially our Negro women, are unemployed and have no prospects of a job,...."*

The resolution further called for maternity leave clauses, an end to separate seniority lists and increased attention to the status of women workers.

## .... PRACTICING DISCRIMINATION

A few examples of actual UAW practice show that the resolution and advice of the Women's Bureau were not vigorously supported by either the International or Local leadership.

— A 1944 contract with the Federal Mogul Corporation (which has since run away to the South and required massive, years-long organizing drive) stated:

*"There shall be separate seniority lists for men and women; provided that all female employees hired subsequent to July 1, 1942 shall be considered male replacements... their tenure of employment shall be limited to the duration of the war, or as soon as they can be replaced by former male employees or other male applicants."*

— In 1948, four women of Local 666 were assigned to a male job and given women's pay. Rather than process their grievance, filed within minutes of their assignment, the local suspended them for working the job at less than standard pay! A letter to International Secretary-Treasurer George Ades produced no results.

— In 1952, GM Local 206 passed a motion calling for the resignation of any woman employee who married. The International let the decision stand.

— In 1952, Hudson Motor Car Co. laid off eight women when their jobs were reclassified male. The Local Executive Board let the decision stand, and refused to discipline a Chief Steward accused by the women of sexual harassment.

The heritage of this practice in the UAW today is the lack of participation of women in the union. Low pay and benefits in the small parts sector, where companies like Essex and Federal Mogul employ thousands of women, undermine wage scales and job security throughout the industry. The fight for full employment is divided, because women's rights to work are not recognized.

Perhaps most important, because the union has not given full attention to the needs of women workers, they are not as interested in joining the union. "Organize the Unorganized" cannot be a real slogan without a commitment to first class union membership for women workers.

## Marriage

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the years a situation developed where some members of the community were rich, others impoverished. The poor were forced to work for the rich, who became richer. War and trade and slavery were instituted. Class society was born.

What does all this have to do with marriage? Marriage was born at the same time. Since the new wealth of the family was held in private by certain men, and not communally as before, there was a need for strict inheritance laws, so that these wealthy men could pass their property on to their sons. Marriage laws were instituted to insure these inheritance rights.

So, within the marriage relationship, the woman was dependent on the individual man for her living. She was subordinate to him in every way. Strict laws of chastity bound her, while the man could do whatever he pleased. The double standard was born, and so was the concept of "legitimate" and "illegitimate" children — those born of the marriage were the legal heirs, others were outcasts with no claim to the family or its property.

In this new institution of marriage, the wife was little more than a piece of property. In ancient Rome, for example,

a "patriarch" or father, had the power of life and death over his wife, children and other slaves. In fact, the modern word "family" originates from "familus" the Latin word for "slave" — the original family being a "household of slaves" under the rule of the father or "patriarch."

Surely the status of women and the institution of marriage have come a long way from this ancient time. However, we still have with us many of the aspects of the "patriarchal family." We too, live in a class society and the laws, including the marriage laws, are based on a system of private ownership.

Capitalism requires and thus perpetuates marriage based on inequality. The capitalist class wants free labor in the home to raise up a new generation of workers. It wants women in a dependent position in the home in order to utilize them as a reserve army of labor, compelled to work for lower wages. The position of women in marriage and the economic forces that undermine family life are not "natural" or inevitable. They are the product of a definite social system and will disappear with it.

## MARRIAGE AND SOCIALISM

This points in the direction of the

solution. It is not a matter of getting rid of marriage.

Marriage can be and in many instances is a source of strength and fulfillment even in the present society. There may be more "ideal" forms of human relationships, but this is a matter of remote speculation that has little to do with the aspirations of the present generation of humanity.

The task is not to throw out marriage and the family, but to eliminate its oppressive features and strengthen its positive side. The marriage institution must be democratized. The inequality between man and woman within marriage and the economic compulsions that this inequality rest on must be removed. Marriage must become a free union between two equals.

Many of the struggles in our society today have real bearing on the character of marriage. Any victory for women's equality, whether it be opening up job opportunities, winning equal pay for equal work or affirmative action in education, puts women in a stronger position in relation to marriage. It means that women have more independence and thus are under less pressure to marry or stay

married because of economic compulsion.

The struggle for publically supported, readily available childcare, for more progressive laws, for the right to abortion... all these and other reforms are steps toward freeing marriage of its sexist features.

At the same time, as long as capitalism exists, the forces that make for unequal marriages and destroy family life will continue to wreak havoc. Only the abolition of capitalism and the construction of a socialist society can provide a real and durable foundation for marriage based on freedom and equality. Only with socialism can family life develop free of the destructive influence of poverty, racism and male supremacy.

It is no accident that generally speaking, in socialist societies where there is not the economic compulsion to marry and divorce is easy to obtain, the actual number of broken marriages is far fewer than in capitalist societies. Freedom to choose and conditions that maximize the chances of a marriage working out go hand in hand.

While socialism represents a step forward, it is not some paradise free of

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# A New Round in the Arms Race . . .

## Are the Russians Coming ?

by JENNY QUINN

The recent wave of cold war fever has brought the question of "Are the Russians going to get us?" back out of the closet. The word "detente" hardly ever comes up any more, phrases like "playing the China Card" do. The old "military spending equals jobs" line has been pulled out again, and right-wingers like California's Jarvis are bandstanding for cutting all non-defense spending to the bone. Military spending, we are told, is more important than education and health services. Why? Because of course, the Russians are coming.

Finding out where the truth lies on US/Soviet military capabilities is no easy task. For example, Les Aspen, a Democrat from Wisconsin, complained that "Official intelligence estimates of Soviet ship production have been grossly inaccurate, misleading both the executive branch and Congress about the extent of the threat that our ship-building program must counter."

After doing a detailed study, he said that Pentagon projections on what the Soviets were doing with their navy "over-estimated their capacities a good 57% of the time. We are being asked to spend billions on real ships to counter Russian ghost ships-- a vast red fleet that sails only in the Pentagon's filing cabinets."

Aspen said that the only area in which Pentagon data was accurate was on the production of Soviet diesel submarines -- something that the US hasn't built

in years. The diesel example takes us to the heart-of the misinformation we are fed about the Soviets and the logic that lies behind it. If the only accurate information a congressman can get about Soviet military build-up is on an item that companies here are not planning to produce, then it logically follows that misinformation comes from folks with an economic interest in building military hardware.

The billions spent on studies of new technology and on lobbying in Washington by the major military producers isn't for nothing. Boeing, Lockheed, Dow Chemical, Rockwell International, GE and others all have a stake in selling their goods to the various branches of the US military. Admiral Hyman J. Ricover of the US Navy once said that "the great difficulty in doing business is that most of the top officials come from industry. And they naturally have an industrial viewpoint."

### AN "INDUSTRIAL VIEWPOINT"

An "industrial viewpoint" means profits first. As the cases of Chile, Iran and the Phillipines show, moral principles have little to do with whom the US weapons dealers do business. Patriotism and the "national interest" take a back seat when there is money to be made. General Electric was not above peddling goods to Adolph Hitler's war machine. The profit drive even transcends the logic of the cold war. Boeing and Lockheed have both applied to the US government for export licenses to sell their hardware to the Soviet Union. The Bank of America has pres-



In 1977 the US government spent \$1,424 per household on military expenditures and \$31 per household on health research.

sured for extended rights to loan money to the USSR because of their "excellent credit record in recent years."

When we look at the matter from the vantage point of the capitalist class as

a whole, as opposed to that of a particular firm, political as well as economic considerations come to the fore.

Other forms of economic agreements with foreign countries are closely tied to military support. Zaire's dictator Mobutu for example, stays in power on the strength of his military support from the US and other western powers, but he also relies on the steady supply of technology and consumer goods exported from these same countries. So it stands to reason that US companies which export non-military items, along with companies with investments in foreign factories, mines and businesses, would also stand to benefit from US military "insurance."

On the political front, there is the basic question of containing communism and halting national liberation movements. The USSR has supported liberation struggles, Vietnam and Angola being the most famous examples. In both cases, right-wing politicians in the US have been more outspoken against the USSR as a supporter of these movements in Asia and Africa than they have condemned it as a nuclear threat. Goldwater's willingness to spark a nuclear war over Vietnam a few years ago showed where his priorities lay.

A third factor in the renewed cold war is what Brezinski calls "the China card." The Carter administration seemed to be split a few months ago between advisors who favored a more open relationship with the Soviet Union while others thought that the time was really ripe to exploit the differences between China and the Soviet Union. Ever since China began openly declaring that the Soviet Union was the main enemy of the world's people, it seemed logical that the time would come for more open relations between China and the US on military affairs as well as on cultural and trade agreements.

Nixon's visit to China in 1972 began a process which has led us to the current position of the US government being "soft on China" in order to take a harder line against the Soviet Union in order to weaken it. Hostilities between socialist China and the USSR give the US greater maneuverability in big power politics--and what better way to make a test of US strength than on its right to maintain the number one position in the nuclear arms race?

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## Military Spending in Philadelphia

One of the most commonly held myths around is that military spending equals jobs and that war is good for the economy. Philadelphians have particular reasons to shake off this myth. Military spending-- from direct government expenditures to military contracts at GE and other companies has increased steadily over the years. At the same time, a combination of big layoffs when projects were over, and a greater swing to the types of military spending which mean big profits for GE but very few jobs, add up to a situation in which increased military spending has gone hand in hand with

a lower proportion of jobs per dollar each year.

There are two factors that make jobs which are based on military spending unlikely to be secure. One is that a better deal for the government in another city has meant rapid layoffs, and another is that directs US projects, like the Frankfort Arsenal, have caved in after each war the US has been involved in.

Recently, some progressive anti-military groups and unions have pushed for conversion--turning defunct military in-

stallations to civilian use. As this paper goes to press, a conversion plan for the Frankfort Arsenal has been announced, but this is yet to be seen what this will really look like.

A recent booklet by Robert K. Musil called *The Pentagon in Philadelphia* has a lot of interesting information on just what companies are up to what in Philly. It is available from-- SANE, 1411 Walnut St., Phila., PA 19102, at \$1.50.

The following chart is reprinted from that booklet:

### Major Military Contracts, Philadelphia, 1977

<b>General Electric Co.</b>	— \$77,345,070.	— Research and Development for Mark 12A Re-entry Vehicle.
	— \$12,822,000.	— for Missile Part for LGM-30 Minuteman.
	— \$2,679,279.	— Design Analysis and Fabrication of Acoustic Sensors for use in Advanced Ballistic Re-entry System Program.
	— \$ 141,818.	— for USA Ballistic Missile Defense System Command.

(This is a partial listing of GE contracts.)

**University of Pennsylvania** — \$860,230. — for 15 separate contracts.

**University City Science Center**  
— \$55,000 — Human Behavior Research

**Action Manufacturing Co.**  
— \$10,704,500. — For Ballistic Drives for M48/M60 Tanks to be shipped to a "classified country."

**Franklin Institute** — \$21,000. — For "Full Scale Development" of unspecified article.

**Boeing Co.**  
— \$3,504,178. — For "qualification of Fiberglass Rotor Blades for CH-47D Helicopter."  
— \$1,123,039. — For "Retrofit Logistic Support Requirements."

Source: DMS Contract Quarterly, Greenwich, CT.

# Health Care in the People's Republic . . .

## The Barefoot Doctors of China

by STEVE SHINSKI

Medical care in the US is a billion dollar industry, a big business motivated by the pursuit of profits. In the US the medical profession is an elite fraternity. It is the highest paid profession and insures that it will remain so by restricting the numbers of doctors that come out of the medical schools. They mystify medicine to keep the masses of people ignorant of its workings. For the most part, patients are merely a commodity to be traded in, a fee to be deposited in the bank or a payment on a \$100,000 house on the Main Line. Medical care is expensive and purposefully so—the collusion between the medical profession and the drug industry is responsible for the rapid inflation in medical costs. It is capitalism in one of its uglier faces—where often life or death is dependent on whether or not the people can afford the fee.

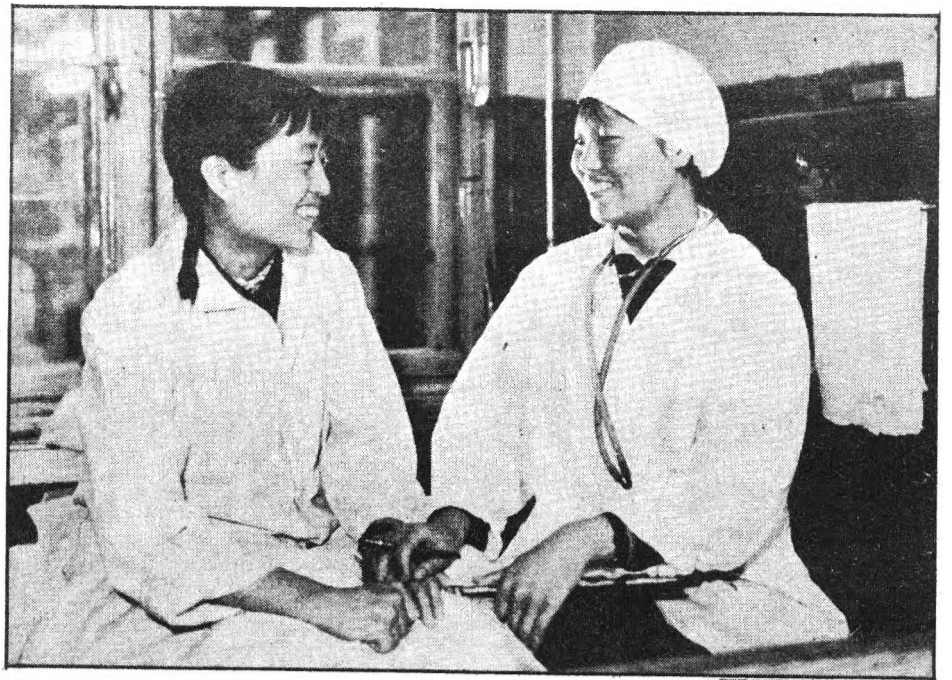
But there is another side to medical care, the experience of the socialist countries, which is largely ignored by the medical industry and capitalist media.

### CHINA— BEFORE AND AFTER LIBERATION

The People's Republic of China is the largest country in the world with a popu-

lation of over 800 million people. Thirty years ago there was no health care to speak of for the masses of workers and peasants in China. Health care was available only to the wealthy. The effects of this lack of medical care can be seen from this observation by a Canadian who lived in pre-liberation Shanghai and who, returning to China in 1965 remarked: "I searched for scurvy headed children, lice-ridden children, children with inflamed red eyes, with bleeding gums. I looked for children covered with horrible sores upon which flies feasted... for children having a bowel movement, which after much strain, would only eject tapeworms." He searched without finding. In socialist China these unhealthy conditions are non-existent today. How has this come about?

In 1950, after liberation, the first National Health congress established four principles to guide their work. Health care should serve the workers and peasants. The main emphasis should be on preventative medicine. Conduct mass campaigns to involve all the people in combatting poor health. Unite traditional and western medicine.



Free, quality health care is available to all the people of China. The main emphasis is on preventative medicine.

With health care in the countryside lagging behind that in the cities and a lack of doctors to meet the needs of all the people, the Chinese began to train the peasants themselves to deliver health care and, at the same time participate in production. These health workers became known as "barefoot doctors."

Before we get misled by this term we should understand that in Chinese barefoot emphasizes that the person is a peasant, which in China is not a degrading term and does not mean that the person has no shoes. The Chinese describe a barefoot doctor as "a peasant who has had basic medical training and gives treatment without leaving productive work. They get the name because in the South peasants work barefooted in the rice paddies.

### PEOPLE'S DOCTORS

The barefoot doctors are agricultural workers first, and medical workers second. A barefoot doctor trainee is chosen by the people who they will serve. Political outlook, commitment to serve the people and the desire to care for others determine who will be chosen. The training period is usually for a three to four month period and is similar to that of a physician's assistant in the US. They are trained in a hospital, doing both theoretical and practical work, followed by on-the-job training and guidance. Trainees then spend one day a week to one day a month working with doctors in the commune health center and hospital.

The barefoot doctors are responsible for a great many things in the day to day health care in their area. They have responsibility for environmental sanitation, health education, immunizations, first aid and post-illness followup. They direct campaigns against flies, cockroaches, fleas and other pests. They handle medical emergencies in the fields where they work, and along with the health workers who assist them, dispense medications for headaches, colds and fever, and apply dressings to minor injuries.

The knowledge of barefoot doctors of the medications they deal with is remarkably detailed and comparable to any doctors'. They educate commune members in family planning and provide them with contraceptives. There are midwives who have similar training and hold equal status. They provide pre-natal care and health education and do normal delivery of babies. They also specialize in birth control and give special emphasis to this area.

### THE COMMUNE AND COUNTY HOSPITALS

The duties and responsibilities of the barefoot doctors do not operate in a vacuum of medical care. They are a part of an overall health care plan for all of China. They work in cooperation with local clinics and hospitals all over China. There are over one million "barefoot doctors" active in China today providing health care on a day to day basis. They work within a multi-level system of health care in every stage of community organization.

A group of barefoot doctors may tend to the needs of a few thousand members of a commune brigade backed up by mobile medical teams of doctors and nurses. They are then hooked into the local health clinic with a fairly complete staff. These clinics refer their patients to the commune hospitals. The commune hospitals average about 30 beds. The Ma Chiao Commune outside Shanghai has a 30 bed hospital to serve its 35,000 members. The China-Rumania Friendship people's commune also has a 30 bed hospital with a staff of 59, who incidentally do all the cleaning collectively to serve 46,000 commune members.

They provide a practically complete range of medical care from surgery to radiology and internal medicine with its own factory that produces medicines and a supply service. The commune hospitals are in turn served by the county hospitals. Each of China's 2,000 or so counties has a well equipped and staffed general hospital with from 100 to 300 beds and trained graduates of medical and pharmaceutical schools.

### PEOPLE VS. PROFITS

While the health care system in China may not be as advanced technologically as in the US, they have made tremendous strides towards establishing a modern health care system. China has shown that when the welfare of the people is given top priority, there are no obstacles that cannot be overcome. The emphasis on preventative medicine and primary health care has turned China from what was known as "The sick man of Asia" into a healthy and productive society. Quality health care is accessible to all at a minimal cost; there is no crisis in health care costs and no one would ever be denied needed health care services for lack of payment.

For workers and poor people here in the US it is important to understand the differences between China and the US. If we were to compare the technology of medicine in the two countries, we would be missing the point, for having the technology does not mean having access to it. In China, the main concern is to deliver quality health care services to all. They do not close hospitals like PGH, because there is no money to keep it open.

Health care is provided in the rural areas on a wide scale because it is needed there—in the US it is not profitable for doctors and medical institutions to locate in the countryside on the level it is needed, so people have to travel great distances to get medical care. In China there is a conscious policy to involve everyone possible in gaining the knowledge necessary to maintain good health. There is no aura of mystery surrounding health care, no limiting of medical knowledge to a professional elite.

In just 29 years, China has transformed its medical system from one that served mainly the rich capitalists and landowners to one where service to the people is an everyday reality. Through socialism and working class determination China has become an example to the people of the world of how health care can be a right and not a privilege.



The Chinese combine traditional and western medicine. Above, an instructor explains the use of an herbal anesthetic to a class of barefoot doctors.



# Myths about Africa

## Can Africans Govern Themselves?

by S. BUNTING

A recent conference in Brussels of international bankers and diplomats with officials of the government of Zaire gave the bankers as much control over the economy of Zaire as Danny Ozark has over the Phillies line-up. While the western powers involved officially deny that Zaire's independence has been compromised, more openly racist and right-wing politicians are using the conference another way. They interpret it to back up another of their oldest myths — that Africans cannot govern themselves, and need European, that is, white, guidance.

South Africa, its supporters in this country, and American corporations with vested interests in Africa never tire of pointing out examples of African incompetence — the corrupt dictatorships of Amin and Mobutu, the starvation and lack of development in west and central African states, the enormous foreign debt of most countries, the frequent coups and assassinations, and the internal wars.

If you listened only to their description, you might be tempted to agree and also agree to their solution — that western diplomats and western corporations manage their economies to get them back on their feet.

### WHO IS RESPONSIBLE?

The catch is, of course, that it was the imperialist governments which put those countries in the hole to begin with, and that when a coup overturns a government that has set its sites on economic independence from the US, France, or Britain, you can bet the CIA had a hand in it.

During the colonial period, African economies were crippled and made completely dependent on those of the colonial powers. (See article in the June *Organizer*) Since the fifties, however, many African countries have made strong attempts to develop their economies, improve their standards of living, and to end their dependence on, and exploitation by, their former colonial masters.

While the imperialists may lament the corruption of a neo-colonial regime which requires massive western loans and investment to keep it afloat, these are the governments which produce profit and which are supported politically and diplomatically. Those states which seek genuine independence and development are, on the other hand, attacked and destroyed if possible. It is precisely examples of successful, honest, independent development which frighten the policy-makers of Washington, London and Paris.

Let's look at a few examples. The first African country to gain independence after World War 2 was Ghana, formerly the British Gold Coast, in 1957. Headed by Kwame Nkrumah, one of the first practical advocates of Pan-Africanism, Ghana sought to develop along socialist lines, freeing its economy from British control.

While laying the foundation for industrialization internally, Ghana also spoke out internationally. Nkrumah was outspoken in opposition to the US aggression in Vietnam.

In 1966, while Nkrumah was on a state visit to China, police and army units, advised by British agents, seized power. They appealed to those bureaucrats who had had privileges under colonialism for support. Thus Africa's most progressive country at that time, an



initiator of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) was turned back towards colonialism.

Ghana's current military leadership has led it to economic chaos and political instability.

In 1960 France gave independence to all of its African colonies and offered the opportunity to remain within the "Franc zone" a special currency and customs union. This severely compromised the independence of these countries, and allowed the colonial administrations to become on paper the sovereign governments. French troops remained stationed in these countries to protect both French and African elite interests.

As a result, the conditions of the masses of people in French West Africa have changed little. The former French colonies also make up a conservative bloc, with the Ivory Coast and Senegal leading the way to collaboration with South Africa, support for Morocco's aggression against the Sahara, and in opposition to the People's Republic of Angola.

### GUINEA REJECTS NEO-COLONIALISM

Only one former colony, the Republic of Guinea, rejected the "Franc zone" in favor of economic independence ra-

ther than simply a new flag. It found itself the victim of a blockade as tight as the one the US put on Cuba.

Although Guinea has not made the economic strides it hoped for, the better distribution of wealth prevented the mass starvation due to drought which plagued its neighbors, it has been a staunch ally of the liberation struggle in southern Africa, and there are no French troops on its soil.

While Guinea, like Angola, is often attacked in the western press as a one-party state, Senegal, the Ivory Coast, Sierra Leone and many others have only one party each — and they are parties of the elite, not of the people, as in Guinea and Angola.

"Zaire in Crisis", in the July *Organizer*, explained how Zaire was "rescued" from its anti-imperialist, popularly elected leaders and turned over to the puppet Mobutu by the CIA and Belgium. The clearest example of tooth and nail opposition of the West to genuine independence in Africa is the opposition to the independence of Angola and Mozambique.

In Angola, the US continues indirect support for the FNLA and Unita, anti-government terrorists with close ties to Mobutu and South Africa, despite the massive achievements of Angola in economic reconstruction, food distribution, education and health care.

Angola celebrated its first anniversary, in November 1977, by noting the establishment of 17 medical schools, the vaccination of 1.35 million children against polio, and the new enrollment of one million children in primary school.

The US is not impressed that this is responsible government. Mobutu, who can match none of these accomplishments after 13 years of despotism, continues to receive massive aid.

Mozambique has made even greater strides in health care and education, with the entire country immunized against polio and smallpox. Both former colonies have democratic governments, with elected councils from the village to the national level. All these gains, furthermore, have been made in the face of continuing aggression by Rhodesian and South African troops and terrorists, and in addition to providing support for tens of thousands of refugees from South Africa, Rhodesia, Namibia and Zaire.

That the US does not consider this "responsible government" can only be for one reason. It is responsible enough to the peoples of Angola and Mozambique to forbid their exploitation by US capital. Competence in government, in imperialist language, means paying off bank loans (and taking out new ones!) not meeting the needs of African peoples.



The people of Mozambique participate in the government of their country. Above, a political meeting in the spring of 1975. Samora Machel, the President of Mozambique, is seated center, without glass.

# Letter on Silber - Newlin Debate

The following letter comes from a Guardian sustainer and was sent to both the Guardian and the Organizer. We are printing it as a contribution to a principled clarification of our differences with the Guardian on party-building.

Comrade Silber's performance in the recent debate with Comrade Newlin on party-building tasks at least had the merit of clearing up what the Guardian had previously left murky-- where it stands on the next steps in party-building.

First, on the question of the main danger to party-building, Silber downplayed the struggle against the "left" opportunist line in our tendency, and made the critique of "right economism," and the "fusion strategy" our primary task.

But the fusion approach is the only real safeguard we have against the predominant "leftism" of the new communist movement, and without this perspective, groups like the Guardian Clubs, the Tuscon Marxist-Leninist Collective (TMLC), and the Proletarian Unity League (PUL) have all been unable to break thoroughly with "leftism" on building line. That the Guardian continues to put forward a voluntarist formulation on the process of building the new communist party-- leaving their position at "political line is primary"-- demonstrates as clearly as anything else the danger of directing our main blows against "rightism" in a period whose central character is that we have not yet dealt fully with the manifestations or sources of ultra-"leftism", the isolation of theory from practice and the petty-bourgeois character of our forces and much of our activity.

Second, Silber is guilty of sloganeering-- the manipulation of contentless abstractions. He failed even to make a gesture at explaining what is meant by such phrases as "political line is primary" or "theoretical work is primary."

The practical results of this are twofold: I and many of my comrades had great difficulty following Silber's train of thought and found him piling vague gen-

eralities on top of one another. By the end of his speech, some of his points were obscure and we were not sure by what reasoning he had arrived at others. At the extreme, Silber tends toward demagoguery, making rhetorical flourishes as though he had vanquished his opponent by raising his voice and using important sounding phrases.

## SILBER PROVIDES NO PLAN

Silber's comments presented no plan which would point to the resolution of concrete problems in such a way as to give us guidance on where to go next, other than to say that the Guardian would not be a part of the Organizing Committee for the Ideological Center, and thus objectively opposing strengthening the only common forum for carrying on ideological debate amongst all our forces. The Ideological Center strategy is correct precisely because it is the only means we have for the construction and verification of political line for our movement. Silber apparently believes that we need no plan to centralize and guide the ideological struggle over line.

By omitting clear strategic thinking on this score, he proposes that we continue to debate line questions from the current basis-- the partial, subjective experiences of several localities and national currents. Silber's outlook insures that we will continue to take up questions haphazardly, divorced from the needs of the class struggle and without any means of focusing on the most pressing problems for theoretical clarification. The repeated invocation, the near chanting of the need for "a correct general political line" cannot exorcize the necessity for pointing out the best means to struggle for such.

Third, Silber continues to evade the matter of where a correct political line comes from. By implication, he makes the discussion among revolutionary theoreticians sufficient on their own to establish a correct orientation for the struggle of the working class against capitalism. In fact, he denies that practical work and especially the process of winning the

advanced elements in the mass movements to communism play any role in party-building now. We must wait, he says, until a correct political line drops full-blown from the skies and the party forms around this line.

In a nutshell, Silber mechanically separates theory from practice. He does not oppose the involvement of Marxist-Leninists in the spontaneous mass movements, as some comrades have charged. Silber is right that this charge is preposterous. He "merely" says that, on the particular task of party-building, practice now has no special significance. In Silber's logic, theoretical work to develop general political line must be lifted out of the context of the class struggle, lest we make economist errors! He does not say "stop practice" (although he says that for two years it must take a back seat). Nevertheless, he makes a voluntarist case by relating theory and practice in an idealist manner. "Theoretical work", he argues, is the key link to party-building in the present period; practical work does not cease but it plays no role in party-building. This approach is an affront to materialists; it sunders the dialectical interconnection between theory and practice. In every kind of period, party-building must express a particular unity of theory and practice. We cannot be idealists in the pre-party period and materialists when we have built a party.

## MATERIALISM VS. IDEALISM

In slandering the fusion perspective as aiming simply at the integration of communists into spontaneous economist struggles, Silber shows that his idealism blinds him to the necessity for formulating an answer to the problem of where correct line comes from. Fusion directs our theoretical work in such a manner that we take up questions so as to win a real vanguard position as the essence of party-building; it points to unity among Marxist-Leninists around a political line that guides the US working class in its struggle against monopoly capitalism. In opposition to this profound practical and materialist perspective, Silber informs us that we can proceed without any means

of verifying our theoretical productions and tells us that Marxist-Leninists can unite around the spontaneous strivings of revolutionary ideologists, around the ideas we hold in our skulls, no matter what their relation to the struggle of the working class.

Newlin is right to point out that a failure to grasp fusion as the heart of party-building leads to either economism or "left" idealism. Silber has fallen into the latter trap, proposing that our forces struggle for a correct general political line without any forms or mechanisms to place this struggle in the context of the overall class struggle and the building of a material force for revolution in the US, without a theoretical summing-up and condensation of the practice of our movement.

Silber seems to think that the PWOC caters to prejudices against intellectual and theoretical work. Nothing could be further from the mark. Large sections of our tendency have united around the Ideological Center proposal precisely because it is a plan to make our ideologists begin to occupy a vanguard role in the class struggle, to develop advanced workers into revolutionary intellectuals, and to cement the unity of the advanced and communism, giving the class struggle scientific guidance. However, a prejudice against idealism and dogmatism is a healthy thing. To the degree that the Guardian remains mired in the defense of theory in the abstract, to the extent that the Guardian defends voluntarism and the interests of intellectuals not connected to the working class struggle-- to that degree the Guardian does provoke suspicions among the forces seeking to build a com-

munist vanguard party by fusing revolutionary theory and the class struggle. The Guardian's line of abstention from the Ideological Center based on an idealist view of theory and a call for struggle against rightism in our tendency places it in objective unity with forces like TMLC and compromises its ability to contribute as it might to the common theoretical struggle to develop a full application of Marxism-Leninism to the US as the basis for our political line.

## Arms Race

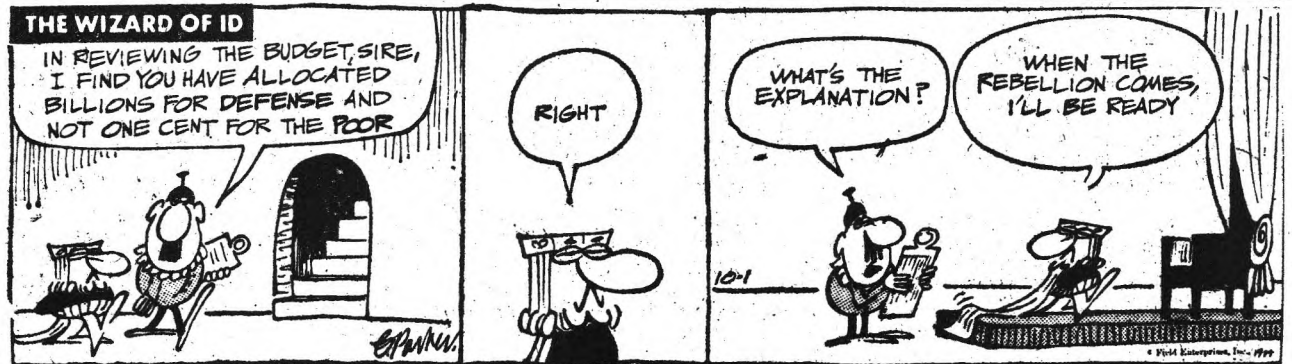
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But what about the other side of the coin? Is the Soviet Union really building up its military at the rate of Nazi Germany in the thirties as many Pentagon officials claim? Congressman Aspen spoke to this question too. He seems to be a man for detailed studies, and his comparison of Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union today was one of the most detailed. He showed that while the Nazis had skyrocket proportions in the growth of their military, the Soviet Union has been very steady in the proportion of its budget used for military development over the past several years. They have a large budget, but it hasn't increased dramatically at all.

Just as in the US, the daily lives of average working people are hurt by a high military budget. When it comes right down to it, social services and military budgets compete in both societies. But



Man does not live by bread alone



both the mechanics of the relationships and the historical reasons behind military build-up in the two societies are very different.

## MILITARY SPENDING HERE AND THERE

In the capitalist economy of the US military spending is a means of promoting economic stability. Ever since the depression years of the 1930's the US economy has been like a junkie, more and more dependent on the "fix" of military production. Since war production fuels inflation and causes economic dislocations of all kinds, this "stability" has carried a steep price tag for the working class.

Furthermore, to survive, US capital must constantly expand its markets and must dominate the economic life of other, less powerful countries. The economic logic of imperialism leads to the necessity of a big military machine. In short, while military spending and the threat of war are burdens for the US people, the US rulers cannot afford peace and disarmament.

By way of contrast the Soviet Union has a planned economy that does not

depend on military production to maintain full employment and economic growth. While the Soviet equivalent of the Pentagon undoubtedly fights for its share of the budget, there is no built-in logic to the Soviet economy that requires ever expanding military spending. The civilian leadership of the USSR is hampered in its ability to satisfy the demand of the Soviet people for a higher standard of living by a big military budget, and needs an arms agreement to shore up its political position.

Secondly, Soviet entry into the nuclear arms race was a response to the US government's launching of the Cold War and it's use of nuclear blackmail. After World War II the US maintained it's monopoly on the A-Bomb and proclaimed its intention to roll back communism in Eastern Europe and Asia.

It was not for purposes of aggression, but to defend Soviet interests that the USSR turned feverishly to the development of its own nuclear arsenal. Later US planners pushed for a "first strike capability", that is the capacity to wipe the Soviets out in one fell swoop, destroying their ability to retaliate. This move prompted another spiral in the arms race.

## SOVIET BIG POWER PLAYS

In recent years the Soviet Union has undergone a significant change. Once the defender of progressive forces all over the world, the Soviet Union has become a Big Power that manipulates and bullies smaller countries, that assert their independence. The 1968 invasion of Czechoslovakia exposed this side of the USSR to the whole world.

Still, these instances of Soviet aggression and manipulation remain in an overall context of countering the aggression of the US and its attempts to strengthen counter-revolution, reaction and neo-colonialism throughout the world.

What has come to be called Soviet "hegemonism" is a violation of working class internationalism and a real danger to the independence of the peoples in the orbit of Soviet influence. But it is not a danger on the par of US imperialism. By raising the bogey of "Russian military superiority" and Soviet aggression, the Pentagon crowd is trying to hoodwink the US people into supporting further arms expenditures and US aggression abroad. We can't afford to be taken in.

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# from the other side of the wall



The following article was submitted to the Organizer by a prisoner at San Luis Obispo penitentiary in California.

California... the Golden State, or is it the land of fruits and nuts? Recent maneuvers by the right-wing, neo-fascist legislature would certainly lead one to believe the latter.

For the past 60 years California has used the Indeterminate Sentence to send alleged malfactors to its numerous prisons. That is one thing the state is not lacking... prisons.

A good example of the Indeterminate Sentence is a second degree burglary conviction. A person convicted of this crime is sentenced to prison for "One year to life" and the actual term to be served is determined by California's Parole Board, which is collectively known as the "Adult Authority."

In actual practice, this group of nine men— ex-policemen mostly, and each one to the right of Atilla the Hun— let a person go only when he has kissed the required number of official asses. If a man, or woman, does not "program", as the ass kissing is politely called, he could very well be kept in prison for the rest of his life.

## SENTENCE REFORM?

In September, 1976, a bill to end the Indeterminate Sentence was finally pushed through the legislature and signed by Governor Brown. The bill, SB-42, known as the Determinate Sentencing Act of 1976, changed the old method of sentencing to a more definite set of narrow ranges available to the sentencing judges.

In the case of second degree burglary for example, the term is 16 months, two, or three years. That is, the least a person could be sentenced to would be 16 months and the most would be three years. There is a provision for "good time" which would reduce a person's sentence by one-third if the person "behaves" while behind bars. The new method of sentencing took effect on January 1, 1977 and judges were to start sentencing pursuant to it on July 1, 1977.

The new law was to be fully retroactive and applied to the 20,000 people currently caged in California dungeons. The middle of the three possible sentences was to be applied to current prisoners. Our second degree burglar, for example, was to receive two years and start earning "good time" from July 1, 1977. There is however, a clause allowing the Community Release Board, which is the new name for the Adult Authority, to add more time to a person's sentence if they think he is "dangerous" for some obscure reason. Perhaps he reads radical newspapers. At any rate, this clause is what started the problem.

The release Board was originally given 90 days from July 1, 1977 or until October 1, 1977 to give a person a hearing to add on more time than he would normally receive under the new law. The hearings have a few of the trappings of Due Process of Law: the right to counsel (appointed or retained), a transcript of the proceedings, and supposedly a fair hearing panel which would consist of three members of the Board.

A release date was to be set within ten days of the hearing. The Board was to be guided by "a term which could reasonably be imposed by a court if the person had been sentenced by the court after July 1, 1977." This means that our burglar would get the two years, unless there was some extremely aggravating factor which would supposedly "justify" more time. He would supposedly know

by October 1, 1977, just when he would be released.

This clause was bad enough, leaving prisoners' fates to the whim of a politically motivated Release Board. The situation became even worse when an Assemblyman by the name of Daniel Boatwright pushed through the legislature Assembly Bill 476: the dreaded Boatwright Bill.

## BOATWRIGHT BILL

Boatwright's monster was directed at the people currently in prison, and was immediately passed by the legislature and signed into law by the Governor on or about June 28, 1977. It was an urgency statute and took effect immediately after Jerry Brown's signature dried.

The bill allows the Release Board 90 days from July 1, 1977 to notify a person that they will be given more time. It subtly changed the wording to, "The Board shall be guided by but not limited to a term which could reasonably be imposed...etc." It gave the Release Board until July 1, 1978 to hold the hearing with which to give a person more time.

There were numerous other things done by the bill, one of which was the appropriation of nine and a half million dollars for the Department of Corrections and the Community Release Board to give more time to those currently incarcerated.

The result of the added time allowed to give the "Serious Offender" hearings, coupled with the massive funds made available, is that the vast majority of prisoners are being notified that they will indeed receive the hearing. This procedure has lengthened the horrors of the Indeterminate Sentence for another year; prisoners now slated for hearings have no idea when they may be released. In fact, they really have no idea as to how much time they are actually sentenced to!

## BACK TO KISSING ASS

Many people who should have been released years ago, according to calculations under the Determinate Sentencing Law, are being held for hearings. Most of these folks are those who have refused to "Program". So it's back to the same old thing — kiss ass if you want to get released.

The unprecedented maneuvers by the California legislature have had one positive effect. Several prisons have formed legal defense groups to collect funds to fight the many constitutional infirmities of the Boatwright Bill. Convicts have banded together and formed a trust fund, to which prisoners have contributed heavily from their meager funds.

The average wage is \$15 a month, or seven cents an hour if you happen to work in the industrial plants. Contributions are also being solicited from the general public, and every penny is gratefully accepted.

If the Boatwright Bill is allowed to stand, a major injustice will have been perpetrated on all of the people...not just convicts!!! Folks in prisons across the country are subject of the same thing happening to them... many politicians will jump on the California Bandwagon.

The bottom line is: can a governing body do as it pleases with citizens, or does it have to obey the Constitution and laws as each individual must? San Quentin, Folsom, and the California Men's Colony have banded together and formed a legal defense committee to fight the bill in the courts. Attorney Richard Smith has been hired to do the legal work, and has instituted a trust fund for any money donated for this legal action. We can certainly use all the help we can get, and any donations from the folks on the outside will be gratefully accepted. They can be sent to:

Yeomanry Legal Fund  
P. O. Box 1281  
Fresno, California 93715

# CITY COUNCIL

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All in all it was quite a performance.

By allowing no testimony on the real issue — Frank Rizzo's manipulation of the charter to serve his own political ambitions — the Council insured that the hearings would not educate anyone as to what is really at stake. By allowing the Rizzo gang to ride roughshod over witnesses who opposed the change the Organizer, August-September '78, page 18

Council saw to it that even the limited constitutional questions raised by the amendments would not be seriously addressed.

The real meaning of the hearings is what they show about the Rizzo bunch and their attitude toward democratic rights. All the pious hypocrisy about "let-

ting the people decide" can't hide the contempt for the democratic process shown by the Rizzo forces in Council. Like Rizzo himself, Pearlman, Rafferty, and the rest are political mobsters. Given a free rein they would not hesitate to crush any opposition. The people of Philadelphia, when they clean Rizzo out of city hall, should not forget to sweep out the rest of this garbage with him.



## MARRIAGE

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human conflict. The old ideas don't vanish overnight and the struggle to develop production to the point where all social needs can be met is a difficult and protracted process. Marriage under socialism naturally mirrors the problems of this transition. What is important to grasp is not that marriage is perfect under socialism, but that we see the positive features of marriage emerge as its dominant characteristic. Socialism puts forward a new vision of marriage and creates the conditions to realize it. The marriage law of the People's Republic of China sums up what the new marriage means:

*Husband and wife are duty-bound to love, respect, assist and look after each other, to live in harmony, to engage in productive work, to care for the children, and to strive jointly for the welfare of the family and the building up of the new society.*