

stands, concluding Rizzo was unfit to be Mayor.

At the initiative of the Concerned Members Caucus, Local 813 of the United Autoworkers at Budd's Hunting Park plant passed a resolution in May unanimously condemning Rizzo's "White Power" speech in Whitman Park. Again in October the Local unanimously voted to oppose the charter change and denounced Rizzo's "vote white" tactics.

UAW Local 92 at Budd Red Lion issued a statement condemning "elected leaders. . . who exploit racial or ethnic differences. . . and polarize the community". Out of fear of jeopardizing a possible city contract the leadership has resisted taking a clear cut stand on the charter question in spite of broad rank and file sentiment for such a course. Some may hope Rizzo will step in and keep Budd from moving the Red Lion plant. But Rizzo's track record in stopping runaway shops isn't good as workers from Midvale Steel or Triangle Graphics can testify.

UAW members from several locals are circulating a petition calling for the regional UAW CAP Council, the political arm of the union, to take a position. Leaders of the petition campaign are confident of victory if they can succeed in getting the Council to vote.

In the struggle to get the AFL-

CIO Central Labor Council to take a position, progressive leadership and rank and file forces have worked in concert with one another. On October 11th Henry Nicholas, President of 1199C, introduced a resolution calling for the Council to condemn Rizzo's racial polarization as contrary to the principles of trade unionism.

Outside the Council meeting an ad hoc group representing some fifty trade unionists including large numbers of local officers and shop stewards issued a statement in support of Nicholas's action. "Unions were founded on the principle of unity and solidarity between working people - Irish, Italian, Puerto Rican, Jewish, Polish, Hungarian, German, but especially between Black and white", the statement said. "Like the Southern politicians of years ago, Frank Rizzo has tried to cover up the problems of Philadelphia by trying to make Black people the scape goat".

A LOT OF HOOEY FROM ED TOOHEY

Also like the southern politicians of old who filibustered civil rights legislation, Rizzo's allies in the Council stalled and maneuvered to avoid a vote on Nicholas's resolution. The vote was put off for ten days on the absurd grounds that the Council lacked the means to record a roll call vote.

Ten days later a meeting of the Council's Executive (which includes

only the heads of the member unions) voted 8-2 that the resolution was "unconstitutional". According to news reports, Council President Ed Toohey said, "the Council does not have jurisdiction to rule on the resolution which is a moral and not a legal question."

The workers who built the labor movement by defying court injunctions, sit-down strikes, and militant unity would turn over in their graves if they heard this bit of feeble and cowardly mumbo jumbo.

Union members from a dozen different locals picketed the meeting, prompting the Building Trades representative to the Executive Committee to shout that Nicholas's resolution was the work of Milton Street's "social extremists" and Communists. In the vote only Wendell Young, President of the Retail Clerks, stood by Henry Nicholas. Earl Stout, who earlier said he would pull AFSCME DC 33 out of the Council if they refused to allow the roll call vote, excused himself from the meeting right before the crucial vote.

As we go to press the Trade Union Committee of the Stop Rizzo Coalition is organizing a labor demonstration calling for the Council to reserve the decision of the Executive Committee while simultaneously calling on the unions to take a stand against the charter change. **Phooey on Toohey - Vote No!**

EVERY DOG HAS HIS DAY

December 1978

"We're pulling away like an express train...I never had any doubt I'd win. There was never a moment's concern."

So said Frank Rizzo 45 minutes after the polls closed. A half an hour later Rizzo made his way downstairs to tell the faithful that it was all over—the charter change was defeated.

Rizzo had predicted a 50,000 yes vote margin for the charter change. Instead the charter was swamped by a NO margin of 220,000. Rizzo had said he would take the Northeast by a two to one margin. Instead he won only 5 of 14 wards. Rizzo predicted he would come out of South Philadelphia's huge 39th ward with a margin of 20,000. Instead the charter change carried the ward by 13,000 votes. Only one of Rizzo's pre election predictions came to pass. He said he would get his "fair share of the Black vote." He did: 4%.

The real prophets this election day were the charter change opponents who

predicted that a massive voter turnout would swamp the charter change by a 2 to 1 margin.

While only 37% of the electorate across the country went to the polls, in Philadelphia 71% turned out to vote. A record turnout in the Black wards insured that the charter change would go down big. The volume of the NO vote and the voter turnout is even more impressive in light of the dirty tricks of the "Right to Choose" gang. 225 divisions, almost all of them in Black, anti-Rizzo wards, reported machine breakdowns. Thousands of legally registered voters found they were not in the binders. Anti-Rizzo poll-watchers were harassed and in on case beaten. County Commissioner and loyal Rizzoite Margaret Tartaglione ordered the machines in one Germantown polling place moved around the corner during the night.

Before the day was out Tartaglione had been arrested. Common Pleas judge

Lisa Richette had ordered the printing of paper ballots to service West Philadelphia and a federal grand jury was launching an investigation into "unprecedented complaints of fraud."

An estimated 20,000 to 50,000 voters, mostly Black, were unable to vote as a result of the Rizzo machine's effort to sabotage the election.

In spite of these measures, the aroused voters were determined to have their say. Many waited in line for hours waiting for broken machines to be fixed. Others went to election court and waited more hours. In an average election, each of the city's fifteen election courts pass on 400 petitions to vote. This time the figure was 1,000 and some of the courts ran out of seals and legal documents.

Election night 300 Black voters blocked traffic at Broad & Columbia, demanding that the local election courts give them the right to vote. The log jam at the election courts was caused by the

failure of the County Commission to hire additional personnel to process new voter registrations forms, most of them from anti-Rizzo voters. The hue and cry over the extensive fraud prompted veteran pol Pete Camiel to remark: "They tried to steal an election and they didn't even know how to do that."

YOU CAN'T FOOL ALL THE PEOPLE

Why did Rizzo lose? Rizzo forgot the maxim of Abraham Lincoln that "you can fool all of the people some of the time, some of the people all of the time, but you can't fool all of the people all of the time". Rizzo, having fooled many in the past, fooled few this time around. His campaign was based on two cynical premises—that his "vote white" demagoguery would lead the masses of white voters to forgive all and climb on his bandwagon, and that the masses of Black voters were simply too dumb or too demoralized to mount an effective opposition to his racist program.

Instead, the majority of white voters rejected Rizzo's white power pitch. Most white voters saw Rizzo's white rights campaign for what it was—a divisive attempt to scapegoat the Black community for the city's problems, all of which have grown worse during the years of Rizzo's misrule. While rising taxes and deteriorating social services were undoubtedly factors in the minds of white voters, Rizzo's open and blatant racism was, as pre-election polls indicated, clearly repudiated by a substantial majority of whites.

Also, many were frightened by Rizzo's barely concealed contempt for the democratic process and his projection of himself as the only man who could save the city from certain chaos. For many voters these sentiments echoed the rhetoric of Hitler and Mussolini. The walloping Rizzo received in the Jewish wards, where he previously had won, is testimony to this.

The statistics underline the extent to which the call to vote white backfired among those it was aimed at. Everywhere Rizzo lost ground. Aside from the North-

east, Rizzo lost the 21st ward, Manayunk and Roxborough, where Rizzo protégé Al Pearlman is ward leader. In Harry Janotti's 7th Councilmanic district, where 6 out of 7 voters are white, the charter change went down by 7,000 votes. Janotti, a long time Rizzoite, lost his own ward by a two to one margin. The 34th ward, in West Philadelphia, with a large Italian-American population, and where council President George Schwartz is ward leader, went 2 to 1 against the charter.

The river wards of Kensington, where the charter change carried, saw Rizzo slip some ten percent from his 1975 totals. Even in his home base of South Philadelphia Rizzo did not hold his own. Having predicted a ten to one margin for the charter change, Rizzo had to content himself with 79% of the vote east of Broad St. and south of Passyunk Ave. The rest of South Philly went against the charter change 2 to 1. Voter turnout in the pro-Rizzo wards was down from 1975. Even arch organization man Jim Tayoun, leader of the 2nd ward, delivered his turf with only a 57 to 43% margin for the charter change.

BLACK VOTE DECISIVE

Rizzo's biggest miscalculation was in relation to the black vote. In 1975 he garnered nearly a third of the Black vote, relying on deals with Black organization Democrats, and lots of street money. This, combined with the low Black voter turnout that year, led Rizzo to believe he would get his "fair share" this time around.

Instead Rizzo's call for white rights and his defense of police brutality in relation to the eviction of the MOVE organization, sparked a political crusade in the Black community. The danger posed by Rizzo aroused the Black masses and produced a broad unity. Thousands of new, first time registrations poured into city hall. A strong ward by ward organization was built. The myth of Black apathy was rudely destroyed as the Black vote poured out election day—dooming the charter change, punishing Pete Flaherty and putting independent-minded Black Democrats like Milton Street and Bill Gray in office.

Black ward leaders who remained loyal to the Rizzo machine were helpless in the face of this outpouring. For example, in the 24th ward, where ward leader Choice Durham supported the charter change, the vote was 5013 no to 216 yes votes. In North Philadelphia's 28th ward the charter went down by a 51 to 1 margin.

Aside from repudiating Rizzo, the Black voters put all the politicians on notice that the interests of the Black community could be ignored only at their peril. As one politician put it: "Frank Rizzo ran an old style Southern campaign, attacking Blacks. The trouble is that he forgot that back then they couldn't vote."

The same dynamic was at work in the Puerto Rican community where registration and voter turnout is traditionally low. Neighborhood activists and the Stop Rizzo Coalition mounted an effective registration drive, canvassed the wards, turned out the vote and manned the polls. Spanish speaking voters, remembering the murder of Jose Reyes and the years of indignities visited upon them by the Rizzo administration, paid their debts by voting No.

Rizzo's defeat must be counted as a decisive repudiation of the politics of racism, repression and reaction. Rizzo ran on the most explicit white supremacist campaign of any major politician in the country. He stood strongly on a four point platform calling for an end to busing, affirmative action and low income public housing in white neighborhoods, and the restoration of the death penalty. He spent over a million dollars, hired a slick media expert, and cheated thousands of people out of their vote. And still he was overwhelmingly defeated. In a year in which political analysts are pointing to the rise of the New Right, Rizzo's defeat has national significance as an indication of the mood of the working class and oppressed nationalities.

and former Republican candidate for Mayor, was an organizer of the Charter Defense Committee (CDC) which brought together corporate and banking interests opposed to the charter change.

CHARTER DEFENSE COMMITTEE

The Charter Defense Committee's role in the struggle to defeat the charter change was minimal. The CDC raised money to put up bill boards and produce spot advertisements for TV. Consistent with the CDC's view that the issue was the two term limit and the charter in the abstract, these ads took no position on Rizzo and his eight year misrule of the

WHO BEAT RIZZO?

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by JIM GRIFFIN

457,851 people went to the polls and voted No to beat Frank Rizzo — they are the true heroes, the real makers of history. But the massive no vote was also a product of months of hard work by a number of organizations. Who were these organizations and what role did they play?

If you read the daily newspapers you get the idea that Rich Chapman, Thacher Longstreth and their crew of professional liberals and good government types were the architects of the charter victory. Chapman is the director of the Americans for Democratic Action (ADA) and the leader of the ADA-organized Committee to Protect the Charter (CPC). Longstreth, head of the Phila. Chamber of Commerce