

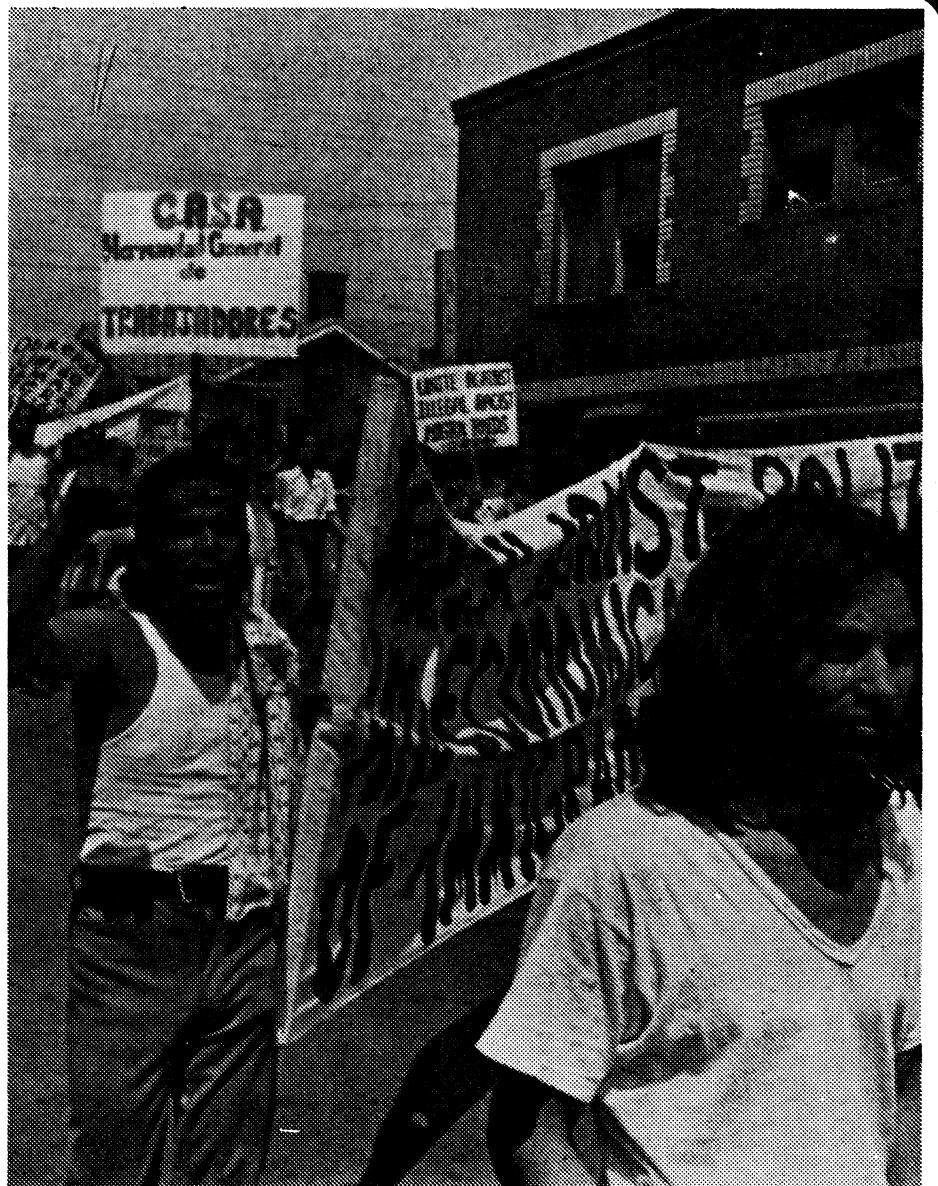
THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY/PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Is U.S. on road to depression?

— see page 9

**3,000 march
against
racist
deportations**



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SOCIALISTS FILE FOR BALLOT STATUS IN PENNSYLVANIA: The Pennsylvania Socialist Workers Party filed nomination papers last month containing 64,773 signatures to place their statewide candidates on the November ballot.

The acting commissioner of elections refused to accept the papers on behalf of Roberta Scherr, SWP candidate for governor, and Christina Adachi, candidate for U. S. Senate. Fred Stanton, the socialist candidate for lieutenant governor, was allowed to file. The action was taken on the grounds that the candidates do not meet the age requirements to serve in office (30 years old for both senator and governor) and that Scherr does not meet the requirements for residency (7 years).

The socialist candidates denounced the ruling of the officials. "These laws are specifically designed to restrict the ballot to the older representatives of the two capitalist parties," Adachi said. "By ruling us off the ballot, the state government is not only denying us our constitutional right to present our views in this election, but they also violate the constitutional rights of all young people to be represented on the ballot. One of the main points of our campaign will be to expose the undemocratic nature of these laws."

PRESIDENT OF PUERTO RICAN BAR BLASTS ANTI-GAY LAWS: Arturo Negron Garcia, the president of the Puerto Rican Bar Association, blasted the decision of the Puerto Rican government not to eliminate laws against homosexual activity of adults in private in a recent interview with *Associated Press* in Ponce, Puerto Rico.

He said that any penal and judicial reform should eliminate penalties against homosexuality and repeal laws against "unnatural" acts.

KILLER COP DISMISSED BY NEW YORK POLICE: Thomas Shea, the New York City cop who murdered a 10-year-old Black youth last year, was dismissed from the police department Aug. 30 after a departmental trial.

The New York police department found Shea guilty of "wrongfully and without just cause" firing the shots that caused the death of Clifford Glover. The police verdict came as a surprise since Shea was acquitted by a jury last June of the murder, and a trial by the cops themselves seemed unlikely to do otherwise.

Dismissed along with Shea was his partner, Walter Scott, accused of lying to protect Shea.

Both cops admitted having fired their guns in an early morning chase on April 28, 1973. They maintained that Clifford and his stepfather, Add Armstead, were dressed like two men who a short time before had robbed a taxi driver, and that when approached, fired on the two officers. The alleged gun was never found.

Deputy Commissioner Philip Michael, who presided over the police trial, said, "Shea and Scott were not shot at, they were not chasing persons who were armed, they were not in any personal danger and they had no possible cause to use their guns."

NAVAJOS FIGHT RACIST DISCRIMINATION: Earlier this year three Navajos were stoned to death in Farmington, N.M., a city in the northwestern part of the state that borders the Navajo Reservation. The Navajos were killed by three white youth who found them drunk.

Outrage over this racist terror led to protests throughout the summer in Farmington. Navajos began holding demonstrations every weekend demanding an end to white racism.

The three white youths, two of them 16 and one 15 years old, were let off with light reform school sentences. The anger of the Indian community was expressed by a young member of the newly formed Coalition for Navajo Liberation: "We are nothing more than dirt," said Wilbert Tsosie. "They have played with us, killed us, destroyed us—in alleys, restaurants, jails and bars."

The Coalition for Navajo Liberation, which organized the demonstrations, won additional support recently when Peter McDonald endorsed their efforts. McDonald is the chairman of the Navajo tribe. In speaking before the New Mexico Advisory Committee to the United States Civil Rights Commission, which is investigating the treatment of the Navajos, McDonald said, "We have suffered in silence too long and we can endure no more."

SIGN OF THE TIMES: At a July meeting of the New York Central Labor Council, chairman Harry Van Arsdale announced that the AFL-CIO in the area was being "streamlined" and that a newly worded oath would be given to delegates to the labor council.

In the new oath delegates pledge their loyalty to the labor movement, participation in boycotts, honoring of picket lines, and so on. The new oath replaces one that required delegates to repudiate "subversive" ideas.

'DOOMSDAY CLOCK' STILL TICKING: Because the "international nuclear arms race has gathered momentum and is now more than ever beyond control," the *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* has moved its "doomsday clock" three minutes ahead—to nine minutes before midnight.

The magazine was established after World War II by American scientists who had helped produce the first atom bombs. In its first issues the clock on the magazine's cover was set at seven minutes to midnight. The editors have changed it several times since then, with the most pessimistic setting at two minutes to midnight during the Korean War in 1953.

The *Bulletin* said the latest change was based on the failure of U. S.-Soviet arms limitation talks to significantly slow the arms buildup; India's explosion of a nuclear device earlier this year; and the U. S. offer of nuclear reactors to Egypt and Israel.

The most optimistic setting of the clock was 12 minutes to midnight in 1972.

PAN-AFRICAN STUDENTS MEET IN NEW YORK: The fourteenth annual conference of the Pan-African Students Organization in the Americas (PASOA) was held Aug. 30 to Sept. 1 in New York City. The theme was "African Liberation and World Revolution."

About 70 people attended the first session on "Students and Socialism in Contemporary Africa." The panelists included Yusef Gacii of PASOA, Cheick Soumare of the African Youth Movement, Robb Wright of the Young Socialist Alliance, and Donald Murphy, student senate president of City College, New York. Also on the panel was Tony Ntukogu of the Committee Against Racism, Immigration Section, who spoke on the plight of immigrants in the United States.

The second session, on Aug. 31, which drew about 150 people, opened with a panel on "Combating Neo-colonialism." Speakers included Yemi Agbeyegbe from PASOA; a representative of the Ethiopian Students Union in North America; and Tony Ferguson, from the Caribbean Unity Conference of Washington, D. C. There was also a report on the recently held Sixth Pan-African Congress.

"Africa and the World Revolution" was the topic of the third session. A report on the revolution in Guinea-Bissau was presented by Jose Ramos, U. S. representative of the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands. Also on the panel was Roger Newell of the Youth Organization for Black Unity.

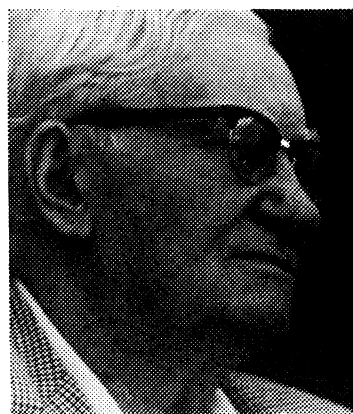
SEX AND THE SINGLE CITIZEN: Nearly three years ago this column carried an item about a Hungarian who was denied U. S. citizenship because he admitted to the Immigration and Naturalization Service that he had had sexual intercourse with his fiancée.

Sidney Pierre Loran, after three years of court battles, has won his citizenship papers. In a recent decision, Federal Judge Robert Duffy overruled the 1971 decision that rejected Loran's application for citizenship on the grounds of moral turpitude.

—NORMAN OLIVER

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'Educate, agitate, organize'— theme of socialist conference



Socialist Workers Party leader Carol Lipman reports on class-struggle trends in union movement at Socialist Activists and Educational Conference

Militant/Walter Lippmann

By CINDY JAQUITH

"Educate, agitate, organize"—these were the watchwords of the 1974 Socialist Activists and Educational Conference held at Oberlin College in Ohio Aug. 17-23.

Twelve-hundred fifty members and supporters of the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) and the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) participated in the week of lectures, classes, panel discussions, and workshop sessions, assessing the current stage of revolutionary struggles around the world and discussing how socialists can participate in them.

Tribute to Cannon

The perspectives emerging from the conference for building the revolutionary movement are a tribute to the lifetime work of James P. Cannon, a founding leader of the SWP. Cannon died Aug. 21 in Los Angeles while the conference was in session. (See special features on Cannon in the Sept. 6 *Militant* and in this issue, beginning on page 16.)

A "Political Tribute to Jim Cannon," held the last night of the Oberlin conference, was the highlight of the week's activities. It was an inspiring demonstration of the confidence of conference participants in the socialist perspective.

This perspective is rooted, as Cannon often explained, in the international struggle to overturn capitalism. Thus the conference began with a report by SWP national committee member Mary-Alice Waters on "A Revolutionary Strategy for the Changing Trends in World Politics."

Analyzing the prospects for world capitalism, Waters noted that the rulers themselves are beginning to believe

they may be faced with the worst crisis since the Great Depression.

On the economic front, the imperialists are confronted by soaring worldwide inflation, a sinking stock market, even some major bank failures, and a declining rate of growth in the advanced capitalist countries. At the same time, there is growing labor militancy and an increasing refusal by working people to shoulder the bur-

Many of the major speeches at the Socialist Activists and Educational Conference will be printed in future issues of the International Socialist Review. The October issue of the ISR will contain Derrick Morrison's speech, 'The Black Struggle—20 Years after the Supreme Court Decision on School Desegregation.'

To order this issue, send 75 cents to ISR, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

den of the economic mess created by capitalism.

This is reflected in part by the growing political instability of capitalist governments. Waters pointed to the major crises of the past year for the regimes in Thailand, Greece, Chile, Ethiopia, Britain, Germany, the United States, and Portugal.

'Becoming unstuck'

The capitalists fear the world situation is "becoming unstuck," she explained. "Thirty years of postwar boom led many of them to hope that the contradictions of capitalism had

been overcome, that there would never again be a threat of a worldwide slump."

Instead, as interimperialist rivalries among capitalist nations continue to deepen, the threat increases for crises international in scope, and even for nuclear war.

The energy crisis, Waters said, is a perfect example of how, as the world economic structure becomes more complex, "the more interdependent and the less self-sufficient each national economy becomes. The more susceptible all are to sudden breakdowns, stunning dislocations, staggering shocks with uncontrollable repercussions.

"To the brutal, inhuman crisis of capitalism, the rulers have no solution, except to try to suck every ounce of blood from the most oppressed masses and to try to increasingly drive down the standard of living of the workers in the advanced capitalist countries." The hardest hit by this "solution" are the masses in the colonial and semicolonial countries and in the weakest of the imperialist countries.

This capitalist future, Waters continued, is "a genuine nightmare for the working class, a nightmare of famine, inflation, unemployment, ecological destruction, and the overall threat of nuclear annihilation."

The only way to end this nightmare is for the exploited to wrest control from the capitalist bloodsuckers and to reorganize the productive forces on an internationally planned, rational basis, to meet human needs, not private profits. This is the socialist alternative.

It will not be achieved automatically, however. Capitalism will continually try to find a way out of its crises

until there is a conscious revolutionary leadership that can organize the working class to seize power.

This crisis of leadership in the working class is the key problem in world politics today, Waters said.

Detente

One "way out" sought by the capitalists today is détente with the Stalinist leaderships in Moscow and Peking. The Kissingers and Rockefellers of the world are relying on the Brezhnev and Maos "to lead the workers into the deadly trap of class collaboration," in order to preserve the status quo.

Détente is not a new policy for either the capitalists or the Soviet and Chinese bureaucrats, she continued, but it does represent a historical shift in the relationship of class forces.

For the imperialists, the roots of détente lie in the Vietnam war. "Faced with the inability to militarily crush the Vietnamese revolution without paying an unacceptable price domestically, faced with the need to turn attention and resources to the battle to maintain economic supremacy, the only solution for the U.S. rulers was to enlist the help of Moscow and Peking to force the Vietnamese to settle on terms acceptable to Washington," Waters said.

For the Stalinist bureaucrats, détente means trade and technology so desperately needed to meet the rising expectations of the masses in the workers states, in the hopes of staving off political revolution. This is behind the Soviet decision to open up its borders to vastly expanded capitalist investment and trade.

Waters explained that this move is

Continued on next page

...Never have the ideas of socialism

Continued from preceding page

the logical outcome of the Stalinist concept of "socialism in one country," of subordinating the worldwide working-class struggle to the needs of the privileged, bureaucratic caste that sits in the Kremlin or Peking.

Now the revolutionary workers and peasants in Vietnam, the Middle East, and elsewhere around the world are being made to pay for this bureaucratic mismanagement through the counterrevolutionary betrayals of détente.

War danger escalated

Waters quoted Brezhnev's claim that détente will assure "the reduction and subsequently the complete removal of the possibility of war" between the U. S. and the Soviet Union. Far from lessening the dangers of war, however, détente has emboldened the capitalist warmongers and actually helps increase the dangers of nuclear conflagration.

The war in Cyprus exemplifies this pernicious aspect of the détente policy. The Communist Party of Cyprus, dutifully hewing to the "peaceful coexistence" line, backed Archbishop Makarios to the hilt as a bulwark against imperialism, Waters explained.

This policy of support to continued capitalist rule not only did not prevent imperialism from trying to strengthen its hold on the strategic island, but it weakened the workers of Cyprus, making a new outbreak of war inevitable.

To the counterrevolutionary program of world Stalinism, the world Trotskyist movement, the Fourth In-



Militant/Henry Snipper

WATERS: Detente, far from guarantee of 'peace,' makes new outbreaks of war inevitable.

ternational, counterposes the alternative of resolute struggle against capitalism, Waters said.

Because of reactionary legislation in the U. S., she explained, the SWP cannot formally affiliate with the Fourth International, but the SWP and YSA are in full solidarity with its goals.

The program of the Fourth International, laid down at its founding in 1938, is based on uncompromising struggle to abolish capitalism. "To the pictures of Nixon and Brezhnev and Nixon and Mao clinking glasses as bombs rain on the Vietnamese, we counterpose the poster of revolutionary Russia, with Lenin sweeping the capitalist trash away!" Waters declared.

Faith in workers

Unlike the Stalinists, the Trotskyist perspective places no faith in "progressive" capitalists or liberal politicians, but educates the workers to rely on their own class to achieve change.

Revolutionary socialists also educate on the need for the workers to



Conference participants discussed their experiences in helping build fight against cop terror in Black communities.

maintain class independence on every level, including the electoral and governmental plane, rejecting the popular-front schemes devised by the capitalists and their labor lieutenants to blunt the class struggle.

The method of struggle must be that of mass mobilization, Waters added, quoting from Peruvian peasant leader Hugo Blanco, who wrote, "On the day the masses realize that their power lies in themselves, the exploiters are finished."

This mobilization of the working class and its allies calls for a program of immediate, democratic, and transitional demands that can bridge the gap between the present consciousness of the workers and their eventual realization that the entire capitalist system must be uprooted.

Only a mass, revolutionary, combat party can put forward such a program and organize the masses around it to lead the socialist revolution. "Such a party," said Waters, "must be international in program, perspective, and organization. Advancing the construction of such parties is the primary task of the Fourth International today."

American revolution

The American socialist revolution is key to the entire world revolution. The perspectives for revolution in the U. S. were presented by SWP National Secretary Jack Barnes in a talk titled "The Crisis of American Capitalism and the Evolution of the Radicalization."

The U. S. ruling class is trying to point to Nixon's downfall as the end of Watergate, Barnes said, and as proof that "the system works." But three basic roots of the Watergate crisis—outrage over the Vietnam war, economic decline and the growing capitalist offensive against workers, and the radicalization begun in the 1960s—persist. They will not go away.

The capitalists are forced to deepen the recession they have started in order to try to control inflation and to improve their competitive position in the capitalist world market. To do this they will cut back more on social services, drive workers' real wages down, and increase unemployment.

"The ruling class's slogans," said Barnes, "are 'Less electricity, higher bills'; 'Smaller apartments, higher rents'; 'Speedup, safety down'. . . In a word, less for us and more for them."

The conservative, bureaucratized trade-union leadership in this country is utterly incapable of defending the workers from this attack. But young rank-and-file trade unionists have grown more militant in response to the deepening economic crisis.

This is revealed not only by the increased number of strikes and protests such as the truckers' shutdown last winter, but also by the rapid pace at which the social and political attitudes of young workers are changing.

Yankelovich poll

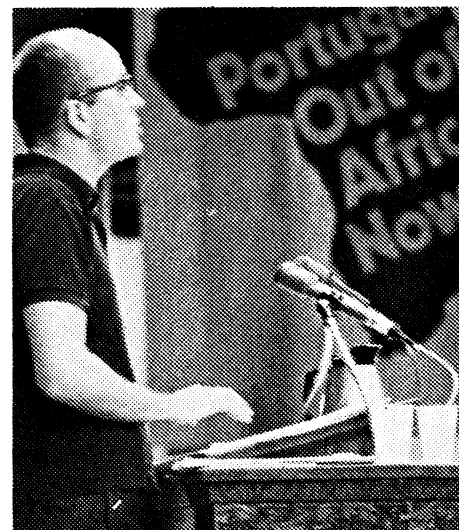
Barnes pointed to the recently published poll by Daniel Yankelovich, which shows that young workers have been profoundly influenced by the radicalization that began on the campuses in the 1960s.

The survey, conducted before the outpouring of Watergate revelations and the energy crisis, shows that working-class youth are increasingly critical of American "democracy," of U. S. foreign policy, of racism, big corporations, and traditional religious and sexual mores.

These workers are demanding what Yankelovich termed a "Bill of New Rights":

- "To be able to send children to college whether or not they can afford to do so."
- "To participate in decisions that affect their work."
- "To enjoy a secure retirement."
- "To have access to the best medical care whether they can afford it or not."

These demands, stated differently, are for the right to a free education



Militant/Henry Snipper

BARNES: 'Radicalization continues to spread among U. S. workers.'

through the college level; workers' control of production; social care for the aged, with complete protection against inflation; and socialized medicine. All are goals that challenge a society run for profit and point toward the mobilization of the working people in a political struggle for a socialist society.

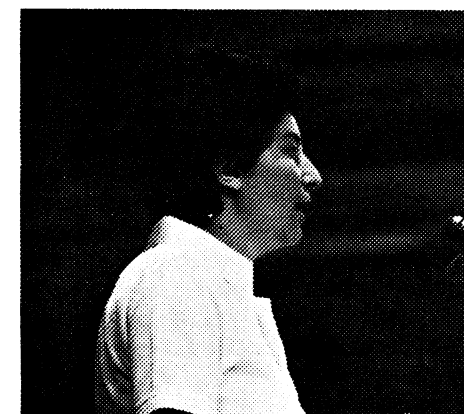
The results of this poll "show that the process of radicalization continues to spread among working people," Barnes explained. This radicalization "is an active process," he said. "These young workers are not just being acted upon by something that happened to students and antiwar demonstrators some time ago; they're acting and reacting to a changing world situation and changing broad political attitudes themselves."

This confirms the SWP's analysis of the radicalization, made at the height of organized activity in the student, antiwar, Black, and women's liberation movements.

At that time, the SWP predicted that young workers would not be immune to these struggles, but would increasingly identify with and become part of them as their own conditions as workers changed. A watershed in this process was the August 1971 Nixon-Connally New Economic Policy offensive to control wages.

The Yankelovich poll is all the more significant in light of the current political context, Barnes noted, where there has been an abeyance of massive protest actions on a national scale.

"We shouldn't confuse reflection and pauses in certain sectors of society, the lack of any organized massive



Militant/Henry Snipper

LIPMAN: 'Struggle of women workers will be integral part of rank-and-file revolt.'

struggle in the working class, with any concept of reaction or even conservatism," he warned. "This is what Nixon misread in thinking he had a 'mandate' for his reactionary policies, and this is what the ruling class misreads today."

In the post-Nixon period, moreover, all the features of the radicalization have been reinforced by the Watergate revelations and the deepening social crisis of American capitalism.

The ideas of socialism sound more reasonable to masses of people than ever before. Demands that are part of the SWP Transitional Program, such as opening the books of the corporations, ending government secrecy, ending war spending, and cost-of-living clauses, are receiving broader and broader support.

The conference took note of the significant increase in opportunities for socialists in the trade-union movement in the recent period. More SWP and YSA members are playing an active role in unions, including teachers, public workers, steelworkers, printers, telephone workers, construction workers, hospital workers, postal workers, railroad workers, oil workers, and Teamsters.

sounded so reasonable to so many'

The experiences of these trade unionists were drawn together in a report by SWP national committee member Carol Lipman, on "Class Struggle Trends in the Labor Movement Today."

Record of labor officials

The record of the labor officials in the face of inflation, unemployment, and union-busting is abysmal, Lipman said. Instead of championing the needs of their members, the attitudes of these labor fakers are symbolized by the racist policies of American Federation of Teachers head Albert Shanker, by the no-strike pact of Steelworkers head I.W. Abel, and by the chauvinist "Buy American" campaigns offered by the AFL-CIO heads as an answer to unemployment.

They are equally bankrupt on the political field. "While Nixon crawls from the White House because of the mood of the American people," said Lipman, "George Meany struts up the

The results of the Yankelovich poll and related material on changing attitudes among young workers are contained in a July 1974 bulletin published by the Socialist Workers Party. To order, send 30 cents to SWP, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

steps of the White House assuring the used Ford he will have the cooperation of the unions in this country in restoring confidence in American 'democracy.'

"For the unions, the question of political action is a central one, the number one question," Lipman said. "The next big 'giant step' by the labor movement will have to be on the political field. It will have to be a break with the policies of class collaboration on all fields—economic and political."

Rank-and-file militancy, however, is gaining for the labor movement a new, fighting reputation. Lipman pointed to the San Francisco and Los Angeles city workers, to striking teachers, construction workers, and nurses as examples of this new combativity. Women, Blacks, and unorganized workers are playing a key role in this ferment.

Women workers

"The most significant of the recent developments in the union movement," she said, "has been the formation of the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW). This organization is the expression of a tremendous historic need

felt by women workers.

"The needs of this very powerful and unorganized sector of the working class will be a major factor in the coming labor radicalization," Lipman predicted. "The struggle of women workers will be an integral part of the rank-and-file revolt. Their struggle will be an integral part of the class-struggle left wing in the American labor movement."

Socialist women active in CLUW discussed how to build the organization at panel and workshop sessions during the conference. These sessions focused on the importance of strengthening CLUW by recruiting thousands of women unionists to its ranks.

Another special panel was devoted to talks by veteran women trade unionists in the SWP, who described their experiences in the labor movement of the 1930s, 1940s, and 1950s.

Program for labor

The goals socialists are fighting for in the unions today, said Lipman, can be summarized by the following key demands:

"Real equality—through preferential hiring and training—of Black and women workers. Fighting to combat inflation with cost-of-living clauses. A shorter workweek at no reduction in pay, to combat unemployment. Breaking with the capitalist parties and forming a labor party."

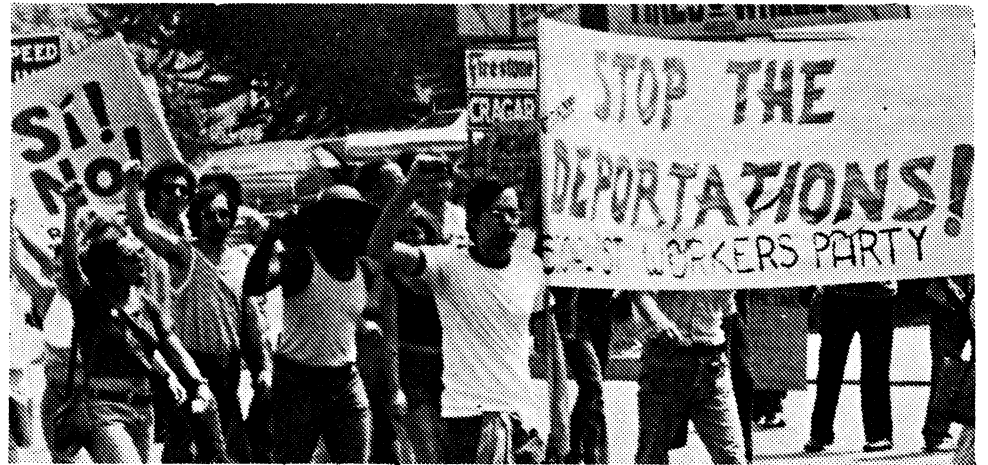
The fight for these demands necessitates a fight for democracy and class-struggle policies in the unions, ultimately a transformation of the union movement. Lipman explained that while this will entail a head-on confrontation with the conservative union officialdom at some point, the most effective strategy today is "concentrating our fire on the class enemy, on the boss."

"This is a period of explaining our



Militant/Walter Lippmann

MORRISON: Breaking from Democratic Party most urgent task of Black movement.



Militant/Harry Ring

SWP election campaigns are actively supporting struggles of oppressed, such as movement to defend rights of undocumented workers.

class-struggle program," she said, "and uniting with people we can find in the unions who will agree to fight on one or another of the issues we have raised."

The trends in the Black liberation struggle were analyzed in a report by Derrick Morrison, a member of the SWP national committee and the SWP candidate for governor of New York.

Morrison traced the history of the fight against racism from the 1954 Supreme Court decision for school desegregation to the court's 1974 decision against busing in the Detroit school system.

Crisis of leadership

The crisis of leadership in the Black movement continues to be the central problem, he said. "The Democratic Party is directly in the driver's seat" in the Black movement today, through the elected Black officials around the country. Breaking from the Democratic Party and forming an independent Black political party is the most urgent task of the Black movement.

Morrison noted that many young militants are "confronted with the task of fashioning a program that takes into account not only Black people's oppression as a nationality, but the oppression and exploitation that Black people face as part of the working class."

"Key to the struggle for Black liberation," Morrison continued, "is the building of a revolutionary Marxist party." This question was expanded upon in a report on "Party-Building Tasks in the Black Movement," by Young Socialist Alliance National Chairman Andrew Pulley.

Some of the most important recent developments in the Black movement, Pulley said, have been the partici-

pation of Black workers in strike actions, such as the Baltimore public employees' strike; the role of Black women in CLUW; and the growing number of campaigns against police brutality. The SWP and YSA will continue to play an active role in these developments, he said.

Three of the most important areas of activity outlined by Pulley are the fight against police terror in the Black community, protest actions demanding immediate freedom for all the Portuguese colonies in Africa, and propaganda work through socialist election campaigns and sales of the revolutionary press.

Pulley noted that through *The Militant* and the socialist suit against government Watergating, the SWP and YSA are earning a reputation in the Black community as the strongest defenders of democratic rights.

In addition, a small but growing layer of Black militants are becoming increasingly interested in Marxist ideas. The SWP and YSA will continue to participate in the debates in the Black movement around perspectives for winning Black liberation, Pulley said.

Workshops were also held on the work of the SWP and YSA in the Chicano, Puerto Rican, and Asian-American struggles.

SWP national committee member Lew Jones drew together the themes of the other major presentations at the conference to outline the opportunities for socialist activity this fall.

Struggles are bound to break out at the workplace, in the Black community, or on the campuses that cannot be predicted beforehand, he said. The key is to be prepared to participate in and help build these struggles.

Continued on next page

'Our job is to champion independent struggles'

"Our job is to seek out and champion whatever independent struggles of working people, Blacks, women, and other oppressed people emerge," said Lew Jones in his presentation to the Socialist Activists and Educational Conference.

Jones's report, titled "Educate, Agitate, Organize—Party-building Tasks in the Coming Months," outlined the following six areas of struggle in which revolutionary socialists will continue to be active:

- Unexpected upsurges and crises, such as the energy crisis or the 1973 coup in Chile, where protest actions break out almost spontaneously. Such events call for quick, audacious responses, such as the

wave of demonstrations in defense of the Arab revolution last fall during the Mideast war.

- The fight against inflation and unemployment. New struggles against rising prices and layoffs are bound to erupt, many through the unions and some in unexpected forms, such as the meat boycott of 1973.

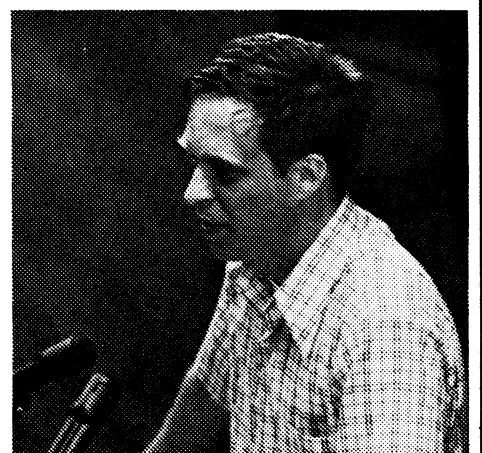
- Local campaigns around issues such as police brutality, political frame-ups, or government cutbacks in funds for schools or child care.

- Growing class-struggle activity in the union movement. Socialists will continue to be active in the Coalition of Labor Union Women;

in strike support work, such as the recent Sears strike in San Francisco and the United Farm Workers boycott movement; and in new struggles to use the power of the unions on behalf of the needs of all working people, such as the fight to defend the undocumented workers.

- Defense of class-struggle victims abroad, including political prisoners in Chile, victims of the shah of Iran's wave of terror, political prisoners in Spain and Portugal, and Soviet dissidents.

- Active participation in the debates within the radical movement over program and strategy for bringing about social change.



Militant/Henry Snipper

JONES: Revolutionists should be prepared to respond to unexpected upsurges and crises.

... 'Building party is our central task'

Continued from preceding page

Three campaigns of the SWP and YSA will be an integral part of work in these struggles: the fight for democratic rights, socialist election campaigns, and sales of *The Militant* and other revolutionary literature.

Jones also reported on new plans for expansion of the revolutionary movement. Plans are underway to build toward a new branch of the SWP in Milwaukee, he said. In addition, the Young Socialist Alliance will be sending out traveling teams of young people this fall, to sell *The Militant* and *Young Socialist*, win support for SWP election campaigns, and recruit new members to the socialist movement.

Separate reports and workshops were devoted to the SWP's legal challenges to government harassment and attack. Frank Boehm, director of the SWP 1974 National Campaign Committee, reported on the Political Rights

Defense Fund (PRDF), which is building support for the SWP and YSA suit against government wiretapping, police infiltration, burglary, and bombing.

The SWP has launched a second challenge, demanding exemption from campaign disclosure laws. These regulations require that the SWP provide the government with the names of all contributors, a ready-made list of victims for government attack.

Boehm said that the SWP is also stepping up its fight against undemocratic election laws and attempts to exclude SWP candidates from the ballot.

Another special report was presented on the role of *The Militant* and the important new opportunities for expanding its readership. Larry Seigle, of the editorial staff of *The Militant*, gave this report. (For plans to increase the paper's circulation, see page 7.)

A central theme throughout the week of talks and classes was the need to build a mass, revolutionary socialist party that can lead the coming American revolution.

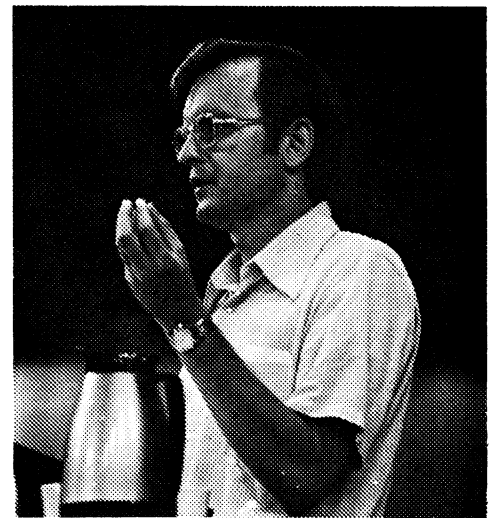
Constructing such a party is "the most difficult prerequisite of the proletarian revolution," SWP Organization Secretary Barry Sheppard explained in a talk on the organizational principles of the SWP.

Sheppard described how the structure and organization of the revolutionary party flow from the job it must carry out—leading the oppressed masses in overturning the most ruthless, powerful class in history. Drawing from the lessons of Lenin's Bolshevik party, he explained why a serious revolutionary party must be a tightly knit, disciplined organization that can depend on the loyalty of its entire membership.

The problems of constructing a world party of revolution are even more complex, as SWP national committee member Gus Horowitz explained in his report. Horowitz discussed the experiences of the Third International and the Fourth International in grappling with the problem of building a collective leadership.

He pointed out that Jim Cannon made some of his most important contributions to the revolutionary movement on this very question.

Horowitz quoted from one of Cannon's essays in *Speeches to the Party*, where Cannon explained, "Given the program, the construction of leading cadres is the key to the construction of revolutionary parties; and the former requires an even higher degree of consciousness and a more deliberate design than the latter."



Militant/Henry Snipper

SHEPPARD: 'Building party is most difficult prerequisite of workers revolution.'

Cannon inspired the leadership team he helped to build with a vision of the socialist future. Joe Hansen, editor of *Intercontinental Press* and longtime leader of the SWP, described Cannon's perspective in his speech to the Political Tribute to Jim Cannon, held the last night of the Oberlin conference:

"He was utterly dedicated to overthrowing this monstrous system in which we happen to have been born.

"Jim had a clear vision of socialism and the perspectives it could open up. He gained this vision as a youth and the vision never left him. He sought throughout his conscious life to impart this vision to others, to inspire them, and to win them to the cause."

Conference participants left Oberlin determined to build the revolutionary party that can make the socialist perspective a reality.



Militant/Henry Snipper

Among many classes at socialist conference was a lecture series on Transitional Program, given by SWP leader George Breitman.

Prepaid Militant subscription cards now available

At the Socialist Activists and Educational Conference *The Militant* initiated another way to build the paper's circulation by taking a lesson from the past.

The *Appeal to Reason* was a mass-circulation socialist weekly in the early years of the twentieth century. Many supporters helped boost the newspaper's circulation by buying prepaid subscription cards from the *Appeal*, which they in turn sold to new readers.

James P. Cannon was a longtime advocate of the prepaid sub card method for getting subs. He referred to them in some of the letters he wrote while in prison and more recently in an interview conducted by Harry Ring.

Ring asked Cannon what the Socialist Party was like in Rosedale, Kans., the town where Cannon grew up. Cannon responded:

"Well, I guess there were about a dozen of them altogether, mainly old-time socialists. . . . They just kept the faith. 'Talking socialism' was an expression commonly used then. Whenever they'd get a chance to talk to anybody they'd try to get in a few words for socialism to anybody who would listen.

"They also subscribed to the *Appeal to Reason*. . . . They had a column in the paper called the 'Appeal Army,' and that consisted of people who sold subscriptions and sent them in, and they would mention in the paper those who made the best record that week. My father used to be in there quite often. He'd send in five or 10 subs. He was very proud

of that.

"They used to carry the *Appeal to Reason* subs in their pocket, a prepaid postal card with a coupon attached to it. The idea was that you didn't send each subscription you sold with the money for that sub. You bought five or 10 prepaid cards, 25 cents each. I think they were five for \$1. Then as you sold each one you kept the money and dropped the card in the mailbox. This saved the sub hustler the trouble of keeping books and sending letters and all the rest of that."

Joel Britton, one of *The Militant's* editors, announced the cards to conference participants at one of the main sessions. "We don't propose switching entirely to the prepaid card," he explained, "but we feel there is a place in our scheme of things for the sub cards, and we have printed some especially for this conference."

He explained that the sub cards were postcards with *The Militant's* address and proper postage on one side and a space to fill in the new subscriber's name and address on the other. They sell for \$1 a piece and are worth a two-month subscription to *The Militant*.

Just as the *Appeal to Reason* sold five of their 25-cent cards for \$1, 11 of *The Militant's* \$1 sub cards can be had for \$10. After your tenth sale you can do what Jim Cannon's father did—sell the eleventh sub for less than a dollar, give it to an interested person without funds, or sell it and have a well-deserved snack with the extra dollar.

Britton explained that the advantage of the prepaid cards is that they make it easy for *Militant* supporters to sell subscriptions. "When you're 'talking socialism' to a co-worker or student and you convince someone to get an introductory sub," he said, "just fill in the person's name and address, tear off the receipt, which is perforated on the end of the card, and drop it in the nearest mailbox. It saves the hassle of hanging onto the sub blank and the dollar and it speeds the subscription to the new reader."

Conference participants purchased 263 prepaid sub cards. Twenty *Militant* supporters bought packets of 11.

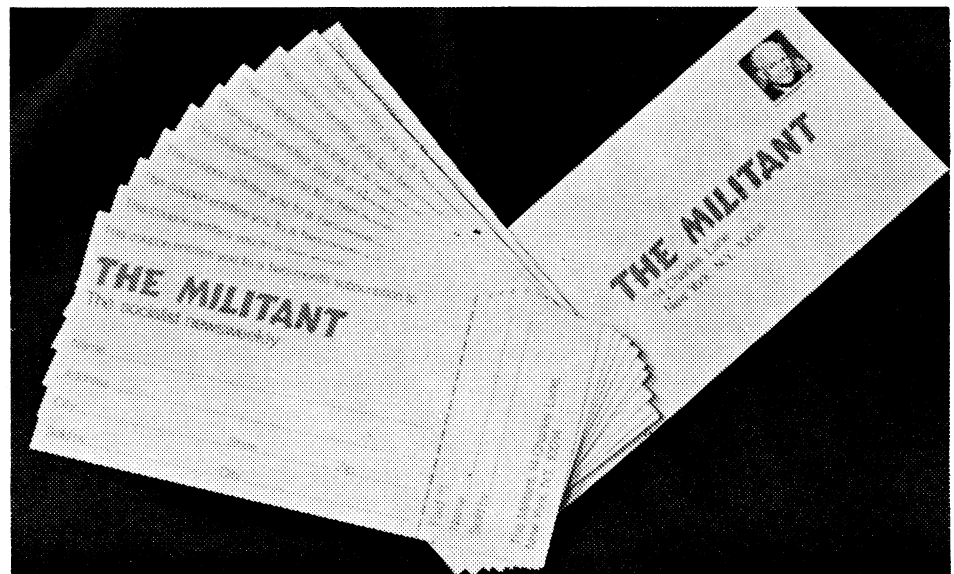
The cards are already being mailed into the business office complete with a new reader's name and address.

Bob Gahtan from Boston takes the lead in selling the cards. He's already sent back two. Lee Smith, from New York, the first *Militant* supporter to buy a packet of 11, has mailed in one of his cards so far.

Readers who want to help build up our subscription base are urged to use these cards. Buy a packet of 11 and keep them with you wherever you go. This way you will miss no opportunity to interest a new person in *The Militant*.

The cards can be purchased from The Militant Business Office, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N. Y. 10014 or through local units of the Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party.

Send \$5 for five cards or \$10 for 11.



Order your prepaid sub cards today. Special offer of 11 for \$10.

Militant launches circulation drive for 9,400 weekly sales; 12,000 subs

By ROSE OGDEN

The Socialist Activists and Educational Conference kicked off an aggressive drive to boost the circulation of *The Militant*.

Plans were announced for a campaign to distribute 9,400 copies weekly through organized street sales beginning with this issue and extending for 11 weeks.

Rose Ogden is the business manager of *The Militant*.

In addition, a drive was launched to sell 12,000 two-month introductory subscriptions between Sept. 7 and Nov. 24.

The importance of *The Militant* in building the socialist movement was brought out by conference participants in many of the workshops and major presentations. Larry Seigle, one of the editors of *The Militant*, spoke on "The Militant: What it is and how to use it." "The Militant," he said, "is our most effective weekly tool in the task of constructing the revolutionary party. The banner in the back sums up our tasks as 'educate, agitate, and organize.' *The Militant* is our weekly educator, agitator, and organizer.

"It is designed to: Educate large numbers of people on the basic ideas of so-



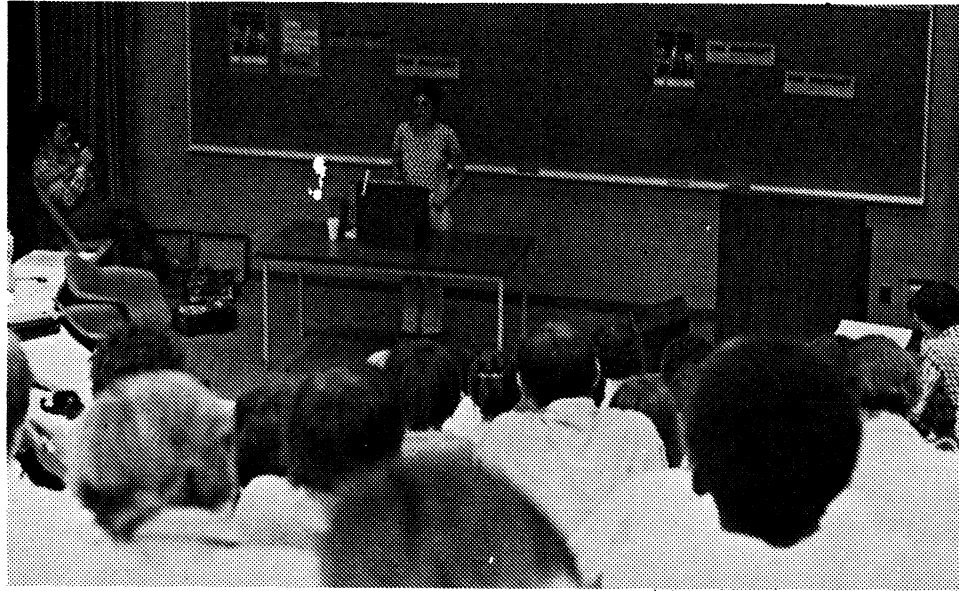
Militant/Harry Ring

cialism and the Trotskyist movement; to *agitate*—to hammer away week after week at the most timely slogans, whether it's for an escalator clause, against cop terror, or urging solidarity with the African colonies against Portuguese colonialism; to *organize*—as a recruiter to the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance, and the organizer of the campaigns of our movement."

Through *The Militant* circulation drives, we are able to reach more and more new people and to reach them regularly with our message. These efforts take us a step closer to our goal of building *The Militant* into the mass circulation socialist weekly in the United States.

The two methods used to expand *The Militant's* circulation are the campaigns to sell single issues and the subscription drives. In the past few years we have successfully combined both methods and this fall we plan to do the same.

We aim to institutionalize higher overall sales of the paper and to do



Militant business manager Rose Ogden outlines fall sales drive at Militant circulation workshop.

it in coordination with all the other political activity socialists participate in.

The fall campaign will emphasize *consistency*. Each area will take an ambitious but realistic goal and organize to meet it each week from the outset of the campaign. The goals are not set at the highest level they could be if all other activity were subordinated to the task of selling *The Militant*. Rather the goals are designed to fit *Militant* sales into a rounded, balanced plan of activity. The measure of the campaign's success will be *how many areas* meet their goal each week.

The gains of the past three sales campaigns lay the basis for this fall's projections. *Militant* supporters have established a regular sales base in the Black, Puerto Rican, and Chicano communities, on the campuses, on downtown street corners, and at workplaces in their cities. Continuing these consistent sales will be a focus for the fall.

The sales campaign also helps to increase the number sold regularly. Average sales during the spring campaign of 1974 were 8,400 weekly—a considerable jump from the spring 1973 average of 6,500. With each area shooting to meet their goals consistently this fall, the average number sold should climb even higher.

Respond to local events

The ongoing sales campaign will provide the best jumping-off point for substantially increasing sales any one week in response to major political developments. All areas will be geared up for shooting over their weekly goals as events break in their cities.

This aspect of *Militant* sales was one of the points discussed in the fall circulation workshop. Rich Stuart from San Francisco explained the importance of *The Militant* during the wave of strikes that took place in that city this past spring involving city workers, carpenters, retail workers, and nurses.

He said socialists were able to explain their proposals for carrying the strikes forward and to introduce militant workers to socialist ideas through the pages of *The Militant*. "In each one of those strike situations it was *The Militant* around which we hinged much of our activity," Stuart said.

Atlanta *Militant* supporters told how they sold nearly 900 copies of the issue of *The Militant* featuring a front-page story on the struggle of the Atlanta Black community against police terror.

When major national and interna-

tional events occur, *Militant* supporters will want to respond with intensified sales across the country.

One week was targeted for an intensive national mobilization for all-out *Militant* sales, planned far in advance. The Nov. 1 *Militant* will be a "Vote Socialist" issue featuring extensive coverage of the SWP election campaigns.

Areas will take higher goals for this week and increase *Militant* sales in coordination with windup activities of the local election campaigns. The model for this special sales week is the target week of last May, when more than 15,000 *Militants* were sold.

Coinciding with the sales campaign will be the drive to win 12,000 *Militant* introductory subscribers. In conjunction with *The Militant*, the *International Socialist Review* set a goal to sell 2,300 three-month subscriptions to the *ISR*. New readers will be urged to take the combination offer of \$2 for an introductory subscription to *The Militant* and the *ISR*.

The advantage of a subscription is that the new reader can see a number of issues instead of just one. This allows people to follow *The Militant's* coverage of unfolding events and to see how socialists react to a variety of issues.

Subscription drives are also essential in expanding the geographical spread of the paper, helping to make *The Militant's* distribution truly national.

Supporters aim to get the bulk of the subscriptions early in the drive by going to campuses as they open throughout their state.

Young Socialist teams

The outreach will be further expanded through the efforts of the 15 Young Socialist teams, who will be traveling full-time across the country armed with *Militants*, the *ISR*, and the *Young Socialist*, newspaper of the YSA.

The teams have taken the goal of selling 3,600 *Militant* subscriptions during the eight weeks they will be on the road. The subscriptions will assure that a whole layer of young people will have contact with socialist ideas even after the teams have moved on.

Each team has also pledged to sell 100 copies of *The Militant* and 100 copies of the *YS* weekly.

Subscription sales will also be organized in the Black, Puerto Rican, and Chicano communities.

Another aspect of the subscription drive is to sell subs to co-workers and others in the course of political activity or on the job. The new prepaid subscription cards will facilitate this effort. (See accompanying article.)

The *Young Socialist* also launched a sales campaign at the Socialist Activists and Educational Conference. The goal is to sell 11,500 *YSs* monthly.

The Militant's circulation drive enables supporters to get *The Militant* into the hands of thousands of people every week. Through our consistent sales and geographical outreach *Militant* supporters project the socialist movement in a visible and aggressive manner as the political alternative to the capitalist parties in power.

In one of his letters from prison in 1944, James P. Cannon summed up the value of this kind of propaganda effort:

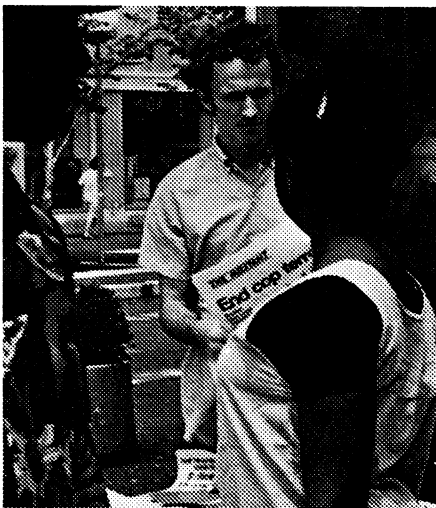
"Our distributors and sub canvassers should swarm like bees at every labor and radical gathering. . . . We should now reappear at the colleges also. Our aim should be to *swamp* all relatively progressive articulate circles with the *volume* of our propaganda; to psychologize them with the impression of our energy and aggressiveness. This is a weapon."

It is with this spirit that we embark on this fall's circulation offensive.

Help sell The Militant

Join *The Militant's* fall sales campaign.

You can participate in weekly sales with members of the Socialist Workers Party or the Young Socialist Alliance in your area. Their



addresses are listed in the Socialist Directory on page 30.

Or you can order a bundle directly from the Militant Business Office. The cost is 17 cents a copy, and we bill you at the end of each month.

The Militant will be printing a scoreboard each week reporting on the progress of the campaign. We hope all salespeople will report the number they sell to the business office so those sales can be included on the scoreboard.

I want to take a weekly sales goal of _____.
Send me a weekly bundle of _____.
Name _____
Address _____
City _____
State _____ Zip _____
14 Charles Lane, New York, N. Y. 10014

Pension 'reform' law: little help for aged

By FRANK LOVELL

The widely heralded pension reform law of 1974 passed the House of Representatives 407-2 and the Senate 85-0.

On Sept. 2, President Ford signed it into law. It was the Labor Day offering of the Ford administration, its first piece of "progressive" legislation.

It seems Ford, like his predecessor, is not one to understate the significance of his own actions. "This is really an historic Labor Day," he said as he signed the bill. "... this legislation will probably give more benefits and rights and success in the area of labor-management than almost anything in the history of the country."

The *AFL-CIO News*, official weekly publication of the national labor federation, headlined the "landmark" event in its Aug. 24 issue, "Major Pension Reforms Cleared to White House."

"The bill is designed to assure some 30 million U.S. workers that they will get the pension benefits they have coming, with new requirements for vesting and funding, a system of federal insurance against bankruptcy of private pension plans and tighter reporting and disclosure laws for pension fund administrators," said the *AFL-CIO News* account.

Officially titled "Employee Retirement Income Security Act of 1974," the law brings private pension funds, in their aggregate exceeding \$150-billion, under federal regulation for the first time.

The legislation is a typical response of the capitalist government to wide-



FORD: Tells workers bogus 'reform' bill is best thing that ever happened to them.



Most retirees won't benefit one iota from new law

spread financial victimization of workers. Pension fraud scandals revealed such callous disregard of human suffering that a show of protection was required.

A government study in 1972 revealed that 1,227 pension plans terminated that year, costing about 20,000 workers a loss of almost \$50-million in benefits.

The United Auto Workers (UAW) documented what some crooked pension schemes have meant to individual workers. *Solidarity*, the UAW monthly publication, reported in its September 1973 issue the case of Thadis Bevelle Jr., "one of 275 UAW Local 601 members who were booted from their jobs when Swedish Crucible Steel Co. decided to dump its 'unprofitable' foundry operation in Hamtramck, Mich."

Bevelle was a three-time loser, having previously been a victim of Murray Body and Packard Motor closings. He had worked for 17 years at Swedish Crucible and lost his pension credits as well as his foundry job when the company folded.

He had slim prospects of another job because of age and health. "Even when I do get one," said Bevelle, "I

can't possibly earn another 17 years of credits before I'm 65."

A UAW booklet, "Keeping Pension Promises," documents other cases:

- Walter Baldrige worked for 44 years at a Studebaker plant and received no pension when the company closed.

- Joe Mansor receives a \$34.65 monthly pension check after 32 years on the job at Eltra's Champlain Avenue plant in Toledo, Ohio.

- Leo Brocki, who had worked 36 years in the aerospace industry, was without pension rights at age 58.

- Guadalupe Luna lost 19 years of pension credits when a Los Angeles fixture manufacturing plant was swallowed up by a conglomerate.

Examples of this kind are in the tens of thousands from all industries and every section of the country. Billions of dollars collected in pension funds were monies that otherwise should have gone to workers in their weekly paychecks, the withheld funds being used for investment purposes in most instances, and in the end often stolen from the workers under one pretext or another.

The new law does nothing to recover these stolen billions. A Public

Pension Benefit Guaranty Corporation, administered by the secretaries of Labor, Treasury, and Commerce, and an advisory committee of seven, will protect an estimated 23 million workers in plans promising specific benefits at retirement. But this applies only after July 1, 1974, for single-employer plans and after Jan. 1, 1978, for multi-employer plans. All who have been robbed or will be robbed before those dates are no-claim losers. The pension-fund robbers are all free to walk away.

There are other aspects of the new law that protect the criminals instead of the victims. It does not cover federal, state, or local government pension plans. It sets no benefit levels. It requires no employer to pay pension benefits. All it does is regulate the pension funds established by voluntary pension plans and those won in collective bargaining.

A provision of the law allows for individual retirement accounts. Self-employed persons can deduct tax-free 15 percent of income, up to \$7,500 a year, compared to the current \$2,500 limitation. This is of no benefit to workers who average around \$10,000 gross income and cannot put away a dime. It is another tax loophole for the rich.

"The vast majority of persons now under pension plans still will not get a benefit," says Karen Ferguson, attorney for a Ralph Nader consumer group. She contends, "The bill will take care of the horror stories, but three-fourths of the total private work force still is not going to have any supplement to Social Security at all."

Merton Bernstein, professor of law at Ohio State University, in an article for *The Nation* (April 27) called the legislation "Bogus Pension Reform." He says, "A typical blue-collar plan paying \$5 a month for each credited year of work would provide after five years a benefit of \$6.25 a month or \$75 a year—a paltry amount."

Pension plans are supposed to provide a supplement to the present inadequate Social Security benefits. Only a small minority of workers ever collect private pensions, and those who collect get far less than the advertised \$750 monthly maximum.

Instead of hailing this bogus pension reform as a major victory for the working class, the union movement would do well to fight now for adequate Social Security payments that will benefit all workers upon retirement.

Teamster picket killed in UPS strike

By FRED RICHARDS

NEW YORK — Edward Dougherty is dead. The 4,000 truck drivers, helpers, and package sorters of International Brotherhood of Teamsters Local 804 will not forget how he was killed.

The 43-year-old Dougherty, a business agent for Local 804, was run down by a 15-ton tractor-trailer while picketing with 150 fellow union members at the United Parcel Service (UPS) distribution center in Secaucus, N.J.

According to a union picket who was there, after the truck hit Dougherty it backed up and ran over him a second time. He died an hour later.

Dougherty was killed Aug. 29, the second day of a strike by Local 804 against UPS, the leading money-maker of U.S. motor carriers. UPS handles 200,000 packages a day in the metropolitan New York area, a major source of its revenue.

Local 804 strikers were picketing the Secaucus plant in an attempt to win support from truck drivers of their sister Teamster Local 177 and thereby

halt all UPS transport in and out of the greater New York area.

When many Local 177 drivers refused to cross the picket line, the UPS bosses ordered their supervisor flunkies to organize a scab truck convoy to crash the picket line. The trucks were driven by supervisors and at least one Local 177 driver, Ernest Henry, who did the employers' dirty work by running down Dougherty.

Key issues for striking UPS workers, in addition to higher wages and cost-of-living adjustments, are job security and forced overtime.

The job security issue centers on UPS's attempt to remove union contract language limiting the number of part-time workers it can hire, while at the same time inserting new wording that would eliminate full-time jobs in favor of part-time jobs.

Related to job security is the frequent involuntary overtime forced on workers by fast-growing UPS. One Local 804 shop steward said many drivers regularly work two or three hours of forced overtime a day, and by the time they get home at night they are too

exhausted to do anything but grab a quick meal and fall asleep.

But UPS, in a drive to boost profits, refuses to hire any more full-time drivers or inside workers and is hiring part-timers instead. The part-time workers are paid less than half the hourly wages of full-timers (less than \$3 an hour compared to \$6 for some full-timers) and receive no benefits such as hospitalization coverage.

Local 804 has demanded that there be a limit to the number of part-timers and that the full-time work force not be reduced by attrition or any other schemes. The result of its showdown with UPS on this issue could have important ramifications across the country, where by and large UPS has not encountered major strike resistance to its part-timer forced-overtime drive.

UPS has exploited differences among the leaderships of Local 804, Local 177, and the top officials of the Teamsters. Locals 804 and 177 both represent UPS drivers, helpers, and sorters in the New York area.

Continued on page 30

Fears of depression grow

Ford plan: stepped-up attack on workers

By DICK ROBERTS

"We are in a recession now, and there is every indication that we are going into a depression," AFL-CIO President George Meany said in Washington Aug. 31.

According to the latest Gallup Poll, the overwhelming majority of Americans believe that the economic situation will worsen during the next six months—68 percent of those interviewed.

Almost half—46 percent—predict another depression such as that in the 1930s. "Rarely in the four-decade history of Gallup audits . . . has concern over the economy been so prominent," the pollsters stated.

The reasons are not hard to find.

"Months of economic sluggishness, with little prospect of improvement, have left millions wondering how long their jobs will continue," *U.S. News & World Report* said Sept. 2.

"Unprecedented inflation has turned out to be far more persistent than people had been led to expect. . . .

"People feel poorer . . . because they are poorer. After decades of vigorously growing wealth, the country now has seen a very sharp downturn in the net assets of Americans."

Every economic statistic indicates a worsening situation:

- Unemployment rose in July to an official rate of 5.3 percent. Compared to an unemployment rate of 3.5 percent for adult men, the rate was 5.2 percent for adult women and 16.2 percent for teen-agers. The unemployment rate for Black workers climbed from 8.8 percent in June to 9.4 percent, and the rate for Black teenagers jumped from 30.3 percent to 35.3 percent.

- Consumer prices continued to rise—at a rate of 0.8 percent in July—so that the July level was 11.8 percent above a year earlier. This made real wages 5.3 percent lower than a year ago.

- Most ominous was a whopping 3 percent rise in farm prices in the month ending Aug. 15, so food prices in the supermarkets are bound to rise in coming months as these price increases are passed on to consumers.

Wholesale prices altogether rose 3.7 percent in July, the biggest jump for any month in the current period of sustained inflation except for August 1973.

Recession deepens

The government still officially refuses to call it a recession, but the fact is, consumer purchasing power



Ford and economic advisers. Administration plans layoffs, wage 'guidelines,' and cutbacks.

has already been much harder hit than in the past three recessions.

This significant information was revealed by the First National City Bank in its August economic newsletter: Measured in terms of what is actually bought, rather than in prices, personal consumption has fallen 2.4 percent. This compares to a rise of 1.1 percent in the 1969-70 recession; a fall of 0.5 percent in the 1960-61 recession; and a fall of 1.4 percent in the 1957-58 recession.

But the clearest indicator that the recession is going to deepen comes in a different set of statistics, the inventory buildup in manufacturing. As of July, even discounting for inflated prices, manufacturer's inventories continued to rise.

As real wages sag and workers' purchasing power declines, manufacturers will soon have to cut further back on production to allow these bloated stocks of goods to decline. That will mean a further cutback in jobs, which in turn will "multiply" back through the economy, all the more cutting into purchasing power and deepening the recession.

Noteworthy too was the announcement by the Ford Motor Company that it will reduce its *capital spending* (spending on machinery and plant facilities) in 1975 by more than \$220-million. This is in anticipation of "only a modest increase" in 1975 car sales, Henry Ford II declared.

So far capital spending elsewhere in the economy is continuing to rise. But if cuts like the one announced by Ford were to spread, and if they coincided with the necessary reduction of inventories, it would cause the recession to take on truly crisis proportions.

In response to the mounting anger at inflation and joblessness, the White House has announced its two-day "summit conference" on inflation for Sept. 27-28. Although the exact steps that will be decided on cannot be known, it is certain that no good for the working person will come of this meeting.

A fairly good idea of the kind of economic measures President Ford will come up with after the summit can be gotten from those that have already been undertaken:

- After repeatedly denying that he would adopt any kind of wage controls, Ford urged Congress to defer until Jan. 1, 1975, a 5.5 percent pay boost for more than 3.5 million government employees. This three-month wage freeze would cost the workers

involved \$700-million. Comparable steps were taken by the Nixon administration before and during the "New Economic Policy."

- Administration officials have given "strong hints" that "wage guidelines" will be developed, according to the Sept. 3 *Wall Street Journal*. Such guidelines, first imposed by the Kennedy administration, are always used to batter workers' demands below what they need to catch up with spiraling prices.

- Secretary of Labor Peter Brennan indicated that the administration will not adopt a public works job program unless unemployment reaches 7 percent. Even then, what has been suggested is a program to hire only 800,000 workers. If the unemployment rate does reach 7 percent, which is not at all unlikely, it would mean nearly six million workers would be officially unemployed, with millions more than that jobless but discouraged from seeking work.

- The White House is seeking heavy budget cutbacks. A favorite of President Ford's is to reduce educational benefits for veterans by some \$300-million.

All of these measures boil down to the same thing—attacking workers' jobs and wages—with a token job program thrown in if the pressure on the government gets too rough. None of the measures is intended to prevent the recession from getting deeper.

It is the clear policy of the government to allow the recession to deepen. The ruling class hopes that this will ultimately force workers to tone down their wage demands and give U.S. capitalism a freer hand in world competition.

World depression?

For it is in the *world economy* that the most serious signs of a possible international depression have begun to occur. Reporting from Paris Aug. 25, *New York Times* correspondent Clyde Farnsworth said, "The economic gloom is deepening in Western nations as stock markets crumble, bankruptcies rise, inflation rages and unemployment climbs toward what many fear will be unacceptably high levels this winter."

"For the first time since the nineteen-thirties," Farnsworth continued, "a slump has hit the major trading nations at roughly the same time."

"This convergence represents a dangerous new element, in the opinion of many bankers and economists, because of the possibility that it could

touch off a process in which recessionary forces begin feeding on themselves."

The previous day, Aug. 24, West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt took the highly unusual step of publicly warning the Ford administration that if it continues to pursue recessionary policies, the grave downturn in the United States would pull down the rest of the capitalist world.

Schmidt's move came with the background of three West German bank failures within two weeks in August.

The West German banks are small ones, but on Sept. 2 it was revealed that Lloyds Bank of Britain, one of that nation's most powerful financial institutions, had lost up to \$75-million in "irregular" currency transactions.

Italian crisis

Although the details on these bank failings have been kept secret, there are many indications that they involve the acute economic difficulties of Italy. The Lloyds losses came in dealings with its branch in Lugano, Switzerland, near the Italian border.

West Germany announced Aug. 31 that it would lend Italy \$2-billion to help bail the government out of its financial crisis. This would seem to show that other West German banks besides those that have already failed, and probably larger ones, have loans to Italy, and the government in Bonn is fearful of new failures.

Most interesting was an article buried in the *New York Times* financial pages Sept. 3, saying that the U.S. Office of the Controller of Currency has alerted its bank examiners to view all medium and long-term loans to Italian government agencies and Italian banks and companies as "problematical." Nothing like a little "internationalism" between capitalist powers!

But it is precisely the impossibility of "internationalism" between competing capitalist nations that gets to the heart of the dangerous world economic situation.

The Ford administration is following recessionary policies—and will refuse to accede to Bonn's request—because U.S. capitalism is trying to improve its competitive position in world trade. Hold down American workers' wage demands, cheapen U.S. goods, and carve out bigger foreign markets—this is the central program of U.S. capitalism. It could lead to another world depression as it did in the 1930s.



London. Losses of major British bank highlight shakiness of world economy.

3,000 rally in L.A.: 'End deportations!'

By MARIANA HERNANDEZ

LOS ANGELES—In August of 1970, Chicanos expressed deep hatred of the war in Vietnam by marching 30,000-strong through East Los Angeles chanting: "Raza Si, Guerra No!" A bloody attack on that demonstration by the Los Angeles County sheriff's department resulted in the deaths of three Chicanos, including Ruben Salazar, the noted Chicano journalist.

Four years later, on Aug. 31, the anniversary of the attack on the Chicano Moratorium, nearly 3,000 people

Mariana Hernandez is a Socialist Workers Party candidate for East Los Angeles city council.

ple marched through East Los Angeles. This time the chant was: "Raza Si, Migra No!"

Organized as a march and rally against deportations, it was one of the first significant united demonstrations in East Los Angeles since 1970. Some 30 organizations endorsed the march and organized contingents to participate.

Organizers of the action included the antideportation organization CASA, Comité Nacional pro Liberación de Los Tres, MECHA (Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlan—Chicano Student Movement of Aztlan),

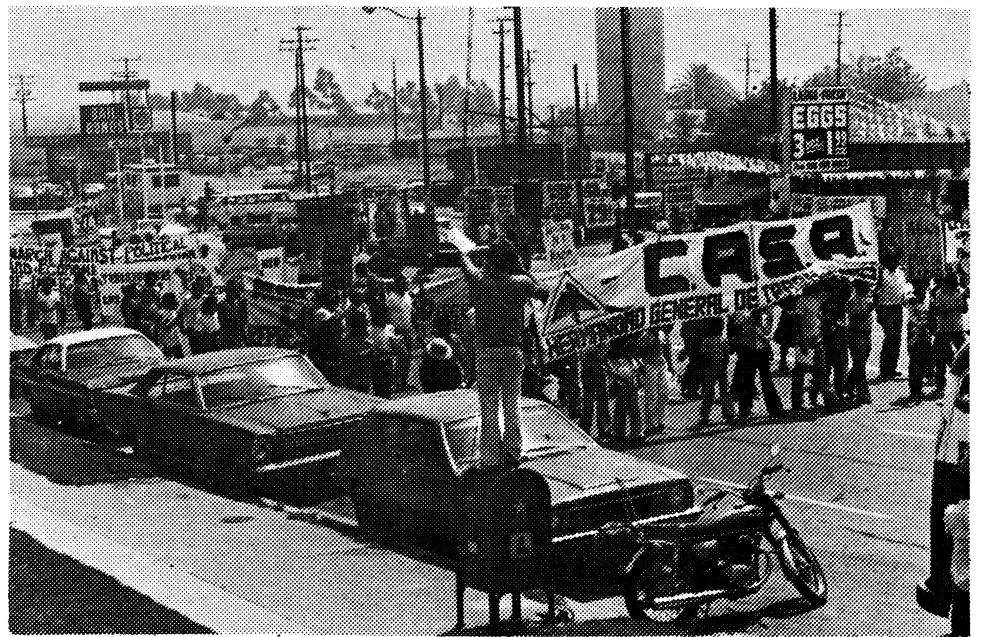
Centro de la Raza—Long Beach, Teatros Unidos, Committee for Defense of the Bill of Rights, U. S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners, Young Socialist Alliance, Socialist Workers Party, Revolutionary Union, Brown Berets, New American Movement, and the Coalition Against Racism and Repression.

This demonstration against *la migra* (the Immigration and Naturalization Service) takes on special importance because it comes at a time when a new lynch spirit is being whipped up against undocumented workers, and harassment by *la migra* is being stepped up.

Since 1970 *la migra* has pushed out more than two million workers who happen to be citizens of Mexico. The projected number for this year is 800,000.

The demonstration made clear that leaders of the United Farm Workers do not speak for the Chicano movement in their recent attacks on undocumented workers. The East Los Angeles marchers rejected the notion that the farm workers' struggles, which they support, can be won by calling on *la migra*.

Literature circulated at the rally emphasized that workers without papers are an integral part of the working people of the United States and it is



Los Angeles, Aug. 31

Militant/Walter Lippmann

not these workers who are to blame for unemployment, low wages, and high inflation.

Lucy Pérez, speaking for the sponsoring coalition, explained that at the same time that workers are being forcibly deported across borders, big corporations disregard these same borders in setting up multinational operations.

The rally was chaired by Bert Co-

rona of CASA. Speakers included representatives of Los Tres, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the Mexican trade-union movement, Dennis Banks of the American Indian movement, and others.

The turnout for the demonstration was encouraging. The action was built through weekly meetings of participating groups and individuals in a serious, democratic manner. Builders agreed on the basic purpose—the fight for full civil rights for undocumented workers and opposition to reactionary laws and gestapo-like practices of the Immigration Service.

Agreement was also reached to organize the demonstration in the manner that would reduce the danger of provocation and police attack to a minimum. Well-organized monitoring testified to the seriousness of participants and the determination to wage an effective fight against victimization of undocumented workers.

It was clearly understood that if the police attacked this demonstration as they had in 1970, those most severely hurt would be the undocumented workers. The demonstration was orderly and disciplined. Because its character was clearly spelled out and carried through, the onus for any violence would have landed on the cops. They chose to be on "good behavior."

This action lays the basis for further united action on this issue and will no doubt prove a unifying factor for even broader forces in the movement.

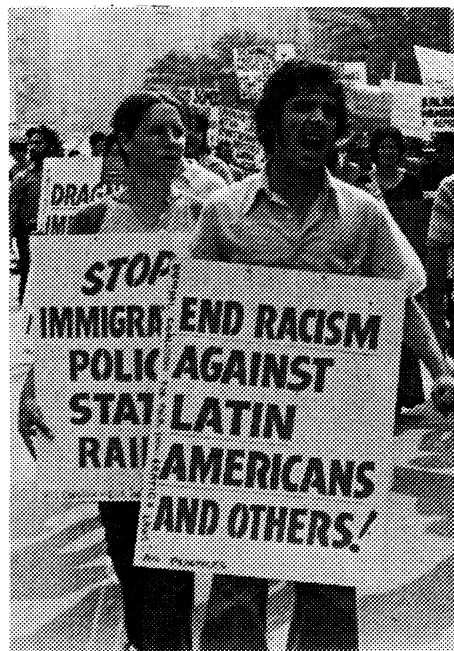
NY march defends undocumented workers

By SALLY RHETT

NEW YORK—More than 400 people marched in a spirited demonstration here Aug. 31 demanding an end to the deportation of undocumented workers.

The march ended in a rally at the Plaza Caribe, a gathering place for the many Dominicans and Haitians living on the Upper West Side of Manhattan.

The National Coalition for Fair Immigration Laws and Practices, which sponsored the demonstration, includes representatives from the Puerto Rican Socialist Party; Committee for the Defense of Immigrants (CODI), a coalition of 68 Latin-American groups; Committee for the Defense of Human Rights in the Dominican Republic; Socialist Workers Party; Committee for the Defense of Haitian Workers; Par-



Militant/Claudio Tavaraz

tido Revolucionario Dominicano (PRD); Partido por el Liberación Dominicano (PLD); Línea Roja; Socio Cultural Deportivo Maria Trinidad Sanchez; Young Socialist Alliance; the U. S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners; CASA; and Young Workers Liberation League.

The rally at Plaza Caribe was marred by a takeover of the stage by the PRD and Línea Roja, a Maoist organization. The takeover prompted the PSP, CODI, and the Committee for Fair Immigration Laws and Practices (the main organizers of the action) to leave.

However, CODI representative José Luis Alveraz later spoke to the rally and urged the need for unity in the antideportation struggle.

First Attica trials set; protests gaining support

By DAVID STRONG

BUFFALO, N. Y.—On Sept. 3 Special Attica Judge Carmen Ball denied a defense motion for a delay in the proceedings and set Sept. 16 and Sept. 30 as trial dates for several of the 61 Attica Brothers.

Defense attorneys cited a wide range of reasons for the needed delay. They noted the gross financial inequity—the fact that the state has spent more than \$6-million of taxpayers' money on the prosecution, while the Attica Brothers and their lawyers have not received a cent of publicly allocated funds to prepare their defense.

The defense attorneys also noted the prosecution's refusal to turn over fundamental discovery material, such as photographic and physical evidence.

Moreover, the defense argued, the preparation of an adequate defense of the Brothers requires an investigation into a wide range of matters that support the defense contention that, in the words of attorney Leonard Klai, "These cases are being brought be-

cause Nelson Rockefeller committed murder at Attica."

In arguing that the conduct and nature of the prosecution is material relevant to the defense, Attica Brothers Legal Defense staff attorney Dennis Cunningham told Judge Ball, "Even the picture on the wall in your chambers, judge, showing you and Nelson Rockefeller with your arms around each other, is relevant to these cases."

In denying the defense motion for more time, Judge Ball simply stated, "The state has a right to a speedy trial, although you don't hear much about this."

Judge Ball set Sept. 16 as the trial date for Brothers Raymond Jackson and Willie Smith. Sept. 30 has been set as the trial date for Brothers Greg Felder, Peter Galvin, John Hill, and Charlie Joe Pernašilice.

In light of Judge Ball's ruling, trial dates for all 61 defendants will probably be set during the next week.

This is in spite of the fact that a defense motion to dismiss the charges

is pending before the judge. This motion, to be argued next week, is based on the results of a recent attitudinal study of potential jurors, which indicates widespread bias against the Attica defendants throughout Erie County, the seat of the trials.

Meanwhile, support is growing for the defense call for a rally on Sept. 14 in Buffalo in solidarity with the Attica Brothers. Buses are scheduled to arrive from Rochester, Syracuse, New York City, and Detroit.

The demonstration, which occurs on the third anniversary of the Attica uprising and massacre, was called by the Attica Brothers Legal Defense "to commemorate the spirit of the Brothers at Attica and to raise public awareness of the upcoming trials."

The demands being put forward by the Attica Brothers and the Legal Defense are that: "1) All 42 indictments against the 61 Brothers be dropped; 2) The state indict the real criminals responsible for the 43 deaths—Rockefeller, Oswald, and the state troopers;

3) The original humanitarian demands of D Yard be implemented."

The rally is scheduled to begin at noon Sept. 14 in Niagara Square. It has been endorsed by a wide range of groups, including Vietnam Veterans Against the War, New American Movement, Young Socialist Alliance, Youth Against War and Fascism, National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression, and Revolutionary Student Brigade.

The New York City offices of the Attica Brothers Legal Defense are planning a memorial event to take place at Union Theological Seminary, Broadway and 120th Street, at 7:30 p.m. Sept. 13.

At midnight, buses will be available at 120th and Broadway to take supporters to Buffalo for the Sept. 14 demonstration. For more information on tickets to the New York City memorial and bus reservations, call Attica Brothers Legal Defense, (212) 662-1192.

National UMW walkout for safety

Ky. miners win 13-month strike

By CINDY JAQUITH

Striking miners in Brookside, Ky., won their 13-month battle against the Duke Power Company Aug. 29, capping a nationwide walkout by the United Mine Workers (UMW) in protest of unsafe working conditions.

The Brookside victory not only means a union contract for the 180 workers at Duke Power's Brookside mine, but it marks an important breakthrough for the thousands of other unorganized miners in eastern Kentucky. In addition, the settlement enhances the position of the UMW in its national contract talks, scheduled to begin Sept. 3.

When the Brookside strikers walked out in July 1973, it was over Duke Power's refusal to honor the UMW national contract terms. The miners had voted to be represented by the UMW, rejecting their previous bargaining agent, the Southern Labor Union, a notorious company union.

Duke refused to accept such demands as the right to strike, increased royalties for the welfare fund, decent pensions, and the right of the miners to an elected safety committee.

Demands won

In the strike settlement—participated in by federal mediator W.J. Usery—Duke was forced to back down on every single point. The company accepted all the terms of the 1971 UMW contract, which remains in force until Nov. 12. Duke even agreed to accept in advance the terms of the new UMW contract to be negotiated this fall.

According to the 1971 contract, the Brookside miners will now have:

- An elected safety committee that can close down a mine it deems unsafe.
- A doubling of the royalties paid by Duke into the union welfare fund.
- Hospital and pension benefits, which under the Southern Labor Union were virtually impossible to collect.

In addition, Duke agreed to rehire 59 miners it had fired during the course of the strike and to drop the charges filed against picketers. The UMW agreed it would not authorize any strike at Brookside between now and the time a new national contract is reached. This means that the Brookside mine would continue to operate in the event of a national UMW strike.

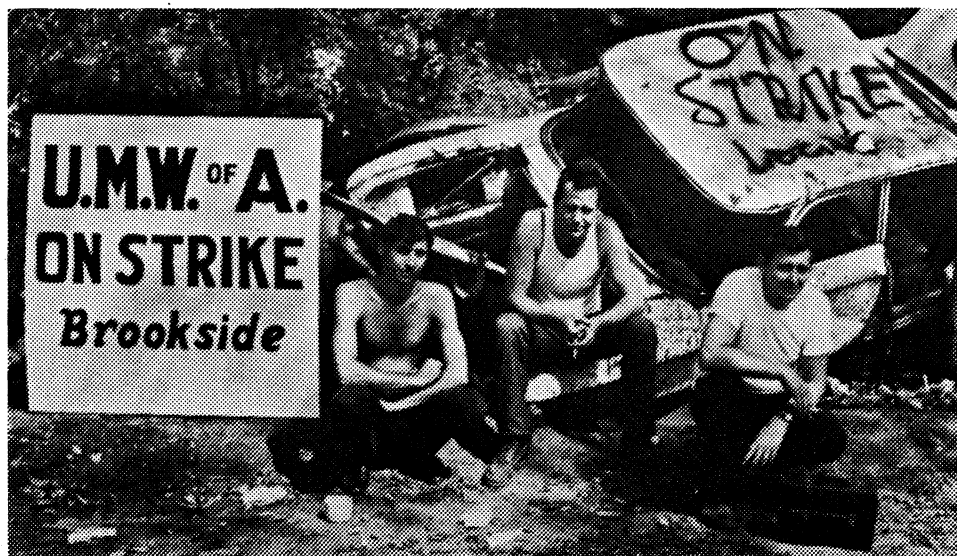
The settlement came about after striker Lawrence Jones, 23, died from shotgun wounds Aug. 28. Jones was

slain by one of Duke's foremen.

The killing of Jones climaxed months of terrorist attacks on the strikers by Duke's gun thugs, who fired at picket lines and shot up miners' homes. The state police had also escalated their harassment of strikers.

In protest of this wave of violence, the UMW had mobilized thousands of members from surrounding states to march on Harlan County (where the Brookside mine is located) in two strike support actions.

These events threatened to jeopardize the national contract negotiations about to begin for the new UMW contract. This is why the federal government decided to intervene to arrange a settlement.



Brookside strike victory will spur efforts to organize nonunion mines

The fear of a nationwide coal strike over the new contract demands has been haunting the coal bosses and the government for some time. And the UMW's five-day "memorial" shutdown served to demonstrate the potential power of such a prolonged strike.

While the resolution of the Brookside strike now means that negotiations for the new contract will proceed, it also means that miners have been given new confidence in their ability to fight and win. This will be an important factor if the union does go on strike.

The Brookside victory will also have an impact on non-UMW miners, particularly those in eastern Kentucky.

The victory has already inspired miners from nonunion mines in the area to begin organizing drives. Fifty million of the 135 million tons of non-UMW coal produced nationally comes from eastern Kentucky.

Houston Elmore, Brookside strike organizer, says the attitude toward the UMW "has really changed." He predicts that organizing efforts will "snowball" in the next few months.

Right after the settlement, he reports, six men from another mine in Harlan County came to him with 100 signed union cards, asking for help in their organizing drive.

Strike activists are looking forward to helping out in other such organizing drives. "If anything starts, we'll be in it," says Gussie Mills, a leader of the Brookside Women's Club. The club played a key role in the strike, mobilizing the miner's wives, daughters, sisters, and friends for picket duty when court injunctions prevented the miners themselves from stopping scabs at the mine entrance.

'Gun thugs on run'

"Looks like we 'bout got the gun thugs on the the run," says Mills. "The women are going to stay together now," she adds. "If they have other picket lines at other mines around

here, why, the women will be on 'em."

The strike victory came on the heels of a five-day walkout by UMW members across the nation in a "memorial period" shutdown called by the union leadership.

The Aug. 19-23 action closed 1,200 mines. According to the *Washington Post*, "An estimated 9 million tons of soft coal, or about 70 per cent of the nation's weekly total, stayed in the ground as a result."

The UMW contract allows for 10 "memorial days" each year, traditionally used to commemorate miners killed on the job.

"At a time when coal miners are being asked to double or even triple coal production," said UMW President Arnold Miller, "it is important to pause

and remember the price miners have paid throughout this century to insure the nation an adequate supply of coal. We do not intend to pay that price again."

Since the beginning of the century, more than 100,000 miners have been killed. Seventy-three have already died in the mines this year.

Several rallies were held across the country during the walkout, including one of nearly 2,000 miners in Washington, D.C. The Washington action focused on opposition to James Day, acting head of the U.S. Mine Enforcement and Safety Administration (MESA). Day, a former CIA agent, faces confirmation hearings soon.

Outrage at MESA's refusal to enforce safety provisions brought miners to the rally from as far away as Alabama and Illinois. One miner from Pennsylvania told *Militant* reporter Steve Watson that he had come to Washington for the first time in his life, "because we don't want to see any more miners' widows."

'Safety or else'

The demonstrators carried signs saying, "UMWA: Safety or Else" and "73 Dead: Mine Coal Safety or not at All."

At the rally, UMW Vice-President Mike Trbovich said, "We are not going to let them use the energy crisis as an excuse to kill miners." Other speakers included Arnold Miller, UMW counsel Joseph Yablonski, and Senator Richard Schweiker (R-Penn.).

After the rally the miners marched to the MESA offices, chanting, "We want safety!" and "Dump Day!"

The demand for the removal of Day has been given added force since the union discovered that he is secretly campaigning for 23 crippling amendments to the 1969 Coal Mine Health and Safety Act. The act is already inadequate—almost 800 miners have

Continued on page 30

Southern textile workers vote for union

The Textile Workers Union of America (TWUA) has scored a victory in its 11-year effort to organize Southern textile mills.

In a National Labor Relations Board election completed Aug. 28, workers at a seven-plant complex of J.P. Stevens & Company in Roanoke Rapids, N.C., voted 1,685 to 1,448 to be represented by the TWUA.

This was the union's first election victory at J.P. Stevens, which is the second-largest textile manufacturer in the country and employs about 47,000 workers.

Union leaders said the vote would be a major step toward unionizing the largely unorganized, low-wage textile industry in the South. Wilbur Hobby, president of the North Carolina AFL-CIO, told reporters the victory meant "a new day in Dixie."

"J.P. first, the textile industry second, and then the whole South," he said.

Nick Zonarich, organizing director of the AFL-CIO's Industrial Union Department, lauded the vote as "a smashing victory" and "a breakthrough in the basic textile industry in the Carolinas."

J.P. Stevens is notorious for its vicious antiunion policies: harassing, firing, and blacklisting workers who support the union. Time and again the company has been found guilty of unfair labor practices by the National Labor Relations Board and the courts. In the past seven years it has had to pay \$1.3-million in back pay to 289 workers illegally fired for union activity.

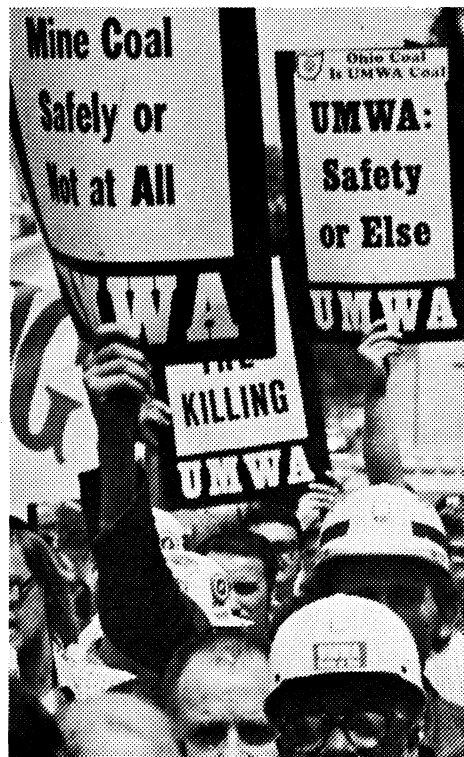
Last December two J.P. Stevens officials were convicted for bugging a motel room in Wallace, S.C., from which union organizers were working.

The union had lost a collective-bargaining election in the same seven Roanoke Rapids plants in 1965. That vote was overturned by the NLRB because of the company's illegal practices, but the new election was not held until this year.

Changes in the composition and attitudes of the work force since 1965 evidently helped the union. In 1965 nearly all the workers were white; now 40 percent are Black, and these workers are strong supporters of the union.

Older workers, who in the past tended to be more antiunion, are growing dissatisfied with the company "profit sharing" plan. Like many other textile manufacturers, J.P. Stevens does not have a pension plan but pays retirees from a "profit sharing" investment fund. Because of the current sharp stock market slump, payments for many workers have plummeted.

While the majority vote for the union is an important victory, it is no guarantee that the TWUA can force J.P. Stevens to sign a contract. That is liable to take further hard-fought battles. But the growth of prounion sentiment indicates that if the TWUA moves ahead with an aggressive drive to organize the South, these battles can be won.



Militant/Steve Watson
Miners' rally in Washington, D.C., during five-day walkout.

Labor Day message

This Labor Day working people found themselves in the worst economic squeeze in decades: skyrocketing prices, rising unemployment, cutbacks in social services.

Few have confidence in the government to solve these problems. The latest Gallup Poll found that by far the largest proportion of Americans surveyed—44 percent—hold the federal government chiefly to blame for inflation. An earlier Harris Poll found that 60 percent of those interviewed thought the government's economic policies "are doing more harm than good."

The government's attacks on working people are not mistakes or accidents. Nor are they the doing of one antilabor president or one antilabor party. The government's economic policies, which are backed 100 percent by both the Democratic and Republican parties, are designed first and foremost to protect the profits of big business. And in this time of sharpening competition among the world's capitalist powers, that can only be done by cutting back on the living standards of workers.

What did the official leaders of the labor movement have to say on the occasion of Labor Day? AFL-CIO President George Meany called for tinkering with federal monetary policy. United Steelworkers President I. W. Abel said 6 percent unemployment would be "sinful" and asked for "some preventive medicine." Just what that would be he didn't say. Teamster President Frank Fitzsimmons said if inflation hasn't slowed down in six months, the government should "roll back prices where profits have been exorbitant." As if two and a half years of "wage-price controls" hadn't shown that the only thing the government ever rolls back is wages.

Not one of them had a word to say about mobilizing the tremendous power of the trade-union movement to protect their members' livelihoods. That's what working people really need, united labor action to win:

- Escalator clauses to protect all wages, Social Security, pensions, welfare, and other income of working people.

- Jobs for all through a shorter workweek (with no cut in take-home pay) and a massive federally funded program of useful public works.

- Massive spending on education, health, transportation, and other social services coupled with elimination of the \$100-billion military budget.

The unions cannot fight effectively for such a program, however, so long as they are politically tied to the capitalist Democratic and Republican parties. There are no "friends of labor" in these parties.

If the labor movement is to fight for the interests of workers in the political arena—and this is the only way the economic crisis can be tackled—it will require independent political action through the formation of a labor party.

Amnesty actions

The amnesty issue is being used as a ploy by President Ford to try to salvage a little credibility for his administration.

With Nixon—who appointed Ford—and most of Nixon's administration exposed as big-time criminals, it is increasingly difficult for the rulers of this country to maintain the stance that those who resisted Nixon's hated war are criminals as well. Especially since Nixon goes scot-free for his crimes, with a huge pension from taxpayers' money to boot.

Ford's proposal is not even for amnesty, however. This man—who voted all along for a war opposed by the majority of Americans—arrogantly proposes to give war resisters "a second chance." Ford has only raised the idea of "earned reentry" based on individual investigations and a penalty of a certain period of "public service."

As AMEX/Canada (Americans Exiled in Canada) has pointed out, Ford's proposal is nothing but a more sophisticated way of branding war resisters as criminals. And it does not even address itself to the injustice of the half-million Vietnam-era veterans who received less than honorable discharges, many of them for expressing antiwar or antiracist views in the armed forces.

Sept. 29 to Oct. 6 has been designated a national week of actions demanding amnesty for all war resisters. The fight for universal and unconditional amnesty is at the same time a fight to explain to the American people the criminality of the Vietnam war itself, a war that still continues through indirect U. S. intervention.

We join in the call for broad actions Sept. 29 to Oct. 6.

Cannon's life work

Much sorrow on the death of James Cannon. But I'm sure the remembrance and lifework of Jim will continue on forever through his writings, the Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist Alliance, and the Fourth International. It is just too bad that Jim didn't live long enough to see the socialist reality come true in America.

Enclosed is my contribution to the James P. Cannon Party-Building Fund.

R. F.

Hummelstown, Pa.

Polluting antipollutant

If you had any doubts about the efficacy of the antipollution devices the auto manufacturers are installing on their 1975 models, your worst dreams have come true. The catalytic converters on many 1975 model cars cause an air pollution problem of their own—they emit sulfuric acid into the atmosphere.

A \$3.5-million study of auto emission problems by the Environmental Protection Agency found that converter-equipped cars pour .05 grams of sulfuric acid into the air per mile.

The converter will be installed on about 70 percent of the 1975 model cars.

M. T.

New York, N. Y.

Trotsky vs. Stalin

We of the Black studies class have gained much insight and needed enlightenment from reading *The Militant*.

For years we were aware of the conflict between the adherents of Trotsky and those of Stalin (Communist Party, USA), but were totally unaware of the cause. By reading between lines, comparing notes, and reading other materials we've reached a conclusion in favor of Trotsky. We think the CPUSA is a nonviable, reactionary, bourgeois-oriented social club used to misdirect the oppressed.

A prisoner

Indiana

Urban League

The national Urban League convention was held here at the end of July and was attended by more than 5,000 people. The convention theme was "Full Employment as a National Goal."

Long regarded as part of the civil rights movement, the Urban League showed that it is not immune to the pressures that bear on the Black community today. Vernon Jordan, the league's executive director, strongly criticized the government for the deteriorating economic conditions: "Five million are out of work by the government's own laundered figures. The economy is guided on a wing and a prayer and it looks like it's going to crash." The dismantling of social service programs, Jordan said, shows the government's indifference to the needs and aspirations of Black people.

In spite of this rhetoric, then vice-president Ford and other opponents of Black liberation were invited to speak to the convention. However, convention organizers did ban San Francisco Mayor Alioto from attending because of his racist

attacks on the Black community during the so-called Zebra manhunt.

Although many convention speakers exposed the worsening conditions faced by Black people, the only action proposed was more support of the Black elected officials of the Democratic and Republican parties—the capitalist parties that perpetuate racism, unemployment, and human misery.

Roger Rudenstein

San Francisco

Spreading the word

This is, sadly, the last subscription to *The Militant* I will have sold here. On the other hand, I look forward to spreading the word as a civilian for years to come.

A GI

Georgia

Yecch!

There were some classic quotes from the labor bureaucrats in the "Capitol Stuff" column in the *New York Daily News* of Aug. 23.

Jerome Cahill quotes a "high-ranking AFL-CIO source" as saying: "The mood now is to cooperate. We know Ford is a conservative, but we've lived with conservatives before. And there is a big difference between him and his predecessor. Ford is a conservative with integrity."

Cahill also says that part of the reason for the AFL-CIO's reversing its opposition to the revival of the Cost of Living Council was "AFL-CIO President George Meany's trust in Ford's integrity."

Yecch!

D. P.

Montréal, Québec

Think about it

The Sept. 2 *New York Times* carried an article outlining the federal government's plans to help the jobless should the unemployment rate increase.

Appended to this article was President Ford's Labor Day statement. It ends with the following touching remark (aptly modified by an astute typositor on the *Times* staff): "On this Labor Day, I say to my fellow Americans who have provided us with so much in the past and from whom we expect even more in the future—'think you.'"

It should be noted that this same Labor Day edition of the *Times* begins its price increase from 15 cents to 20 cents. Ask and ye shall receive.

James Kendrick

New York, N. Y.

Ex-cop

I am writing this letter in the hope that some law students, or others who might be employed in the judicial system or other areas of law, may read it. In March 1973 I resigned after having been a policeman for eight and one-half years.

I joined the police suffering from what I now refer to as a boy scout mentality. I honestly believed that by participating in the "legal system" of this country, you could help insure "rule by law" and "equal justice" in America.

After spending five years in the



New York painters' contract

The following is a guest column written by Howard Zucker, a longtime working member of Painters Local 892 in Brooklyn.

The members of Painters District Council 9 in New York City ratified a three-year agreement Aug. 3 by a vote of 1,476 to 649.

A \$.65 increase brings the basic wage from \$7.35 an hour to \$8 for the first year, then to \$9.20 for the last year of the agreement.

Wages will rise percentage-wise for each 1 percent increase above 5 percent in the cost of living for the second and third years. This is, in effect, a very blunted escalator clause.

In addition to accepting a wage increase that does not even keep up with inflation, two major concessions have been made in favor of the employers. The stick (a labor-saving extension to the paint roller for overhead work) is now allowed on new and commercial work. And overtime in commercial work now becomes time-and-a-half instead of double time.

The union leadership sold this agreement to the membership, saying it was the best they could hope to get. They claim, perhaps correctly, that the membership lacks the militancy to carry on an effective strike, if that is made necessary by more meaningful demands.

But if there is latent militancy, the leadership has done its best to smother it. No general membership meeting was held that could permit these tendencies to surface and influence others. Discussion and voting were atomized by being conducted separately in the 20 locals of District Council 9.

Only Local 51, by a vote of 145 to 50, came out strongly against what they termed a "sell-out agreement."

At the same time, the membership was asked to approve a dues checkoff increase of 1 percent. The need for this increase results from the dire financial plight of the district council.

The district council pays the full salaries of the business agents of 18 locals and half the salaries of two others. The membership rolls of many of these

locals do not merit their existence.

This division of the council into so many weak locals has strangled the ability of the union to organize the trade and enforce the agreement. As open-shop contractors continue to chip away at traditional strongholds of the building-trades unions, the need for these craft unions to revise their structure becomes a life-and-death question.

The financial problems of District Council 9 should have raised the need to consolidate the separate locals. But the needs of the officialdom come before the general interest of the union—the additional dues burden was their only answer.

But while the membership accepted the unsatisfactory settlement, they rejected the dues checkoff increase—defeating it by a margin of 195 votes.

Hopefully this will provide an opportunity for conscientious union members to educate others on the importance of making the structural changes the union so badly needs. Local 848, for example, is bringing a resolution before the Painters convention, being held this month in Los Angeles, urging the general executive board to promote amalgamation of the locals.

This latest contract represents the continued acceptance by the Painters union of the frauds of wage-price controls and the energy crisis, just as was done by most unions in this country. It is doubtful that the Painters union by itself, even with better leadership, could overcome the broadside attack on the standard of living of the working class. But just as it is necessary now for District Council 9 to merge and unite the fragmented locals in its jurisdiction, it is also necessary for all unions to combine their forces to repel the antiunion attacks of the employers and the government.

The Painters union can begin such a policy by seeking to collaborate actively with other building-trades unions. Right now there is formal affiliation in building-trades councils, which unfortunately have little content or usefulness. To make them serve the needs of all construction workers is one of the major jobs ahead.

uniform-patrol division, two years in records and information, and one year as a "vice squad detective," I found this to be impossible under a capitalist system.

I cannot count the number of young men I observed recruited from the impoverished areas of Puerto Rico, Appalachia, and the ghettos of the inner cities to work during the "boom" periods in heavy industry through the promise of a "better standard of living" in exchange for their labor. They were the first to be kicked out the plant gate during a "slowdown" and were people least equipped to combat the exploitive nature of a capitalist society.

Too often did I observe them turn to drugs and drunkenness to escape the "American Dream," which had turned into a nightmare and ended in a pool of blood on a barroom floor. I could write at length in regard to police and the double standard of justice, but let it suffice in this letter to say that I am unalterably convinced that the only solution is a socialist workers state.

Gilbert Kudrin
Lorain, Ohio

Amnesty

President Ford's recent statement in favor of conditional amnesty for war resisters is worthy of in-depth analysis by the American public and the media.

The draft and conditional amnesty are forms of slavery. The government is ordering people to serve the country. If one chooses to serve the country by driving a taxicab, does the government have the right to say no, you must fight in wars, or no, you must serve in the Peace Corps?

Those who resisted the war by evading the draft, going to prison, deserting the military, fleeing the country, or withholding taxes did so because they felt they were being denied their democratic rights.

A complete amnesty should be granted. The American people should demand complete amnesty, banning of the draft, cuts in the defense budget, and action to meet the growing needs of the people.

Jim Capobianco
East Boston, Mass.

Profound thanks

I have been receiving your paper for some time now while on my stay here at the Youth Authority concentration camp. I've found each issue to be of much value and enlightening to both Marxist cadres and the "ordinary citizen."

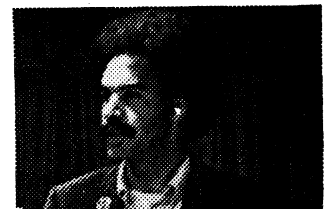
I am leaving this week sometime, and I wish to extend my profound thanks and appreciation for your efforts and concern for us here who "drink the dregs of misery."

A prisoner
California

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if your name may be used or if you prefer that your initials be used instead.

By Any Means Necessary

Baxter Smith



1619, Nat Turner, and slavery

Two days in August, the 20th and 21st, bore special significance in Black history.

On Aug. 20, 1619, the first Kararis, Chakas, and Obafemis—whose offspring would become the Smiths, Williamses, and Joneses that we're known as today—were brought to that New World outpost of white civilization in Jamestown, Va. There were 20 of them on that Dutch man-of-war, and they came as slaves.

To be sure, they were not the first Africans to be brought as slaves to the New World. John Hope Franklin, the Black historian, estimates that there had been Black slavery in the West Indies since at least 1501.

An estimated 100 million Africans were uprooted from their homes in Africa and sold into slavery.

We have all heard or read of how slavery stripped away the African's language, identity, and culture. Frederick Douglass, who was born a slave, often wrote on the slave's condition. Once he said:

"The condition of a slave is simply that of the brute beast. He is a piece of property—a marketable commodity, in the language of the law, to be bought and sold at the will and caprice of the master who claims him to be his property. . . . The will and the wishes of the master are the law of the slave. He is as much a piece of property as a horse."

We have also heard of the mistreatment that slaves received. C. L. R. James, the radical Black historian, gave an example of such treatment in his book *A History of Pan-African Revolt*.

"The Negro was tied to a tree and whipped with switches. When Souther became fatigued with the labour of whipping, he called upon a Negro man of his and made him 'cob' Sam with a single. He also made a Negro woman of his help to 'cob' him. And, after 'cobbing' and whipping, he applied fire to the body of his slave, about his back, belly and

private parts. He then caused him to be washed down with hot water in which pods of red pepper had been steeped. The Negro was also tied to a log, and to the bed-post, with ropes, which choked him, and he was kicked and stamped upon by Souther."

Such treatment, it can be imagined, bred resistance. Resistance often took the form of slave revolts, which brings us to the second date in August—Aug. 21, which marks the day that Nat Turner's slave revolt began in 1831. Although the rising ended in Brother Nat's death on the gallows, his revolt is U.S. history's most famous.

Thomas Gray, the white man who took Brother Nat's "confessions" from him in his jail cell, had this to say:

"The calm, deliberate composure with which he spoke of his late deeds and intentions, the expression of his fiend-like face when excited by enthusiasm, still bearing the stains of the blood of helpless innocence about him; clothed with rags and covered with chains; yet daring to raise his manacled hands to heaven, with a spirit soaring above the attributes of man; I looked on him and my blood curdled in my veins."

Indeed, the courage and selfless daring that Brother Nat and other rebel slaves exhibited back then was extraordinary. Sometimes it is matched by militants in today's struggles.

But today's struggles, by today's slaves, whether over housing, job, or school issues, are laying the grounds for the final revolt of the slaves—not only against the injustices that moved Brother Nat, but those piled up in the 143 years since then.

And although we've got his example, it's too bad Brother Nat won't be around when it comes. Because this time we will win.



That's for ex-presidents—Chesterfield Smith of the American Bar Association said he favors amnesty for draft resisters.

Who's who in D. C.—We don't remember if it was Ford or another car company that used the slogan, "Ask the man who owns one," but we were reminded of it by the following item in the Aug. 15 *Los Angeles Times*:

"On the Wednesday night before President Nixon announced his resignation, a picked team of Gerald R. Ford's trusted advisers met in a handsome Washington home to begin planning an unprecedented transfer of

power. . . . The host for the occasion was William G. Whyte, chief Washington representative of the U. S. Steel Corp., and a Ford friend of 20 years."

Now will you listen?—"When people stop smoking their sex life improves."—Doctor Alton Ochsner, 78, in the *AMA* magazine, *Today's Health*.

Bon appetit—A federal check of meat samples from 20 stores in 10 metropolitan areas showed about 17 percent were contaminated by salmonella bacteria. The chicken samples were up front with 31 percent contaminated.

The government doesn't inspect meat for salmonella because it's not "feasible or economical."

And as fat around the ears—"The leaders of the AFL-CIO are collectively older than those of any body in the world, with the exception of the Vatican Curia."—The *London Times Literary Supplement*.

Paytriotic dispute—Bowling to the pressure of Los Angeles County officials, the management of the Hollywood Bowl reversed its decision to end nightly performances of the Star Spangled Banner at summer concerts.

They had decided to scrap the anthem because its performance sometimes led the orchestra a few minutes past the contracted playing time and the musicians were collecting 15 minutes overtime.

Strictly lower class—" . . . nobody of significance is seeking to overthrow the system."—Erwin Canby, editor emeritus of the *Christian Science Monitor*.

Free World, Inc.—Military dictatorships and other authoritarian regimes will get two-thirds of the \$7.5-billion foreign-aid program originally proposed by Nixon for 1975.

iLa Raza en Acción!

The myth of 'gradualism'

Miguel Pendás



LOS ANGELES—Over the past several years the Chicano liberation movement has mobilized to combat the injustices and racist discrimination to which *la raza* is subjected. Many partial victories have been won. More Chicanos have been admitted to college and the professions. Some of the more virulent racists have been forced to shut up.

But after yielding to pressure and grudgingly granting these concessions, the *gringo* rulers of America turn around and piously tell us that this is proof that the system works, and that things are gradually getting better for Chicanos.

However, the myth of "gradualism" received a heavy blow recently because of a report released by the Census Bureau. It shows that between 1969 and 1973, Chicanos have not made any gains in real income. Furthermore, the gap between Chicanos' and Anglos' incomes is *growing*, not diminishing.

Chicano families are reported to earn an average of \$8,434 a year. The average for all families in the United States is \$12,015. The figure for Anglos is, of course, higher.

The number of Chicano families whose income falls below the official poverty level is 23.5 percent, while it is only 11 percent for the population as a whole.

Puerto Rican families had an even lower average income—only \$6,779 a year, and 34.1 percent are living below the poverty level.

Women are at the bottom of the economic scale. About 23 percent of those "Spanish-origin" men who received incomes in 1973 earned more than \$10,000. But only 3 percent of Spanish-surnamed women had incomes of more than \$10,000. More than half of the women earned less than \$3,000. And among these figures are included Spaniards as well as Cubans and those few other Latin Americans whose income level is closer to that of Anglos.

Chicanos are herded into the worst, lowest-paying jobs by a racist society that denies them the same educational opportunities as Anglos, and where racist hiring practices are the order of the day. On top of all this, Chicanos suffer the added victimization of sexist discrimination.

The same Census Bureau report shows that Chicano enrollment in colleges has been token. The average educational level of Chicanos is not significantly rising.

The Texas Migrant Council also reported recently that migrant farm workers in that state, nearly all of them Chicanos, also face little prospect of improving their situation. The average wage for *campesinos* there is a scandalous \$1.58 an hour.

It is clear that the piecemeal, token solutions to these injustices offered by the Democratic and Republican politicians are not working.

A fighting program is needed to combat these injustices, as well as a mass independent Chicano political party to carry it out.

The workweek should be reduced, with no reduction in pay, to provide jobs for all. Preferential hiring of Chicanos is needed to make up for past discrimination. Preferential admission to college and upgrading programs are also needed. Equal pay for equal work will help alleviate the extra oppression of Chicanas.

A decent minimum wage for all workers must be fought for, as well as cost-of-living escalator clauses in all union contracts. Otherwise, inflation will continue to wipe out whatever wage gains Chicanos and other workers make.

The union officialdom, which has shirked its responsibility to organize Chicano workers, will have to be challenged. Discrimination in the unions must be ended. Formation of Chicano caucuses to defend the interests of Chicano workers will be a key weapon.

The broadest possible movement will have to be mobilized to fight the dual oppression of Chicanos as a people and as workers. And that goes double for Chicanas.

The American Way of Life

Too much meat?

Last year meat prices soared to all-time highs. Why? Sudden shortages in the world market allowed U.S. meat producers to ship beef abroad, holding down the supply here and causing prices to increase sharply.

This year is seeing world overproduction of beef. Europe "is now suffering through the worst beef glut in its history," *New York Times* reporter Paul Kemezis writes from Brussels.

In the United States, cattle feedlots recently had huge backups. Wholesale beef prices were falling sharply, and Congress passed a \$2-billion bill to subsidize raisers of livestock.

But meat prices are still way above the levels of more than a year ago, before the beef price rise began.

The various reasons are a good illustration of the anarchic conditions of capitalist production.

In Europe, the Common Market has bought more than 130,000 tons of beef in order to keep

prices up on the farm. Farmers, especially in France, blocked roads and railroads and attacked trucks and ships bringing imports, in order to dramatize their problems.

But European beef prices have not fallen at the stores. Kemezis reports that "Common Market officials blame this on the efforts of meat packers and distributors to maintain their profit margins."

The feedlot operators in the U.S. were up to the same kind of thing. "The feedlot glut was partially caused by producers holding animals off the market in anticipation of higher prices when economic controls ended," says *Christian Science Monitor* reporter David Cook.

But when the meat showed up on the market at higher prices, many consumers just stopped buying meat. It hadn't been figured on. The beef piled up and wholesale prices fell. U.S. Secretary of Agriculture Earl Butz came on with the line that it was a "whale of a good time" to buy beef.

Congress passed the \$2-billion bill, which guarantees loans of up to \$250,000 to livestock producers.

Now the Common Market has taken a further step, which can only exacerbate the tensions in world trade. That group imposed a ban on most beef imports from nonmember countries. The editors of the *New York Times* moped that "meat exporting countries are suddenly confronted with loss of half of the world's biggest market."

They seem to forget that last year it was selling abroad that helped to let U.S. meat prices soar.

Meanwhile the Soviet Union may purchase 50,000 tons of Common Market beef for about \$830 a ton compared to the \$2,000 a ton the Common Market paid to farmers.

There's "too much" meat in the capitalist world. But they're keeping the prices up so that less of it is getting onto the dinner tables of working people.

—DICK ROBERTS

Judge orders FBI to destroy Lori Paton file

NEW YORK—U.S. District Court Judge James Coolahan has ordered the FBI to destroy all files it has collected on 17-year-old Lori Paton of New Jersey.

The FBI had begun investigation of Paton after intercepting a letter she sent to the Socialist Workers Party early last year as part of an assigned high school project. The letter was intercepted through the FBI's "mail cover" on the SWP national offices.

Judge Coolahan, however, dodged the key civil liberties questions raised in the Paton case. His Aug. 29 ruling refused to grant Paton's demand that all such surveillance of correspondents with political organizations be ended as a violation of their constitutional rights.

Coolahan said Paton could not claim to represent the whole class of those subjected to surveillance for contacting the SWP. Paton, he reasoned, had had only "mild contact" with the party and had been "cleared of suspicion." He implied that others

might be deserving of such surveillance.

Frank Askin of the New Jersey American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) and the Rutgers Constitutional Litigation Clinic, attorney in the case, expressed his determination to appeal these aspects of the decision. "While we're happy for Lori that the records will be destroyed, we think the decision is inadequate," Askin said. "It means the FBI can continue to interfere with political inquiry and keep records on innocent people."

Paton's letter to the SWP was intercepted as part of the "mail cover" ordered by Patrick Gray when he was acting FBI director. Agents had proceeded to investigate Paton's whole family, including visiting the local police department, credit bureau, and her high school principal. The FBI opened a dossier on her titled "Paton, Lori SM-SWP," a designation meaning "subversive matter—Socialist Workers Party."

Judge Coolahan acknowledged that the files "may at a later time become a detriment" to Paton, and ordered them "removed from the custody of the Government and destroyed."

Even this limited ruling was the first of its kind, according to Frank Donner, director of the ACLU's project on political surveillance.

"I have worked in this field for a number of years and I never heard of such a remedy before," he stated. "I hope it's catching."

But even the *New York Times* had to admit that the ruling "constitutes only minimal redress of an obvious misuse of police power." In its Sept. 3 editorial, this capitalist organ said that the decision "failed to remove a continuing threat to any person who might—without notice or personal knowledge—be subjected to political surveillance." (The full text of the editorial is reprinted elsewhere on this page.)

The Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance are waging a suit challenging all forms of political surveillance and harassment by the federal government. In response to this suit, the government has admitted maintaining a program designated by the FBI as the "SWP Disruption Program" and has defended the legitimacy of wiretaps, mail tampering, and compiling files on anyone who "indicates" membership in the SWP or YSA.

The FBI harassment of Lori Paton was part of this ongoing "investigation" of anyone in contact with the SWP and YSA.

John Ratliff of the Political Rights Defense Fund, which is building support for the SWP and YSA suit, noted that "the federal courts have at last been forced to recognize an individual case of the widespread injustice caused by federal political dossiers."

He went on to explain that "hundreds of members and supporters of the SWP have been subjected to such surveillance and much greater harassment



PATON: 'Cleared of suspicion'

simply for expressing their views. Thousands more have faced such victimization simply for supporting the SWP's right to be on the ballot or for writing to the SWP."

"What Judge Coolahan refused to prohibit, however, is political spying itself," stated Ratliff. "Our suit is seeking a decision clearly outlawing all forms of government political harassment. What the FBI did to Lori Paton was just part of its plan to disrupt the socialists by preventing and discouraging people from finding out about the SWP and YSA and their socialist program."

Clip and mail to: Political Rights Defense Fund, Box 649 Cooper Station, New York, N. Y. 10003. Phone: (212) 691-3270.

() Enclosed is \$_____to help cover expenses.

() Enclosed is \$_____for _____booklets, "Challenge to the Watergate Crimes." (\$1 each or 75 cents each on orders of five or more.)

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

THE NEW YORK TIMES,
SEPTEMBER 3, 1974

Limited Redress

The court-ordered destruction of a file the Federal Bureau of Investigation had been keeping on the correspondence of a New Jersey student with the Socialist Workers party constitutes only minimal redress of an obvious misuse of police power.

The ruling by Federal Judge James A. Coolahan, in Newark, properly noted that the existence of these records might at some later date hurt the young woman's career. But by remaining silent on the larger question of interference with the privacy of the mails, the court failed to remove a continuing threat to any person who might—without notice or personal knowledge—be subjected to political surveillance.

In the specific case, a 15-year-old high school student had written to the Socialist headquarters in the course of research for a social studies project on political ideologies. Victim of a dragnet mail cover which the F.B.I. had ordered on the allegedly subversive organization, the student first became aware that a file had been gathered on her when an agent visited her school to check on her record.

Mail surveillance may occasionally be justified, under explicit court order, in such situations as the investigation of organized crime or foreign espionage. As part of political fishing expeditions, it is intolerable. The very absurdity of this case underscores the risk of a procedure that may stigmatize innocent persons for life, without ever affording them the opportunity to clear themselves of totally unwarranted suspicions.

If President Ford's ringing defense of privacy is to be given lasting meaning, it is precisely this sort of Kafkaesque misuse of the power of political surveillance that must be eliminated from American life.

Minneapolis city council assails FBI disruption

By LEE GEARHART

MINNEAPOLIS—The Minneapolis city council has denounced the FBI's "disruption" program, asserting that interference "with the activities of an organization solely because of its political views is a violation of the freedoms of speech and association guaranteed by the Bill of Rights."

The council's vote was unanimous.

The resolution was passed last month in connection with hearings being conducted by the Minnesota State Ethics Commission, which is considering a request by the Socialist Workers campaign committee to exempt it from revealing the names of financial contributors.

The socialists are seeking exemption on the grounds that disclosure could lead to potential harassment of contributors.

The city council resolution observed that "citizens of Minneapolis have presented evidence to the State Ethics Commission of police harassment of political organizations and individuals."

The resolution also notes that the FBI has admitted it is engaged in "'disruption' of organizations in disagreement with present administration policy."

The FBI disruption program was specifically

aimed at Black organizations, the Socialist Workers Party, and other radical groups. It was formally discontinued in 1971, although there is much evidence that the program is still in existence.

The city council action came after an Ethics Commission hearing in which officials of the Minneapolis police department and other police agencies evaded questions regarding harassment and surveillance of the Minnesota Socialist Workers Party and its members and contributors.

Immediately after the hearing, Jane Van Deusen, SWP candidate for governor of Minnesota, issued a statement demanding an end to the police cover-up.

The city council, in its resolution, resolved that "the Minneapolis City Council calls for full cooperation by the Minneapolis Police Department with any investigation of alleged police harassment of other individuals or organizations operating in a non-violent manner."

"Be it further resolved that the Minneapolis City Council deplores the use of governmental agencies to disrupt the legal political activities of organizations in this city, and calls for an immediate halt to the use of illegal tactics against legal, non-violent political organizations and activists with whom the

FBI or other federal agencies may disagree."

The FBI and FBI records have been subpoenaed by the Ethics Commission. According to an Ethics Commission official, the FBI has held discussions with the U. S. Attorney General's office and indicated that it will not testify.

An FBI official is scheduled to appear at the next hearing, Sept. 17, to try to explain the FBI's position.

Minnesota Socialist Workers campaign committee officials have indicated that if the FBI intends to stonewall the commission by refusing to make public its program of harassment of the SWP, the commission should take the FBI to court and force it to testify.

The Sept. 17 hearing in St. Paul is open to the public, and local supporters of the SWP exemption fight are urged to attend. The hearing will take place at the State Office Building in St. Paul at 6:30 p.m.

Messages supporting the socialists' exemption request should be sent to the commission, 74 State Office Building, St. Paul, Minn., 55155 with a copy to the socialist campaign headquarters at 25 University Ave. S. E., Minneapolis, Minn., 55414.

Jim Cannon discusses question

The following interview was conducted at James P. Cannon's home in Los Angeles July 16. Cannon died of a heart attack Aug. 21 at the age of 84.

Cannon's experience in the working-class movement goes back to his membership in the Industrial Workers of the World and the Socialist Party prior to World War I. Following the October 1917 Russian revolution he was one of the founders of the American Communist Party. He was subsequently a founder and leader of the American Trotskyist movement, which became the Socialist Workers Party.

This interview, previously unpublished, is part of The Militant's ongoing coverage of Cannon's life and his enormous contributions to building the revolutionary socialist movement.

Sidney Lens is a labor historian who was active in the anti-Vietnam war movement. He is also an editor of Liberation magazine.

Lens: I interviewed Earl Browder¹ before he died. What was your reaction to him personally?

Cannon: Well, that's quite a story, because I knew him for many years.

Lens: Yes, I know, but did you like him personally?

Cannon: For a long time we worked together.

Lens: He never joined the Wobblies (Industrial Workers of the World—IWW), did he?

Cannon: I don't think so. He became a disciple of Foster.² Foster came through Kansas City, I think it was in 1913. He had been a Wobbly who had gone to France and had become converted to syndicalism. He came back and made a tour of the IWW locals, trying to convince them of his ideas of 'boring from within' the AFL (American Federation of Labor). Browder was one of his converts from Kansas City.

Lens: Did he try to convert you?

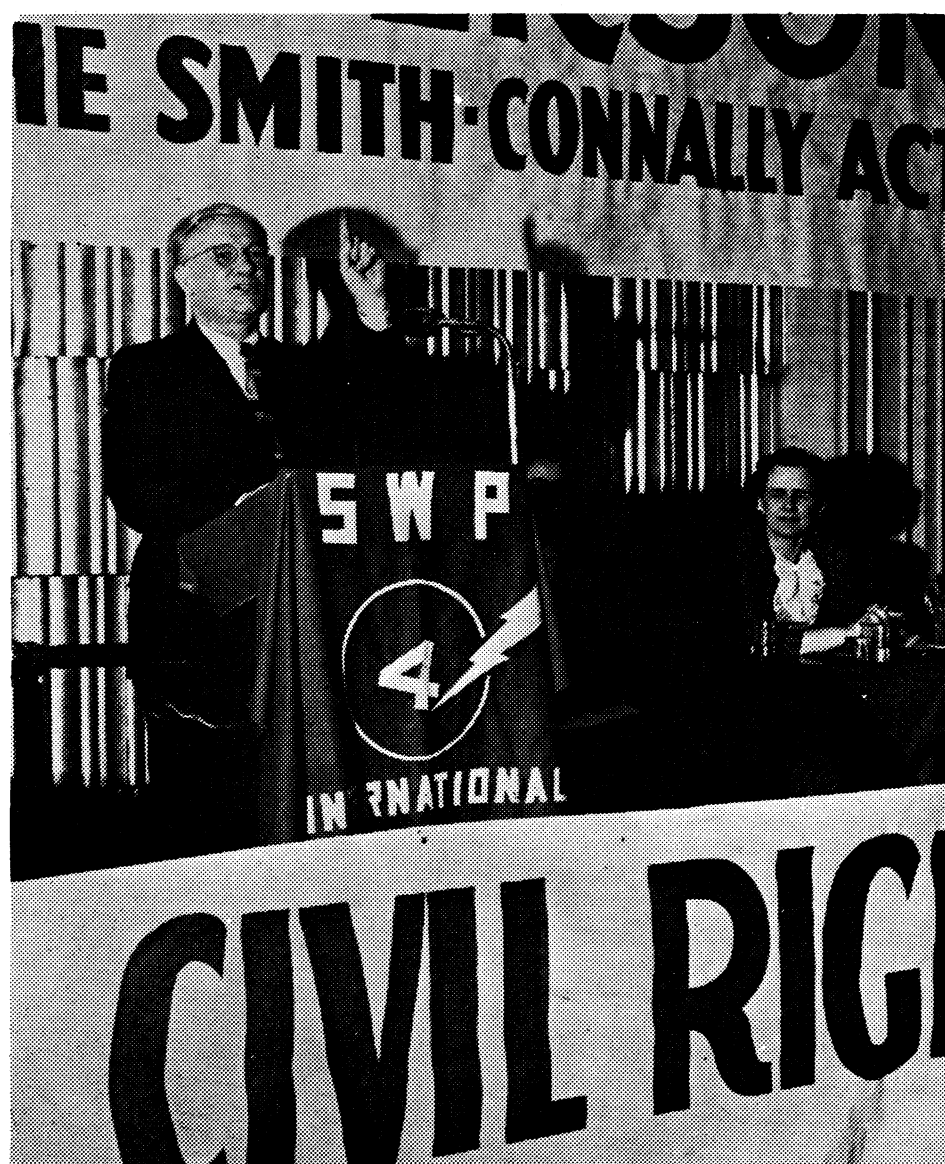
Cannon: No.

Lens: Why not?

Cannon: I didn't run into him personally. I don't know whether Browder

1. Earl Browder was general secretary of the American Communist Party from 1930 to 1945.

2. William Z. Foster was the most important trade-union figure to join the early Communist Party.



Cannon speaking in 1948. The Smith-Connally antilabor law was passed under the Truman administration.

had been a Wobbly or not. I had been traveling around the country shortly before that and had been out of Kansas City. I knew he was a radical.

Lens: What made Browder become a Stalinist?

Cannon: That's a long story. What made all the others become Stalinists?

Lens: Was it a matter of just belonging to something big?

Cannon: Yes.

Lens: He told me that he disliked Trotsky personally. He was quite senile when I saw him, and he spoke very cryptically. He gave the impression that the biggest basis for not joining with Trotsky was that he considered Trotsky a show-off and very egotistical.

Cannon: When the first world war

broke out for this country in 1917, Browder had been working in the (food and farm) cooperative movement. He was an accountant by profession. I think he was impressed by the cooperative movement, which at that time there was quite a sentiment for.

He had been to New York. He may have been influenced by Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman's demonstrations of opposition to the war. He came back to Kansas City. He and his two brothers and his brother-in-law, Bob Sullivan, made an open demonstration against the entry into the war with leaflets. They were promptly arrested. He got a year in the Missouri State Penitentiary. They got out about 1918.

Recruited Browder

By that time I had become a communist. I saw them immediately after they came out. They had no inclination toward the communist movement because it was harebrained. There was some truth in that. There was a large

element of harebrains in the new communist movement. But I think it's safe to say that I convinced him there was fundamental merit in it. And he became a communist.

In the fall of 1918 we decided to start a paper in Kansas City. It had no political allegiance at its start, but it was an exponent of the Russian revolution and defense of class-war prisoners and so on. Browder was the first editor and I worked very closely with him, promoting the idea of the paper and then getting started on it.

Along about early summer of 1919 he and his brothers had to go back to serve a federal sentence in Leavenworth, Kans., and I had to take over the paper as editor.

We remained close associates while he was in prison. I became rather prominent in the new communist movement. I was elected to the central committee at the first Bridgeman, Mich., convention in the spring of 1920 and became organizer of the St. Louis-Southern Illinois coal district for the party. A few months after that I was moved to Cleveland to become editor of a paper called the *Toiler*, which was a continuation of the *Ohio Socialist*.

(Alfred) Wagenknecht and his group had control of the state (Socialist Party) organization and they took the paper along with them when the split came (the split of the left wing from the SP). A few months later they decided to move the paper to New York and change the name to the *Worker* and I went along with that. That would be in the late fall of 1920. Eventually it became the *Daily Worker*. So if you want to have a record of my sins, you can say I was the original editor of the *Daily Worker*.

Lens: Yes, I know that record.

Cannon: Browder was in prison till the spring of 1921. He wasn't known to the leadership of the party. It was on my recommendation that he was brought to New York. He became right away the assistant of Foster, who had also at that time decided to join the party clandestinely.

They decided to start a monthly magazine, the *Labor Monthly*, in Chicago, with Foster as editor and Browder as managing editor. We were close together all that time up until Foster and I had a falling out—in 1925, I think it was.

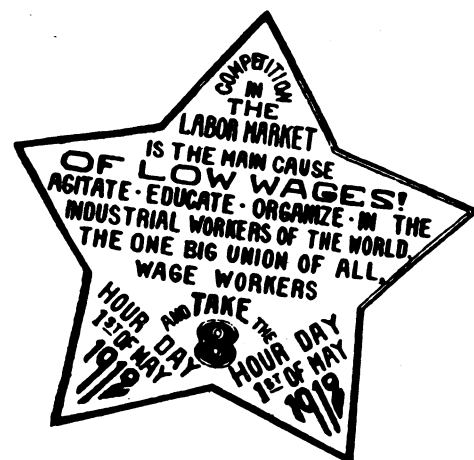
Lens: What was that all about?

Cannon: I tell the story in my book *The First Ten Years of American Communism* in reply to some of (Theodore) Draper's questions. The split took place rather dramatically at a plenary meeting, right down the middle of the Foster-Cannon group. People like Bill Dunne, Arne Swabeck, and others came with me. Browder and (Jack) Johnstone and others went with Foster in this split, which was never fully healed, although we had relations later. That amounted to a personal falling out in 1925. That would be about 12 years after I first met him.

Lens: Would you consider Browder a creative person in that period, independent?

Cannon: No.

Lens: Did he always have to attach himself to somebody, like to Foster or you?



is of American radical history

Cannon: He wasn't by nature a leader or a politician. There was never such a thing as a Browder group in the party. There was a Foster group, and a Cannon group, and a Ruthenberg group. But he was a very energetic and intelligent, capable worker.

Lens: Was there anything in the twenties similar to the present counter-culture amongst the youth?

Cannon: Not to my knowledge.

Lens: What were the main reasons for the failure of the Communist Party (CP) to take off? I know that's a big story, but do you think they were mainly subjective reasons?

Cannon: Well, of course, first there were the persecutions, quite severe in the first few years. The party was driven underground. Next there was a sharp economic depression and then an ascending boom that continued throughout the twenties. That wasn't a very fertile field for communism to

expand. And it was a new movement with a lot to learn.

Lens: Did you anticipate the depression of 1929?

Cannon: Well, we kept forecasting it.

Lens: Yes, you kept forecasting it from about 1922 on.

Cannon: So we were eventually vindicated in 1929.

Lens: But did you anticipate that particular depression and that it would come through the stock market crash?

Cannon: I wouldn't say specifically so, but the Lovestoneites³ wrote a document on American exceptionalism. The Comintern (Communist International) was just beginning its left turn. They wrote a document on American exceptionalism. That's what they called it. Sort of exempting America from the world trend for the time being.

And we wrote a counter-document in collaboration with the Fosterites that we presented at the Sixth Congress of the Comintern in 1928. It was called "The Right Danger in the American Party." There you'll see that we took a rather radical approach to the whole question, including the economy.

Lens: When the depression came, what were your personal reactions? Did you feel that America was moving close to an actual revolution?

3. Jay Lovestone was secretary of the CP in the 1920s. He headed a rightist faction in the party that was aligned internationally with Bukharin. In 1928, Lovestone carried out the expulsion of the American Trotskyists from the CP. When Stalin turned on his rightist allies in 1929, Lovestone was demoted from his post and expelled.

The Lovestone group maintained itself until the outbreak of World War II and then dissolved. Lovestone subsequently became an anticommunist expert for the AFL-CIO bureaucracy.

Cannon: I can't say that I did.

Lens: Then what was your reaction?

Cannon: Like most everybody else, stunned.

Lens: Stunned?

Workers atomized

Cannon: Yes, it was so severe. It was hard to see an immediate revolution. The workers were atomized. The organized labor movement had lost ground in the twenties. The unions had fewer than three million members at the time of the crash and they began losing more after that.

Lens: Did the CP really believe that a revolution impended?

Cannon: At that time they were in the midst of the "third period."⁴ So they were running hog-wild for a while, but they weren't getting much response to that appeal.

Continued on next page

HELP PUBLISH WRITINGS OF JAMES P. CANNON

The Aug. 23 Political Tribute to Jim Cannon, attended by 1,250 people in Oberlin, Ohio, launched the James P. Cannon Party-Building Fund. Those present felt that the best way to honor this great American revolutionist was to launch a campaign to push forward the work of building the revolutionary socialist movement to which Cannon devoted his life.

A top priority of this fund will be to help publish the many unpublished or out-of-print speeches and writings of Jim Cannon. In this way, the wealth of his political experience and vision of the socialist future can be passed on to the new generation of

radical youth and worker militants.

The participants in the Aug. 23 tribute meeting got the fund off to a strong start by donating or pledging a total of \$51,350.95. Donations and messages have begun to come into the fund. Two contributors write: "We really wish we could contribute more than the enclosed. We both owe so much to Jim Cannon since we, like so many others, gained our first breath of hope and inspiration from his book *Socialism on Trial*."

Please send your individual contribution today. Donors of \$50 or more may choose a complimentary copy of any one of Cannon's books listed below.

Enclosed is my contribution of (circle):

\$1,000 \$500 \$250 \$100 \$50 \$_____

(Make checks payable to James P. Cannon Fund.)

Please send me:

- () The First Ten Years of American Communism
- () The History of American Trotskyism
- () Letters from Prison
- () Notebook of an Agitator
- () Socialism on Trial
- () Speeches for Socialism
- () Speeches to the Party
- () The Struggle for a Proletarian Party

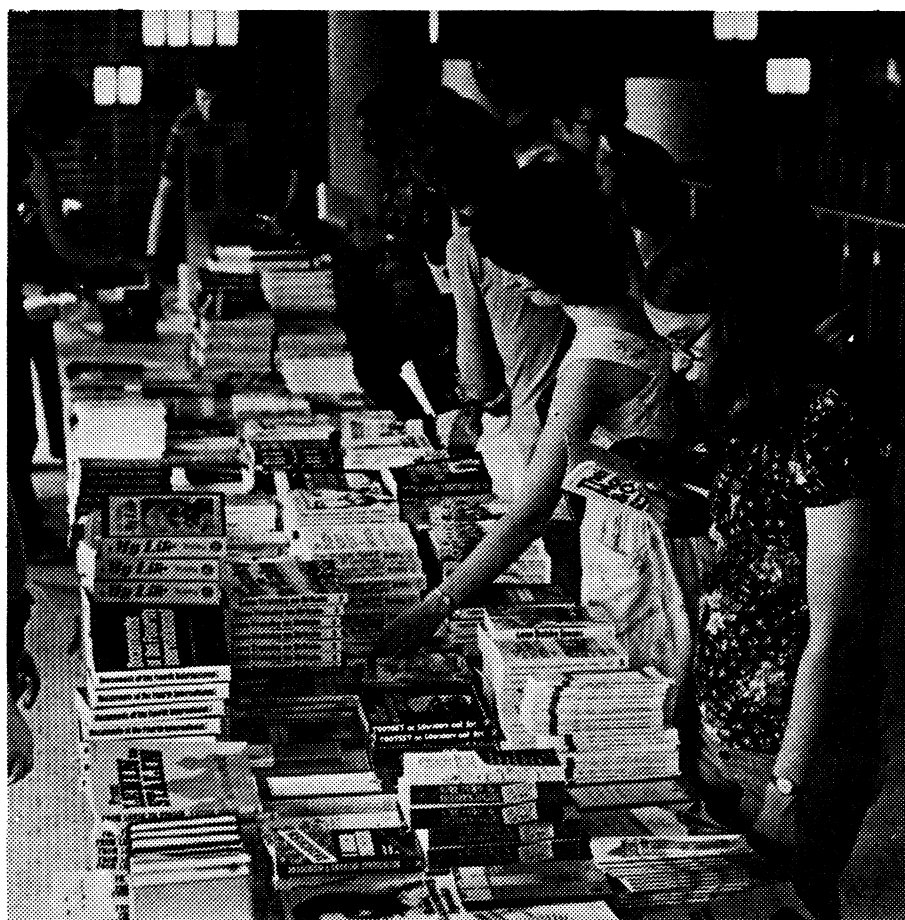
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Assisted by the James P. Cannon Party-Building Fund, Pathfinder Press will undertake to edit and issue previously unpublished writings, speeches, and correspondence of Cannon with the same thoroughness it has applied to the publication of Trotsky's writings.

... 'The U.S. capitalists have never been

Continued from preceding page

Lens: Was your organization called the Communist League of America at first, or was it called Communist Party Majority or Left Opposition?

Cannon: Communist League of America (Opposition). The Lovestoneites called themselves Communist Party (Majority Group).⁵

Lens: Then you dropped the word "opposition" eventually.

Cannon: Eventually, yes. But for four years we continued to direct our agitation mainly to the Communist Party.

Lens: Were you disappointed in the results?

Cannon: Well, we were trying to recruit our primary cadre and we recruited more than a hundred people to begin with. I guess we had a couple of hundred or a little more by 1934 and then we got into the Minneapolis strike and that gave us a big boost. It identified us as workers in the mass movement.

Then came the fusion with the Musteites⁶ in the same year. So it was sort of a period of expansion in the later thirties.

Lens: What happened then in the relatively large mass movement before World War II and during World War II? Did you feel that there was something impeding your development or your progress, or were you going too slow, or what?

Cannon: Do you mean our organization?

Lens: Yes.

Cannon: Our big obstacle was the Communist Party. It had complete domination of what there was of the radical movement. The SP was an empty shell. And we were isolated. The membership of the Communist Party largely identified Stalin with the Comintern. And whatever the Comintern said was the law. But we kept recruiting one here and one there until we'd built up quite a cadre of capable people.

Lens: Why didn't you take over the Communist Party? Why didn't the majority come over to your point of view? Must a radical party have the support of a government in some foreign country to survive or prosper?

Cannon: The Comintern represented the Russian revolution in the minds

4. The "third period" was a schema proclaimed by the Stalinists in 1928 according to which capitalism was in its final period of collapse. Following from this schema, the Comintern's tactics during the next six years were marked by ultra-leftism, adventurism, sectarian "red" unions, and opposition to forming united fronts with other working-class organizations.

5. The Communist League of America (Opposition) was the organization formed by Cannon and others who were expelled from the Communist Party in 1928 for supporting the program of the Left Opposition in the Soviet CP, led by Leon Trotsky.

6. In December 1934 the Communist League of America fused with the American Workers Party, led by A.J. Muste, to form the Workers Party of the United States.



Sit-down strike in Detroit auto plant. 'If the Communist Party had remained a revolutionary party, it could have made great things out of that mass movement of the 1930s.'

of the American communists. The Comintern said we were counterrevolutionaries and that Trotsky was a fascist, a traitor, and everything else; and they accepted that.

Lens: From a theoretical point of view, though, Marxism is supposed to be the science of revolution, and your estimate of events was more lucid than Browder's, say and yet here were ten or twenty thousand communists to whom you couldn't get through. Their emotions were much stronger than their intellectual probing.

Cannon: That's true; it took a long time for us to break through.

Lens: Is that a handicap that the left can always expect, that emotion plays a bigger role than science of revolution?

Cannon: The pull of a radical organization that is dominant in the field is almost gravitational. The average worker and activist doesn't want to be connected with some little sect on the sidelines. He wants to be where the action is.

Muste group

Lens: Did the Muste group make any sensational spurt in its early days, or was it growing about like your group?

Cannon: It was growing about like ours. Muste was a remarkable personal character. He was a preacher, you know, to start with.

In 1917, as a minister in Boston, he went to Lawrence, Mass., and got into the textile strike there and became the head of it. Next, if I'm correct, he became the head of the textile workers union, or what was left of it.

Then he started the Brookwood Labor College in New York State, which quite a number of people attended, and he recruited some of them. Out of that he developed the Conference for Progressive Labor Action and recruited people here and there. Then this organization developed an unemployed movement of its own.

The Communist Party dominated the main unemployment movement in the big cities, the Unemployed Councils. The Musteites organized around the fringes rather effectively, in Pennsylvania, Ohio, and other places. The Unemployed Leagues, they called

them. Through all these operations Muste accumulated a cadre.

We were greatly impressed with their actions in the Toledo Auto-Lite strike in 1934, at the same time that we were occupied with the Teamsters' fight in Minneapolis. They had done an unprecedented thing. Their leaders there—Sam Pollock, Ted Selander, and Art Preis—were in the unemployment movement, the Unemployed League of the Musteites. And they organized to support the strike.

Contrary to the custom of the unemployed being recruited as strikebreakers, they became the most militant supporters of the strike. They practically led the strike. We were tremendously impressed by that, and it led to our negotiations with them for fusion. Meanwhile Muste was turning to the left politically, so there wasn't much trouble in bringing about a unification.

Some of the people that Muste had attracted—such as (J. B. S.) Hardman and (Louis) Budenz and a few others—wouldn't go along with it, but Muste decided to do it and he brought along a majority of his people and it gave the movement quite a boost.

Lens: Did you expect a revolution in the 1930s—that capitalism would collapse?

Cannon: I can't say that I expected it, but looking back on it now, as I have said many times, anything was possible in the thirties. After the workers recovered from their paralysis. In the first four or five years they were simply stunned, they didn't know what to do. But beginning with Minneapolis in 1934, three strikes—Minneapolis, the San Francisco general strike, and the Auto-Lite strike in Toledo—seemed to give the impetus needed for a new movement. And it began to develop by leaps and bounds.

Lens: What stopped it?

Tremendous upheaval

Cannon: The American Communist Party.

The industrial union movement developed millions of members and John L. Lewis, recognizing the tide, turned toward it and gave quite effective leadership for a time. The sit-down strikes in Flint, Mich., and the organization of General Motors and Ford repre-

sented a tremendous upheaval. That was accomplished in a few years.

Lens: When you say the Communist Party stopped it, in what way?

Cannon: The Communist Party was the dominant force in the radical movement. They dominated the unemployed movement and by that time there developed a radical movement on the campuses, which they also dominated. And they trained some cadres in the unemployment and student movements who took part in various actions.

You know, the average worker is afraid to stand up and make a motion in a meeting. They aren't accustomed to that. The CP trained a whole cadre of people who could stand up and make motions and parliamentary moves, and run meetings, and things of this sort.

In the mid-thirties there was a certain upsurge out of the depression. Not a real economic recovery, but a revival. They began to open factories and take some people back to work. And the Communist Party colonized a lot of their people in the strategic industries and their radical talk appealed widely. They were competitors for control of the auto workers union for a while.

Right in the middle of this came the turn of the Comintern toward the right. The "third period" had passed and the Kremlin began turning over toward conservatism and naturally the Communist Party just carried it out here in the United States to the letter.

I believe that if the Communist Party had remained a revolutionary party, it could have made great things out of that mass movement of the thirties.

Lens: If you go back to the Russian revolution, you also had a Menshevik group, and the Bolsheviks were a minority in relation to the Mensheviks, and yet they were able to pull people away from them. Why weren't the Trotskyists able to pull people from the Stalinists here? You also had capable people, you also knew how to make motions in meetings and all the rest of that, and probably were more dedicated.

Excluded

Cannon: Unquestionably. But we didn't have the numbers. The Communist Party excluded us from every movement they controlled, like the unemployed movement. A hungry unemployed member of the Trotskyist



CP leader Browder wanted to shake hands on class peace with J. P. Morgan.

in such a jam as they are now'

organization couldn't get into the Unemployed Councils because the Stalinists branded him a "counterrevolutionary."

The CP formed alliances with other radicals and socialists in the League Against War and Fascism, but we were not admitted to it. So although we expanded somewhat with the success of the Minneapolis strikes, the fusion with the Musteites, and the entry into the Socialist Party,⁷ which gained us quite a group of new members, we were still a small minority in comparison to the Communist Party.

Lens: You expected quite a bit more from the entry in the Socialist Party, didn't you, than you eventually got?

Cannon: We won over the majority of the Young People's Socialist League.

Lens: I know, but you really expected to become an important mass party.

Cannon: We expected the Socialist Party itself to grow and that we would grow with it.

Lens: Why didn't it?

Cannon: The competition of the Communist Party, and partly the inadequacy of its leadership, I guess.

Lens: Of the Communist or Socialist leadership?

Cannon: Of the Socialist Party leadership.

Lens: But you were playing an important role in it by then. Weren't you in the Socialist leadership?

Cannon: I came out to California during that period. We soon got a majority in the state executive committee of the Socialist Party and published a weekly paper in San Francisco. The right-wingers remaining in the Socialist Party got alarmed about that and began expelling our people. And we had nothing to do but fight it out and come to a break.

Lens: Had you expected a break?

Cannon: No, we tried to prevent it.

Lens: You had hoped to remain in the Socialist Party?

Cannon: Yes, we were not ready to bring things to a head yet. But we had no choice.

Lens: Why do you think the Comintern got rid of Browder?⁸ Or, to put it a different way, why didn't he adjust to the Comintern? He had been adjusting to it all his life.

7. In 1936 the Trotskyists joined the Socialist Party in order to win over the growing left wing to revolutionary politics.

8. Browder was deposed as secretary of the CP in 1945 and expelled from the party in 1946. Except for his first few years in office (the end of the ultraleft "third period") and the brief interlude of the Stalin-Hitler pact, his regime coincided with those years in which the CP engaged in blatant class collaboration of the people's front variety.

During the World War II alliance of the U.S. and the Soviet Union, Browder ardently supported U.S. imperialism and publicly urged that the wartime no-strike pledge be continued after the war ended.

Cannon: It began with his appointment as secretary. Foster was a far more publicly prominent and able man than Browder. That was his trouble. You might say he was the logical man to succeed Lovestone when they got rid of Lovestone. But by that time Stalin didn't want any able people heading national parties.

I think Browder's defects were his merits. His lack of leadership capacity was just what they wanted from him—somebody to do what they told him to do. I don't say Foster wouldn't have done it, but Foster had ideas and initiative of his own.

Lens: Did you like Foster personally?

Cannon: At first I did. I was associated with him in the political fights. But I didn't like his character.

Lens: Why?

Cannon: Why don't you like somebody? He was terribly self-centered and dishonest, when it served his purpose, and disloyal in personal relations. All the kinds of things that I especially don't like.

Lens: Getting back to Browder. He had shifted gears with the Comintern all along, and then 1946 comes along and he refuses to shift gears. How do you account for that?

Cannon: I think he was taken by surprise. He carried the conciliationism of the Kremlin bureaucracy to an extreme that they were not prepared to go to after the war ended. They were getting ready for the outbreak of the

cold war, while Browder was going ahead as before.

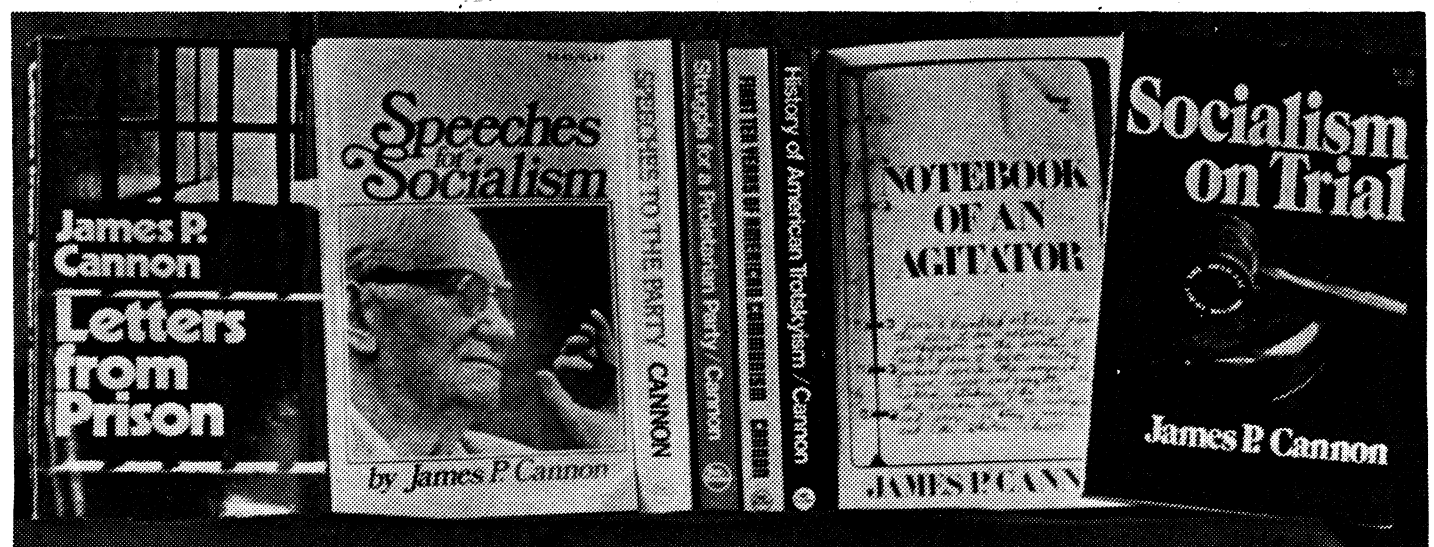
You remember his famous statement, when he said something like, "I'm ready to shake hands with J. Pierpont Morgan on this—to have peace, no strikes during the war, speed-up, incentive pay, and all the rest."

Out of favor

It's remarkable how easily the Stalinists disposed of him. They didn't even have to send any message directly from Moscow. All they had to do was to have somebody in France, Duclos (Jacques Duclos, longtime leader of the French Communist Party), write a piece in the French CP magazine criticizing Browder. And all the hacks in the party took that as a

Continued on next page

BOOKS BY CANNON



THE FIRST TEN YEARS OF AMERICAN COMMUNISM

by James P. Cannon with a preface by Theodore Draper. Cannon was the only surviving leader of the formative days of the American communist movement who did not repudiate communism. He was a founder of the U.S. Communist Party and a leader of it until his expulsion in 1928 for opposition to Stalinism.

In this collection of letters to historian Theodore Draper, Cannon gives his account of the attempts of pioneer American communists to apply the lessons of the Russian revolution to the American scene. Especially important is his description of the growing influence of Stalin's bureaucracy in the international communist movement and the impact this had in the American CP. 343 pp., \$10, paper \$3.45.

THE HISTORY OF AMERICAN TROTSKYISM

by James P. Cannon with an introduction by Caroline Lund. This is a report of a participant in the founding of the American Trotskyist movement. 268 pp., paper \$2.95.

THE STRUGGLE FOR A PROLETARIAN PARTY

by James P. Cannon. In these essays and letters, Cannon outlines the Leninist concepts that guide the organization of a revolutionary workers' party. It deals with the political struggle with the Shachtman minority in the Socialist Workers Party in 1939-40.

Leon Trotsky wrote of the first section of this book: "It is the writing of a genuine workers' leader. If the discussion had not produced more than this document, it would be justified." 320 pp., paper \$2.95.

SOCIALISM ON TRIAL

by James P. Cannon. As a clear and simple explanation of the principles and aims of revolutionary socialism, this book has become a classic of American socialist literature. It is based on the court stenogram of Cannon's explanations of the views of the SWP when he was on trial for "sedition" in 1941 under the Smith Act. 192 pp., paper \$2.25.

NOTEBOOK OF AN AGITATOR

by James P. Cannon with an introduction by Joseph Hansen. Socialist journalism at its finest. This selection of Cannon's writings, taken from the labor and radical press, spans the years 1926-1956. It includes editorials from the campaign to save Sacco and Vanzetti; reports of the 1930s strike upsurge, the Korean war, the ideology of Stalinism; also sketches of Cannon's contemporaries in the revolutionary movement. 369 pp., \$8.95, paper \$3.45.

LETTERS FROM PRISON

by James P. Cannon with an introduction by Jack Barnes. Cannon was one of the victims of the government's first use of the Smith Act. In this, his prison

journal kept during his confinement in Sandstone federal prison, Cannon addresses himself to the practical problems of building the revolutionary party: the importance of the revolutionary press, building a leadership team, the need to build a revolutionary international, and much more. 355 pp., \$7.50, paper \$3.45.

SPEECHES FOR SOCIALISM

by James P. Cannon with an introduction by Peggy Brundy and Dianne Feeley. These are speeches of a top-notch revolutionary orator, covering such topics as socialism and democracy, the struggle against imperialist war, Stalinism, and the role of youth in the revolutionary movement. 432 pp., \$10, paper \$3.45.

SPEECHES TO THE PARTY: The Revolutionary Perspective and the Revolutionary Party

by James P. Cannon with an introduction by Al Hansen. This is a collection of speeches and documents from an internal struggle in the SWP during the era of prosperity, witch-hunt, and cold war in the early 1950s. Cannon's central theme is that American capitalism, despite appearances to the contrary, is headed for new crises that will produce a new radicalization, and that a Leninist party is necessary to lead the coming mass struggles to power. 352 pp., \$10, paper \$3.95.

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... 'anything is possible in this century'

Continued from preceding page

sign that this fellow was out of favor with the big power.

Lens: Why do you feel the Lovestoneites fell apart?

Cannon: What stages to you mean?

Lens: When they dissolved, about 1937 or 1938 (actually, 1939).

Cannon: In 1929 they took a hundred or more with them out of the Communist Party. That in itself was an

issue. The emergence of the New Left after World War II, or quite a long time after World War II, was accompanied by a tremendous counter-culture movement. Why wasn't there one in the 1930s?

Cannon: This counter-culture movement of the recent past was an intellectual student movement, wasn't it?

Lens: Yes, but you had a growing student movement in the thirties too.

Cannon: Yes, but the real power that

League—on the question of policy toward war. Green took the peaceful coexistence position of the Comintern and Tyler defended the Leninist policy. Tyler, who's now an ILGWU (International Ladies Garment Workers Union) leader, simply cut him to pieces, in my judgment.

This whole counter-culture business expressed in this New Left phenomenon seems to me like it sprang out of nowhere. And it disappeared almost as rapidly.

New Left

Lens: How do you account for the emergence of the New Left? Why didn't all those young people come into the Socialist Workers Party?

Cannon: It started with the League for Industrial Democracy, didn't it?

Lens: But that was pretty much of a dead organization.

Cannon: But they had a "Port Huron Statement" that seemed to just catch fire. It took most everybody by surprise. I certainly didn't anticipate it.

Lens: Why? Here was the SWP. Eighteen of your comrades had gone to jail for opposing World War II. You had an unsullied personal record. You had worked throughout the war rather consistently against the Stalin-Hitler pact, and then against McCarthyism. And yet, when the youth began to choose sides, they bypassed the CP and they bypassed you.

Cannon: You mustn't forget that the 1950s were a period of terrible reaction in the labor movement. In the cold war period the union bureaucrats were able with the help of the government to clean out all the Stalinists and all the other radicals from the CIO. And everything was dead on the campus. They called it the "silent generation."

We had counted greatly in the post-war period on young veterans being a natural recruiting ground for a big expansion. Instead, the soldiers came back and got the GI Bill of Rights. They went to school and they were studying to get degrees and get jobs. There was no response to radical ideas.

Lens: Did you expect a depression after the war like the depression of 1929?

Cannon: No, we were taken by surprise.

Lens: That there was no depression?

Cannon: That there was no radicalization.

Lens: But you didn't expect an economic slump in 1946-47 like Eugene Dennis did.⁹

Cannon: We expected it, but we didn't put a time limit on it. We suffered terrible reverses. We lost a lot of members in the fifties.

Lens: To what, the persecutions?

Cold war period

Cannon: The persecution, the lack of response, the inactivity of the workers. People began falling away. Our biggest struggle in the whole cold war period of the fifties was to hold our nucleus together.

Lens: How big was the SWP?

Cannon: I would say we came out of the fifties with about 500 members.

Lens: And how many members did you have in 1945?

Cannon: In 1945 we had about 3,000, I guess, because at the 1946 convention I recall we made a ceremony of initiating 1,000 new members who had been recruited since the 1944 convention. During the latter years of the war there was considerable radicalization in anticipation of the war's end and labor struggles.

But there was no sign of radicalization in the fifties, and no sign of action in the labor unions to speak of. The campuses were dead. It was the civil rights movement that sparked the rebirth of a radical movement. We oriented ourselves as much as we could to that, and we recruited some people from the campuses, and we started a youth organization again, the Young Socialist Alliance. It began to attract a cadre. In general we've been advancing ever since, not spectacularly, but rather steadily.

Lens: But my question is why did all the energy go into the organizations of the New Left? And although you've made some gains, you never made a fundamental breakthrough. How do you account for that?

Cannon: It just didn't happen.

Continued on page 22

9. Eugene Dennis was general secretary of the CP in the 1950s.



Veterans demonstration following World War II. Postwar radicalization was cut short by relative prosperity and anticommunist witch-hunt.

indication of the tremendous power of Stalin over the party. The CP had just had a convention where the Lovestoneites had a big majority, or so they thought, because the party wasn't aware that Stalin was getting ready to dump him.

The Lovestoneites claimed to be the champions of the Comintern above all others. But the Comintern had two representatives here at the CP's 1929 convention early in the year, and the campaign against Bukharin was beginning already in Moscow. Bukharin had been their mentor and their protector, and Lovestone didn't get the signal quickly enough.

Lens: Then they survived for about 10 years. And they did have some influence in the auto workers and the ladies garment workers unions.

Cannon: As late as 1934 one of the big events in the radical movement in New York was a debate between me and Lovestone at Irving Plaza on the question of whether we should build a new international or support the Communist International. At that time he strongly supported the Comintern of Stalin. He was still, I think, hoping to convince them that he was their boy. And probably still had some idea that the Communist movement had a future here.

Some people don't have to believe things out of conviction; if they believe something is going to be a success, that's enough for them. I think that was the case with Lovestone. I think he was a careerist from the very beginning.

Lens: Let me sidetrack to another

asserted itself was a workers uprising in the 1930s. We don't have anything like that today. Nothing comparable.

Lens: In other words you feel that the students were pretty much secondary to the workers.

Cannon: In the thirties, yes.

Lens: And therefore they didn't take on characteristics of their own?

Cannon: I just don't recall them making any special mark for themselves in the thirties.

Lens: How do you account for that?

Cannon: There was a student movement, but it was mainly composed of groups affiliated to the two radical parties, the Communist Party and the Socialist Party.

I don't know whether you've heard this story, I've told it a hundred times: Among the big events on the campuses of New York in the thirties were the debates between the Draper brothers. Have you heard of that?

Lens: No. Theodore and Hal?

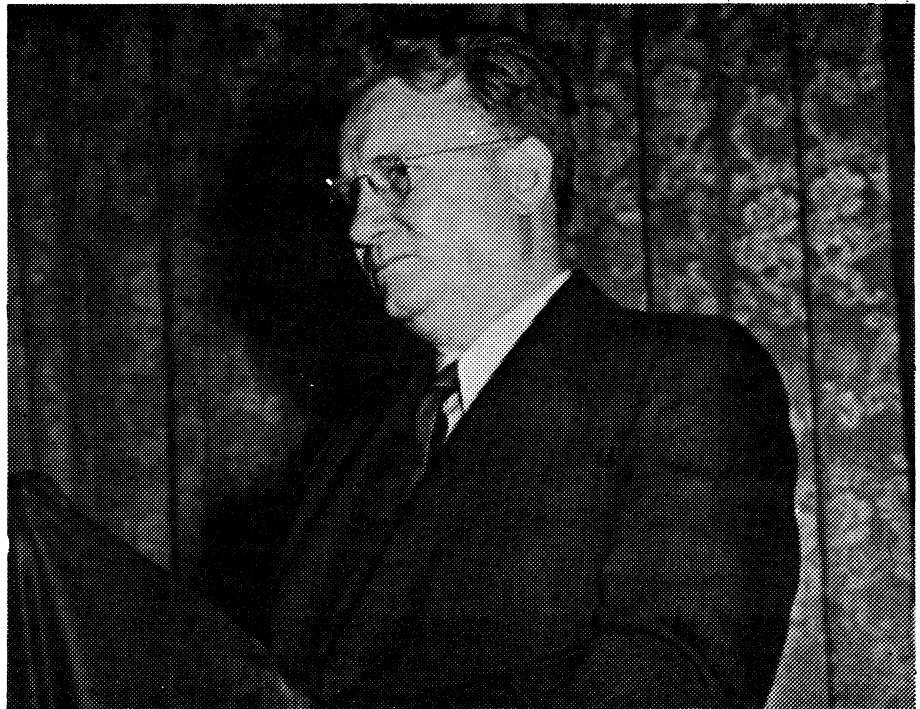
Cannon: Theodore Draper was an ardent Stalinist. Hal Draper was a left-wing Socialist. And they had a number of debates. I didn't attend any of them, but I heard about them.

The left wing of the Socialist Party didn't develop as a counter-cultural nut movement, but as a radical, Leninist movement. I heard Gus Tyler debate with Gil Green—who later became head of the Young Communist



Striking N.J. postal workers, 1970. 'The growing union action among public workers is an entirely new phenomenon.'

Messages in tribute to Jim Cannon



Cannon addressing memorial meeting for Leon Trotsky, Aug. 28, 1940.

The following are messages that were sent to the Political Tribute to Jim Cannon, held Aug. 23 in Oberlin, Ohio, or to the Socialist Workers Party. Other messages will be printed in future issues.

Top Trotskyist leader

Buenos Aires
The political bureau of the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores [Socialist Workers Party, Argentine supporters of the Fourth International], meeting in emergency session in view of the unhappy news of the death of Comrade Cannon, founder and top leader of our beloved sister party and teacher, the Socialist Workers Party, and cofounder of the Fourth International, wants to publicly express its sorrow at the death of this friend and comrade of Leon Trotsky.

Comrade Cannon was a faithful continuator and top leader of contemporary Trotskyism. Such a tragedy for our world movement brings only one consolation: that the North American followers of Cannon as well as his followers in our country and around the world will know how to develop and defend his orthodox Trotskyist teachings.

Path he showed us

Brussels
We are greatly saddened by the death of James Cannon, one of the founders of the Fourth International. Since he was closest to you, we send you our deepest condolences. We hope that the entire international movement will continue to work along the path he showed us.

Comradely,
Ligue Revolutionnaire des Travailleurs/Revolutionaire Arbeiders Liga (Revolutionary Workers League, Belgian Section of the Fourth International).

Continue his fight

Paris
We are saddened to learn of the death of Comrade James P. Cannon. The FCR (Front Communiste Revolutionnaire—Revolutionary Communist Front, French section of the Fourth International) and *Rouge* join the Trotskyists of the United States and

the entire world in honoring the memory of this revolutionary militant who is no longer with us, and in continuing his fight for the world socialist revolution.

His work lives on

With Jim disappears last living link with founders of the Comintern and founders of the world Trotskyist movement.

We mourn with you this irreparable loss, but are sure his spirit and work live on in the Fourth International and Socialist Workers Party.

*Ernest Mandel
Pierre Frank*

Jim taught us

London
Workers Revolutionary Party, British section of the International Committee of the Fourth International, sends its condolence and sympathy to the Socialist Workers Party on the occasion of the death of its founder, James P. Cannon.

Jim taught us Trotskyism in the 1930s and 1940s when, in united opposition to revisionism, we were all proud to be Cannonites.

Gerry Healy, Secretary, Workers Revolutionary Party.

Condolences

Paris
Dear Comrades,
I learned from the *International Herald Tribune* of the death of Comrade Cannon. To all those near to him and to all you of the SWP I send my deepest condolences. With revolutionary greetings,
Michel Pablo

A giant of socialism

Seattle
It is with sorrow we heard of Jim Cannon's death. Jim Cannon takes his place among the giants of socialism. He, virtually alone, broke the iron barrier placed around the ideology of Trotsky by Stalin and at great risk smuggled Trotsky's documents out of Russia and made them available to the world communist movement. . . .

He was a genius in understanding the nature of the revolutionary party and the importance of the balance be-

tween centralism and democracy. . . .

Cannon came from the American revolutionary movement. In all his active life he participated in the struggles of the workers, recorded them, and drew the necessary political lessons for us. He put the most profound ideas into the language of the workers. Jim Cannon's legacy to us is his life and his enduring work.

*Melba Windoffer and Clara Fraser
for the Freedom Socialist Party*

Highest satisfaction

Chicago
I regret my inability to be present at the meeting in Oberlin honoring the memory of Comrade Jim Cannon.

What he accomplished during his lifetime negates the fact of physical death. Jim Cannon, prime leader in the creation of the second Leninist party in history—his example as a fighter for principle against all odds; his great influence in shaping the lives of those he helped win to our cause, calling forth the best in each—makes of him a deathless figure who will be remembered and studied forever, the closest a human can come to immortality.

As one who came to the movement with the American Workers Party and the fusion in 1934, I, in my twenties, was asking myself the question: What shall I do with my life? This question has been constantly faced since by young people contemplating the sour, brutal, and demeaning life capitalism has to offer.

To those of my generation in and around the movement, Jim Cannon's influence was decisive in our forming the conviction that the cause of the world proletarian revolution should occupy the first place in our life, for the rest of our life; that by so ordering ourselves, the best in ourselves would flower, and we would experience the highest human satisfaction possible in the kind of world we live in.

I, for one, wish to confirm unreservedly this great truth we were taught to comprehend by Jim Cannon, Trotsky's best disciple and interpreter.

We will shed our tears and pause to commemorate the physical passage from our midst of the greatest proletarian warrior that this country has produced. We will then return with

greater determination than ever, to our work along the road that Comrade Jim Cannon pioneered and contributed to so greatly.

Morris Chertov

Party builder

Boston
Comrade Cannon's greatest contribution to the Trotskyist movement was his leadership in building the strongest Trotskyist party in the world. This was done in the richest country in the world and with the strongest capitalist class as well as the most politically backward working class.

He built it at a time when the Communist Party was at its strongest. Under the leadership of Comrade Cannon the party grew stronger after every internal struggle. During every internal struggle, Comrade Cannon educated the party members in principled politics and Leninist and Trotskyist theory. His books serve as the greatest heritage in the party on revolutionary politics.

Larry met Comrade Cannon and Rose Karsner when he joined the Trotskyist movement in 1933 and Gusty in 1936. They were not only our comrades and educators but also dear personal friends. Comrade Cannon was a party builder to the marrow of his bones and until his passing.

Let the party lower its banner in tribute to our fallen comrade, and let us pledge to lift it high and continue to build the Trotskyist party in the tradition of Comrade Cannon and Trotskyism.

Augusta M. Trainor and Lawrence T. Trainor

'Don't mourn, organize'

Los Angeles
"Lay a sword on my bier, for I have been a good soldier in the wars of human liberation."

Another of the old guard will no longer respond to the roll call. But by his example he will be in the ranks with us. Jim, without living in the past, was fond of reminiscing about it, particularly his youthful years in the Industrial Workers of the World. In the last words of a martyr of that band of heroes, "Don't mourn, organize."

Charles and Lillian Curtis

NEW YORK

POLITICAL TRIBUTE TO JIM CANNON

WEDNESDAY, SEPT. 18, 7:30 p.m.

Marc Ballroom, 27 Union Square West (bet. 15th and 16th)

Ausp: Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. Everyone welcome. For more information call (212) 982-8214.

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Speakers: Farrell Dobbs, Art Sharon, and Anne Chester.

SATURDAY, SEPT. 14, 7:30 p.m.

1519 Mission Street, San Francisco.

For more information call (415) 864-9174.

... 'we'll be in midst of any new movement'

Continued from page 20

Lens: Why? Was it something you did that was wrong?

Cannon: No, I don't know of anything we did that was wrong. In the late fifties the Khrushchev revelations opened up the Communist Party periphery. We plunged into that very determinedly. We recruited some members out of the CP itself after the Khrushchev revelations especially in Los Angeles. And since then we have confronted the Communist Party in mass movements of various kinds virtually as equals. They can't brush us aside any more.

Lens: But you never were able to become the dominant force on the left.

Cannon: No.

Lens: When I asked Rennie Davis and Tom Hayden why they joined the SDS (Students for a Democratic Society) rather than the CP or the SWP, they said they felt that there was no magnetism there.

Recruited women

Cannon: We did recruit fairly substantially, and some excellent cadres. And we have recruited women comrades on a scale never before in the radical movement. Forty percent of our members are women. And I think about 40 percent of our staff members are women. This takes place not as a quota policy but just naturally. So many talented women have come forward to fill this and that position.

Lens: But even with all the work you've done in the antiwar movement, you're not back to your 1945 strength yet.

Cannon: We're much stronger in the cadre sense.

Lens: Having influence.

Cannon: But I don't think we're much stronger numerically. A large number of the people we recruited during

that period at the end of the war were Blacks as well as industrial workers. There was a big turnover as soon as the climate in the country turned conservative with the cold war. Then they dropped out because they expected more immediate advantages than we could offer. But this membership we have today is a pretty solid membership both in the YSA and in the SWP.

Lens: Do you anticipate a revolution in America in the near future?

Cannon: It depends on what you mean by near.

Lens: Next 10 or 15 years.

Anything possible

Cannon: I say anything is possible in this century in the years that are left of it. That's 26 years.

Lens: But you don't sound very optimistic.

Cannon: I don't want to make any categorical statements, but I say we're living in a time when capitalism is plunging toward its climactic end.

Lens: Didn't you say that in the thirties?

Cannon: I did, yes.

Lens: And in the forties?

Cannon: And in the forties.

Lens: I mean, that must sound like something peculiar when you say it every decade.

Cannon: But when you stop to think, the history of humanity is a very long one, isn't it? And a quarter of a century is only an instant in the history of the human race.

Lens: What do you see in the near future for the capitalist system?

Cannon: I see one crisis piling upon another. I don't think the capitalists



Militant/Arthur Hughes

'The Young Socialist Alliance was launched and began to attract a cadre. The revolutionary socialist movement has been advancing rather steadily ever since.'

have ever been in such a jam in this country as they are right now, both politically and economically.

Lens: Yet the average man is living well compared to 40 years ago.

Cannon: Materially, you mean?

Lens: Yes.

Cannon: Yes, but they got used to the new standard and now they see the beginning of the decline and they don't like that.

One phenomenon that interests me greatly is the extraordinary development of union action among public workers. It's an entirely new phenomenon. And very widespread, very militant, and continuing.

Lens: You have two separate groups

outside the CP and SWP that are radical, the New American Movement and the People's Party, which believe in the idea of a mass party. And then you have the Maoist parties, like the Revolutionary Union and the October League. Can you see the Trotskyists uniting with either of those forces?

Cannon: No.

Lens: You don't think that either one of them has a future?

Cannon: They have a future. I think this New American Movement or something like it can easily develop and have a temporary existence. But I don't think we can ever be isolated again. We will be in the midst of any kind of public mass movement that begins, and we will recruit out of it.

A report and comments on Cannon's last day

The following is from a letter written by Milton and Tybie Alvin to a longtime comrade of James P. Cannon, informing him of Cannon's death. Milton and Tybie Alvin are longtime members of the Socialist Workers Party.

Los Angeles

Although we had not expected Jim to live much longer, we were hard hit by the actual event.

After his last bout with pneumonia a few months ago, he returned home from about a week in the hospital in poor condition. This time he seemed not to regain his strength.

Unlike his usual self, he spoke about things less than usual. He had nothing but trouble with his eyesight and his secretary, Suzanne got a few gadgets to magnify his reading material but none of them was satisfactory. His eye doctor could do nothing to improve things. Jim had said more than once that if he could not read there was no point in living, as reading took up almost all his waking hours. All this put him into a poor mood.

Despite these things, it still remained a positive thing to spend time with him. He kept abreast of the latest developments in world news, in the party and the international movement. He continued to have opinions and to express them even though more briefly than in the past. His mental capacities never declined like his physical.

Tybie and I were with Jim during his last day. We noticed how weak he was and how he dozed off a few times even after his nap, which he

We invite friends and comrades of Jim Cannon to send us their reminiscences of him. We will try to print contributions that add new information or insights into his life and work in the revolutionary socialist movement.

took at the regular time, from 1 to 3 p.m. At 4:30 he was scheduled to have his daily can of beer and when Tybie brought it to him I kidded him a bit for getting it three minutes before schedule.

We left several minutes later, as one of the comrades who lived with him, Gary, had returned home from work and started dinner. He died in less than one hour after we left him.

Jim was, despite what his enemies may have said about him, a very modest man. More than once he said to me that all our generation could claim for itself is that we recognized the truth when we saw it and had sense enough to protect it so that we could hand it on to others.

This is doubtless true for most of us, but not for him. In addition to that he made many contributions of original and lasting quality. For recognizing the truth, he was obligated to Trotsky more than anyone else. He loved him and thought that in the end Trotsky would be the best-loved of all the great masters, because he fought so long against such odds.

Jim was not the long-faced pessimist. On the contrary, he had more the quality of the Irish leprechaun. He almost always had a joke or two to tell and was optimistic about the ultimate fate of humanity and its socialist future.

He frequently called attention to what he called his Rule No. 5; that is, "Don't take yourself too seriously." By that he meant that one should not try to carry the whole world on one's shoulders but to leave a little for others to carry. However, this did not apply to one's work. That was taken seriously, very much so.

Jim often said that had it not been for the movement, we would not even have known each other. I am sure that he meant this in the broader sense, to include all those who worked together for our common aim. He was especially concerned in recent years for the old-timers of whom so few are left. Whenever Tybie and I left town he was sure to remind us to remember him to the "old-timers."

Somewhere along the way our paths converged with his and we marched together after that. We are the richer for it. As he said so many times, our cause has given our lives some meaning that they otherwise would not have had. That has been our reward and it has been enough and more than enough.

Tybie and Milton Alvin

Socialists run for city council in East L.A.

By WENDY REISSNER

LOS ANGELES—Two socialist candidates, Mariana Hernández and Manuel "Tank" Barrera, have entered the race for East Los Angeles city council.

On Aug. 29 the two Socialist Workers Party candidates filed nominating petitions and have subsequently been certified for the ballot in the November election.

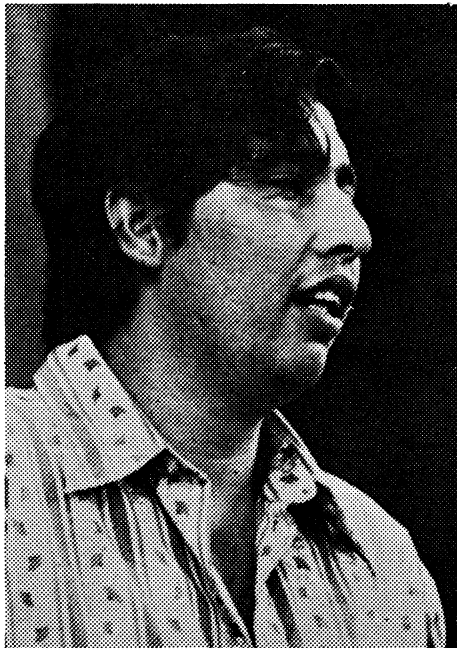
East Los Angeles is currently an unincorporated area of Los Angeles County. Although the population of East L.A. is 80 percent Chicano, it is governed by an all-white county board of supervisors, elected by a majority-Anglo electorate throughout the county. Like other Chicano communities, it has been gerrymandered by Democratic and Republican politicians to prevent Chicanos from exercising a united political voice.

As a result of a long struggle by the community, a referendum on the issue of incorporating East Los Angeles will appear on the November ballot. If it passes, East L.A. will become a separate city and the community will win the right to elect its own city government. Simultaneously, residents will vote for a five-person city council to govern the new city.

Barrera and Hernández are campaigning for a "Yes" vote on incorporation as a step forward in the struggle to gain genuine Chicano control of the Chicano community.

At a news conference announcing their candidacy on Aug. 29, the socialist candidates recalled the significance of that date. Aug. 29 was the anniversary of the massive 1970 Chicano Moratorium against the war in Vietnam, which was broken up by county sheriff's deputies, the police force in East L.A. In the process the cops killed three people.

Barrera, who recently ran for the office of L.A. County sheriff on a program of abolishing the sheriff's department, said, "This brutal attack was a dramatic example of the way the sheriff's department intimidates our community. In our campaign we will call for the removal of the sheriff's department from East L.A. In its place we call for a force drawn from and controlled by the Chicano community."



Militant/Henry Snipper

BARRERA, HERNANDEZ: Abolish military budget to provide federal funds for rebuilding oppressed communities such as East L.A.

Mariana Hernández said, "We offer a fighting program to do away with the poverty and oppression that exists in the barrio. In the Maravilla district of East Los Angeles alone, more than 46 percent of the residents are forced to 'live' on welfare. We are for setting welfare, pensions, Social Security, and unemployment benefits at union wages. To solve unemployment we call for shortening the work-week with no cut in pay. We are for cost-of-living clauses in all union contracts."

The socialist candidates have been active supporters of the United Farm Workers' fight against the combined attacks of the growers and Teamster bureaucrats. If elected they would introduce a bill into the new city council outlawing scab lettuce, grapes, and wine in East Los Angeles.

Barrera and Hernández helped build the Aug. 31 Moratorium against deportations of undocumented workers. They call for full civil rights for undocumented workers and for abolishing the U.S. Immigration Service police.

"The city council of East L.A. should do everything in its power to defend the undocumented workers against the harassment and deportations by *la migra*," said Hernández, "especially



Militant/Walter Lippmann

since a significant part of the population of East L.A. falls into this category."

The socialist candidates stand for community control of the schools in East L.A. They point out that racist teachers, irrelevant textbook material, poverty, and police terror combine to cause a "pushout" rate of 50 percent of the students at East L.A.'s Garfield High School. They stand for bilingual, bicultural education from kindergarten up.

"The schools should be run by elected community committees of students, parents, and teachers, with full control over hiring and firing of teachers, over curriculum, textbooks, and all aspects of administration," the socialist candidates said.

They called for a federally funded crash program to build needed schools, hospitals, recreational facilities, and housing in the barrio. They pointed out that in a U.S. government study, 73 percent of the housing in East L.A. was found to be "dilapidated" or "deteriorating."

"Federal funding is key," the socialists explained. "Opponents of cityhood have argued that a city of East L.A. is not feasible because the current resources are too meager."

"Of course they are too meager! Our

people have been held down and exploited for decades. They should not be the ones to bear the burden.

"Let the government abolish the so-called defense budget. This money that is now used by Washington to play world cop could be used for rebuilding oppressed areas such as East Los Angeles."

Hernández and Barrera are out to convince Chicanos to rely on their own power rather than the empty promises of the capitalist parties of racism and exploitation.

They said, "The experiences of the Chicano community show clearly that it is independent political action that gets results. Demonstrations and protests helped get more Chicanos into college. Mass support for the United Farm Workers' grape boycott is what forced some of the growers to sign UFW contracts in the past. Protests against *la migra* forced the Supreme Court to halt the dragnet raids. Whenever Chicanos rely on some capitalist politician to improve things, it only leads to broken promises."

Barrera and Hernández call for the building of a mass Chicano political party that would be responsible to the Chicano community. They see La Raza Unida parties in Los Angeles and elsewhere as a step toward building such a party.

Shortly after Barrera and Hernández took out nominating papers to run for city council, La Raza Unida Party announced a slate of five candidates for the city council. They are Raúl Ruiz, Arturo Sanchez, Celia Rodriguez, Daniel Zapata, and Frances Sue Lopez.

Although the race is "nonpartisan" and they will not be listed on the ballot as La Raza Unida candidates, they say they will campaign under the banner of La Raza Unida Party, "against Democratic and Republican corruption."

Barrera and Hernández are calling for a vote for La Raza Unida Party candidates for the remaining city council seats. The socialist candidates said, "We welcome the fact that there will be seven candidates in this election helping to convince the community to break with the Democrats and Republicans—the two parties that have betrayed our people for so long."

San Diego Chicanos protest police whitewash

By MARK SCHNEIDER

SAN DIEGO—Some 75 Chicano activists attended a special 8 a.m. meeting of the city council here Aug. 29 to protest an official whitewash of the slaying of Bernardo Gallardo.

Gallardo, a 35-year-old parolee, had been harassed by the police for weeks before his murder. Two cops tried to "convince" him to become a narcotics informer. They threatened to "have you killed, set up for a parole violation, or we can take you in right now," according to Gallardo's attorney.

Gallardo had responded by describing the incidents to reporters and community workers. He even made a taped statement of the police threats.

Gallardo was shotgunned to death on the steps of his home Aug. 19. The cops arrested Gallardo's roommate and a friend, both Chicanos, and charged them with the slaying. Then they seized the tape.

In an attempt to head off public anger at the killing, the cops and the city administration are organizing a Watergate-style cover-up. The two cops who harassed Gallardo were suspended for 20 days—not for ha-

arrassing him, but for destroying marijuana they allegedly found in his possession. Mayor Peter Wilson called a special meeting of the city council to get approval for a grand jury investigation.

Herman Baca, speaking for the Ad Hoc Committee on Chicano Rights, which has long opposed police violence in the Chicano community, blasted this cover-up.

"In no way will we stand for an 'in-house' investigation of this incident. The San Diego County grand jury has had only five Chicano members in the last 103 years. We need an outside, independent investigation of this killing and of the entire San Diego police department."

Baca called for the firing of Police Chief Raymond Hoobler and called for the establishment of a civilian review board to look into police actions.

John Jacob of the Urban League and Larry Schwartz of the American Civil Liberties Union also spoke, protesting the cover-up.

The city council, however, voted to send a note acknowledging and thanking the grand jury for its investigation. Councilman Jim Bates reported

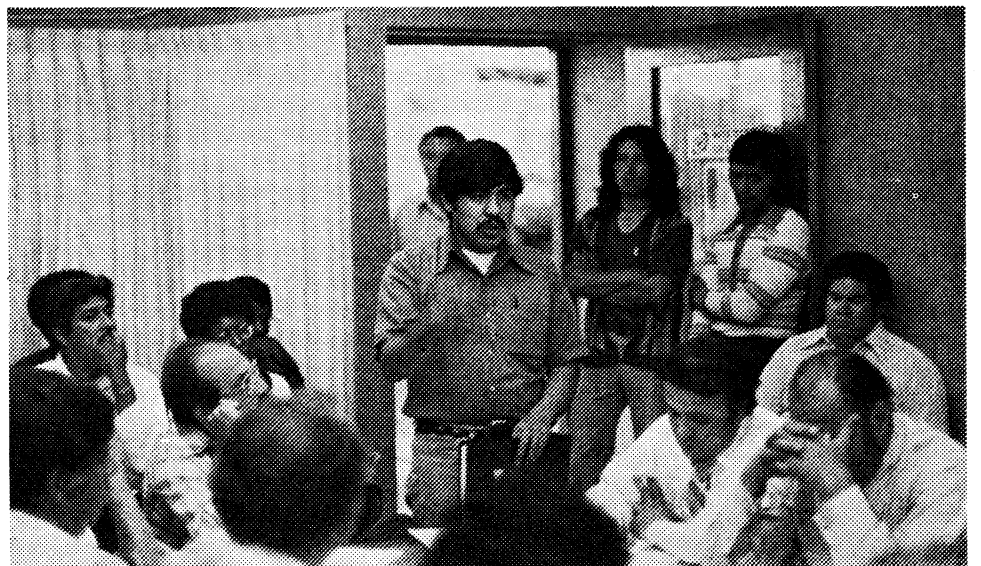
that he had contacted the U.S. Justice Department and that they are considering investigating.

On Aug. 28, the Community Relations Board, an advisory body to the city administration on police matters, announced that the two cops involved in the case had previously been accused of similar tactics. Both were

reprimanded for threatening a man in order to force him to become an informer. Also, both had previously been accused of roughing up a suspect.

Richard Walden of the Legal Aid Society spoke to Gallardo before his murder. Gallardo told him that one

Continued on page 30



Militant/Dave Goldman

Herman Baca addresses open meeting of San Diego Community Relations Board

Toronto convention

Shanker bureaucracy tightens grip on AFT



Rising tide of teacher militancy was not reflected at AFT convention

By JEFF MACKLER

TORONTO—The most important result of the annual convention of the American Federation of Teachers (AFT), held here Aug. 19-23, was the tightening of Albert Shanker's bureaucratic control over the union.

Shanker—already president of New York City's United Federation of Teachers (UFT), executive vice-president of the New York State United Teachers, and member of the national AFL-CIO executive council—was elected president of the AFT with nearly 84 percent of the vote.

Jeff Mackler is vice-president of the Hayward, Calif., Federation of Teachers, AFT Local 1423.

Shanker's election surprised no one, as his opponent, outgoing president David Selden, proved incapable of providing even the semblance of an alternative.

Few believed that Selden's newly found criticisms of Shanker amounted to more than a pathetic personal gesture, in view of his almost total identification with Shanker's policies for the past six years. Selden received 13 percent of the vote; 3 percent abstained.

Monolithic control

The Toronto convention, attended by 2,415 delegates, was the first one at which Shanker and his supporters held total control of all aspects of the proceedings. Literally every convention committee and all plenary sessions were dominated by the delegates from Shanker's 675-member New York City delegation and his well-organized followers in New York state. The combined votes of these groups represented half the membership of the entire AFT.

But Shanker's support was not limited to New York. The large delegations from almost all the major cities were also committed to vote for Shanker and had been lined up well in advance of the convention.

As in Shanker's New York City delegation, the bureaucratic slate-voting, winner-take-all practice ensured that no minority views were represented in these delegations. Unit-rule voting, the practice by which the majority of a delegation casts all the votes, further added to the monolithic nature of the proceedings.

To top it off, ballots had to be individually signed, providing Shanker with his own personal "enemies list" for later reprisals.

In this stifling atmosphere, the convention did not reflect the rising tide of teacher militancy. It failed to set a course of action for teachers to fight for their interests and improve the quality of education.

On the key issue of merging the AFT and the National Education Association (NEA), Shanker's strategy proved to be the opposite of the unity desired by the overwhelming majority of the nation's teachers.

The convention workshop entitled "Making State and Local Mergers Work" consisted of a panel presentation on alleged NEA atrocities. One after another the panelists drew the conclusion that factional warfare was to be the order of the day until the NEA changed its position on the issue of affiliation with the AFL-CIO.

The AFT leadership insists that the 1.5-million-member NEA must affiliate with the AFL-CIO as a condition for merger. It falsely equates the AFL-CIO with the labor movement, despite the fact that some of the biggest labor organizations in the country are outside the AFL-CIO.

The effect of this insistence is to

indefinitely delay merger, in the face of unprecedented government attacks on teachers and public education.

Speaking in favor of the AFT executive council's proposal to increase monthly per capita dues by 35 cents, Shanker said, "If you really want to bring the NEA back to the negotiating table, you have got to make the AFT bigger than it is today, so that they are willing to come back to that table because merger is more worthwhile to them."

This theme was reiterated by Shanker's supporters throughout the convention: "We've got to hurt the NEA first before they'll negotiate."

Shanker sees raids on the NEA, not organizing unorganized teachers, as the fastest way to make the AFT bigger, and the dues increase was rammed through to finance continued raiding operations.

Political action

Shanker's only answer to the attacks on teachers is to support the very same Democratic and Republican politicians who consistently vote to cut educational expenditures and to deny teachers the right to strike.

In addition, Shanker characterized proposals for statewide strikes as "communistic" or "fascist." AFT units have actually opposed NEA-affiliate proposals for such statewide action in support of NEA strikes in Timberlane, N. H., and Hortonville, Wis. Teachers in these two small school districts have been on strike since early this year and are the targets of vicious union-busting attacks.

Shanker's only suggestion for a winning strategy was a criticism of the NEA's weakness in "legislative action"; that is, lobbying in the state capitals. Selden joined in denigrating the two strikes, saying, "There are some situations that are not solvable,

unfortunately, by such direct means. And there is no rule that says you should not use your head when you are trying to get a contract."

A convention workshop on political action consisted solely of presentations by two AFT lobbyists, who appealed for teachers to write letters to their legislators. The resolution on political action submitted by the UFT and adopted by the convention called for making "every effort to elect a veto-proof Congress."

Yet another indication of the AFT leaders' political orientation was their objection to a simple resolution "to call upon President Ford not only to restore the cuts in federal aid but to expand the appropriations to the nation's schools at all levels." It was clear that their opposition was based on the single clause stating, "Whereas, the U. S. is first in military spending and fourteenth in literacy. . . ." Shanker is a firm supporter of government military spending to "keep America strong" and "keep the Communists from taking over."

CLUW supported

In one respect the convention was compelled to recognize the changing attitudes of AFT members, the majority of whom are women.

Five resolutions supporting the Coalition of Labor Union Women were submitted by different AFT locals and state federations. On the last day one such resolution was adopted, stating that the AFT "supports the efforts of the Coalition of Labor Union Women and encourages our women members to become active members of the Coalition."

First, however, all amendments to provide specific forms of implementation were defeated. The Shankerites did make one concession. They agreed to urge local and state AFT publications to carry notices of CLUW meetings.

Red-baiting

Shanker's emergence as the undisputed leader of the AFT was accompanied by a red-baiting smear campaign against all his opponents, the virulence of which surprised even some of his best friends.

Shanker beat down resolutions calling for abolition of such undemocratic procedures as unit rule and the open (signed) ballot. In a heated floor debate over a constitutional amendment for proportional representation of minority slates in delegations to AFT conventions, Shanker took the floor on a "point of personal privilege."

"Mr. Chairman," he began, "the delegates here from Local 2 [the UFT] were elected by about 87 percent of the vote, running on a slate. The slate they ran against got 13 percent of the vote. . . ."

"The people who ran on the opposition slate, who received a little under 13 percent of the vote, Mr. Chairman, are people who in our local scabbed in practically every single strike in New York City, and I will fight against any right for representation for scabs at this national convention."

The opponents Shanker labels as "scabs" are the 11,000 courageous teachers who broke his racist strike against New York City's Black and Puerto Rican communities in 1968.

But Shanker did not stop at accusing his opponents of scabbing. He explained that "in Russia," opponents of the government are killed for differing with the authorities. Apparently the delegates were to conclude that minorities in the AFT should be grateful they are allowed to live, not to mention being represented at conventions.

He then launched a diatribe against "communists" in the union and concluded by proclaiming, "As long as there is a drop of blood left in my body, no communist will ever hold office in this union."



SHANKER: Claims those who oppose him are 'scabs' and 'communists.'

In another move to strengthen his machine, Shanker had the number of AFT vice-presidents increased from 21 to 30. All 30 are elected at large at the convention, where he is sure of an automatic majority.

PRDF smeared

A resolution had been submitted to the convention by the Michigan Federation of Teachers urging support for the Political Rights Defense Fund. The PRDF supports the lawsuit of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance demanding an end to government surveillance and harassment of the SWP and other radicals.

The resolution's call for support to this civil liberties effort was well received by several delegates on the resolutions committee, who saw it as a way of responding to the Nixon administration's attacks on its political opponents.

Shanker's hacks on the committee, however, set their sights on defeating the resolution. Abe Levine of the UFT declared that while he supported civil liberties, that wasn't the real issue. He denounced the SWP and YSA's role in school District 1 in Lower Manhattan and said such people could not be supported.

The SWP and YSA have actively supported the struggle of the Puerto Rican, Black, and Chinese communities in District 1 to control their own schools, a struggle the UFT bitterly opposes.

Another Shankerite assailed the SWP for opposing the racist 1968

strike. In the worst tradition of social-democratic witch-hunters, the UFT committee members weighed their professed belief in civil liberties against their political differences with the SWP and YSA. Civil liberties was the loser, and the bureaucratic ax was lowered.

What alternative?

Shanker's ascent to the presidency of the AFT and his consolidation of power come at a time when teachers' real wages are falling, state and federal funds for education are being cut back, and teacher unemployment is rising.

The ability of teachers to defend themselves is undermined by the reactionary policies of the Shankerite misleaders. To develop an effective program of struggle, teachers will have to overcome this obstacle and take control of their organization at all levels. Yet the battle against Shankerism has hardly begun.

One of the most urgent needs of teachers is for united action between the AFT and the NEA against the government attacks. Such action can be initiated at the local and state level, where Shanker's grip is not as tight. AFL-CIO affiliation should not be a fetish that stands in the way of unity. Joint action will have the effects both of strengthening teachers' immediate struggles and of breaking down the blind factionalism Shanker seeks to foster.

The Black, Chicano, and Puerto Rican communities are the chief victims of rotten schools and should be the natural allies of teachers in the fight for more funds for education, more schools, more teachers, better materials, and smaller classes. To forge such an alliance, however, teachers will have to renounce Shanker's policy of opposing the struggles of minority communities, and instead support their just demands for control over their children's education, including the hiring of many more teachers from the oppressed groups. To perpetuate the divisions between teachers and the minority communities will eventually mean suicide for the AFT.

The Democrats and Republicans—the parties of big business—are responsible for the cutbacks and the attacks on teachers' rights to organize and strike. Shanker's course of tying the AFT to these parties' coattails is not "realistic," it is self-defeating.

When teachers, together with the rest of the union movement, decide to form an independent political party of labor, they will for the first time be in a position to truly fight for their interests on the political arena.



Demonstration for Puerto Rican, Black, and Chinese control of schools in New York City's District 1. Shanker's policies pit teachers against their natural allies, the oppressed communities.

Timberlane teachers fight on despite jailings

By JON HILLSON

PLAISTOW, N.H.—Despite the arrest of 90 teachers and supporters on the picket line here in the past week, the longest teachers' strike in U.S. history shows no sign of being broken. The pickets were arrested for "parading without a permit."

[On Sept. 3 Federal District Court Judge Hugh Bownes ruled that the town's ban on picketing was unconstitutional.]

The walkout by 104 of the 153 teachers in the Timberlane Regional School District in southern New Hampshire began Feb. 26.

The Timberlane Regional Education Association (TREA), local affiliate of the National Education Association (NEA), is striking for recognition as the collective bargaining agent for teachers and for a master contract. The teachers now work under individual salary agreements.

The TREA's struggle for teacher rights has faced head-on resistance in this notoriously nonunion state. The local board of education has refused to even negotiate with the teachers. It recently completed the hiring of a scab teacher force to replace the strikers, bringing in scabs from as far away as Arizona and Louisiana.

In its union-busting effort the board has gone so far as to seek decertification of the striking teachers. This move, if upheld by the state supreme court, would bar them from teaching in 29 other states as well as New Hampshire.

The TREA has been red-baited by the *Manchester Union-Leader*, the only statewide newspaper, widely known for its extreme right-wing views. And Republican Governor Meldrim Thomson has used his office to try to break the strike.

The demand for a master contract negotiated by the NEA-affiliate is not unprecedented in New Hampshire; 16 other school districts in the state have such agreements. But the refusal of local officials to negotiate put, as one picket sign carried by teachers stated, "Our backs against the wall."

TREA vice-president Cathy Barin, a high school chemistry teacher, told *The Militant* that the central issues of the strike are "quality education for students, and teachers' rights." She said economic issues are not the motive force in the strike.

"The strike is a cause," she said. "It means teachers have dignity, teachers have rights."

Teacher solidarity is seen as the key weapon for winning the strike. Regional and local affiliates of the NEA have "adopted" teachers and helped to pay strike benefits. Teachers from around New England have helped staff picket lines and have gone to jail with TREA members.

A 1,000-mile trek of Timberlane teachers to the NEA convention in Chicago last summer, and the rally of 3,000 teachers there, further dramatized support for this militant struggle.

"Our morale is very good," Barin said. "We are learning we have to rely on ourselves. When you realize the governor is against you, the school system, the board of education are against you, you have to be united in a group."

One of the main obstacles the teachers face is the weakness of the labor movement and the generally antiunion sentiment in this small rural community. Until now the community has been solidly behind the board of education, but teachers think this mood may be wavering, with growing sentiment to at least negotiate with them. Barin says she sees the possibility of some of the teachers being rehired.

Furthermore, Timberlane teachers believe their strike has inhibited other New Hampshire school boards from provoking teacher walkouts and has been an impetus for other local boards to sign contracts and recognize the teacher rights the TREA is demanding.



Delegates at last summer's NEA convention demonstrate solidarity with Timberlane strike.

Mich. teachers strike

By MIKE KELLY

DETROIT — The 1,000-member Wayne County Federation of Teachers struck the Wayne County community college system Sept. 3.

Major demands include an across-the-board wage increase averaging 12 percent, and a cost-of-living clause equivalent to that of the United Auto Workers (one cent an hour wage increase for every 0.35-point increase in the government's Consumer Price Index).

Morale was high on the picket lines as teachers remembered their successful strike last fall that won them their first cost-of-living clause. The 12 percent rise in the cost of living in the past year has angered many teachers, who are determined to make up their lost wages.

Another demand raised, by the teachers is for the administration to

open its books to the public. The union has learned of a hidden surplus of more than \$800,000 in last year's school budget, at the same time that the administration claims it has no money to pay teachers a decent salary.

Meanwhile, more than a dozen other school districts in Michigan went on strike Sept. 3. Another 150 districts are still without contracts, so that the number going on strike is likely to rise soon.

As the school year begins around the country, teachers strikes are also reported in Tacoma, Wash.; Freeport, Ill.; and Gallia County, Ohio.

In Tacoma, members of the Tacoma Association of Classroom Teachers rejected a school board contract offer by a vote of 1,392 to 344.

Illinois miners hear socialist candidate speak on inflation, strikes & Watergate

CANTON, Ill. — "If you are forced into a strike by the coal companies, the Socialist Workers Party will support your strike just as we have supported all strikes for better working conditions," Ed Heisler told strip miners here in western Illinois recently. As the SWP candidate for U.S. Senate from Illinois, Heisler was touring Knox and Fulton counties to discuss his campaign with miners and other working people.

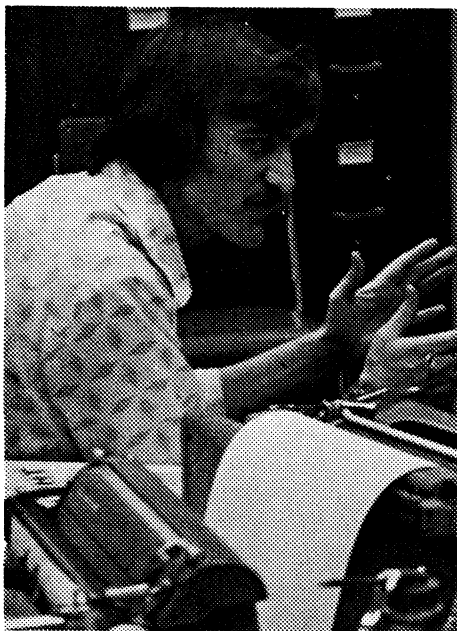
The socialist candidate was invited to speak to the business meetings of six United Mine Workers (UMW) locals during his tour. The discussion ranged from how to fight inflation and unemployment, to the prospects for a miners' strike this fall, to Watergate and the role of the Democrats and Republicans.

There are 2,000 strip miners in Knox and Fulton counties. The largest town where Heisler spoke was Canton, population 14,000. The smallest town was Williamsfield, with 550 residents.

Heisler, a railroad worker and member of the United Transportation Union, is running against Democrat Adlai Stevenson and Republican George Burditt in the senatorial race. During his meetings with the miners, the socialist candidate pointed out the antilabor record of his opponents.

Strikebreakers

"If you are forced into a strike," he said, "Congress will probably pass a bill ordering you back to work. Stevenson and the other Democrats and Republicans will vote for that bill. The Socialist Workers Party will



Militant/Ira Salinover

HEISLER: 'We need to reduce the workweek with no reduction in pay.'

oppose that law just as we have opposed all antilabor legislation."

The Democrats and Republicans have no solution for inflation or unemployment, except to make working people pay more, Heisler said. "There is a way to fight unemployment," he noted, "but the corporations don't like it and Adlai Stevenson and George Burditt don't like it."

"We need to reduce the workweek with no reduction in pay in order to spread the available work around. We need as a start a 30-hour workweek at 40 hours pay."

"The Democrats and Republicans say this would cause inflation. What they really mean is that it would cut into corporate profits. That's tough!"

Cost-of-living clause

Another key part of the socialist program is the demand for cost-of-living clauses in union contracts, so that wages automatically increase with the jumps in prices.

"If you have a cost-of-living clause,



Militant/Ira Salinover

'There's a simple way of finding out if the strip-mining owners have the money to reclaim the land. We should demand that they open their books.'

don't you build inflation into the economy?" asked a miner at one of Heisler's meetings.

Working people fighting for raises are not the cause of inflation, Heisler replied. This is a trick of the bosses to keep wages down.

"The corporations blamed us for inflation and then they slapped wage controls on us. They added so-called price controls, but prices increased at a faster rate under controls than before," Heisler said.

Heisler pointed to the energy crisis as another example of profits being placed before the lives and needs of the majority of people. "The energy crisis was a fraud created by the oil trusts. After they got gasoline up to 60 cents a gallon, they discovered all kinds of gasoline to sell us. They're predicting another gas shortage this winter so they can get gasoline up to 80 cents a gallon."

In many cases, the very same companies are also responsible for ravaging the land by strip-mining and then refusing to reclaim it. "All the strip-mining operators plead poverty when it comes to restoring the land," Heisler noted. "There's a simple way of finding out if they've got the money or not. We should demand that they open their financial books to our inspection."

Heisler added that "we should nationalize the oil companies and place them under the control of oil industry workers. I think the same thing should be done with the railroads. The railroad owners are letting the tracks fall apart. They have no consideration for the workers or the public. Those of us who work on the railroads are concerned with safe working conditions. If we ran the railroads, they'd be a lot safer for us and the people that ride them."

After hearing Heisler, one miner commented, "You're talking about some real radical things!"

"Well, we need some real radical changes," the socialist candidate responded. "We have had a radical history in this country. In two years we're going to be celebrating the two-hundredth anniversary of our first revolution. The people who led and organized that revolt were radicals in their time. I think that was a pretty good revolution!"

Many of the miners, including older miners who had voted for Nixon in 1972, expressed anger about Watergate. As one put it, "What the hell's wrong with this country when you can't even trust the president?"

The local president at one meeting apologized to Heisler for the small

turnout. Most of the men, he said, were home watching Nixon's resignation.

"A lot of people are predicting a change of government in the next 25 or 30 years," said one miner. "After this Watergate situation, people have lost faith in the government—they don't trust the Democrats, they don't trust the Republicans."

That's why workers should form their own independent party, Heisler said. This was a new idea to many of the miners. Such a party, Heisler explained, would be based on the trade unions and could fight against inflation, unemployment, unsafe working conditions, and race and sex discrimination on the job. It would challenge the Democratic and Republican fakers in the elections by putting up its own candidates for office.

Working people are told that under the two-party system they have a choice, Heisler said. But the Democrats and Republicans both represent the exact same interests—those of the employers. A labor party would offer working people a real alternative at the polls.

'He's a commie'

A few miners expressed suspicion of Heisler. One refused to take a leaflet on the SWP campaign, saying, "Not for me—this guy's a commie!"

"He's a commie," repeated the miner when another worker walked in. "Who let him in?" asked the second miner. "Well, I guess it's a free country. . . free speech," answered the first.

Some of the miners asked questions about socialism and how it would work. Who would run the corporations? Could people still own private property?

One miner said he disagreed with

the idea of workers running and controlling industry. "I believe in free enterprise and the principle of competition," he said. "That way the best and hardest-working people can climb the ladder from the bottom and reach the top."

Heisler replied, "I could climb that ladder in the railroad industry. I could become a railroad supervisor if that's what I wanted. All I'd have to do is fink on fellow workers, become a scab, be antiunion, and step on other people to climb that ladder."

"That's not for me and in fact, most people don't want to do that to get ahead."

Miners' strike

Heisler discussed with many of the miners what will happen if the United Mine Workers calls a nationwide strike this fall over the new contract.

"The government will try to use the energy crisis as an excuse to try to break a coal strike," Heisler predicted. "They may pick out individual leaders of the union to arrest, fine the union, or even call out the Army."

"But I don't think that last thing will work. As [former UMW president] John L. Lewis once said, 'You can't pick coal with bayonets.'"

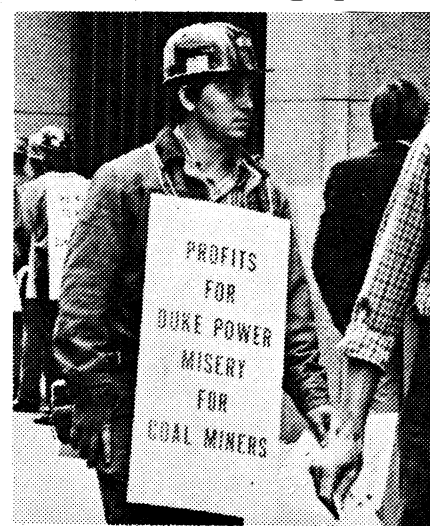
"Yep, sure did say that," responded one miner.

Another miner expressed confidence that the union membership would put up a strong fight against any strike-breaking moves by the government. "If miners don't have a contract—they can't be forced to work."

"I can't see how they could force us back, threaten to arrest the leadership, when all of the miners have decided to go out."

"It's always been, when the contract runs out, no work. We all go out!"

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Union militancy growing in publishing field

By LEE SMITH

In June, for the first time in recent memory, the employees of a major New York publishing house went out on strike.

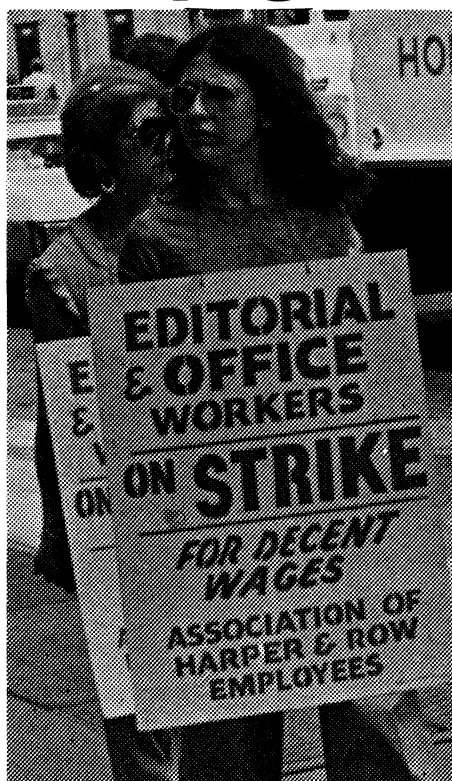
The two-and-a-half-week strike by the Association of Harper & Row Employees marked the first dramatic eruption of a process that had been percolating throughout book publishing in New York for some time and one that has accelerated since the strike: the shaping of a new, union-

Lee Smith is a member of the organizing committee for Local 153, Office and Professional Employees International Union, AFL-CIO, at Macmillan, Inc., in New York City.

conscious militancy among a layer of workers who had not until recently even thought of themselves as workers.

Book publishing is a marginal industry, and as President Ford cuts back on federal money for schools and libraries, and as the inflationary squeeze constricts the market for trade books, big layoffs will undoubtedly begin to occur. This prospect makes the unionization drive all the more vital for the workers whose jobs face elimination in the near future.

But publishing workers are not alone in turning to unions in a big way for the first time. Rafael Steinberg, in an article in the July 28 *New York Times*, writes: "In the last decade, something seems to have happened to the professional's faith in his privilege. The seven-year-old Council of [AFL-CIO] Unions for Professional Employees now represents more than 1,000,000 members. And according to the Department of Labor, this year about 3,000,000 professional and technical people, including such unlikely unionists as lawyers and architects, are working under collectively negotiated contracts. That is, they belong to a union, or at least let a union fight for them."



Militant/Janice Lynn

Harper & Row pickets during recent strike. Growing numbers of college-educated workers are looking to unions for help.

Steinberg adds that the AFL-CIO estimates this 3,000,000 to represent about half the workers in the "professional" category who work in groups large enough to make collective bargaining feasible.

Publishing workers share features in common with an even larger group of workers. College-educated, unorganized, white-collar workers predominantly 21 to 35 years old make up the labor force in many industries other than book publishing. Some of these are advertising and marketing, statistical research, insurance, banking, data processing, and a host of service industries related to research and communication.

With this in mind, the current activity in book publishing in New York can be looked at as a harbinger of things to come among a far larger section of the working class.

Salaries in publishing are notoriously low. Editorial and editorial-production jobs attract young workers, mainly college graduates and largely women, who are seeking a "career." They enter book publishing with the desire for work that is interesting and fulfilling, work that will allow them to use their training and talent "creatively."

Even at peak periods of publishing activity, the competition for jobs in the industry is fairly stiff because the supply of labor exceeds the demand. One effect of this situation is that many workers—especially women—who want to "break into" publishing take jobs as secretaries or other clerical jobs in the hope of working their way up to the job they want—as an editor or designer or whatever. Thus publishing has some of the best-educated, lowest-paid secretarial and clerical workers in New York.

There is also a large amount of free-lance and temporary work, and a great deal of turnover as workers move back and forth between competing houses, jockeying for a slightly higher paycheck or a job that is closer to the work they want.

The idea of work in publishing being more "meaningful" has always been a myth, though. The truth is that publishing workers are little more than skilled technicians of a certain type, doing alienated labor at low pay; they could just as well be producing any other commodity, but the product happens to be books.

However, it has been profitable for the employers in publishing to keep this myth alive. Such practices as laxity with regard to what time employees arrive and leave and the touted publishing two-hour lunch have been inexpensive ways of fueling the myth; and these "institutions" of publishing are largely exaggerated anyway.

Employees lower down on the totem pole in most cases might just as well punch a time clock. And those who do have some flexibility in their hours usually find that it boomerangs into

lunch at the desk and uncompensated overtime in the seasonal rush periods.

Nevertheless, for long years, many workers in publishing clung to the myth. And by moving from company to company and filling their time off with free-lance work, they were able to get by in relative comfort.

Several factors have contributed to the breakdown of this myth and the growing self-conscious recognition by publishing employees that they are indeed workers. The most important is the inflationary squeeze that is hitting all workers. But other significant factors include the impact of the women's liberation movement especially, along with the general radicalization of the past decade. Another is a certain kind of "speedup" as publishing employers have stepped up production schedules and trimmed the size of their labor force to maintain and increase profits in the face of rising paper and printing costs.

Doctor Denis Chamots, assistant executive secretary of the AFL-CIO Council of Unions for Professional Employees, is quoted in the *Times* article mentioned earlier as saying, "Professionals working in the technical field today suffer many abuses at the hands of well-organized insensitive management—capricious firings, involuntary transfers, demotions for disloyalty. . . ." This can also be applied to book publishing, as can the observation, from the same article, of Jack Golodner, executive secretary of the council:

"The satisfactions that come from the job have disappeared. The professional is working in an environment that is more and more dehumanized. He's working in greater and greater masses. You can go to the aerospace industry and see the way an engineer works, in row on row of engineers. He's just one of hundreds of thousands. And in the universities there's less of a one-to-one relationship with the policy makers, so the faculty member feels less and less important. It's no different than what happened to the blue-collar worker who once was a craftsman with dignity, an individual."

Jackie Shaffer: a fighter for change

Jackie Shaffer was shot and killed Aug. 8 in Chicago. He had been a member of the Young Socialist Alliance from 1970 to 1972 and had been the Socialist Workers Party candidate for University of Illinois board of trustees in 1972. He was 20.

Linda Thompson, a leader of the Socialist Workers Party who had worked closely with Jackie, was one of the speakers at a meeting of Jackie's family and friends held in a church in the Black community on the west side of Chicago. The following are excerpts from her speech.

Many of you knew Jackie as a friend, a fellow student, a relative, as someone who loved music and art and literature.

But Jackie was more than all these things. Jackie was a revolutionary, and this is what distinguished his life and outlook. He spent much of his active youth fighting for change, for revolutionary change that would rid the world of the conditions that drive people to despair and violence.

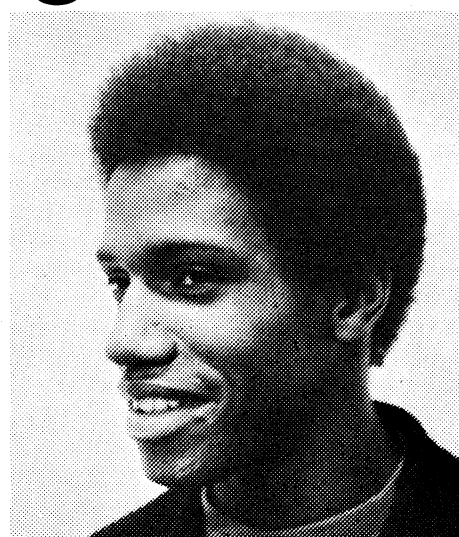
Aug. 8 is a date that none of us here will ever forget. The same night the news came that Nixon was to be succeeded by a new president who supposedly was to heal the nation's wounds created by Watergate, this young brother was cut down in the streets of Chicago.

Jackie would not have believed that a mere change in the head of the government could solve this nation's problems or heal its wounds. Certainly nothing can heal Jackie's wounds or bring him back to life. Nothing can bring back the thousands of others like Jackie who have died in the streets of this country, in the prisons, or in the war in Vietnam.

Jackie was shot down and killed in a seemingly senseless and accidental act of violence. But such events happen every day in our cities, and his death was the result of something far more ominous and frightening than the act of a single individual. Regardless of who pulled the trigger that night, Jackie's death was a result and a symptom of the desperation and sickness that fills our society.

It is bitterly ironic that it was Jackie's life that was taken in this way, because he was a person who had wanted to change the very racist system that was responsible for his death.

While a student at Marshall High School, Jackie had to face the harassment and the inferior education handed out to Blacks in the Chicago public schools. In spite of the obstacles put in his way, Jackie educated himself. He read constantly on subjects from literature to politics, and he read a lot of things the board of education



Jackie Shaffer

Militant/Dave Saperston

wouldn't have recommended, such as the works of Malcolm X and other revolutionaries.

Malcolm X was Jackie's hero, and from him he learned the need for racial pride and Black unity. I remember that when I first met Jackie he was continually carrying Malcolm's books, reading and studying his ideas.

Jackie was Black and proud. At Marshall he organized the Black Student Union to politically educate his brothers and sisters and to launch a fight against the arbitrary expulsion

of students. He organized students, faculty, parents, and support from the community, which forced the administration to back down.

Under Jackie's leadership the BSU took on a campaign in defense of Black Panther Party members, who were under a vicious government attack at that time. When violence in the schools became a frightening problem, the BSU launched a campaign to have the students, faculty, and community deal with the problem—not the racist cops who patrolled the corridors, intimidating and harassing students.

Jackie stood out because he had the courage to stand up and fight for what he believed in. But more than this, he stood out because he was able to communicate his ideas to others, inspire them, and move them into action.

Jackie's conception of what society could be, and what kind of movement was needed to liberate all the oppressed, led him to join the Young Socialist Alliance.

He developed as an educator and as a public speaker, and he ran for office on the Socialist Workers Party slate.

Many who knew Jackie well didn't fully understand what he had hoped to accomplish, but his goals were

Continued on page 30

...Lessons of the Chile coup: What road to

Continued from page 32

of the "peaceful road to socialism" in alliance with "progressive" sections of the capitalist class.

In December 1970, the U.S. Communist Party declared in its theoretical journal *Political Affairs*: "This was no ordinary electoral victory, no mere victory of a Socialist over the other candidates. Rather, in the words of the Basic Program of the six-party coalition which backed Allende, it represents a 'transfer of power from the old ruling groups to the workers, to the peasantry and to the progressive sections of the middle class of the city and country.'"

Far from modifying this view after the Chilean catastrophe, the world Stalinist movement continues to insist on its correctness. In Portugal, Communist and Socialist Party support to the military government of General António de Spínola is being justified with similar demagoguery. Refusal to draw the correct lessons from Chile could have equally ominous results on the Iberian peninsula.

But the Stalinists are making every effort to squelch the discussion of Chile and to cover up their role in the Allende catastrophe. Typical of this was a letter published in the July issue of *World Marxist Review* from Rene Castillo, a leader of the CP in Chile.

Castillo alleges that the CP did make "a number of mistakes." But he asserts that the main line of its policy in the Popular Unity coalition was correct:

"The Chilean experience. . . showed for all to see that in our time the working class, the people can advance to power within the framework of the bourgeois state, even under a reactionary regime. . . ."

"The working class formed a socio-political front, the Popular Unity alliance. It promoted a correct overall policy which at decisive junctures helped win the cooperation of other social forces against reactionary plans. This policy made it possible to form the government, that is, win the most dynamic and important element of political power."

One is forced to ask, if the Chilean workers indeed won "the most dynamic and important element of political power" under Allende, how they came to suffer such a devastating defeat? The answer is not to be found in Castillo's letter; at least, not in so many words.

But it is precisely that the workers *had not* won political power. This gets to the essence of the deception of the Stalinist popular-front line.

Capitalist government

The Popular Unity government was a *capitalist* government and it was never under the control of workers.



Afrique-Asie

'We want socialism, says banner of pro-Allende workers. CP's policy was to block development of workers' power and confidence and keep the struggle within bounds of capitalism.

The Popular Unity coalition included the bourgeois Radical Party, and the coalition's program was to maintain all the institutions of capitalist rule. Although some industries were nationalized, most remained under private ownership. This meant that most production continued to be carried out for the private profits of the ruling class rather than for the good of society.

In order to secure the votes of the major bourgeois parties—the Christian Democrats and the Nationalists—Allende pledged to leave the military and police intact, not to reduce the size of the army, and not to appoint any officers who had not graduated from the military academies. He also agreed to outlaw any independent workers militias.

How, under these circumstances, could the workers have power?

And in fact, when workers occupied factories and tried to establish workers'

control of production, the Allende government moved to turn the occupied factories back to the bosses.

When peasants tried to take over land, the Popular Unity decreed these seizures illegal.

The Allende government arrested soldiers who warned of the impending coup.

This was not workers' power but a government that protected the ruling rich from the working masses.

'Neutral' army?

Most insidious was the claim by Allende and the Stalinists that the Chilean military would play a "neutral role" as the workers and peasants pressed forward with their demands. This demagoguery is now being repeated in Portugal, where the Communist Party has joined, and gives political support to, the capitalist military regime of General Spínola.

But the military apparatus of every

capitalist state is designed by the ruling class to protect and serve its own interests. The Chilean military continued to maintain close relations with Washington and received U.S. arms and training under Allende.

The Chilean Stalinists not only told the workers to trust the capitalist army and capitalist parties, but they accused the more militant workers who questioned this policy of aiding the rightists! Chilean CP leader Castillo tries in his letter to blame the failure of the Popular Unity on those who pressed workers' demands "too far."

"The bourgeois parties," says Castillo, "egged on the workers to put forth excessive demands in the hope that this would erode the government's social basis. Worse still, the ultra-Left—and indeed elements in the Popular Unity itself that had succumbed to their influence—were working in the same direction. . . . Little did they care that by inciting some groups of the working people against the government they were abetting the putschists."

"They refused to acknowledge the necessity of subordinating the fight for economic demands to the struggle for power."

What a horrendous distortion! The CP was not engaged in any "struggle for power"; it was curtailing workers' struggles so as to maintain the power of Allende's capitalist government.

Castillo's deceitful lines were undoubtedly also written with an eye to Portugal, where the CP is playing the same counterrevolutionary role. In June the Portuguese CP helped the Spínola government to break a postal and telephone workers' strike. The U.S. Stalinist newspaper the *Daily World*, called the striking workers "fascists" and declared June 21 that "ultraleftists, and even bosses, are goading workers to strike in hopes of toppling the new anti-fascist regime."

To leave no doubt about his attitude toward the workers, Castillo says that the Chilean Communist Party's "struggle to increase production and raise productivity, to put state-run factories on a paying basis, its campaign for higher labor discipline—all these were components of a fully correct general policy."

The words could just as easily have been addressed to General Spínola, and this was undoubtedly one of the intentions of the *World Marxist Review* editors: "Trust us," they say to Spínola in so many words. "We will not struggle for a socialist revolution. We will support your capitalist regime. We will herd striking workers back into your factories. We will lie about the real lessons of Chile."

Extent of defeat

"The events in Chile," Castillo also writes, "are certainly a bitter, if temporary, defeat."

The words, "if temporary," are utterly misleading and comprise another aspect of the Stalinist propaganda about Chile, understating the extent to which workers' and peasants' struggles were thrown back.

Their parties have been completely outlawed. The leadership has been decapitated—either murdered outright, imprisoned, or driven underground.

For Latin American revolutionists as a whole, the loss of the safe refuge in Chile has been a terrible setback, and it initially included the assassination of many exiled militants.

Primary responsibility for this devastation, of course, rests on the shoulders of U.S. imperialism and its worldwide network of military stooges

Continue to defend Chile political prisoners

The U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA) has played a key role in organizing the protest actions that coincide with the first anniversary of the rightist coup in Chile.

Organized eight years ago to defend victims of repression in Latin America, USLA sees these actions as a prelude for renewed work.

In a recent statement, USLA staff member Mirta Vidal pointed out, "Although the ruling junta in Chile recently took steps to change the form of government, proclaiming General Pinochet 'president' of the nation, no change in the policy of brutal repression and violation of

all basic rights has accompanied this maneuver to stifle international public outrage."

"While the indiscriminate slaughter of innocent victims following the coup has eased," continued Vidal, "between 10,000 and 12,000 political prisoners remain in Chile's jails awaiting trials. Many of them have had no charges brought against them. Pretrial 'interrogation,' during which the prisoners are denied all legal rights, is often a euphemism for sophisticated and sometimes fatal forms of torture."

Further proof of the Chilean junta's atrocities was provided when it recently denied the Organization

of American States' Human Rights Commission access to several prison camps to investigate alleged torture and mistreatment of those detained.

For up-to-date coverage of the fight for freedom of Latin American political prisoners, USLA publishes a monthly newsletter. It is available for \$2 a year (20 cents for five or more copies) at 156 Fifth Ave., Rm. 702, New York, N.Y. 10010, (212) 691-2880.

To find out how you can participate in urgently needed Latin American defense work, contact USLA in your city or the national office in New York.

workers' power?



Militant/Jon Flanders

who cater to the policies of Yankee capital. Yet in Chile the defeat of the masses was not inevitable.

What was needed in Chile was a revolutionary party with a program of class independence and class struggle, a party with a perspective of fighting for workers' power and socialism.

Contrary to the claims of Castillo, this was not the perspective of either the Chilean CP or SP. These reformist parties instead urged subordination of the workers' and peasants' struggles to support for a capitalist regime—precisely the same line they are foisting on the Portuguese workers and peasants today.

The Chilean working class was ready for struggle, and on its own it carried out massive mobilizations. But the workers can only win power from the capitalists through a revolution; that is, through an extension of such mass mobilizations, through which the workers themselves enter the political scene and set up organs of workers' power. Workers' power cannot be won through the ballot box, as Allende contended.

And the workers can never win power through a perspective of trusting in the "neutrality" or "democratic traditions" of the capitalist army. As the Chile coup proved so decisively, the army will fight to defend capitalism whenever faced with massive workers' struggles that threaten to go beyond the bounds of private property.

Rather than playing up to the generals, as the Stalinists did in Chile and are doing in Portugal, workers organizations must try to win over the rank-and-file soldiers to support workers' demands. At the same time they must organize the masses of working people to defend, by any means necessary, the gains won in struggle.

If there had been a mass Leninist party with such a perspective in Chile, there is every reason to believe that a socialist victory was possible. The need for building a revolutionary vanguard party is clearly the central lesson of the Chilean defeat, which must be voiced everywhere in the world working-class movement.

Failure to discuss this, and even worse, distorting the lessons and lying about them, can only help pave the way to new disasters.

Stalinist view of the army

"I have absolute confidence in the loyalty" of the armed forces, Salvador Allende stated in an interview with the *New York Times*, March 28, 1971. "Our forces are professional forces at the service of the state, of the people."

Allende told the Buenos Aires daily *Clarín*, Feb. 14, 1971, "With each day my conviction becomes deeper that the armed forces of Chile are an expression of its people, and therefore are irrevocably and essentially professionals and democratic."

At a news conference for representatives of the foreign press, May 25, 1971, Allende said, "The Chilean armed forces, which assure the sovereignty, independence and dignity of Chile, are the guarantee of our political process."

The same line was proclaimed by the Chilean Communist Party. Months before the electoral victory of the Popular Unity, Luis Corvalán, CP general secretary, opposed proposals to arm the masses as being "equivalent to showing distrust in the army," *Drapeau Rouge*, organ of the Belgian Communist



General Spínola

Party, said Jan. 1, 1970. The army, Corvalán continued, "is not invulnerable to the new winds blowing in Latin America and penetrating everywhere."

* * *

In Portugal, in June, the Communist Party helped the military regime of General António Spínola to crush a strike of bus drivers and streetcar conductors. According to the May 31 *Daily World*, newspaper of the U.S. Communist Party, "The Portuguese Democratic Movement, the coalition which includes the Portuguese Communist Party, the Socialist Party, the Christian Democrats and other anti-fascist groups, on Wednesday sharply criticized the strikes and irresponsible actions of some ultra-'left' groups."

"The PDM statement... emphasized close unity between the people and the armed forces is necessary, and described the armed forces as the chief guarantor of the process of democratization that is now under way in the country."



General Pinochet

Fight to defend gain in NY school district

By CLAUDIO TAVAREZ

NEW YORK—Parents and students in Manhattan's School District 1 continue to protest the illegal suspension of school superintendent Luis Fuentes. Fuentes was suspended Aug. 8 by the racist majority of the local school board.

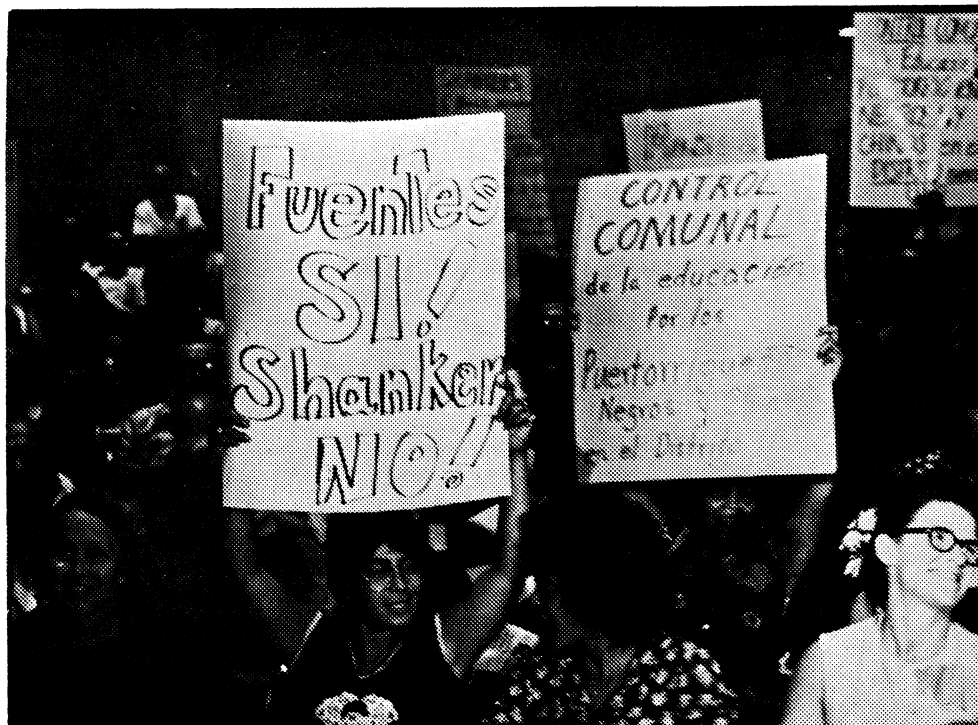
The largest action so far has been a demonstration of 1,000 people who marched through the Lower East Side Aug. 14 in support of Fuentes.

The demonstration ended in a rally in front of the District 1 office, where Fuentes addressed the crowd. "This is not a fight for my job," he stated, "it is the fight for the right of the

actions are being fought in court by attorneys from the Puerto Rican Legal Defense Fund.

This new attack on Fuentes comes at the same time that the New York board of education has been forced to approve a sweeping plan to introduce bilingual education for Spanish-speaking students throughout the city's school system. This court-approved plan was announced Aug. 29 as a result of a suit by Aspira, a Puerto Rican educational organization, and the Puerto Rican Legal Defense Fund.

The struggle by parents of District 1 and Luis Fuentes certainly played



Militant/Mike Baumann

parents to control the education of their kids. That is the fight I represent."

More than 90 percent of the students in District 1 schools are Puerto Rican, Chinese, or Black. Parents in the district, joined by Superintendent Fuentes, have been fighting to have a say in the education of their children. One of their main goals has been bilingual education for Spanish- and Chinese-speaking children.

But the district school board is controlled by supporters of American Federation of Teachers President Albert Shanker, and they oppose Puerto Rican, Chinese, and Black control of the schools.

The illegal suspension of Fuentes came at a special school board meeting Aug. 8. The vote was 5 to 4. Neither Fuentes nor the four pro-community-control board members were given the formal charges against him either before or after the meeting.

Fuentes is accused of "racism, anti-Semitism, patronage, and insubordination," the same charges brought against him by anti-community-control forces last October. At that time the parents responded by organizing a massive boycott of District 1 schools in which more than 11,000 of the district's 17,000 students stayed out. This forced the courts and the central board of education to back down and reinstate Fuentes pending a new school board election in the district.

At the Aug. 8 special school board meeting, Fuentes vowed to keep his contract with the parents and the community by continuing to carry out his duties as superintendent. However, he has since been barred by a State Supreme Court order from "hindering" or "interfering in any way with the operation" of the District 1 office.

In violation of Fuentes's constitutional rights, the court order also directed him not to "speak or create groups of people around the vicinity of the District 1 office." These illegal

no small role in winning this victory for children of oppressed minorities in New York.

However, in District 1 the pro-Shankerite board members have moved to undercut some of the steps toward bilingual and nonracist education that had been taken in the past by District 1 parents.

Since the Shankerites won a majority in the May 14 school board elections, they have taken steps to eliminate the community-administered hot breakfast and lunch programs, which provided for culturally-oriented menus. They have returned control of these programs to the central board.

Supervisors of the special reading and math programs have been fired. The bilingual teachers in the community relations programs have been dismissed. The free health program is set to be abolished.

More than \$1-million in school funds was returned to the central board of education. This money was supposed to be used for bilingual education, but the five racist board members found "no use" for it.

In the face of such serious attacks it is clear that the only effective response is the massive mobilization of the parents and the community in defense of Fuentes and the gains previously won.

Katherine Sojourner, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress from the 18th C.D., which includes District 1, issued a statement of full support "to prevent any attempts to suspend Fuentes."

The statement read in part, "I also call on all forces in this city who support the right of Black, Puerto Rican, and Chinese parents to control their children's education in School District 1 to unite in a show of strength that will turn back this racist attack."

"Fuentes was chosen by the people of this community and only they have the right to dismiss him."

Calendar

BAY AREA

BAY AREA TRIBUTE TO JIM CANNON. Speakers: Farrell Dobbs, longtime leader of Socialist Workers Party and author of *Teamster Rebellion* and *Teamster Power*; Art Sharon, member of Socialist Workers Party national committee; Anne Chester, longtime member of Socialist Workers Party; others. Sat., Sept. 14, 7:30 p.m. 1519 Mission Street, San Francisco. For more information call (415) 864-9174.

LOS ANGELES: WEST SIDE

THE LESSONS OF CHILE. Fri., Sept. 13, 8 p.m. 230 Broadway, Santa Monica. Donation: \$1. Ausp: West Side Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 394-9050.

SEATTLE

HELP PUT SOCIALIST WORKERS CANDIDATES ON THE BALLOT. Socialist Workers Nominating Convention. Tues., Sept. 17, 7 a.m.-10 p.m. Campaign program at 8 p.m. Speaker: Fred Lovgren, Socialist Workers candidate for Congress, 1st C.D. Ausp: Washington Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (206) 522-7800.

NEW YORK CITY

CELEBRATE THE NEW YORK STATE SWP PETITIONING VICTORY. Sat., Sept. 14, 8 p.m. West side campaign headquarters, 2726 Broadway (near 104th St.). Ausp: New York State Socialist Workers campaign. For more information call (212) 982-4966.

TRIBUTE TO JIM CANNON. Wed., Sept. 18, 7:30 p.m. Marc Ballroom, 27 Union Square West (between 15th and 16th Streets). Ausp: Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. Everyone welcome. For more information call (212) 982-4966.

...UPS

Continued from page 8

Local 804 represents workers in all New York City boroughs except Staten Island, and in Nassau, Suffolk, and Westchester counties in New York state. Local 177 serves Staten Island, Orange and Rockland counties in New York, and all of New Jersey.

In January of this year, UPS and Local 177 leaders worked out a tentative contract separate from Local 804, whose contract expired June 30. As part of the deal, Local 177 members got a special \$750 "Christmas bonus." Instead of having to face the combined strength of both unions at the same time, UPS bargains separately with each one and plays one against the other.

The killing has furthered fueled antagonisms to the point where a Local 804 picket sign, prominently posted on the picket line at the main UPS distribution center in New York City, read, "Local 177 Are Killers."

Another result of the interunion divisions is the spectacle of the UPS bosses jubilantly announcing that the Eastern Conference of Teamsters had

sent telegrams to both locals—ordering Local 804 to stay out of New Jersey and advising Local 177 to ignore Local 804 picket lines.

UPS took further advantage of the divisions by organizing a big scab convoy in the early morning hours of Sept. 1, escorted by armed cops, to move the 100,000 packages piled up in the New York distribution center to Secaucus.

...miners

Continued from page 11

died in mining accidents since it was passed.

The week's activities also included rallies at the sites of infamous mining disasters, such as Farmington, W. Va., and Centralia, Ill.; a protest in Birmingham, Ala., against the importation of South African coal; a memorial meeting in Ludlow, Colo.; and a black-lung meeting in West Virginia.

The success of the five-day shutdown gives a foretaste of the kind of fight the coal bosses can expect this fall if they force the UMW to strike for a decent contract.

...slaying

Continued from page 23

of the cops pulled out a bag of marijuana and threatened to plant it on him if he didn't become an informer. Then they broke into his home, tore it up, and confiscated some of his belongings. When Gallardo went to the police station to reclaim his belongings, he was threatened again.

These and other allegations are most likely on the tape confiscated by the cops. The Ad Hoc Committee on Chicano Rights is demanding that this tape be turned over to Gallardo's family, the Chicano community, and the media.

Olga Rodriguez, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of California, told the media in San Diego that she has no confidence in either a police or a grand jury investigation: "As Malcolm X used to say, that's like getting the fox to watch the chicken coop."

Rodriguez demanded, "Open up all the secret police files! Let the Chicano community hear the Gallardo tape! Let the people directly involved, the Chicano community, investigate this case in open, public hearings! Remove the police, a racist occupying army, from the Chicano community!"

...Shaffer

Continued from page 27

simple. He wanted change. He wanted to create a better world, and he struggled to that end until his health prevented him from continuing his political activities.

In the last year of his life Jackie was enrolled in school and was trying to learn a trade. He was trying to use his artistic talent in order to earn a living.

Three months ago Jackie's schooling was interrupted when in another accidental act of violence in the streets he was seriously wounded by a gunshot.

But however beset he was by personal misfortune, Jackie never gave up the ideas he had held. He continued his reading and education until the end.

Although Jackie did not live to see the revolution he believed was necessary and inevitable in this country, he made his contribution to it.

The changes that are to come will be made by others like Jackie who will come forward to liberate all the oppressed, the Black and poor and working people of this country. Their way will have been made easier by brothers and sisters like Jackie who had the courage to set an example for all of us.

...Newark

Continued from page 32

counted how he and seven of his friends were cornered by several cops and told to lie facedown on the ground. They were then kicked repeatedly and then told to get up and go home.

Branch Brook Park, which is very large, is patrolled by mounted police. And these cops continued their traditional racist harassment in the midst of the massive festival. In the course of this harassment, the police trampled a young woman and her four-year-old child. This set off a defensive reaction on the part of the crowd in the immediate area, which led to the dismounting of two police from their horses. Other police used this as an excuse to attack. More than 500 policemen assaulted the crowd.

According to youths at Columbus Homes, the police first started firing in the air, then leveled their guns at the crowd, firing at point-blank range. Yet Gibson and his administration continue to this day to express bewilderment at how several people in

the park fell wounded, some seriously, from shotgun fire!

In the course of the cop riot, a couple of police cars went up in flames, as well as Imperiale's motorcycle. Imperiale had arrived on the scene in a helmet, ready to help impose "law and order."

Mayor Gibson also showed up and led a portion of the crowd from the park to city hall. There the people demanded that those arrested be released. Gibson, standing on city hall steps but encircled by police, acceded to the demand and had those arrested brought to city hall.

But he couldn't speak the language of the crowd. When he started talking about "working together," the crowd got turned off. They were dispersed by the police.

The next day leaders of the People's Committee came to city hall to meet with the mayor, accompanied by a demonstration of 1,000. A couple of hours later, when a spokesman from the committee announced that no progress was being made, the angry youth began throwing cans and bottles. Gibson, from inside city hall, gave the order, and police appeared from several sides and went after the crowd.

Mounted police cut through the crowd at several points, beating people's heads with nightsticks. The next morning Gibson made his assault on civil liberties by banning protests.

Gibson, together with the conservative Puerto Rican spokesmen for his administration, and the news media, have all tried to blame leaders of the People's Committee and alleged "outside agitators" for the protests. This is nothing but an effort to whitewash the crimes and brutality of the cops.

It is also an attempt to hide the miserable conditions of life that have fueled the protests. Although Puerto Ricans and others of Latin American descent officially number 50,000 and make up a little more than 10 percent of the city's population, they constitute 30 percent of those below the poverty level and have a high school drop-out rate of 42 percent. It is such conditions that are the source of the anger of the Puerto Rican community. And it is those responsible for maintaining these conditions who are the real criminals.

When Gibson, who is Black, was elected in 1970, he had the backing of a broad range of Puerto Rican and Black community groups. Many thought his election would lead to an improvement in the conditions faced by Puerto Ricans and Blacks. The latest events indicate the increasing disillusionment with Gibson.

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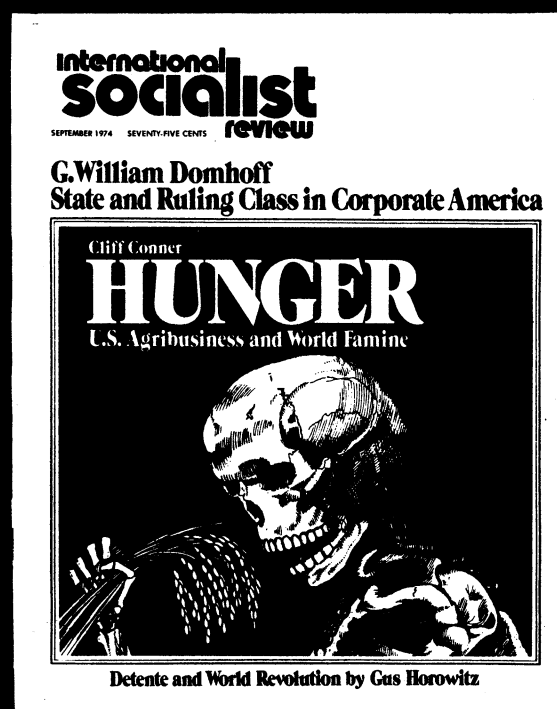
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Gibson bans protests

Newark cops riot

By MAGDALENA CHABRIEL
and DERRICK MORRISON

NEWARK—On Sept. 3 Democratic Mayor Kenneth Gibson outlawed all demonstrations and street gatherings of three or more people in this city.

Gibson announced the ban in the wake of a militant Labor Day demonstration of 1,000 to protest the savage police attack the previous day against the fifth annual Hispanic Festival. Dozens were injured in this assault, three with gunshot wounds.

On the evening of the ban, a 10 p.m.

curfew was also imposed on youths under 18 years old who live in and around Columbus Homes, a predominantly Puerto Rican housing project.

Earlier in the evening the People's Committee Against Repression and Police Brutality was forced to cancel a scheduled meeting on the Newark campus of Rutgers University. The campus administration told organizers of the meeting that the university was being shut down to help comply with the mayor's ban.

The People's Committee Against

Repression and Police Brutality was formed Sept. 1 to organize protest against the police attack on the festival. The festival, which took place in Branch Brook Park, was attended by more than 10,000 Puerto Ricans and other Hispanic-Americans.

Demands of the committee include: formation of a civilian police-review board to investigate all charges of police brutality and corruption; elimination of the tactical and mounted police squads; dropping of charges against those arrested during the police attack on the festival and in demonstrations against police brutality; an independent investigation into the police attack; prosecution of police who brutalized people at the festival and in demonstrations; and the resignation of recently appointed Police Director Hubert Williams.

Spokespersons for the group include Ramon Rivera, head of Oye, an anti-poverty agency; Sigfredo Carrion of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party; Reverend Alfonso Roman, executive director of the Puerto Rican Congress of New Jersey; and Imamu Amiri Baraka of the Congress of African People.

While Mayor Gibson tried to assure the businesses and big insurance companies downtown that the city had returned to normal, police could be seen at the edges of the Columbus Homes area toting shotguns, and in cars

blocking the streets. Mingling with the police are the white racist vigilantes headed by State Senator Anthony Imperiale.

The night of Sept. 2 police ran amuck in the Columbus Homes area, beating and yelling at people and letting loose automatic rifle fire at alleged snipers. In one section of a wall of the high-rise apartment buildings we counted more than 50 bullet-pocked marks.

We found many young people standing on the street along Seventh Avenue who were eager to relate to us incidences of police violence. One woman resident told of seeing the police shoot an eight-year-old boy Monday night and beat a man who was simply sitting in his car. Afterwards, the woman was chased by two cops, who yelled, "You dirty spick, I've been waiting for this moment."

Another woman recounted, "Women were treated worst. We were pulled by the hair and dragged all over the street. I don't even think an animal is treated the way we were."

"This is not the first time this has happened," an angry woman exclaimed. "They have always harassed the Puerto Ricans in this neighborhood."

A number of youths told us of the police violence at the festival. One re-

Continued on page 30



Puerto Rican demonstrators protest police brutality at city hall Sept. 2

Protests mark 1st anniversary

Lessons of Chile coup

By DICK ROBERTS

Sept. 11 marks the first anniversary of the U.S.-sponsored coup that overthrew Salvador Allende's Popular Unity government in Chile.

The rightist military regime that came to power a year ago initiated a bloodbath. Thousands of workers, students, and peasants were summarily executed—the exact number is not known. Tens of thousands of others were rounded up, imprisoned, and tortured.

A year after this tragic setback for the Chilean revolution it is evident that the savage repression of workers and peasants continues, if on a lesser scale than the weeks immediately after the coup.

Political leaders who remain imprisoned, facing sham trials, include Clodomiro Almeyda of the Socialist Party; Luis Corvalán, general secretary of the Communist Party; Alejandro Romero of MIR (Movement of the Revolutionary Left); and Luis Vitale of the Trotskyist movement.

Torture of women prisoners in more than 200 detention camps throughout Chile has been reported by the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA).

This situation makes it vitally important to make every effort to help mobilize the broadest, most powerful international movement to demand an end to the repression in Chile and to defend the victims of that repression, no matter what their political views. This is especially incumbent on Americans because of the decisive role that Washington plays in supporting General Augusto Pinochet's military regime.

Groups such as USLA, which carry out defense activities on such a basis, deserve the broadest backing.

Peaceful road?

At the same time, it is vital to discuss the political lessons of the Chilean defeat. The Allende government was hailed as a successful example

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Afrique-Asie