

# PARTY BUILDER

## SWP Organizational Discussion Bulletin

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## NATIONAL CAMPAIGN TOURS

by Nancy Cole, Socialist Workers 1974 National Campaign Committee

Last spring Debby Bustin and Maceo Dixon toured the country as representatives of the national campaign committee, speaking on Watergate and the energy crisis. During their combined touring time of 22 weeks, they spoke on 90 campuses and at 20 high schools and received honoraria totaling \$2,125. These meetings and others, such as forums and campaign rallies, were attended by more than 4,400 people.

Probably the most successful tour stops were those where the tour was organized as part of the local campaign activities, combining local candidates with the national speaker in interviews and meetings. This aspect will be especially valuable with the fall tours (see following schedule) as we move into the last two months of campaign activity.

In addition to those tour activities planned in advance, the tours were used to relate to new developments. For example, Maceo's tour in California corresponded with the Zebra dragnet, offering an opportunity to supplement local candidates with a spokesman who has credentials from the fight against police terror in Detroit's Black community.

In other areas, new campuses and political groups were probed by setting up meetings for the national speakers, in-

cluding a successful meeting at a reformatory in Colorado. Also, some of the largest and most fruitful meetings were at high schools, where talks were often set up during the students' free periods.

The tours gave a boost to the regional work and to regional YSAers. Meetings in the region, which attracted relatively large audiences, added to the YSA's prestige as a real political force and consolidated many of the independents already around the YSA in these areas.

One distinguishing feature noted by the speakers was the friendliness of the media interviewers resulting in thousands hearing the speakers during the 27 hours of media time, plus many more reading about the campaign in scores of newspaper articles.

The tours this fall will have an added value--that of publicizing and winning support for our challenge to the disclosure provisions of federal and state election campaign laws, as well as for the PRDF suit. All four speakers are officers of the national campaign committee, and are authoritative spokespeople for our position on these "reform" laws.

July 30, 1974

PROPOSED SCHEDULES FOR FALL NATIONAL CAMPAIGN TOURS

DEBBY BUSTIN

		<u>Tour Fees</u>
Washington, D. C.	September 27-28	\$150
rest	September 29	
	September 30-Oct. 2	
travel	October 3	
Twin Cities	October 4-5	175
rest	October 6	
	October 7-9	
travel	October 10	
Seattle	October 11-12	175
rest	October 13	
	October 14-16	
travel	October 17	
Portland	October 18-19	150
rest	October 20	
	October 21-23	
travel	October 24	
Oakland-Berkeley	October 25-26	350
San Francisco		
rest	October 27	
	October 28-Nov. 2	
rest	November 3	
	November 4-6	

MACEO DIXON

		<u>Tour Fees</u>
Boston	September 18-21	\$200
rest	September 22	
	September 23-24	
travel	September 25	
Philadelphia	September 26-28	150
rest	September 29	
	September 30-Oct. 1	
travel	October 2	
New York	October 3-5	350
rest	October 6	
	October 7-12	
travel	October 13	
Atlanta	October 14-19	175
travel	October 20	
Cleveland	October 21-25	150
rest/travel	October 26-27	
Chicago	October 28-Nov. 2	200
travel	November 3	
St. Louis	November 4-8	150

PETER CAMP

Denver	October 25-29	175
travel	October 30	
Los Angeles- San Diego	October 31-Nov. 8	350

LINDA JENNESS

Pittsburgh	October 21-24	150
travel	October 25 (morning)	
Detroit	October 25 (evening) -	150
	October 31	
travel	November 1 (morning)	
Houston	November 1 (evening) -	175
	November 6	

Dates to keep in mind:

September 26 - Yom Kippur  
 October 14 - Columbus Day  
 November 5 - Election Day

# BLACK WORK IN ATLANTA AND SOME SUGGESTIONS ON CARRYING OUT BLACK WORK NATIONALLY

by James Harris, Atlanta Branch

Atlanta, like any other city, has certain peculiarities about it that help determine its general political character.

Atlanta is predominantly Black, with a Black mayor and a city council that is half Black. Official statistics say that the city is 51 percent Black, and that figure is on the rise as whites leave the city.

As recently as 12 years ago, downtown Atlanta was totally segregated, with colored and white bathrooms, white restaurants, white and colored entrances, the whole bit. Black people here correctly attribute the removal of official segregation to the onset of the civil rights movement and its mass mobilizations. This is true even though big mobilizations never took place in Atlanta. One thing that helps Blacks in this city retain this consciousness is the fact that numerous former civil rights activists have settled here and are fond of reminding everyone how much they supposedly did for them in the past.

Atlanta's ruling class is a very tightly knit little body with a plan developed in the early 60's to make Atlanta the New York of the South. To counteract the reactionary image of the South in general and Georgia in particular, they have spent millions to portray Atlanta as a progressive paradise. "The city too busy to hate" was the slogan they sought to popularize.

The basic course that they chose was one of making concessions to the Black community and making deals with the leadership of the Black community so that their concessions didn't have to be too sweeping. Instead of allowing a mass movement to develop in Atlanta over the desegregation of the downtown area, the Atlanta ruling class sat down with Martin Luther King and a few other middle-class Black leaders and drew up a desegregation plan.

This close working alliance between Black middle-class leaders and the ruling class in Atlanta continued through the period of ghetto rebellions. It is now even formalized in a semi-secret group called the Atlanta Action Forum. It includes the top white business leaders and the top Black political leaders in the city.

Outside the party and the YSA there is no other well-organized working-class tendency in Atlanta. There are not even nationalist formations like the Congress of African Peoples. Left-wingers in the Democratic Party are pretty scarce also. The only left opponents we have in Atlanta are various Maoist sects and a vague formation we call the "Black left." Sometimes the two groupings overlap.

The Maoist groups consist of the Progressive Labor Party (ex-Maoist), the October League, the Black Workers Congress and the Revolutionary Union. They work jointly in a programmatic front called the Atlanta Anti-Repression Coalition (AARC).

The "Black left" is made up of a hodge-podge of leftists ranging from Maoists to spontaneists, and Johnsonites who are based around the Atlanta University Graduate School, the African Liberation Support Committee, and the weekly Black Issues Forum.

All the groups are small, not well organized and weak. The total combined membership of the AARC and the Black left is not much larger than 300. Although they are not consistent, strong opponents, they can at times summon all their resources and be a real obstacle.

At this point, let me review the general approach of the Atlanta branch to Black work.

Two years ago, we recognized that the branch had to develop a real activist approach to the Black community if we were to be anything but a peripheral voice in Atlanta politics.

Our approach to the Black struggle has been to intervene as active participants in the developing struggles of the Black community. This was the case even when the Atlanta branch and local had very few Black comrades. The branch remains constantly aware of any motion in the Black community. We do this by reading the Black press, listening to Black radio stations, and just generally keeping our ears to the ground by keeping up with groups and individuals. We stand ready to intervene in events if possible, and under some circumstances to initiate actions. This type of activity and emphasis in our work has made many sectors of the Black community very much aware of us and familiar with some of our positions. It has also had an effect on the branch and local. The Trotskyist movement in Atlanta is extremely conscious of the importance of Black work and aware that it isn't just the responsibility of the Black comrades but the responsibility of the whole branch.

Without the consistent aggressive attitude and good understanding of Black work on the part of the branch and local, our achievements in Black work over the last few months would have proved impossible, even with the addition of a number of Black comrades.

Because of the aggressive thrust we take in Black work here we have been able to participate in struggles and also, under certain circumstances, to play a leadership role in struggles.

#### Police Repression

The issue of police repression has come to the fore in Atlanta for several reasons.

The Atlanta police have killed 23 people (22 of them Black) in the past two years, some of them shot as many as 30 times.

They have initiated terror squads, similar to the STRESS squads in Detroit, to patrol the Black community.

The whole Black community regards Police Chief Inman as a racist whom they had expected Mayor Maynard Jackson to fire as soon as he came to office. (A demand we were the first to raise, during Debby Bustin's mayoral campaign against Jackson.)

Through our campaigns and through actions we helped initiate, such as pickets, we are playing an important role in exposing the role of the police and in keeping the issue in the center of Atlanta politics.

However, at the beginning of the year we didn't think any significant actions could be mounted around police repression because of illusions in the newly elected Mayor Jackson. We thought that the attitude of the Black community would be to "wait and see" what the new Black Mayor was going to do.

So we took the position of remaining on top of the situation as much as possible and using our campaign at every opportunity to educate around the issue. With each police killing or atrocity, we put out a press statement and wrote something into The Militant.

With the onset of May, it became increasingly obvious to us that there was room for more action.

There were two more police murders; public hearings on the Decoy Squad were initiated; and the conflict between the mayor and the police chief came to a head. The mayor attempted to fire the police chief in order to stem the anger of the Black community over police violence. But Chief Inman was not to be easily fired. He pulled a series of legal maneuvers, and in a grandstand stunt he had 25 armed police turn away his successor from his office. The whole Black community regarded this as an act of racism against their elected officials and the Black community. The political mood of the city was extremely tense.

For us it seemed that this conjuncture of events provided the basis for independent action focused on the racist nature of the police. We decided to work with others to initiate an action around the slogans "Fire Chief Inman," and "Abolish the Decoy, SWAT and Stakeout Squads."

We first attempted to help initiate such an action by making the proposal to do so in AARC, which includes these demands in its program. We did this twice, and both times they ridiculed the proposal for a demonstration.

After these two attempts, we decided to see if we could work on this with other leaders, including Reverend Hosea Williams. But before we contacted him, Williams called his own meeting with the announced purpose of having a demonstration to fire Inman in four days! At that meeting pro-Jackson forces intervened with an attempt to confine the issue to one demand, "Fire Chief Inman." We were able to help defeat that tendency.

We threw the whole weight of our movement into building that demonstration. For four days it was the center of our activity. We assigned a member of the Black work fraction to it full time, helped organize press conferences, called in press statements and distributed many leaflets.

The demonstration on May 27 attracted 1,000 participants, 90 percent of them Black. It was representative of the entire Black community. We had gotten out more than just the left, or students, or even just young people. Most of the participants were Black working people. The demonstration's success was obvious despite the extreme pressure put upon us to call it off. Chief Inman had made thinly veiled threats against the demonstrators, and Mayor Jackson, after pressuring most of the most prominent Black leadership out of demonstrating, made a public broadcast on radio and TV condemning it.

The success of the demonstration despite the pressure against it showed the broad interest in the issue throughout the city. It caused Hosea Williams to overestimate the immediate potential of the issue, and he immediately called for a series of actions.

In the next two weeks there were two more actions, a picket of the police station (100 people) and a march to city hall (500 people). Both of these actions were successes. They were bigger than any previous actions around the same issue (except the march of 1,000) and they received a great deal of press. But some of the participants viewed them as failures; chief among them was Hosea Williams. He had expected the size of the demonstrations to increase in geometric proportion until our demands were met. For this reason, without saying so, he scrapped

the People's Coalition. And it appeared to us, because of Hosea's key role, that the demonstrations around police repression were temporarily over.

But the police murder of Brandon Gibson, a 17 year-old Black youth on June 25 in the Bowen Homes Housing Project gave a new impetus to the movement. When we heard of the shooting we immediately went to the scene and found a rally in progress called by the AARC. Rather than proposing an action or meeting to propose an action, the AARC chose to give their own distorted analysis of fascism. Hosea Williams arrived later, called for an immediate march to the police station and began to lead the 200 people off. However, the demonstration was discontinued that evening and resumed again the next day.

Most of the 200 people were children from Bowen Homes. Williams was determined to engage in civil disobedience and marched everyone straight to the police station. He stood on the lawn, which was considered trespassing, and as a result he and about 17 other people were arrested. The first instinct of most of the demonstrators was to get arrested also. But we and the AARC were able to turn them away from this by turning the action into a picket line and afterwards assembling a planning meeting at a nearby church. The AARC, with their greater numbers, dominated the meeting. But they felt the need to collaborate with us because of the leadership role we had played in the past. The planning meeting ended with a rally in Bowen Homes slated for Monday, June 24, and a demonstration on Wednesday, June 26.

At this point the AARC thought that they had captured the movement. Williams was in jail, and we didn't have the same public authority that he had. They saw the rally in Bowen Homes on Monday as their big chance to form a base against Williams and "sink roots into the community."

When the Monday rally came off, Williams was out of jail and we, along with Williams, succeeded in making it a planning meeting for the Wednesday demonstration.

The meeting projected the march as a funeral procession which struck people's imaginations immediately. Publications such as Newsweek began calling the People's Coalition for more information.

A demonstration with this potential dramatic impact was the last thing the Atlanta ruling class wanted to happen. Both the mayor's office and the governor's office began to apply pressure on Mrs. Gibson to keep her from allowing the funeral march to take place with the coffin carrying her son's body. They offered Mrs. Gibson money as compensation and the possibility of jobs for her other son. They also told her that if the coffin was carried it could cause such emotion among the demonstrators that there might be a riot.

The bourgeois media joined the elected officials in applying pressure. The media professed "shock" that this "poor boy's body" could be used in such a "stunt." Mrs. Gibson managed to stand firm despite the enormous pressure until the day of the funeral.

On the day of the funeral some of the Maoists in the AARC also began to pressure the Gibson family to cancel the funeral march. It is unclear why they did this. Maybe they were feeling sectarian rage over having lost control of the movement. At any rate they began to echo the line of the ruling class. They said the demonstration should not occur because it would be too much of an emotional experience for the family and too volatile a situation for the demonstrators. They succeeded where the government and media had failed. Mrs. Gibson decided not to allow the funeral procession to take place.

The fact that the march was no longer a funeral procession put those supporting the action in a very difficult situation. It immediately cut the size of the action down to about 500 actual demonstrators (although about 700 people were waiting for us at the rally site) and it made the march technically illegal because we had no march permit. Despite some misgivings we decided to march.

This was the march that the police attacked. They arrested about 30 people; some of them, like Williams, were badly beaten. Cops on horseback and on foot charged wildly. It was a police riot.

We called a meeting later that night to decide what our next moves would be. Five hundred people came to the mass planning meeting, including some of the city's most prominent Black leaders: John Lewis; Councilman Arthur Langford; Willie Bolden, an international organizer of AFSCME.

The mood of the gathering was angry. An immediate demonstration was called for the next day. On Thursday the atmosphere in the city was one of extreme tension. National news media were all over the place. And Jackson was really applying pressure to stop this march. He even called a meeting of the leaders of the coalition (Vince Egan, SWP candidate for governor, being one of them) and tried to talk them out of demonstrating, but everyone stood firm. Finally, at 4:00 p.m. (the demonstration was slated to come off at 4:30 p.m.), the mayor issued an executive order granting us the right to legally demonstrate. Everyone felt we had won a tremendous victory and the 500 people we had assembled marched the whole route in a heavy rain.

There was one more demonstration of 250 people the next day, at which Brandon Gibson's mother spoke. Some of the SCLC leadership thought we should have a demon-

stration every day until our demands were met. (We had already had four demonstrations in one week). They changed their minds, however, when they saw the size of the demonstrations gradually shrink.

Our position was that what was needed was another major demonstration and not a series of tiny ones which would only succeed in wearing out the activists. We wanted the coalition to call in national speakers and build a really enormous action.

This plan became impossible to carry out with the shooting death of Mrs. Martin Luther King, Sr., while she was in church, and later the shooting of a cop who had been a Mormon missionary. These two killings were skillfully used by the press and others to dampen any moves toward more actions in the street. And for the time being it has worked; activity around the issue is in a lull.

### Gains

The events just described delivered a serious blow to the whole progressive image that Atlanta's rulers had built into a national reputation. Newsweek carried an article entitled, "Atlanta, A City Learning to Hate." Articles in papers across the country called Atlanta another Selma, Alabama. The demonstrations affected not only Atlanta's national image but also its internal life. They raised the political consciousness of the entire city. They have worked to expose the real role of the police, and they have weakened the position of Black Democrat Maynard Jackson. Jackson's struggle with Inman, the constant demonstrations reminding everyone that the police were still killing Black people, and the police riot have graphically shown the contradiction in the mayor's stand. An often repeated theme at the demonstrations was that we have a Black mayor and still these things are happening.

The demonstrations led to an increased interest in politics on the part of the Black community. It has become easier to sell The Militant, especially issues with articles about Atlanta. We have used the issue of police repression to familiarize many Black people with The Militant.

Also, our standing in the Black community has gone up because we were able to participate in and help lead a struggle. We now receive much more respect from leaders and activists in the Black community. They see us as having a real effect on Atlanta's politics. An example of the new respect we are getting is the fact that City Councilman Langford and Reverend Hosea Williams have come to our Militant forums, which they shied away from in the past.

We were also able to consistently isolate and demoralize our left opponents.

### Campaign

Our campaigns in Atlanta have been increasingly successful in linking up with community struggles. Our position has advanced somewhat with each of our major campaigns. In the Alice Conner campaign for senate we were known as active supporters of the Mead strike. In the Debby Bustin campaign for mayor, Bustin was able to play a more actual role in supporting the striking C and S bank workers. And during our 1974 campaign, our major candidate, Vince Eagan, has been a leader in the movement against police repression. In short, we first intervened as supporters, then we were able to become participants, and now, under certain circumstances we can become leaders.

Our 1974 socialist campaign (especially the gubernatorial campaign of Vince Eagan) has played a role in the movement against police repression. The fact that Eagan is a candidate for governor has given us much more weight in the movement. The fact that he is a known activist and leader in the movement has given the campaign more credibility. So each of these activities has enhanced the others.

Through the campaign we have been able to speak out against police terror and put forward our position on police at every opportunity. We spoke at public hearings, sent in press statements, held press conferences and spoke at street rallies. Because of our persistence on the issue, news media, especially the Black news media, have become familiar with our positions and expect us to contact them when we have a statement. Our persistence on the issue also has allowed us to get across our position to people who became active in the People's Coalition.

Eagan's position in the movement was also effective in helping build the campaign and to explain the issue of police brutality outside of the city. When the small towns of Barnesville and Woodland, Georgia, had actions against police killings, Eagan was able to address rallies there and was known both as a candidate and as an activist in the People's Coalition.

Through the campaign we are able to get out our entire position on police repression and go beyond the limited demands of the People's Coalition. An example of this is our campaign poster, which reads in part, "End Racist Police Terror, Police Out of the Black Community, For a Self-Defense Force Drawn from the Black Community." We also got out several position papers. Each one of Eagan's speeches at the various rallies was carefully thought out to insure that our entire line on police repression was heard.

Although there is a temporary lull in activity in police repression work, we are still campaigning on the issue. At this time we are conducting a campaign against police spying, including surveillance of the SWP. This issue has



received a lot of attention in Atlanta since it was found that Inman placed a police spy on the Atlanta Voice, Georgia's largest Black newspaper.

### Conclusion

Following are some of the major lessons that we have learned that might be helpful in doing Black work in other areas.

1.) The most important lesson we have learned is the need to be aggressive. We should never be hesitant about taking the initiative if we see a basis for it. Even if the attempt to initiate activity is an initial failure, it will give us experience, and add to our knowledge and legitimacy when struggles do arise.

If we had not gone in and actively participated in that first meeting on police repression, things would not have been the same. Our participation helped make the difference between a series of successful actions and a failure.

Participation in meetings to plan these actions often took a tremendous amount of patience, persistence and flexibility. Often the meetings seemed to be a waste of time. They were poorly organized, ill defined, called at odd times, and sometimes lasted long into the night. There is a great tendency on our part, because we are used to concise well-organized meetings, to dismiss meetings like this as irrelevant and leave before they are over. That is the wrong approach.

We should stay at such meetings until the end if at all possible. Often at the end the most important points are discussed. In addition, staying will give us a chance to talk to the activists involved. This might not have immediate relevance, but it does help us get to know people and to become known as participants and people who take the struggles going on seriously. It also gives us a deeper grasp of what is really happening rather than having to find out second hand.

2.) The whole branch and local should be made aware of what is happening in the Black community, not just the general national picture, but locally. We should be aware of the specific peculiarities of the local situation. We can do this partially by reading the Black press and listening to the radio stations, but that, of course, is not nearly enough.

To meet people we have to go where they are -- Black bookstores, cultural centers, churches, community centers, study groups, Black student meetings, drug rehabilitation centers, etc. We have to find them; they won't search us out.

3.) In Atlanta we have found that the best way to organize the work, because of the pace of the Black struggles

here, is through a Black work fraction. I wouldn't propose a fraction for every branch and local because of varying conditions. I do propose, however, the assignment of a Black work director for every area. This comrade should organize our interventions, systematize our fact-finding about what is going on, and give frequent reports to the branch on activity in the Black community.

4.) Participation in and support to the Black struggle is obviously not just the job of a fraction, Black comrades, or a Black work director, but the job of the entire branch and local. There is a need for extensive, frequent discussions on Black work and a constant re-evaluation of the local scene.

5.) We should always be extremely flexible about the forms mobilizations may take. The People's Coalition, for example, only really became a coalition the evening after the police attack. And even this coalition began to falter before the demonstration the next day. The alliances within the coalition were being constantly stretched and tested because of disagreements over tactics. Williams, for example is a firm believer in the tactic of mass arrest. But we were able to work with him and still maintain the central political thrust of the movement.

6.) The issue of police repression has shown itself to have the potential of mobilizing people all over the country. The work our comrades have been involved in in Pittsburgh and St. Louis shows this. Also, a striking example is the CP-sponsored national demonstration of 10,000 that took place in Raleigh, North Carolina, focused on the issues of police, court and prison repression. Every area should take special note of any activity around police repression and also look into the possibility of initiating activity if at all possible. We should also take up this issue in our campaigns, write articles about it in The Militant, give forums on the subject and just generally let our position become known.

7.) Through our involvement in the Black struggle, our movement can become a pole of attraction to radicalizing Black activists looking for a strategy to end Black oppression. Activists will consider our politics to decide whether they agree with us. Even many activists who do not immediately join our movement will realize that we are the socialist alternative -- that we are the serious Marxists. They will realize that our Marxist program is not abstract, that we are able to use our program to help build struggles of the Black community.

In Atlanta, our central role has begun to bear fruit in terms of significant recruitment. Of 13 new recruits to the YSA in Atlanta over the past six months, eight are Black. Given our analysis of the central role of the Black struggle in the making of the American revolution, similar recruit-

ment will be achieved in other cities.

Growing numbers of Black youth are becoming attracted to Marxism and socialist revolution. When they think of revolutionary politics, we want them to think of us first.

In closing, Black work illustrates graphically to the whole branch the soundness of our political line and our understanding of the nature of the current radicalization.

This activity for us is not merely another area of mass work but also an integral part of the task of party-building. Through seeing ourselves as a part of the political scene, and through our attempts to intervene aggressively and energetically, the entire branch feels the effect. Even if a particular intervention is not immediately successful, the branch gains confidence and becomes optimistic, knowing that it is doing the best it can. This attitude of confidence carries over to all other areas of branch work.

by Paula Reimers, Detroit Branch

Since we did not have a scheduled local meeting before the deadline for submitting resolutions for consideration at the state convention, the PRDF resolution was submitted to the local executive board of the union. It was passed there by a slim margin (two for, one against, one abstention) and submitted to the state convention in the name of the local.

We decided in the branch that the PRDF resolution was politically the most important side of our total participation and centered our efforts at the convention around a campaign for its passage. Our elected delegates to the convention worked closely with the PRDF director and the branch organizer. We planned both an "internal" and an "external" intervention, with definite tasks assigned to comrades in each area.

The "external" work consisted of a few comrades, neatly dressed, who circulated in the hotel lobby during registration distributing a special letter from PRDF to the convention delegates. These comrades also had PRDF buttons. The task was to get the PRDF letter distributed as widely as possible, so that the delegates would be familiar with PRDF before they were asked to vote on the resolution. This is important; one of the excuses raised sometimes against voting on a resolution is that "we're not familiar with the issues." The letter helped destroy that excuse, as did the lobbying carried out by the delegates.

The major task was carried out, of course, by those who participated in the "internal" work of the convention. This began in the resolutions committee. MFT convention rules state that any resolution submitted for the consideration of the convention must come to the floor with a report on committee action (passed, defeated, tabled). In general, the convention tends to follow the action of the committee; while it is possible to change a committee recommendation on the floor, it is difficult.

Two comrades were on the resolutions committee. MFT convention rules also state that any delegate to the convention can participate in any committee with voice and no vote. In addition, we spoke with one other delegate on the resolutions committee before the meeting, and she said that she would vote for and speak for the PRDF resolution. She did, not only in the resolutions committee, but on the convention floor as well.

So we went to the resolutions committee meeting with four people to argue for the resolution. Nevertheless, the resolution was tabled in committee. But we put together a quick caucus of the resolution's supporters, rewrote the reso-

lution, and managed to have it taken off the table, considered, and passed. (It's important to know something about parliamentary procedure.) The committee's action to recommend adoption of the resolution meant that we went to the convention in a pretty strong position.

At the convention the delegates were provided with packets of PRDF literature, more copies of the letter to the convention, buttons, and endorser cards. Their task was to follow up on the work done by the "external" intervention -- to discuss the case and PRDF with the delegates, get endorsements, and, especially, lobby for the passage of the resolution. We especially concentrated on the Detroit delegation, the largest at the convention. Two of us attended the Detroit "hospitality room" after the convention session Friday night. There we were able to talk to many people from several delegations. The floor leader for the Detroit delegation told us that they were instructing their people to support all the resolutions passed by the committee, including PRDF.

We kept up our lobbying for the resolution through Saturday, right to the time it came to the floor. When it did come to the floor, one delegate rose to amend the resolution to delete mention of PRDF. While he had almost no support, his comments provided us an excellent opportunity to motivate support. Five delegates spoke in favor. The resolution was passed with very little opposition.

Comrades in similar situations should watch out for attempts to turn the resolution into a general civil liberties support resolution, especially moves to delete mention of the SWP and even of PRDF.

Again, the way PRDF is publicized to the delegates concerned is critical to getting the resolution passed. Most people do not know about PRDF and our suit; that's just a fact -- one that we want to change -- but still a fact we must bear in mind. So the excuse union bureaucrats use to cover themselves is, "I don't know anything about it; you can't expect me to endorse something I don't know anything about." We want to take that excuse away from them and clear the way for a real discussion of the political questions involved (civil liberties, government harassment of dissent, etc.). The open letter to the convention was a very effective tactic to tell the delegates what PRDF and the suit are about and to prepare them to vote for it. We stapled to the letter the national list of endorsers. (That's what convinced members of the local executive board to vote for the resolution in the first place -- the list of prominent endorsers.) The national list of

endorsers is impressive and convincing to people. The letter also had a clip-off blank for more information, to set up speaking engagements for PRDF in locals, etc.

We got seven or eight individual endorsements, plus contacts for a number more and sold 15 or so buttons. We had a ten-dollar donation from one endorser.

Our resolution included a clause directing that the resolution be sent to the AFT convention. This is very important. Resolutions in general should always include such a clause sending the resolution on to the next higher body with a recommendation for similar action.

May 21, 1974

APPENDIX: RESOLUTION PASSED BY THE MICHIGAN AFT

RESOLUTION #9  
"SUPPORT OF THE POLITICAL RIGHTS  
DEFENSE FUND"

MICHIGAN FEDERATION OF  
TEACHERS 40TH ANNUAL  
CONVENTION, MAY 3-4, 1974

- Whereas, In 1972, Lori Paton, a 16 year-old New Jersey high school student wrote to the Socialist Workers Party for information about their campaign to use in a school term paper, and was subsequently harassed by the FBI, who discovered her name by monitoring all mail received at the party headquarters, and
- Whereas, Civil liberties attorney Leonard Boudin has filed a suit in Federal Court, citing nearly 200 specific cases similar to that of Lori Paton, in which government agents have harassed and intimidated members, supporters, and persons who have merely come into contact with the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance, and
- Whereas, The Boudin suit calls for a permanent injunction restraining all government agencies from conducting wiretapping, harassment, and intimidation of the plaintiffs and calls for the revelation of secret documents on all such government police-state type actions, and
- Whereas, The Political Rights Defense Fund has been established to publicize the civil liberties issues involved in this case and to raise money for legal expenses, and
- Whereas, The issues involved in this case affect the rights of all Americans, and support to the Political Rights Defense Fund does not imply agreement with the political views of the plaintiffs, and
- Whereas, As teachers we are particularly concerned that our students and ourselves have the right and opportunity to explore different political ideas without fear of harassment or intimidation, and
- Whereas, As trade unionists we particularly value the right of freedom of association, without which no union or political organization is free to function and therefore condemn any attempts by the government to interfere with that right,  
NOW THEREFORE BE IT
- RESOLVED: that the Michigan Federation of Teachers endorses the goals of the Political Rights Defense Fund to publicize the civil liberties issues involved in this case and to raise money for legal expenses, and be it further
- RESOLVED: that this resolution be submitted to the national convention of the AFT for action by their organization.

Submitted by:

Wayne County Community College  
Federation of Teachers #2000

# Political Rights Defense Fund

**PRDF**

Box 74 U.C.B., WAYNE STATE U.  
DETROIT, MICHIGAN 48202

**TO** Delegates to the Michigan Federation of Teachers Convention  
**FROM** Political Rights Defense Fund  
**REGARDING** How to Answer the Watergate Crimes

The Watergate revelations have exposed a massive attack on civil liberties by the Nixon administration. The academic community has been a particular victim of these attacks. The example of Angela Davis, who lost her teaching position at UCLA, is a case in point.

In a resolution calling for Nixon's impeachment, the 1973 AFL-CIO convention stated:

"He instituted in the name of national security a plan which violated civil liberties through domestic political surveillance, espionage, wire-tapping, burglary, eavesdropping, opening of mail, and military spying on civilians."

A lawsuit seeking a permanent injunction against these crimes has been filed by noted constitutional attorney Leonard Boudin on behalf of the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance. The suit can be an important first step in halting attacks on the right to dissent.

MFT members have a special stake in this both as teachers and as unionists. Effective teaching is impossible without freedom of speech and the right to freely choose class materials. The classroom has always been a favorite target of witch-hunters.

Watergate-style tactics are also directed at labor. Union leaders who have differed with the Nixon administration have been placed on the White House "enemies list." Others have been subjected to harassing interrogations by the Internal Revenue Service. To try to crush the United Farm Workers Union the government has used the purchasing power of the Pentagon, injunctions, mass arrests, and police violence.

The Political Rights Defense Fund is conducting a nationwide campaign to bring this major civil liberties lawsuit to public attention. The attached resolution has been introduced at this convention asking MFT endorsement of PRDF efforts to publicize this suit. Of course, endorsement of the suit does not imply agreement with the ideas of the plaintiffs. But it would put the MFT on record in support of a concrete effort to fight the erosion of democratic rights.

We urge you to:

- \*Vote for the PRDF resolution
- \*Endorse PRDF yourself by returning the form
- \*Invite a PRDF representative to speak to your class and local meeting.

## ORGANIZING A CAMPAIGN BANQUET

by Elizabeth Jayko, St. Louis Branch

### Introduction

The St. Louis Socialist Workers Campaign held its first campaign banquet on April 27, 1974, with an attendance of 110 people, including 65 people who were not members of the SWP or YSA, and many who had never before attended a SWP campaign activity. The fund collection raised over \$2,800 which was much higher than originally expected. This was due, in part, to the sizeable contributions given by some new campaign supporters who attended the banquet as their first campaign activity. In addition, several hundred dollars have come in since the banquet from people who attended the banquet.

I want to comment on some of the things we did to make this banquet such a success, and some of the problems that confronted a new branch in organizing such an activity.

### Initial Discussion

Our initial discussion centered on the way we wanted to launch the first SWP campaign in Missouri -- what would be most successful in terms of obtaining campaign supporters and raising money.

In discussing a banquet, we realized we had the potential to have a very large banquet. But we also had to discuss whether we had the forces to put a banquet together, given the size of our movement in St. Louis. We agreed we did.

Our initial work for the banquet included the composition of a campaign mailing list of 80 people by the campaign committee. This list grew to over 200 after soliciting names from all the comrades. The time and effort put into comprising this list was well spent, since many of the names comrades added to the list were not on any of the others, including the campaign and forum lists.

Reviewing this list of 200 made us realize just how large this banquet could be. And to make this a reality, it was going to take the entire branch and local's involvement in every aspect of building and preparing the banquet.

### Building Activities

The building focused on selling as many tickets as possible in advance, the advantages being: people would commit themselves to come, needed money would be raised in advance, and people would be inclined to give more in the fund collection. We consciously kept the price of the ticket as low as possible (\$3.50) so that this would not be a barrier to anyone's decision to attend.

Every name on our list was followed up after the initial mailing with one, two or three phone calls. If we got a commitment to come, we made arrangements to sell the tickets in advance either by driving over with the tickets, meeting the person, or having the money sent in the mail. We sold about 70 tickets before the banquet, including 30-35 to comrades and 30-35 to people on the list. A number of people bought tickets who weren't able to attend the banquet but wanted to contribute to our campaign effort. The phone calling and advance ticket sales enabled us to determine far enough in advance the approximate size of the banquet; the money taken in for the tickets was essential, given the small amount of funds we had to start with. To facilitate this whole operation, one comrade was assigned to the calling and one to the ticket sales. A master list of everyone to be called was drawn up before the calling began and this check-off list enabled us to know exactly how the calling was going every day. At a glance, we could tell who was coming, who had bought tickets and so on.

In addition to the phone calling, we built the banquet through announcements in The Militant and the St. Louis papers; we also distributed over 2,000 leaflets.

### Organization of the Banquet

Because more independents would be at our banquet than comrades and because of all the assignments that had to be filled, we had somewhat of a personnel problem. We had to organize every aspect of the banquet very carefully to allow the maximum number of comrades to participate. With this in mind, we planned the meal and the program.

The banquet was held at a well-known community center with good facilities that enabled us to centralize the food preparations.

In deciding what to prepare for the meal we wanted it to be both good and simple. We used precooked meats: roast beef and ham. In addition, we used a combination of buffet style, family style and serving. This cut down considerably on the number of comrades involved in assignments during the banquet itself.

In deciding on the set-up, we wanted this banquet to be as attractive and professional as possible. We spent time researching the rental and purchase of all the supplies from napkins to coffee pots. We decided to rent many of our supplies instead of purchasing them outright, since what could be rented in the way of silverware, coffee pots, bowls, and so on was much nicer. The professional touch this

added was worth the additional cost.

We bought color-coordinated paper goods and placed real flowers on each table, which made for an impressive setting.

Buying some of these needed supplies that we rented, like plastic pitchers, salt and pepper shakers, etc., can be cheaper in the long run. We found that the cost of the supplies per person was more than the food.

#### Program

To do a thorough job of preparing the program, the comrades who were to speak were assigned weeks in advance. The program committee drew up a list of all the political points that needed to be covered. In going over all the outlines of the different speeches, the comrades on the program committee made sure all these different points had been covered. This process worked out very

naturally.

On the day of the banquet every comrade read their speech out loud to the other members of the program committee. Every speech was gone over and final suggestions made.

This process helped to assure a smooth-flowing, coherent program for the rally and helped to keep the rally to the one and one-half hours we had set. The rally came off very much as we had planned it.

Finally, people who attended our banquet and rally were impressed by everything from the food to the program. This was revealed most strikingly by the fund collection.

Many people since have become active campaign supporters and have been brought closer to our movement.

August 6, 1974

## THE FIGHT TO ORGANIZE BOOK PUBLISHING IN NEW YORK

by Lee Smith, Lower Manhattan Branch, New York Local

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, a process that has accelerated since the strike--the shaping of a new, union-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 Nixon "trims the fat" by cutting 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, of course, makes the unionization drive all the more vital for the workers whose jobs face elimination in the near future. But from the vantage point of the revolutionary party, it is not so much the peculiarities of book publishing that make the current ferment and drive toward unionization among publishing employees interesting. Rather, it is the features that publishing workers share in common with a far larger section of the working class.

College-educated, unorganized, white-collar workers predominately aged from 21 to 35 make up the labor force in 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 among the several thousand workers in book publishing in New York can be looked at as a kind of "laboratory experiment" in the sense that it has implications for a far greater group of workers in similar occupations.

An article by Rafael Steinberg in the July 28 New York Times, for example, reported that the AFL-CIO's seven-year-old Council of Unions for Professional Employees has more than 1,000,000 members. Moreover, according to the same article, some 3,000,000 professional workers are covered by some kind of collective-bargaining agreement. The AFL-CIO estimates that this number represents about half of the workers in this category who are employed in groups large enough to make collective bargaining feasible. The article quotes Dr. Denis Chamots, assistant executive secretary of the AFL-CIO Council just mentioned as saying, "Professionals working in technical fields today suffer many abuses at the hands of well-organized and insensitive management--capricious firings, involuntary transfers, demotions for disloyalty...."

Salaries in book publishing have traditionally been 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 intelligence and their training and their 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--either 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 the 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, of course. 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 times 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 to a large extent exaggerated anyway. Employees lower down the totem pole in most cases might just as well punch a time clock, and for those who do have some flexibility in their hours, it boosts their productivity and 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 general inflationary squeeze that is hitting all workers. But other significant factors are the impact of the women's liberation movement especially, along with the general radicalization of the past decade; and a certain kind of "speed-up" 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, etc.

In the July 28 New York Times article mentioned earlier, Jack Golodner, executive secretary of the AFL-CIO Council of Unions for Professional Employees, observed: "The satisfactions that came 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 is less of a one-to-one relationship with the policy maker, 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."

With this rather sketchy background, I want to proceed to describe briefly 1) the union-organizing campaign at Macmillan, Inc.; 2) the Harper & Row strike and its role in putting employees from all the major houses in touch with each other; and 3) the current debate among publishing employees about how to proceed to organize the entire industry.

#### The Organizing Campaign at Macmillan

In October of 1973 a women's group was formed at Macmillan, at the initiative of some management-level women. From the beginning, the group also involved some women editors and assistant editors, but it remained largely closed to women in the lower-paid job categories. The group began as a general consciousness-raising kind of group, but evolved into a group that is initiating a class-action suit against Macmillan aimed at the tremendous differential in pay between men and women doing the same work.

After the women's group had been in existence for several months, some of the women in the group began to raise the idea of fighting sexist discrimination, as well as the generally poor conditions at Macmillan, through a union. At the same time, another group of women had also begun to talk to each other about a union, and contacted the Office and Professional Employees International Union, AFL-CIO, Local 153. An editor named Donna Mobley had contacted the Newspaper Guild. Mobley and others from the women's group agreed to keep the union separate from the class-action meetings. The two groups interested in a union got together and began meeting with the two unions to determine which one they wanted to organize into. It was at this stage that the comrades then working at Macmillan became involved. We talked to these people and attended some meetings. Our initial decision was to try to persuade the group to choose the Newspaper Guild, since we knew little about the OPEIU, and the Newspaper Guild had led some recent strikes.

After two months of meetings, we changed our minds. The Newspaper Guild was not interested in organizing the

whole job site, and kept stalling on making a commitment to do so. At the same time, the OPEIU said it would not want to organize in any way except by tackling the whole job site, that it was very interested in doing this, and that it was ready to go when we said the word. In fact, OPEIU didn't wait for us to say the word, but put out some leaflets and passed them out as people came in to work. The leaflets had tear-off "show-of-interest" designation cards attached to them, and OPEIU contacted the people who returned the cards and launched an organizing campaign. Donna Mobley was won over by the OPEIU organizers, and they offered to hire her as an organizer. This movement by OPEIU while the Newspaper Guild was still hemming and hawing and dragging its feet meant that all of us in the group, who had decided in our majority to go with the Newspaper Guild, changed our minds. The OPEIU was chartered in 1945 and didn't do much except to organize the staffs of other unions and a few other places until the last 10 years or so. The union is now on an organizing campaign and is growing. It gained 6,000 new members in 1973. Local 153, the New York local, has organized the workers at a number of campuses in the New York area in the past year. The OPEIU International is backing the foray into book publishing and discussing the establishment of a publishing division. Other locals of OPEIU are working on Macmillan subsidiaries in California and on the Macmillan warehouse facility in New Jersey.

Mobley quit her job at Macmillan and went to work for the union. Some of the people from the initial group plus others reached by the union's leaflets formed an organizing committee. This committee meets once a week. It also attends open meetings for all Macmillan employees that the union holds once a week. The organizing committee now draws up all of the union leaflets and we pass them out ourselves in the mornings until 9, when we report to work and the union staff people take over. We talk to people on the job, carry designation cards, and wear and pass out "153" buttons. There are now about 200 people wearing "153" buttons. We have provided the union with a breakdown of all the employees so that we have determined the bargaining unit (it is about 800 of the 1,200 employees; the rest are management or otherwise ineligible). We have between 300 and 400 cards and hope to be able to file for an NLRB election by the end of August.

#### The Harper & Row Strike

As reported in The Militant, the Harper & Row strike attracted wide support from workers in other, nonunionized publishing houses, as well as support from members of other unions and some official labor support. I will not take up the issues in the strike here in any detail; the disputed issues and the settlement were reported in The Militant. Management had made an ultimatic "final offer" that really amounted to a wage cut and an attempt to destroy the union; the strike was settled on terms that not only

defended and strengthened the union but improved wages and benefits modestly and maintained the profit-sharing and merit raises management had initially proposed to eliminate.

The Association of Harper & Row Employees was formed as an independent, in-house association or company union in the early 1940s to forestall the organization of a real union. Its role as a collective bargaining agent waned throughout the next two decades. During the late sixties, young workers affected by the radicalization began to try to revive it as a real union. Serious discussion of affiliation with an established union occurred around contract time six years ago. Such a discussion also took place this year as the May 1 contract expiration date approached.

The two unions considered were District 65 of the Distributive Workers Union and the Newspaper Guild. The Stalinists in the Harper's union pushed for District 65, but eventually the executive board pretty much decided to pursue affiliation with the Newspaper Guild. An international organizer for the Guild was invited to join the Association's negotiating committee as a step toward affiliation. But in the course of negotiations, the organizer fell ill. When the Guild failed to back her up with someone else, relations between the Association and the Guild went sour. The union's attorney then prevailed upon the executive board to bring in Henry Foner of the Fur, Leather, and Machine Workers Joint Board to replace the Guild organizer. (Foner had helped the Association negotiate the previous two contracts.)

The leaders of the Harper & Row union are radical-minded, militant, feminist, young women. It is a tribute to their ability that they were able to inspire the confidence necessary for an overwhelming strike vote, and--with a company union/agency shop--organize and run a strike that pulled out and kept out 80 percent of the workers, maintained mass picketing, put out a daily strike bulletin, reached out effectively for support from other workers, and forced a respectable settlement from management. The strike was begun with no money because the union's constitution prevents use of its treasury for strikes. In addition to running a headquarters and a commissary, organizing picketing, and getting out publicity, the strike leadership raised thousands of dollars to help the workers most desperate and found part-time jobs for others.

#### Stalinists

The two or three CPers in the Association are not real leaders of the union, but through its relations with officials like Foner and people in District 65, the United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers, and 1199, the CP has some influence. This influence was strengthened by the strike. The union's attorney also has obvious sympathies with the CP-dominated wingtip of the New York labor bureaucracy. Aside from the resolutions of support and donations our comrades helped to get from their unions and money and resources

provided by OPEIU and the Newspaper Guild, both of which sought to have the Association affiliate with them, the labor support for the Harper & Row strike came from what are essentially CP fractions in District 65, the UE, the FLM Joint Board, and 1199. That this strengthened the CP's hand with the genuinely militant Association leadership is an important factor in the wider discussions now taking place in the industry about how to proceed in an organizing drive.

#### Other Opponents

Aside from the CP and our own comrades, no other tendency played any kind of real role in strike support or is participating in the continuing developments in the publishing organizing drive. However, a woman on the Macmillan organizing committee is a member of the Revolutionary Union. Mainly through her, the RU was able to get a Black copresident of the Harper's union to speak at a benefit showing of Salt of the Earth put on at RU headquarters by an RU front group called Office Workers United. Aside from three comrades and a party sympathizer, there were about 35 RU members present. The copresident said it didn't matter if the strike was won unless there was an industry-wide contract in publishing like the Teamsters have for trucking.

Besides this intervention by the RU, the only other intervention by opponents consisted of selling their press on the picket lines.

#### The Party's Role

The party carried out a strong, coordinated intervention in support of the Harper & Row strike, and is actively participating in the ongoing activity described below.

From the very first day of the strike, comrades employed in publishing and Rebecca Finch, the party's senatorial candidate, were on the picket line and at the strike headquarters, finding out about the strike and meeting the strike leaders. A citywide forum by Nat Weinstein on the San Francisco Sears strike had already been scheduled for the following Wednesday. We invited the union to send a representative to the forum to talk about the strike, and we took a collection for the strike fund. Individual comrades in other unions tried to get support from their unions for the strike; several comrades who worked in publishing and Finch attended a \$10-a-head benefit for the strike at the Newspaper Guild offices, and we continued our activity on the picket line. A statement on the strike by Finch was prepared for the benefit and run off for distribution on the lines. Articles were written for The Militant, of course.

The program at the strike benefit was rather unstructured. Bernice Krawczyk, the president, and Henry Foner gave a brief account of the first day of negotiations since the strike started; the president of the Newspaper Guild gave an agitational speech welcoming people to the Guild's hall and

supporting the strike; and a member of the strike committee took over the platform to emcee a sort of open-mike session. During this session, Rebecca Finch spoke and received a very friendly response.

Linda Faulhaber, one of the three central strike leaders, was the person designated to speak to the citywide Militant forum, and she gave a very articulate and militant presentation. The collection of about \$100 was mentioned in the following day's strike bulletin.

Our general approach was 1) support from unions in which we had members; 2) continue and step up our participation in the picketing (by encouraging comrades who worked in the area or were otherwise able to do it, to stop by during lunch hour); 3) have a couple of the comrades already involved spend more time and effort by, for example, stopping by in the evenings at strike headquarters to help out; and 4) to propose a discussion with the central strike leadership. The core of our proposal for the strike leadership would be that they should seek affiliation with one of the interested unions (65, OPEIU, or the Newspaper Guild)--choosing the one that had the most to offer in terms of winning the strike--and then, from the position of being part of the official labor movement, go on a campaign, with which we would help as much as we could, to mobilize official labor support for their strike.

We were able to help obtain some important resolutions and donations--from ITU local 6 and from the AFSCME local of the New York Public Library workers. The comrades in the AFSCME local also helped get their union to send letters to all of the other library unions across the country. The meeting with the three key strike leaders was lined up, but the strike was settled before it occurred. We then rescheduled the meeting to discuss the issue of affiliation anyway. The results of that meeting are discussed in the final section below.

In the course of our organizing and strike support activity we have met a number of individuals interested in our general political program as well as our ideas on union matters. One of the young organizers for OPEIU Local 153 bought Teamster Rebellion, Teamster Power, and Labor's Giant Step from a comrade on the organizing committee. We sell Militants to several of those we work with regularly, and two women from the organizing committee have attended forums or campaign banquets. One of these has been to three forums and is seriously considering coming to the Socialist Activists and Educational Conference.

During the strike, workers from every major publishing house and many not-so-major houses joined the lines. Nearly all of them expressed interest in organizing unions at their places of work. The OPEIU made a number of contacts on the line; probably District 65 and the Newspaper Guild did

also. But, in addition, Ann Kouts--together with Krawczyk and Faulhaber, a key leader of the strike--gathered a large number of names. These were of people who were interested in seeing "the whole industry organized" but were uncertain of which union to work with--or if they should work with any union at all. After the strike was settled, the Harper's union leaders called all of these people together for a meeting.

#### The Debate Over How to Organize the Industry

The week after the strike was settled, comrades on the Macmillan organizing committee and the comrade formerly employed at Harper's got together with key leaders of the Harper & Row Association. We wanted to discuss the question of how to most effectively organize the publishing industry. We wanted to get their ideas and raise with them the merits of affiliating with the OPEIU which is carrying out an organizing drive.

These leaders seemed to feel that if they were to affiliate with any of the unions interested (65, the Newspaper Guild, and OPEIU), it would be with Local 153 of OPEIU, mainly because it was demonstrating its seriousness about an aggressive organizing campaign already by its work at Macmillan. But to a much larger extent than we had expected, they were attracted by the idea of using their own independent union as a kind of base to form a union throughout the industry that would not be affiliated to any existing union. It was not trouble for us to present effective arguments in favor of working with an existing union instead of trying to undertake the task of organizing with virtually no power and no resources, but, while I believe we made a very good case, the Harper's union leaders left the meeting unconvinced.

The following week the meeting of all those who had signed up with Ann Kouts during the strike was called. About 35-40 people came from 24 houses. The meeting was run by the Harper's union leaders who made an effort to objectively present the alternatives of the three unions and the idea of starting from scratch to form a new union of publishing employees. People divided themselves into committees to investigate the alternatives and report back to another meeting on July 31.

At the date of this writing, the second meeting has not been held. However, another comrade from another, smaller publishing house that is actively exploring different unions and discussing organization attended the first meeting and was invited to the meeting of the committee investigating a "new union." Present at the meeting were Henry Foner of the FLM Joint Board and the attorney for the Harper's Association (who is also the attorney for the FLM Joint Board). These two men encouraged the inclination of the Harper's leaders toward forming a new, "independent" union of publishing employees. In the course of their encouragement, they also attacked the OPEIU as a "political front for Meany," etc. But the Harper's leaders appeared to remain open in spite

of these arguments, and, after the two men left, drew up a report listing both the pros and cons of the "independent," new union plan.

We are continuing our involvement, pushing for workers who want to organize to work with an established union and leaning toward OPEIU on the basis that they are already embarked on a serious drive in the industry.

July 30, 1974

## ORGANIZING A PRESS CAMPAIGN

by Lenore Sheridan, Chicago Branch

During the spring, the Chicago branch organized a successful sales campaign. We were able to meet our national sales goal of 700 six of the 18 weeks of the campaign and were able to involve all but eight comrades in the branch during the drive.

Key to our success was a thorough understanding on the part of the branch leadership and the branch as a whole of the role of The Militant and the Young Socialist as political tools with which to intervene in the Black community, on the campus, at workplaces and at political events. We viewed sales as our way of getting out Trotskyist ideas on a week-to-week basis. Comrades viewed the weekly goal that was set, not as an arbitrary figure that was pulled out of a hat but a goal that was politically arrived at on the basis of our opportunities for interventions and the kind of impact we wanted to make in the Black community, at workplaces, etc.

At sales committee meetings projections for the numbers of Militants and Young Socialists to be sold at various locations would be reviewed. In this way division of labor for organizing sales could be worked out in a clear way and the committee knew on a day-to-day basis how many papers should be sold and whether or not we were falling behind.

Making projections and setting goals was especially important with our sales teams. We encouraged as many people as possible to sell on teams. The concept we utilized was that the branch should direct politically the sales of our press. What this meant was that instead of selling "somewhere" after work, comrades sold in teams at college campuses after work or in the downtown area to workers going home. In organizing the teams, we found it was important to find locations for comrades where they like to sell and sold well. This made selling a positive experience for them.

Saturday is our big sales day, where we aimed at getting maximum participation. This was also the day for our sales in the Black and Latin communities. We located our sales spots in the Black community via the petitioning campaign in 1972. Through petitioning we found where the shopping centers and places were that contained the heaviest pedestrian traffic. The coverage that The Militant carries on a week-to-week basis of events in the Black movement make it easy to sell once you get salespeople there. In fact, our recent petitioning efforts in the first congressional district, an area where the population is 95 percent Black, has opened up more sales locations for us. During the spring campaign we set as one of our goals being able to increase our sales in the Black community. We did this by emphasizing the team aspect of the sales and the team working

together to meet a goal. Sometimes teams would challenge each other and other times they would volunteer to raise their sales goal because they felt they wanted to make bigger political impact by staying out a little longer and selling more papers.

In the spirit of the sales campaign, we also decided to increase the number of Militants sold by comrades at their workplaces. We did this primarily by encouraging comrades to sell to their co-workers in the welfare department and other job situations that comrades found themselves in, including taxi drivers, airport workers, teachers, etc. We also tightly organized sales interventions at union meetings, calling on all comrades to help intervene at these meetings instead of just the teacher comrades or welfare worker comrades. By taking these measures, we were able to sell an average of 15-20 papers per week. During the coming fall campaign we want to improve sales generally in this area by sending organized teams to work places where we don't have comrades.

Having a good division of labor within the sales committee is also extremely important in terms of the political development of the individual comrades on the committee and the ability of the committee to involve the branch and local as a whole. One or two people cannot organize sales and contact everyone and make sure all the sales get out, etc. In Chicago the sales committee is a joint committee. The YSAers on the committee had responsibility for organizing high school and campus sales, and the party comrades worked on the community sales. In addition, an extremely valuable assignment to the committee was the assignment of a person who kept the records of where the papers were sold, who sold, and how much money was collected. This was important because participation charts could be passed around at meetings each month and comrades could see the progress that was being made toward meeting the goal, where we were making an impact, and how we were doing toward our goal of involving the whole branch in the sales effort. On a day-to-day basis the records were an invaluable tool because the sales committee would know if emergency sales had to be organized in order to meet the goal that had been set for that week.

Another thing we found during the petition campaign was that a branch can sell a respectable number of Militants during a petitioning drive. We had decided at the beginning of the petitioning campaign that in order to get maximum participation in sales comrades should take papers with them and sell from their petition boards. It was hard at first for comrades to get an idea of how to do it, but during the last week of the petitioning drive we had one comrade who got

195 signatures on petitions and sold 21 Militants at the same time. The Militant is the campaign paper and we asked anyone who wanted to know more about the campaign to buy

a Militant. In addition, the branch decided to send out one team of comrades with a sales goal to meet who stayed out until they met that goal.

August 3, 1974

## REPORT ON SOVIET AND EAST EUROPEAN DEFENSE WORK

by George Saunders, Upper West Side Branch, New York Local

### 1. Defense Activities

Our work in relation to the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe has mainly taken the form of press coverage (IP, Militant, International Socialist Review), as well as pamphlets and books like Samizdat: Voices of the Soviet Opposition, and forums.

In 1972, independent radicalizing young people from the Ukrainian-American community formed committees in several cities to defend Soviet and East European political prisoners. We have been able to work with these elements and some other forces on the left, especially in the past half year.

In New York we participated in a conference in March called in defense of Ukrainian political prisoners, involving some 75 people. We had a speaker and a literature table there. In April the YSA at New York University jointly sponsored a forum with the Committee for the Defense of Soviet Political Prisoners (CDSPP--a Ukrainian-American youth group based in the New York-New Jersey area). The attendance was about 150. We were able to get some elements on the left to participate. Nat Hentoff and David Dellinger; Grace Paley (of War Resisters League), who together with Rev. Paul Maher of PCPJ visited Sakharov in Moscow in late 1973 and made a radical statement in defense of Soviet political prisoners at a Moscow peace conference, also participated. George Novack represented our point of view.

The appeal issued in early April by Sakharov, Litvinov, and Pelikan in collaboration with the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation gave us an opportunity to try to draw some broader forces together to support Grigorenko on May 7. A coalition was formed in New York, based mainly on the CDSPP and ourselves, which resulted in Daniel Ellsberg giving an excellent press conference statement in support of Grigorenko, and a picket line of about 50 people. Amnesty International also participated.

Later in May, a Crimean Tartar organization demonstrated in behalf of Grigorenko and Dzhemilev (a Crimean dissident with whom Grigorenko worked) and for the restoration of the Crimean Autonomous Republic. We made contact with the Crimeans and have had some discussions with them with the aim of involving them in the coalition. On July 15-17, we and CDSPP jointly leafleted and held a token picket line in front of Aeroflot's offices in New York in support of Moroz's hunger strike.

In Boston, on Grigorenko Day, we supported a rally organized by emigre Russian dissidents (Litvinov, Volpin)

and held a special Militant Labor Forum including Ukrainian, Czech, and Russian emigre speakers as well as ourselves. Follow-up work led to the formation of a Boston Committee Against Repression in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. Later, this committee--with our comrades participating--sponsored a rally of more than 150 people on July 16 in support of Ukrainian dissident Valentyn Moroz. Moroz began a hunger strike July 1 to back his demand to be transferred from prison--to at least a labor camp.

In Chicago, we jointly sponsored a rally on Grigorenko Day with the Committee for the Defense of Human Rights in the Soviet Union. It drew about 60. On June 1, we and that committee--consisting of Ukrainian-Americans also, but distinct from the CDSPP--built a public meeting in support of Moroz.

In several other cities there are elements similar to those in New York, Boston, and Chicago with whom our comrades can work. These include Detroit, Cleveland, Pittsburgh, Minneapolis, and Buffalo.

Besides Ukrainian-Americans, recent Russian emigres, Czechs, and Crimeans, we have had some contact with Armenian organizations. Also, we have met Yugoslav, Polish, Hungarian, and some other foreign students from USSR or Eastern Europe interested in our ideas (radical student movements have existed in both Poland and Yugoslavia for a decade or more).

There are large, well-organized Armenian groups in a number of cities (e. g., Los Angeles, Bay Area, New York, Boston). They have close ties with Armenian communities in Europe and the Middle East and frequently travel into the USSR. For several years, radicalizing Armenian youth have been in touch with our branches, especially in Los Angeles and the Bay Area, and have shown an interest in our ideas.

### 2. International Ramifications

Successful work in this area, especially around the days of protest called by the Russell Foundation, with Sakharov, Litvinov and Pelikan, has international ramifications. There are left-wing defense committees and campaigns in Canada, Britain, France, West Germany, and Sweden, at least. Sections or members of the Fourth International are actively involved in these. Similarly, many of the Ukrainian-Americans and Czechs with whom we are working here have connections with Ukrainians and Czechs in Canada and Europe who participate in that defense work (some being Trotskyists). The Russell Foundation campaign has brought together left-wing forces from the USSR, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia

with those of the advanced Western capitalist countries for the first time. Our presence in this international campaign will directly help to bring our ideas back to the USSR and Eastern Europe and to strengthen the influence of our ideas where they are already present to some degree (as in Yugoslavia). The Fourth International has an East European Commission, with which we maintain communications and try to coordinate activities, as well as with the Russell Foundation, whose work is coordinated by Ken Coates and Chris Farley.

### 3. Opponents' Activities

Social-democratic elements (Jacobson of New Politics, David McReynolds of the WRL--who heads up a paper organization called American Dissenters Support Soviet Dissenters), promoting state capitalist and third-camp ideas, have achieved some influence among young radicalizing elements around these defense activities. To the Right of Jacobson-McReynolds, Harrington's DSOC and the Social Democrats USA each have tried to do defense work in this area. The Social Democrats USA have a right-wing defense

committee on paper.

The NAM apparently has not taken a position or been involved in this work. The Maoists and sectarians (Spartacists, et al) have taken a line generally opposed to the struggle for democratic rights in the USSR and Eastern Europe.

The CPUSA, of course, opposes the movements for democratization in the workers states and labels them counterrevolutionary, but it is particularly important for us to try to break away any elements in or around the CP who will support the rights of dissenters to speak without being imprisoned. Any breaks in these circles have a particular impact inside the workers states. It is more difficult for the bureaucracy, when their own "friends" support democratic rights in the USSR, to tell the masses it is part of a "bourgeois propaganda offensive," or "the penetration of bourgeois ideology."

August 2, 1974



## ORGANIZING CAMPAIGN STREET RALLIES

by Janice Lynn, New York State Campaign Director

A typical Saturday afternoon in New York City will find the New York Socialist Workers Party candidates campaigning at street corners in various parts of the city.

Reviving the tradition of holding outdoor street rallies has been one of the most exciting aspects of the most exciting aspects of the 1974 New York State election campaign. We have held street rallies on at least ten different Saturdays during the spring at street corners in Brooklyn, the Lower East Side and in Harlem. On some Saturdays five or six rallies have occurred simultaneously. Because of their success we have also brought them to other cities in New York state, most successfully so far in Albany and Yonkers.

Every campaign supporter can participate in these rallies. They have become a concrete campaign activity in which we have been able to draw not only comrades, but supporters as well.

Regular street rallies have also helped maximize the sales of our press and the distribution of thousands of pieces of campaign literature. We've signed up dozens of endorsers and sold pamphlets and talked to passers-by about our campaign.

Most important, we are increasing the visibility of our campaign. People see us at the same street corner week after week and we are seen as active campaigners -- energetic and enthusiastic. The name of the party and our candidates, as well as our program, gets out to more and more people. Our car-top signs and large and colorful banners add to the impact and visibility (as do the stickers and posters we paste up wherever we campaign).

Our candidates have become more and more experienced speakers at this kind of street campaigning, and have been thinking out the best ways to formulate our program in popular, easily understandable language and in short, catchy phrases.

We can also speculate on the kind of effect our street rallies have on our opponents who see us week after week out on the streets. Most of them had not even fielded candidates this spring.

A street rally bears little resemblance to a campus forum or other campaign meeting where an audience sits and listens to an extended talk on a particular topic. The rallies are not expected to draw a crowd that stops to hear an entire speech, but hundreds of people pass by and many do listen for a while. After listening for several minutes, a number of people will buy a paper and come to the table to endorse

the campaign, take additional literature, buy a campaign button, or just talk. Several people approach our candidates to shake their hand.

The speeches and signs catch people's attention. Street rally speeches are not like other speeches. We choose a theme (skyrocketing prices, deteriorating standard of living, police brutality, child care, schools, etc.) and speak for three or four minutes and then repeat it over and over again. Most people do not stand around any longer than this, so there is no need to prepare longer remarks.

Usually there are three or four candidates or other speakers at each rally, speaking about fifteen minutes each. Someone will introduce the candidates and during the rally give pitches to buy The Militant and Young Socialist. Each rally lasts between one hour and an hour and a half.

In the Williamsburg section of Brooklyn and on the Lower East Side we hold street rallies in Spanish and distribute Spanish campaign literature (platform and leaflet, "¿Porque Deben los Puertorriquenos Votar Socialist Workers en 1974?")

The corners that are chosen for a street rally are in busy, well-travelled locations, especially in areas where Black and Puerto Rican shoppers are passing by.

A loud-speaker system is set up on a car which also has a large sign on top, "Vote Socialist Workers: the Alternative to Watergate, Inflation and Racism."

The candidates stand on the sidewalk and speak through the microphone attached to the loud-speaker. On the sidewalk, a literature/campaign table is set up in front of a large, colorful banner. Campaign workers spread through the crowd, selling The Militant and Young Socialist and distributing pamphlets. Between eight and twenty campaign supporters can participate in the Saturday rallies.

Several days in advance a permit is secured from the police department. In New York, permits to use sound equipment on the street cost \$5.

Street rallies in other cities may be just as successful as they have been in New York.

### High School Campaign Rallies

In addition to Saturday street rallies, the New York campaign has held successful rallies outside six New York City high schools, organized by the YSA locals.

Because of problems securing permits outside high

schools we were at first somewhat cautious. However, we found that if we were audacious about setting up a table and having the candidates speak over a bullhorn, by the time either the school administration or the police came over, we had already had a good fifteen-or-twenty minute rally. We have not yet had any confrontation over our right to hold these rallies.

The best response has come at those high schools where for several weeks in advance, in the mornings and after school, we sold papers, gave away back issues and distributed campaign material. It is important to concentrate on only one or two high schools. This makes it possible to get to know the school and, more important, for the students to become familiar with us. The over advantage is that our campaign material also reaches faculty members, which helps make openings for candidates to speak in classrooms.

Since students were familiar with us, we had a good response when we invited them to the literature table to meet our candidates and endorse the campaign. When we are aggressive and ask everyone to endorse, it pays off. In Brooklyn, nineteen students at Erasmus High School endorsed the campaign at our rally and we sold over fifty papers there in several weeks.

The best time to hold rallies outside the schools is

during the lunch period or at the end of the day, rather than at the beginning of school when students are rushing in. In New York City there are two lunch periods and students are more willing to stay around and listen. The best place is where students hang out (sometimes across the street, or down the bloc), rather than right in front of the doors.

We set up a table in front of a banner, the candidate speaks over a bullhorn, and five or six campaign supporters spread out to sell papers and distribute material. We made a special leaflet for some of the high school rallies based on the speech Derrick Morrison gave about the socialist solution to youth unemployment at a rally outside Seward Park High School in Lower Manhattan.

To be successful, this high school work should thoroughly involve members of the YSA who can participate in one form or another (mornings or afternoons).

Because of the potential opportunities from this high school work, the New York City YSA locals are discussing organizing a concentrated week of high school campaign rallies for the fall. Along with classroom meetings at the beginning of the school year, we will begin high school campaign work in an audacious way and plan to continue this throughout the elections.

August 9, 1974

## PHILADELPHIA BOOKSTORE CONSIGNMENTS

by Rosy Rultenberg, Philadelphia Branch

The bookstore handles two types of consignments: (1) long-term campus consignments and (2) those for short-term political interventions.

### Political Interventions

Over the past year Philadelphia has increased significantly the number of interventions done with Pathfinder literature -- including hawking pamphlets and setting up tables. A year ago we set up one to two tables a month, whereas now we do four to eight interventions a month. Although some of them are more successful than others, it is important that people see us every time they turn around at every political event in the city that we can get to.

As comrades here became more aware that we had a bookstore that did reach out, more consignments were signed out by every committee and fraction. Lately, we have been combining campaign tables and Pathfinder tables and have Pathfinder tables at major sales spots. A large calendar to sign up for tables and hawking makes it easier to plan orders for upcoming events. It is good to check regularly with fractions to make sure they have signed up for all possible tables.

Monthly bookstore reports to the branch have helped raise consciousness considerably. Recently there have been announcements or mini-reports in the branch meeting each time we've had successful, significant interventions. These mini-reports include a money total of items sold, plus type of literature sold and type of people sold to.

### Sign-out Procedure for Consignments -- Sample

1. Notify bookstore personnel as soon as you find out about an event, noting the date and time of event, type of event, and if special subject literature is needed. (Try to be one day in advance.) The bookstore will then make up your consignment.
2. If #1 is impossible and you are forced to make up a consignment yourself, take a blank paper and write down (a) titles and amounts of books you are taking, (b) event's name and date, and (c) your name.
3. When returning consignments, do not take them apart yourself. Return one or two days following the event with a list of books sold, list of buttons and papers sold, and money. Put the list and money in the envelope provided, write your name on it, and put it into the money box. Your name is very important -- in case I can't read your writing. Return books to stock closet.

### Campus Consignments

The composition of categories of items sent to each campus differs depending on the constituency of students. For example, more emphasis on Black literature and Mideast for Temple University; Mideast, "heavy" socialist literature for University of Pennsylvania; and Irish, women's and a smattering of other for La Salle (Catholic school). All consignments have a small number of titles representative of the range of our literature.

The consignment is signed out after each full inventory from the bookstore's main stock. We keep in stock an adequate amount of each title to cover campus tables. Each week that tables are set up, campus comrades give a list of titles sold and money to the bookstore director or person in charge of consignments. Each week these titles are replenished and recent acquisitions were added. Occasionally, a special political focus for the table makes it necessary to send out special books for that week to the campus.

Special events on campus were handled differently from campus to campus. At Temple and La Salle, the tables for these events were set up from the literature from their standing consignments. At the University of Pennsylvania consignments were sent out from the headquarters with comrades staffing the tables. These special consignments for the University of Pennsylvania were treated as political interventions.

Long-term campus consignments are returned to the headquarters every three months for full inventory.

We had the best results on campus when (1) a comrade on each campus was assigned to Pathfinder work and (2) when tables were set up on a regular day every week.

Occasionally reports are made to the YSA meeting on the progress of campus sales, regional sales, and types of literature sold in the bookstore itself. Projections for price reduction sales and advertising campaigns were also included.

While it is great if you can have one person on the bookstore committee assigned to consignments control, it isn't always possible. The above procedures can work without this added person on the committee. The Philadelphia bookstore during most of the year is a one-person operation aided by the branch and the YSA as a whole.

August 9, 1974

by Jerry Keene, Boston Branch

### Preface:

This contribution was submitted two years ago, but was not published in the Party Builder then, owing to misinformation I received as to the deadline. I am resubmitting this article at this time with minor changes, because I feel the information is still pertinent. At the time this article was written we were awaiting a reply from the Pacifica network, which was never received, and the program was discontinued shortly thereafter.

### History

I was first appraised of the possibility of the SWP having its own radio program over two years ago when I received a phone call from the comrade in charge of the publicity for our campaign. He had previously set up an interview with two of our local candidates on WTBS, the MIT radio station. Following this interview, he was asked by the program director who was very impressed with the content of the interview, if the SWP would be willing to produce its own hourly program each week. He in turn called me and asked if I would be willing to accept this as a major assignment, to which I agreed. Initially, although the major responsibility for the program was mine, there were other comrades assigned to aid in such matters as production and publicity. However, because of the low priority of this particular activity, there was a constant problem of maintaining competent personnel in adequate numbers. Despite this problem, we were able to produce a number of lively and interesting radio programs on WTBS, a 10-watt station. As a result, we were contacted by WRBB, a 6-watt station located at Northeastern University; they also wanted to carry our weekly program, to which we agreed.

A few months later I journeyed to Amherst to discuss with the program director of WFCR at University of Massachusetts--a 40,000 watt station covering a five-state area--the feasibility of sending them a copy of our program each week for airing. After hearing a couple of our tapes which I had brought along he agreed to carry the program on a weekly basis. In addition, WMUA, a 6-watt station also located on that campus, agreed to play the same program each week that was aired on WFCR.

This arrangement with the Amherst stations lasted only nine months; then we were forced to terminate the program at Amherst as a result of technical difficulties arising from the distance from Boston. Also, we did not feel that the comrades at Amherst were able to utilize the program for purposes of building our movement there. Because they were a small local they were unable to assign one comrade to be responsible for making sure that activities they were involved in were announced on the radio program or even informing

listeners of how to contact the YSA there.

Shortly thereafter, I was contacted by the program director of WBUR, Boston University radio, a 25,000-watt station, who wanted to listen to some of our tapes. He not only agreed to carry our program on WBUR, but suggested that we attempt to have the program carried on a nationwide basis. We submitted copies of some of our programs along with a resume to National Public Radio (NPR) which functions as a distribution center for over 100 stations; and to the Pacifica Network (see Appendix I for resume). We were turned down by NPR for ostensibly technical but actually political reasons. We have been waiting over five months for a response from Pacifica, a fact which does not lead me to believe that the outcome will be a positive one. The situation at present is that we are being carried on WTBS and WBUR in Boston (we discontinued WRBB due to lack of listener response).

### Nature of Programming

The original title of the show was "Militant Labor Forum of the Air." To broaden our audience and to undercut objections of WFCR to the term "Militant," we changed the name of the program to "Voices of Dissent." The format of our program is similar to the Militant Labor Forum in that each week we focus on a different topic. Each program opens and closes with our theme, "The Times They are A' Changin'." Interviews with noted activists and/or Trotskyists comprise the axis around which each program is built. If we are unable to obtain an interview, we sometimes present a taped copy of a presentation or lecture. Most of the programs are moderated by myself, and interviews are prepared in advance of the taping. Our programs are taped in advance, to allow for corrections and modifications that result in higher quality programming. In addition to interviews, we try to integrate into the programs as much music, poetry, dramatic reading, etc., as possible so we can end up with a result that is not only good politically, but is also lively, entertaining and of professional quality. I feel that the elements of music, etc., as mentioned are important because no matter how correct the politics of a program, it has little effect if no one is listening. We also attempt to keep the program as non-sectarian as possible and therefore it is not officially produced by the Socialist Workers Party. However, The Militant, the Militant Labor Forum, and/or the Socialists Workers Party are constantly mentioned in one capacity or another. We also try to include in our programs a listing of the more important political events taking place during that week.

We have used different methods in attempts to get feedback from our listeners, such as offering free introductory subscriptions to The Militant, copies of the program, or

prizes for correctly answering a quiz question.

Some of the earliest programs we did can be found listed in the Appendix. Some of our later programs include: the Jenness-McCloskey Debate; Wilhelm Reich and the Sexual Revolution; a program on prisons, including an interview with an inmate currently incarcerated at Norfolk Prison; and a history of jazz and Black nationalism. We received a number of responses from listeners (less than one response per show average) all of which indicated that our programs were well liked by those willing to reply. We were informed that our program was extremely well received in the prisons.

### Problems

The major problems we have had with the program have been of a technical nature. Because the radio stations which we produced out of were not commercial stations, the quality of the engineering has left something to be desired. We even attempted to train our own engineer but the process is too involved and time consuming. This was an area over which we had no control, since the engineer had no connection with our movement. Another difficulty was maintaining adequate auxiliary personnel to staff the radio program. There was constant turnover of auxiliary personnel, none of whom had the radio show as their major assignment, which resulted in the major burden being placed on one comrade and did not provide for most effective functioning. As I mentioned before, this was inevitable because of the low priority of this activity in our general overall assessment of what must be done. The responsibility for publicity was never adequately fulfilled, and even if it were it is highly questionable whether publicity such as listings in newspapers is of any value for a radio program. For overall coordination of the show, it was helpful to have a producer, but often there was no one available to fill this assignment. We found that we were able to get good results utilizing inexpensive equipment and tapes; so money was not among the major problems. To sum up, the major problem was a lack of collective functioning due to shortage of personnel which in turn was due to the low priority of the program.

### Conclusions

It is difficult to make a definitive assessment of an area of work such as this because of the paucity of tangible results and inconclusiveness of the minimal feedback that we received. Our attempts at national distribution have not been successful, so the balance sheet reflects only the production of an SWP radio show on college stations in a local area. It is impossible to determine how many people are listening to a radio program; but one can assume that the stronger the station, the more listeners, at least when dealing with college stations. We did obtain some feedback in the form of letters and phone calls which indicated that those who were listening were very impressed with the quality and content of our programming. We received practically no hostile response during the two years that we were on. The people

responsible for running the stations we have been on have also been favorably impressed by our programming and WBUR submitted one of our programs for a public service broadcasting award. This is reflective of the importance of professional quality programming if such an undertaking is to be embarked upon against some time in the future.

Politically, the wide acceptance of the program by a number of stations in the area has increased the prestige of the Socialist Workers Party. I was told by the program director of WTBS upon returning from a radical media conference in Vermont, "All of the radical groups are complaining about lack of coverage; you people don't seem to be having any trouble." There are now undoubtedly a number of people who are now acquainted with some of the ideas of the Socialist Workers Party who previously were not.

In addition, the experience I have gained by functioning as the writer and moderator of "Voices of Dissent" will hopefully be beneficial in the future for media work. We have been able to use the radio program to make contact with people who appeared as guests with whom we previously did not have contact, and through this contact we later could use these people for Friday night forums and as endorsers.

On the debit side, a great deal of energy and time was expended by myself and other comrades in an effort which did not produce, to my knowledge, tangible results such as recruitment, financial contributions, etc. Because radio listening requires minimum effort, and the audience of college stations is nowhere comparable in size to that of commercial stations, it is probable that large numbers of our listeners were not as politically oriented people as those who would come to forums or buy The Militant. Preparing an hour program each week requires much more energy and time than a fifteen-minute newscast. Therefore my evaluation is based on the work involved in producing an hour show and I therefore cannot speculate on the value of filling a shorter time slot. If the experience of a radio program such as the one we have produced is undertaken by comrades in another area, it would be advisable to assign more than one comrade to its direction and production as his or her major assignment. All in all, at the present time, I do not feel that the time and energy expended in producing an hour weekly radio show produced the kind of results that would make this type of activity seem worth while.

A possible exception might be a Pacifica station, which would have a much bigger audience than the college stations. We have made copies of most of the programs that we have done and comrades that are seriously interested in finding out more about this type of activity can contact me c/o the Boston branch.

August 5, 1974

## APPENDIX: RADIO PROGRAM RESUME

Voices of Dissent is a weekly one-hour program devoted to issues and speakers of a controversial and topical nature. It has been on the air in the Boston area for over 1-1/2 years and is presently carried on WBUR-FM 90.9 KH and WTBS 88.1. Some of the programs have been carried on WFCR and WMUA at Amherst, Mass., and WRBB in Boston (all FM stations).

The need for our existence, we feel, is the inadequacy of the mass means of communications in the presentation of radical ideas and the exposure of the public to views which must be heard and debated in a democratic society. The people's right to know is one of the basic constitutional rights guaranteed to United States citizens, as was pointed out in the recent Supreme Court decision on the publication of the Pentagon Papers. We offer our program as a platform for the voices of dissidence, radicalism, and social protest, not voices of a lunatic fringe, but voices expressing a desire for meaningful social change shared by many in this country.

We invite as guests people who not only have something to say but can express their thoughts in an articulate, knowledgeable, and interesting manner. It is also important to create programs that are entertaining as well as enlightening and for this reason we incorporate wherever feasible music, poetry, dramatic readings, and news analysis.

The topics dealt with by Voices of Dissent include women's liberation, Black liberation, ecology, the antiwar movement, international crises (Bangla Desh, Northern Ireland, Middle East, etc.), socialism, civil liberties, poverty and unemployment, welfare rights, and political campaigns. The staff of Voices of Dissent has contact with both national and international movements for social change. Many young people and many well-known activists, artists, and intellectuals live in Boston, a center of political, academic, and cultural activity. It is, therefore, a good location from which to originate a program such as Voices of Dissent.

Each week Voices of Dissent focuses on a specific topic and features a talk or an interview with a guest who is known for his or her expertise on that subject. Rather than haphazardly approaching a whole series of topics in a short space of time, our format allows a thorough examination of one subject.

Voices of Dissent is especially suitable for areas of the country where there are college communities somewhat isolated from urban centers whose inhabitants would not otherwise have the opportunity to hear some of our guests. Many listeners in the Boston area have commented on the fact that our program presents information that is simply unavailable on any other radio station.

Following are some of the guests that have appeared on Voices of Dissent: Myrna Lamb, feminist playwright, author of "The Mod Donna," whose play "Scyklon Z" premiered in dramatic reading on Voices of Dissent; Professor Noam Chomsky, international authority on linguistics and author of The New Mandarins; Bernadette Devlin, leader of the

The creator and moderator of Voices of Dissent, Dr. Jerry Keene, is well qualified for his role. He has been active in the field of health for a number of years and has spoken on the topic of socialized medicine and the drug industry at universities and churches in the New England area. He is currently lecturing on "Ecological Problems in Modern Capitalist Society." Active in the civil rights movement, he participated in both the sit-ins and the freedom rides and has been involved in the peace movement since the early '60s. He was a coordinator of the Boston-area Veterans for Peace in Vietnam and has been active in the Greater Boston Peace Action Coalition. He has traveled extensively in the Far East, Europe, and Latin America where he has obtained first-hand information concerning the movements for social justice in the countries he has visited. He is currently the director of the Militant Labor Forum of Boston. Because of his activities in the antiwar, civil rights and socialist movements, Jerry Keene has the contacts and the knowledge to present consistently stimulating, controversial, enlightening programming.

1. Conversation with Tomas MacGiolla, President of Sinn Fein, the political arm of the Irish Republican Army. Title: "Crisis in Northern Ireland."

2. "Apartheid in South Africa." Interview with I. B. Tabata, President of the Unity Movement of South Africa, and South African freedom songs.

3. "Polaroid Revolutionary Workers Movement." Interview with Ken Williams and Caroline Hunter, leaders of the movement, and excerpts from speech by Malcolm X.

4. a. "History of American Protest Music, Part I." Historical Survey of American Protest Movement expressed in musical form up to the time of the twentieth century.

b. "History of American Protest Music, Part II." Covers the historical period following the turn of the century up until the present time.

5. "Anais Nin on Women's Liberation." A talk by the noted novelist, psychoanalyst, and diarist, including subsequent question and answer period.

6. "Roots of Rock Music." A sociological analysis of the origins of rock music by rock musicologist Bob Gebhart.

7. "Is the U. S. Facing an Economic Crisis?" Discussion with David Deitch, editorial columnist of the Boston Globe, and George Basley, socialist lecturer on economic affairs.

8. "Should Abortion Laws Be Repealed?" Debate between Dr. Barbara Roberts of the Women's National Abortion

Action Coalition and Dr. Lillian Jefferson of the Value of Life Committee.

9. "The Red Power Movement," Interview with Rayleen Bay, secretary of the Boston Indian Council, coordinator of the National Day of Mourning which was the Indian activists response to Thanksgiving Day, highlighted by demonstration at Plymouth Rock.

