

14 Charles Lane  
New York, New York 10014

June 1, 1974

TO ALL ORGANIZERS AND CAMPAIGN DIRECTORS

Dear Comrades,

Enclosed is a pamphlet published by the Socialist Workers 1974 National Campaign Committee, "The Socialist Program to Fight Inflation." It is valuable as a popular explanation of our program to fight inflation, and local campaign committees may want to consider a special campaign to get it out as widely as possible.

For example, the New York campaign is planning a citywide day of activities on June 15 to kick off their summer campaign effort. This will include 6-10 street rallies (where the speakers will focus on inflation) with banners and literature tables, and special emphasis will be placed on hawking the inflation pamphlet.

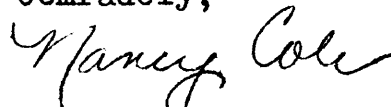
In addition, the pamphlet can be included in mailings to unions requesting time for our candidates to speak before their membership meetings, and it can be sold at union meetings and plant gates.

The National Education Department is suggesting it as a supplementary reading for the socialist summer school classes on the labor movement. Since this was not included on the original list of suggested readings, campaign directors may want to point this out to summer school directors and local bookstores.

Space has been allowed on the cover and second page for local information to be stamped. In some states this may be required to comply with state campaign finance laws.

The cost for orders of 10 or more is 10¢ each, and all orders must be prepaid.

Comradely,



Nancy Cole  
National Campaign Office

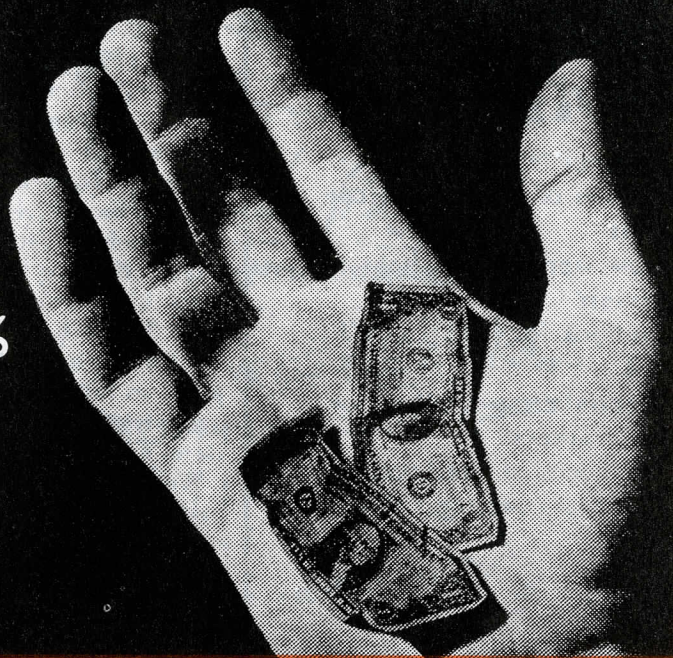
# the rising cost of living...

last year~

- your buying power was cut 4.5%
- food prices soared 20%

while~

- profits hit an all-time high of 70.5 billion



# SOCIALIST PROGRAM TO FIGHT INFLATION

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Socialist Workers Campaign Committee 25¢

# Introduction

By *DEBBY BUSTIN and MACEO DIXON*

This spring we toured the country speaking about the socialist alternative to the Democratic and Republican parties and campaigning in support of the 1974 Socialist Workers Party candidates. We also gathered support for the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance civil liberties lawsuit against the Nixon administration. This suit, publicized and financed by the Political Rights Defense Fund, aims to halt the government's Water-gate-style attacks against our candidates and supporters.

We found a central cause of concern and anger to be inflation and rising unemployment. This is particularly true for Blacks, Chicanos, and women who are the last hired, first fired, and lowest paid.

The four articles reprinted here are from the socialist newsweekly, *The Militant*. They present an effective program to fight back, and help expose the myths perpetrated by capitalist politicians and economists, and unfortunately often echoed by union officials, about the cause of inflation.

Socialist Workers Party candidates in the 1974 elections are presenting

this program in more than 100 campaigns in 15 states and the District of Columbia. They are also actively supporting the actions working people are taking in defense of their standard of living by publicizing and building support for them and by marching on the picket lines. The Democrats and Republicans, as always, are to be found on the side of the bosses.

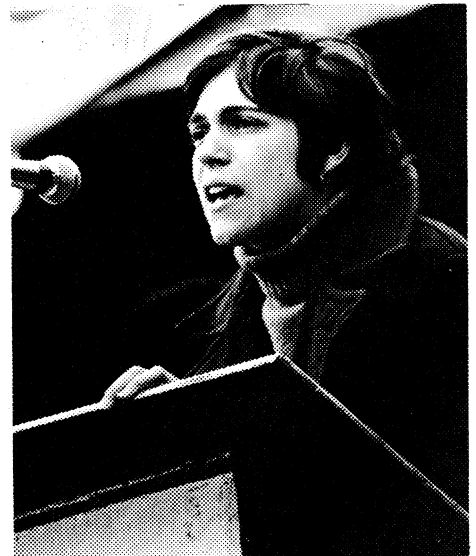
Many workers are taking to the picket lines in an attempt to defend their standard of living, in some cases demonstrating the potential massive power of united labor action.

That power is needed in the field of political action. Workers need their own party, a labor party, that would fight for their needs on the political level. It doesn't make sense to fight the bosses and politicians on the picket lines and then turn around and support them at the polls.

We hope you will join with us, the SWP candidates and their supporters, in fighting for the perspective laid out in this pamphlet, and in the fight for a socialist America, where the economy will be democratically planned and run for the benefit of all instead of the profit of the few.

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Brian Shannon

Maceo Dixon, a leader of the fight against police brutality in Detroit, and Debby Bustin, included on Nixon's 'enemies list' because of her antiwar activities, cochair the Socialist Workers 1974 National Campaign Committee.

May, 1974

Socialist Workers 1974 National Campaign Committee, P.O. Box 482, New York, N.Y. 10011.

# Results of wage-price controls

From *The Militant*, March 1.

By ANDY ROSE

After two-and-a-half years of promising to hold prices down, the Nixon administration has finally admitted that its "price controls" are a fake.

"I don't think we know how to restrain inflation," said John Dunlop, head of the federal Cost of Living Council, which is supposedly in charge of doing just that.

Nixon's chief economist, Herbert Stein, commented, "We know that the controls won't stop the inflation."

Of course, this was hardly an earth-shaking revelation to anyone who has tried to buy food or other necessities in recent months.

## Phase 5 unveiled

The unveiling of Phase 5 was the occasion for these unusually candid statements. The administration portrays Phase 5 as essentially a Phase Out.

Dunlop and Treasury Secretary George Shultz laid out the following proposals for Phase 5 to a Senate subcommittee on Feb. 6:

- All mandatory controls would be lifted except for health care, petroleum products, and possibly a handful of other industries.

- The Economic Stabilization Act, the law giving the president authority to impose mandatory controls, would be allowed to expire April 30.

- The Cost of Living Council would continue as a "watchdog" agency to gather information, hold public hearings on wage or price hikes it considers excessive, and "work with" labor and business in collective bargaining.

There has been some quibbling over the exact details among Democratic and Republican politicians, economists, and businessmen. Nearly 100 new wage-price bills have been introduced in Congress in recent months, many designed to maintain standby authority to impose mandatory controls.

But there is basic agreement in the ruling circles on the broad outlines of Nixon's plan to lift controls.

The AFL-CIO leadership opposes



"It says here the full impact won't be felt till next month."

any extension of the Economic Stabilization Act, although they originally approved of its passage and still endorse the idea of "wage-price" controls — provided the controls are "fair."

Will Phase 5 be any better for working people than Phases 1, 2, 3, and 4? Not by a long shot.

Virtually all economists agree that in the months ahead prices will shoot up even faster than before. In January the wholesale price index measured by the Department of Labor jumped 3.1 percent.

In the last three months this index has risen at the staggering annual rate of 32.3 percent, by far the highest on record. These skyrocketing wholesale prices will soon hit consumers at the retail level.

This impending wave of inflation was probably one consideration in abandoning the sham "price controls," because the government's already battered credibility could only suffer further blows if it pretended to be control-

ling prices in the midst of the worst inflation in decades.

The worst news will again be food prices. According to the government's own predictions, notoriously optimistic in the past, supermarket food prices may well rise 16 percent this year — as much as in 1973.

The devastating effect of last year's food price inflation has already shown up in Department of Agriculture statistics on food consumption. These reveal that *the average American ate 1.5 percent less food last year than in 1972* — and 6 percent less red meat.

These figures directly contradict the arrogant claims by administration spokesmen last year that meat prices were climbing because people had become so "affluent" and were eating more meat.

## Cover-up

All the moaning about how price controls have turned out to be a failure is a cover-up pure and simple.

Nixon and his advisers knew from the beginning that prices could not be controlled, and they never had any intention of doing so.

Their real aim was quite different.

## Real record of wages, prices

Here is the real record of Nixon's "Wage-price" controls:

### PRICES UP

Consumer Price Index annual rate of increase:	
Phase 1 "freeze" (Aug.-Nov. 1971)	1.9%
Phase 2 (Nov. 1971-Jan. 1973)	3.6
Phase 3 (Jan.-June 1973)	8.3
"Freeze 2" and Phase 4 (June-Dec. 1973)	9.6

### PROFITS UP

Total before-tax corporate profits:	
1971	\$85.4-billion
1972	98.0-billion
1973	126.5-billion

### WAGE SETTLEMENTS DOWN

Average first-year wage increases in contracts covering 1,000 workers or more:	
1971	11.6%
1972	7.3
1973	5.8

### REAL WAGES DOWN

Spendable average weekly earnings of a worker with three dependents, measured in 1967 dollars:	
1971	\$92.43
1972	96.40
1973-Jan.	95.25
1974-Feb	91.72

Note: In 1965 this figure was \$91.32. It scarcely rose from then until the 1972 boom, then began to fall in November 1972 and has fallen rapidly in recent months. Thus American workers have had virtually no real wage gain in almost 10 years.

They intended to make the working class pay the costs of improving U. S. capitalism's competitive position on the world market, which was increasingly challenged by Japanese and West European capitalism with their far lower labor costs.

To carry out this assault on the workers' standard of living, the power of the federal government was to be used to hold wages down. Phony "price controls" were merely the sugar coating on the very real wage controls Nixon hoped to shove down the throats of American workers.

The real objectives of Nixon's "New Economic Policy," proclaimed on Aug. 15, 1971, have been met rather successfully: real wages are going down; profits are booming; and the U. S. monopolies have strengthened their position in relation to their competitors.

### Union policy

Why have the government and big business succeeded in rolling back real wages without provoking more resistance?

There is no question that most workers are angry about the fall in their standard of living and would be willing to fight to change this.

But the union leaders, despite a few militant-sounding declarations, have spared no effort to stifle and divert this anger. At every step they have avoided fighting for wage increases that would keep up with inflation, since this would necessarily mean a fight against the government wage controls.

Such a struggle is inconceivable to the union bureaucrats because they are firmly tied to the coattails of the Democratic and Republican parties, both of which support the wage control policies and demand adherence to them.

The union misleaders have even lent their authority to the wage controls by sitting on antilabor government boards like the "Labor Management Advisory Committee" to the Cost of Living Council.

Cooperation with the controls has meant stabbing in the back those militant workers who try to defend themselves by striking for higher wages—such as the hospital workers in New York City and the carpenters in Northern California.

In both of those strikes last fall,

top union officials were sitting on the committees that decreed cuts in previously won wage increases.

### Precedent set

If wage controls are in fact allowed to lapse this spring, it will be because the ruling class hopes that with the cooperation of the union bureaucrats, real wages can be held down without mandatory controls.

Direct controls have certain liabilities for the ruling class. They expose to the workers the antilabor role of

the government, and hold the danger that wage disputes can escalate into head-on confrontations between the unions and the capitalist state.

All sorts of less direct government pressure will be exerted on wages. Arbitration schemes will be pushed, with the no-strike pact signed by I. W. Abel of the Steelworkers union hailed as a model.

Especially useful, the government has found, is involving the union bureaucrats themselves in setting "voluntary" wage limits.

In a recent article entitled "Labor, the Sleeping Giant: Settlements Are Moderate, But Prices and Profits Are Almost Embarrassing," *New York Times* labor writer A. H. Raskin explained what the ruling class is looking for.

He wrote, "Indications are strong that the first half of 1974 will see an increase of only 2 or 3 per cent in the 5.8 per cent level of pay settlements negotiated last year." That, of course, would still be far below price rises, and would leave real wages still falling.

At the same time, the precedent of direct government action to hold down wages has been established, thanks to the capitulation of the union leaders.

If the unions threaten to get out of line this precedent will be invoked. And if it becomes necessary, Congress can pass new mandatory wage-control legislation in a matter of hours, just as efficiently as they have passed special strike-breaking laws in the past.

The giant is not really sleeping, though—it has been drugged and tied down by an incompetent leadership. And as more workers become conscious of this fact, the giant is liable to wake up abruptly and trample over the best-laid plans of both the capitalist rulers and the union bureaucrats.

# How workers can fight inflation

From *The Militant*, March 8.

By **ANDY ROSE**

How can working people protect their standard of living against the ravages of inflation? This has become one of the most urgent questions of the day.

The Labor Department's Consumer Price Index jumped 1.3 percent in February, for an annual rate of 15.6 percent.

In the same month, real take-home pay for production workers (after deducting taxes and inflation) declined by 0.6 percent.

Compared to one year ago, the February figures showed prices up 10 percent and real wages down 4.5 percent.

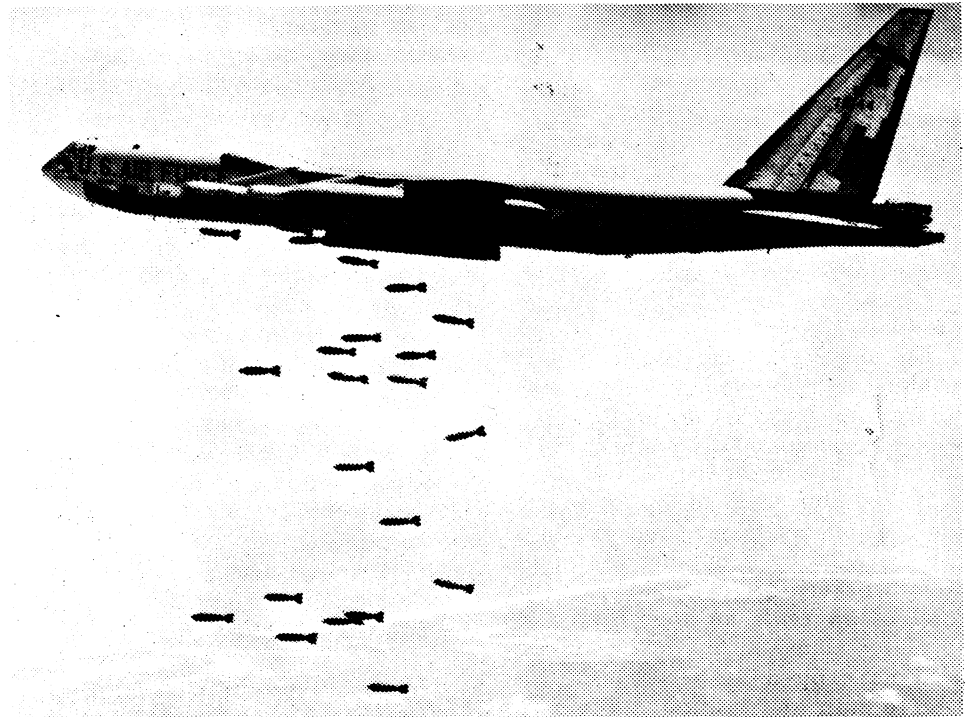
## Why prices keep rising

When Nixon imposed mandatory wage controls, beginning with the wage freeze of Aug. 15, 1971, his main rationale was that wage increases were the driving force behind inflation.

In light of the obvious fact that wages have not nearly kept up with prices, that argument is rarely stated openly these days.

Instead we are told that a variety of mysterious and unforeseen circumstances — bad weather, the Soviet wheat deal, inflation in other countries, and even the price controls themselves — are responsible.

The truth is that inflation in the U.S. today is primarily caused by the government's deficit spending, most notably



Government war spending is primary cause of inflation.

ably war spending.

In fiscal 1975, for example, war spending will total more than \$100-billion, and the federal deficit may easily reach \$20-billion.

The government borrows money to make up the difference between what it spends and what it collects in taxes.

When this money is pumped into the economy without a corresponding production of goods for sale on the market, the result is inflation.

Take one example from the 1975 budget. More than \$2-billion will be spent for work on the Trident nuclear missile submarine, providing vast profits for the giant war contractors such as Lockheed, which is building the missile. Some of the money will be paid out as wages for workers who build the Trident.

But since the Trident will not be put up for sale on the market and if the \$2-billion is not taken back out of the economy in taxes, the expenditure will create "surplus" purchasing power.

With purchasing power expanding more rapidly than real production for the market, the monopolies jack up

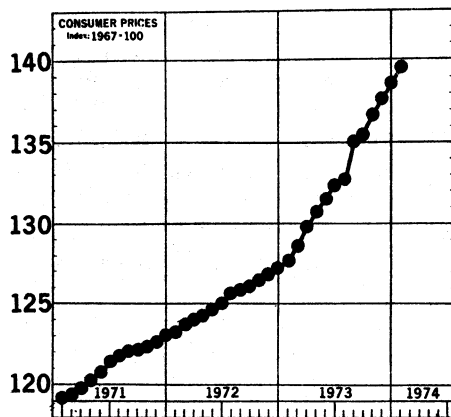
their prices and reap spectacular profits.

Such artificial expansion of purchasing power through deficit spending is consciously practiced by the government to try to soften the effects of the business cycle and to avoid another depression like that of the 1930s.

The consequent perpetual inflation that erodes real wages is a means of making the working class bear the burden of the contradictions and crises of the outmoded capitalist system.

Nixon—despite his alleged "conservative philosophy" that calls for balanced budgets—has racked up the greatest budget deficits in U.S. history. The third largest expenditure in his 1975 budget is a staggering \$29-billion for interest payments on this national debt. This money goes straight from our tax payments to the big banks and other financial institutions.

Nixon as much as admits that these deficits are the underlying cause of inflation when he argues for cutting back on already inadequate social programs on the grounds that high gov-



Consumer Price Index jumped another 1 percent in January while real wages declined.

ernment spending is inflationary. The main culprit—the bloated military budget—of course goes untouched.

Such policies mean that inflation is inevitable. Any government promises to hold down prices are a fake and a fraud.

A strategy for fighting inflation that relies on the government to control or roll back prices is doomed from the start. The fight should instead be based on mobilizing the strength of the trade unions to counteract the effects of inflation.

### Escalator clause

The key demand for protection against inflation is the *sliding scale of wages*—that is, the provision that wages rise automatically to fully match each increase in the cost of living.

The sliding scale of wages is partially embodied in the wage escalator clauses won by a number of unions. Auto workers, for example, gained a total of 35 cents an hour from their escalator clause in the three-year contract that expired last September.

More than four million workers are now covered by escalator clauses, twice the number covered in the mid-1960s. This increase testifies to the widespread rank-and-file recognition of the value of this demand, and pressure for its adoption by their unions.

But the vast majority of workers have no cost-of-living protection at all, and the existing escalator clauses have many inadequacies.

For example, the federal Bureau of Labor Statistics reports that the wages of three million workers are scheduled for cost-of-living reviews during 1974. Of these, nearly one million are reviewed only annually, 93,000 are reviewed semiannually, and 1.9 million are reviewed quarterly.

Thus all these workers will *already* have been paying higher prices for at least several months—for many, more than a year—before receiving any cost-of-living wage increase.

### Price-watch committees

Another weakness of existing escalator clauses is that they are tied to the government's Consumer Price Index, which significantly understates the real extent of inflation.

Unions in each city, together with consumer groups, could organize price-watch committees and develop

their own reliable price index based on what workers are really paying for goods and services.

Wages should then be raised frequently to fully compensate for any price hikes. A fight to strengthen escalator clauses along these lines and extend them to *all* wages, pensions, Social Security, and unemployment benefits is the best way to fight inflation.

Then the unions would be free to focus their collective bargaining demands on *real* wage increases instead of always facing an uphill battle just to make up losses from past inflation.

The struggle for full escalator-clause protection against inflation should also be linked to the demand for shortening the workweek with no reduction in pay to make jobs available for all.

Some voices of big business have

inflation in their own right, worsening the malady they are intended to cure."

### Where Meany stands

The unions should not give the slightest credibility to such lies. An effective strategy for fighting inflation should include education on the real cause of inflation that vigorously exposes the myth that wages are responsible. It should also include opposition to any government attempts to limit the unions' freedom to bargain and to strike for wage gains.

But the AFL-CIO hierarchy, headed by George Meany, maintains a discreet silence on the reason for rising prices.

One reason is that these proimperialist labor bureaucrats give wholehearted support to Washington's efforts to police the world—like the Vietnam war—



Bruce Bloy

Socialist banner at Chicago demonstration last September against high prices and unemployment.

noted with alarm the rising popularity of escalator clauses and are beginning to argue against them.

In a Feb. 7 editorial, the *New York Times* warned: "This [inflationary] squeeze is sure to heighten rank-and-file demands this year for bigger immediate wage boosts or for universal adoption of the escalator clauses that now insure one-quarter of the unionized work force against the impact of inflation."

The *Times* editors went on to make the following transparently false claim: "The trouble with all such cushions is that they quickly become engines of

and the consequent massive military expenditures. From this stance they are neither willing nor able to explain the inflationary role of war spending and rally the unions to oppose it.

Instead Meany has exhorted the government to "fairly" control prices and wages. He accepts the bosses' argument that workers must sacrifice for the "fight against inflation," and asks only that there be an "equality of sacrifice" by workers and the corporation owners. Such statements miseducate the working class and lend credence to Nixon's vicious wage-cutting schemes.

# Outlook for labor mov't in '74

From *The Militant*, March 22  
By ANDY ROSE

With most wage controls expected to end this spring, will the trade-union leaderships now launch a fight for cost-of-living escalator clauses and the substantial wage increases needed to offset inflation?

Looking only at contracts covering 1,000 workers or more, collective bargaining in 1974 will affect 5.2 million workers. Some of the key negotiations will be in steel, construction, communications, electrical machinery, aerospace, longshore, railroad, and mining.

"I expect no explosion of wage demands," said AFL-CIO President Meany on Feb. 18, at the beginning of the midwinter AFL-CIO executive council meeting in Bal Harbour, Fla.

Just a few days later he struck a more aggressive pose, saying that workers would need 10 percent wage increases to keep up with inflation. Then the January Consumer Price Index was announced, and Meany hastily amended 10 percent to 12 percent. This figure was also included in an executive council statement on the economy.

A different picture was presented by two *Wall Street Journal* reporters after

behind-the-scenes discussions with the bureaucrats at Bal Harbour.

They wrote that "energy-related job fears could slow the basic drive for high wages or cool workers' ardor for striking."

They continued, "Some union leaders here agree. 'If there wasn't any energy crisis,' confides one industrial union bargainer, 'we'd be off to the races' in seeking sharply higher wages."

Indicating such a trend toward acceptance of low wage gains, the *Journal* reporters note, is that some unions have "displayed unwonted caution or moderation in early-1974 contract settlements." Specifically they cite a three-year contract signed by the Operating Engineers Union in Southern California "with modest 6% annual pay raises."

Even more significant were the new 40-month agreements reached in early February between the United Steelworkers and the three major aluminum companies. The wage settlements average only 4.2 percent a year, and although the union's wage-escalator clause was improved, it is not likely that these workers' wages will keep abreast of skyrocketing prices.

The Steelworkers signed essentially

the same terms later in February with the major can companies, and USWA President I.W. Abel has said he expects the aluminum and can settlements to set the model for the contract in basic steel.

Thus it seems that Meany's much-ballyhooed call for 12 percent raises is more a sop to rank-and-file anger about inflation than a serious declaration of bargaining intentions.

With workers suffering ever-worsening hardships from rising prices, layoffs, and the fuel shortage, pressure for action is building up inside the unions.

But the last thing the union officials want is to mobilize the power of the unions in a fight for higher wages and adequate cost-of-living protection. They pride themselves on being "statesmen of labor" whose appointed task is to cool such "hotheaded" ideas and take judicious account of the corporations' needs—not to lead the ranks in struggle.

The bureaucrats will use several stratagems to try to undercut the drive for higher wages.

As the *Wall Street Journal* article cited above pointed out, the threat of unemployment is a key weapon for dampening wage demands. Government figures admit that 4.7 million people are out of work, and joblessness is rising with energy-related layoffs and the general economic downturn.

Workers are told that their jobs are so precarious they can't risk a strike; that if they demand too much they may just get laid off; and that even a poor wage deal is better than the unemployment lines.

This is a prime example of the narrow, self-defeating outlook fostered by the trade-union bureaucrats. They accept this pitting of workers against each other for jobs—aiming only to maintain the position of one small group of workers or one particular trade instead of defending the needs of the working class as a whole.

The worst instance of this is the union bureaucracy's acceptance of

## Poll shows workers 'disillusioned'

Mounting anger over inflation and government corruption have produced a mood of "dangerous disenchantment and disillusionment" among union members.

That was the conclusion reached by leaders of the 900,000-member International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers after a poll of the union's ranks.

The poll showed 71.2 percent were opposed to extending the "wage-price" controls; 60.6 percent believed the controls had held down wages but not prices.

Nearly 63 percent did not think the government was handling the fuel shortage fairly. One out of five re-

ported layoffs in their shops as a result of oil or power shortages.

The machinists' dissatisfaction is not limited to the economy. Forty-nine percent would like to see Nixon resign, and 23.2 percent favor his impeachment.

Machinists President Floyd Smith commented, "Never before have I known machinists and mechanics to be so distrustful of so many leaders of our government in both the executive and legislative branches.

"They are becoming convinced that their government is rigged for the benefit of the big corporations and the richest families," Smith said.



racist and sexist discrimination. The misleaders do not in practice challenge the lower wages and higher unemployment of Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican, and women workers, but instead attempt to preserve better paying jobs and entire trades as white job trusts. Such practices only divide and weaken the labor movement.

Instead the unions should champion the demands of women and the oppressed nationalities, including the call for preferential hiring to make up for past discrimination.

Accepting lower real wages in order to "preserve jobs" is a formula for disaster. Why should anyone have to choose between a poorly paid job and no job at all?

What socialists counterpose to this vicious dilemma is the *sliding scale of hours*. This is the concept that the length of the workweek should be reduced—with no loss in pay—to spread the available work to all who need jobs.

To this day the United Auto Workers Union is formally on record for the demand of 30 hours work for 40 hours pay. Even though more than 100,000 auto workers have been laid off indefinitely in the last few months, the UAW leadership has done nothing to begin a fight for this demand.

Instead the UAW leaders have patted themselves on the back for their "Supplementary Unemployment Benefits" (which cover only about half of the auto workers laid off), and called for minor improvements in government benefits.

To be sure, the present inadequate unemployment compensation should be increased to the level of full union wages and should be extended to all those out of work. But unemployment benefits are no substitute for a more rational and equitable distribution of available work to provide jobs for all.

Another aspect of the fight against unemployment is the demand that the government provide thousands of jobs at union wages for useful public works such as building schools, housing, hospitals, and mass transportation systems. Such programs could easily be paid for by eliminating the \$100-billion war budget.

The union bureaucracy's narrow outlook is also clear in their disregard for the unorganized four-fifths

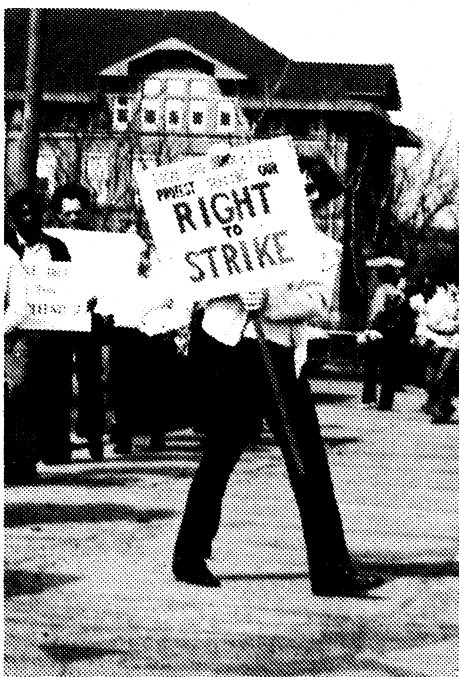
of the work force. The lower wages and poorer conditions of nonunion workers exert a constant downward pressure on those of union members as well.

A serious labor drive against inflation and unemployment is inconceivable without a campaign to organize the unorganized.

## Union Democracy

Another weapon of the union bureaucracy in stifling demands for higher wages is the elevation of union policy-making further and further from any democratic control by the ranks.

Negotiations are shrouded in secrecy—mainly to keep the union rank and



Bob Kissinger

Rank-and-file steelworkers protest no-strike pact signed by union bureaucrats.

file in the dark. In many unions today the members not only have no say in formulating contract demands but cannot even vote on the final settlement.

Union militants who press for adoption of policies that would meet the workers' needs quickly find they must also challenge the lack of democracy within the union, and include rank-and-file control as a point in their program.

The present union leadership's in-

ability to defend the workers' interests in all the ways outlined above is inseparable from its reliance on the capitalist political parties.

The case of the wage controls illustrates this. To this day, the congressional Democrats are among the strongest advocates of legislating stand-by wage control authority for Nixon.

The Feb. 23 *Business Week* observed: "Labor, however, will not engage in open warfare with Congressional Democrats who favor retention of controls authority."

*Business Week* quoted an AFL-CIO official on the likelihood that the Democrats would pass continued wage-control authority: "They want to do it and they have the votes, it's as simple as that."

And this is the result of decades of efforts to elect "friends of labor" from the Democratic and Republican parties!

Yet the central campaign called for by the latest AFL-CIO executive council meeting is "Elect a Veto-Proof Congress."

Allegiance to the capitalist parties hamstring the unions not only on wage and job questions. It also leads to the union leadership echoing the racist, sexist, and proimperialist ideology and practice of the capitalist politicians.

A vital step for turning this around will be for the unions to break with capitalist politics to form an independent political party of labor. Such a party could represent the interests of the working people in the political arena, in opposition to both parties of big business.

Working people this year face stepped-up assaults by the government and employers. The outlook depends on the militancy and determination of rank-and-file workers, and on the quality of leadership that is developed.

The proposals sketched above are being advanced by *The Militant*, the Socialist Workers Party candidates, and socialist workers on the job as a program to meet these attacks.

It is around such a program that a class-struggle left wing will be assembled in the unions that can begin to transform them into instruments of struggle for the interests of all workers.

# Labor delegates hear socialist

## 'Republicrats don't speak for workers'

From *The Militant*, April 19.

The following is a slightly abridged transcript of remarks made by Ed Heisler, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate from Illinois, before the March 27 meeting of the Twin Cities Labor Federation (Champaign-Urbana, Ill.).

Heisler was invited to address the federation along with his Democratic opponent Adlai Stevenson III. Stevenson said he would "try" to speak before the council sometime during his campaign. The federation is composed of one delegate from each of the AFL-CIO affiliates in Champaign County.

Heisler is a railroad worker, and was a leader of the Right to Vote Committee in the United Transportation

Union. The committee was a rank-and-file movement that fought for the right of union members to vote on contracts.

After Heisler's initial remarks are questions from the delegates and his answers, with omissions for space reasons.

The employers have declared war on the living standards of the American working class. They are trying to reduce our living standards, and the ruling rich are making headway in their antilabor drive.

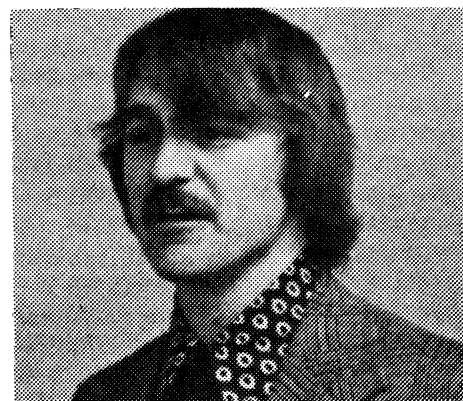
We have the potential economic and political power to defeat that attack, but our hands have been tied behind our backs. How? The present union leadership has relied on the Democratic and Republican party politicians to solve our problems.

But the problems of workers can only be solved by workers. Since the Democratic and Republican parties are fundamentally controlled by big business interests we can't rely on them for anything. They are part of the problem, not the solution.

Now I know my opponent Adlai Stevenson and other Democrats claim to be very dear "friends" of the labor movement. Is that why Stevenson and our other "friends" voted in favor of legislation permitting Nixon to hold down the wages of working people by setting up the wage control board? Yes, Stevenson certainly is a great "friend" of ours. That's why he proposed a few years ago enacting legislation that would prohibit strikes by me and my co-workers in the railroad industry.

Well, let me tell you something, he's no "friend" of mine! In fact, I jotted his name down on my labor "enemies list."

Tell me, brothers and sisters, if Adlai Stevenson is such a "friend" of ours why didn't he utter a word in support of the striking truckers last month? Did he lose his voice from giving so many pro-labor speeches during this election, or was he too tired or per-



Cassandra Dowden

Ed Heisler, a railroad worker, is Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate from Illinois.

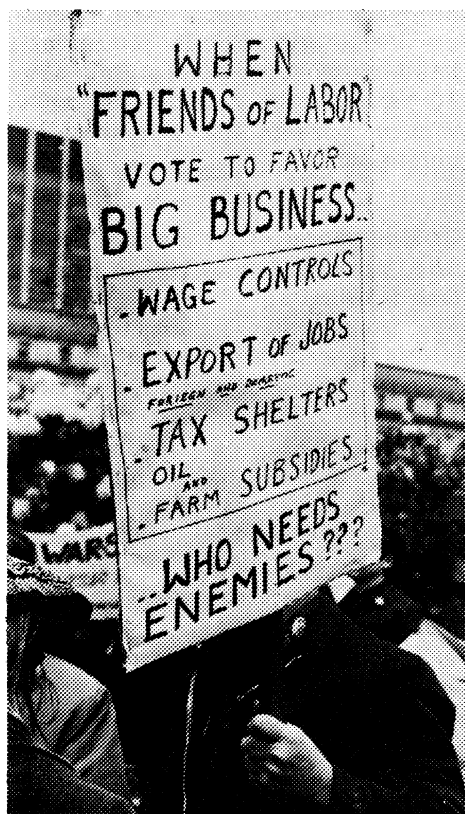
haps too busy to concern himself with the problems of truckers, or was he perhaps against their strike? I think he was against that strike.

The mass media, which is owned and controlled by big business, carried on a hysterical campaign against that strike. The radio-TV stations and the daily press ran editorial after editorial denouncing the truckers as a bunch of crazy, bloodthirsty goons bent on violence who had to be crushed. What "friend of labor" in Congress defended and supported their strike?

### No voice of workers

I'll tell you who. No one! Not one of "labor's friends" spoke up in Congress in defense of the drivers and their demands, because labor has no voice in Congress. Not any true voice. No, the truckers did not have a single voice in Congress to speak out loud and clear for them, nor do any working people in this country.

As I said earlier, the labor movement has tremendous economic and political power, but it has been contained by labor's coalition with the Democratic Party. Labor can and must break those chains by organizing a new political party based on the trade unions.



Howard Petrick

'Democrats and Republicans are really one party—they should call themselves the Republicrats.'

Labor's candidates for office wouldn't lie like the Democratic and Republican party candidates by claiming to represent all of the people. The Democrats and Republicans don't represent all of the people or even a majority of the people. They represent a tiny minority — the employers.

### Not 'all the people'

The candidates of a labor party would say, "We will not and cannot represent all of the people; that is impossible. But we will represent, fight for, and promote the interests of the immense majority of people—the working class and our allies." A labor party would champion the cause of all the oppressed.

The formation of a labor party would represent a giant step in the direction of forming a government that is really of, by, and for the people, a workers government.

But we need to do something else also. As victims of this profit system, we must take control of the econ-

omy. Look at the phony energy crisis. It has been contrived by the oil trusts in order to increase their profits and control over the market at our expense.

Let's find out the true facts about this alleged shortage. The labor movement should demand that the oil companies open their books to inspection by representatives of unions, community organizations, and ecology groups. No business secrets!

We should also demand that the oil trusts be nationalized. I'm not talking about nationalizing them and placing them under the control of Richard Nixon. The oil trusts control Nixon! They should be nationalized and placed under the direct management and control of oil industry workers.

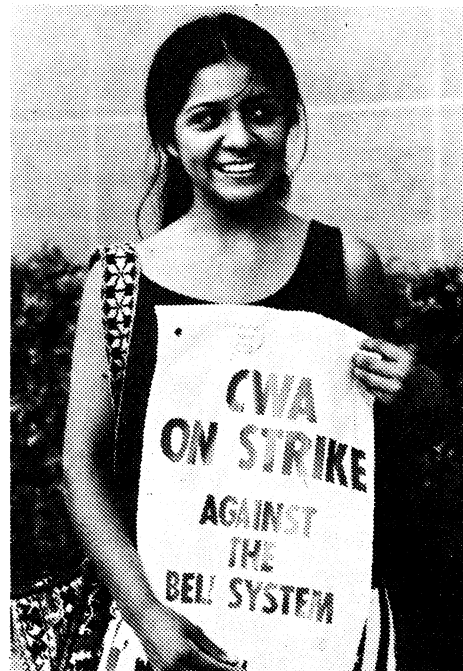
To hell with the oil trusts! We don't need them. They stand in the way of economic and social progress and so do all of the profit-hungry corporations in this country. Nationalize all of them! Let's run and plan the economy for the benefit of the people rather than a handful of millionaires.

This year the Socialist Workers Party will be conducting the biggest socialist election campaign in Illinois in many years. During the recent truckers' strike one of the striking drivers said, "We have the power to shut this country down." Our message to the workers of Illinois and the other states where we are fielding candidates is: You have the power to shut it down, and you have the power to take it over.

**Question:** What do you mean by socialism, since this has developed a bad stigma?

**Answer:** By socialism I mean majority rule. We believe the minority rule of big business interests should be replaced by the majority rule of the workers. That would mean real democracy in this country, and that's what we socialists stand for.

**Q:** Since the organized labor movement only includes about 20 million out of 87 million workers, how can the unions represent the majority of working people?



Walter Lippmann

Organization of women workers would increase both economic and political strength of labor movement.

**A:** The labor movement must organize the 67 million workers who are not yet unionized. The biggest example of this neglect on the part of labor has been working women. Only about 10 percent of the more than 30 million women workers are organized into unions.

**Q:** How many of the married women who work are working to support their families?

**A:** I don't have any exact statistics, but I think it is the great majority. Because of the tremendous inflation more and more married women are working in order to put meat on the table. I know a number of married men on the railroad whose wives have had to find work in order to keep up house payments, car payments, and other living expenses.

**Q:** I wonder if the answer to our problems is organizing the married women who work or improving the wage scale of men.

**A:** The successful organization of working women would be a big boost to men who work for a living. The employers have utilized the low wages

## The government's 'anti-inflation' program

'You might try something I've tried recently: eat a little less'—John McLane, deputy director, Cost of Living Council

## And the socialist alternative:

**INFLATION: WHAT CAUSES IT, HOW TO FIGHT IT** by Linda Jenness, Dick Roberts, 24 pp., \$.25

**ISSUES FACING THE LABOR MOVEMENT IN THE 1970s** edited by Paul Davidson, 32 pp., \$.60

**THE WAGE-PRICE FREEZE SWINDLE** by Les Evans, Linda Jenness, 24 pp., \$.35.

Order from: Pathfinder Press, Inc. 410 West St., New York, N. Y. 10014

paid to women as a tool to also keep the wages of men down.

You know the employers have always tried to divide the working class, men against women, young against old, and white against Black. The labor movement should champion the cause of all people who are put down in this society, such as Blacks, Latins, women, and the students.

**Q:** Assuming that it would take some time to organize a labor party, what could an isolated individual outside the Democratic Party do in Congress?

**A:** I think a labor party would elect many representatives to Congress, not just one or two individuals. It could become the majority party very quickly because it would speak for the immense majority of people in this country.

The Democrats and Republicans might merge into one party. They could call themselves the Republicrats. They are basically one party now, but that would make it official. I think the idea of forming a labor party will be discussed by many trade unionists in the next few years as it becomes clearer that we have basically a one-party system, since the Democrats and Republicans represent the same corporate interests.

**Q:** Are you familiar with this paper, AFL-CIO News?

**A:** Of course.

**Q:** Well, bull to the fact that we don't have any friends in Congress. According to COPE (Committee on Political Education of the AFL-CIO) records in this paper, Senator Henry Jackson voted against labor only once out of 120 times.

**A:** Labor party representatives in Congress wouldn't vote against labor even once! I'll tell you something. Henry Jackson didn't support the truckers' strike, and Jackson voted in favor of the wage controls and in favor of laws prohibiting railroad strikes.

Adlai Stevenson and Henry Jackson have never been in a strike or walked a picket line in their lives. In any real showdown they side with the bosses, not us. They just want our votes and money in election years.

What is Senator Jackson proposing to do about inflation, unemployment, or the oil trusts? Nothing! I think you'll see in the next few years which side Jackson and the other politicians are on. Jackson's just doing a lot of talking because he's running for president.

**Q:** It sounds like you're trying to convert us to socialism.

**A:** Yes, I am. Because it's the only way we can really solve our problems. You see, I don't think there's

a dime's worth of difference between George Wallace, George McGovern, Richard Nixon, Hubert Humphrey, Henry Jackson, or any of the politicians. Perhaps George Wallace is a bigger con man than the others, but he doesn't represent workers.

(Interruption: George Wallace hasn't done anything for the labor movement in Alabama, I'll have to agree with you on that.)

Good, I'm glad to see we do agree on something, and in the next few years I think you will agree with us socialists on many more things, like the need for the labor movement to organize its own political party.

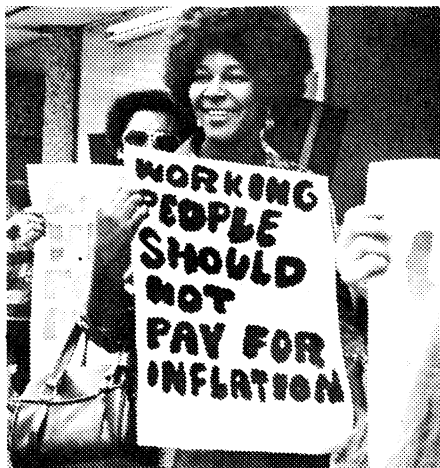
Yes, I'm for socialism, and I think that perhaps you and many other union representatives and workers will be for socialism in the future.

**Q:** It sounds to me like you're talking about Communism. I've been in the labor movement before you were born, and we've been shot at on the picket lines, and we're against Communism.

**A:** A fellow by the name of Eugene Debs was one of the greatest union organizers in our history. He helped organize the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen, led many important strikes in the railroad industry, and was one hell of a socialist. I think we can learn something from him.

(Response: I heard him speak once.)

## Socialist program for the trade unions



**FURTHER READING ON A PROGRAM OF STRUGGLE FOR THE LABOR MOVEMENT:**

**JUST PUBLISHED:**  
**CONSTRUCTION WORKERS UNDER ATTACK: HOW TO FIGHT BACK AND REBUILD THE UNIONS** by Nat Weinstein, Frank Lovell, Carol Lipman, \$3.35.

**INFLATION: WHAT CAUSES IT, HOW TO FIGHT IT** by Linda Jenness, Dick Roberts, \$2.25.

**ISSUES FACING THE LABOR MOVEMENT IN THE 1970s.** Edited by Paul

Davidson, \$6.00.

**TEAMSTER POWER** by Farrell Dobbs, 255 pp., paper \$2.95, cloth \$8.95.

**TEAMSTER REBELLION** by Farrell Dobbs, 192 pp., paper \$2.25, cloth \$6.95.

**LABOR'S GIANT STEP: TWENTY YEARS OF THE CIO** by Art Preis, 538 pp., paper \$3.95.

Order from: Pathfinder Press, Inc., 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014.

## Campaign in action

# The socialist candidates

The following are the SWP candidates announced at the date of this printing:

### CALIFORNIA

Dan Styron, U. S. Senate  
Olga Rodriguez, Governor  
Roland Sheppard, Lieutenant Governor  
Laura Moorhead, Attorney General  
Peggy Wilson, Secretary of State  
Mariana Hernandez, Superintendent of Public Instruction  
James Lewis, Comptroller  
Kenneth Davey, Treasurer  
Nat Weinstein, U. S. Congress, 5th C. D.  
Jon Olmsted, U. S. Congress, 6th C. D.  
Paul Boutelle, U. S. Congress, 8th C. D.  
Virginia Garza, U. S. Congress, 25th C. D.  
Omari Musa, U. S. Congress, 28th C. D.  
Salm Kolis, U. S. Congress, 41st C. D.  
Raul Gonzales, State Representative, 24th District  
Manuel "Tank" Barrera, Los Angeles County Sheriff

### COLORADO

Jack Marsh, U. S. Senate  
Nora Danielson, Governor  
Joel Houtman, U. S. Congress, 1st C. D.  
Joyce Tally, Board of Regents, Univ. of Colorado

### GEORGIA

Elizabeth Larisay, U. S. Senate  
Vince Eagan, Governor  
Anne Teesdale, Lieutenant Governor  
James Harris, U. S. Congress, 5th C. D.

### ILLINOIS

Ed Heisler, U. S. Senate  
Suzanne Haig, Treasurer

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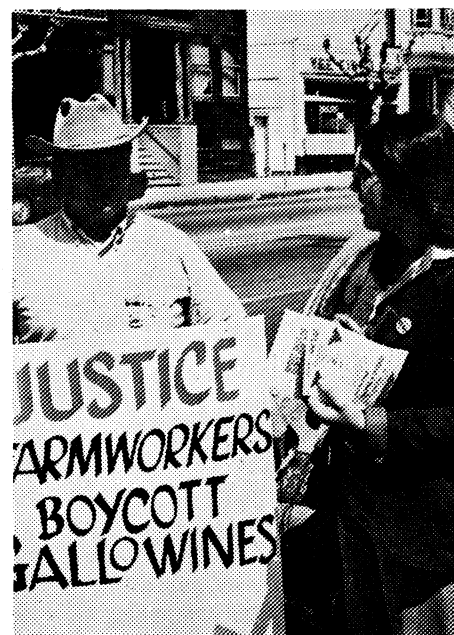
Howard Petrick

Nat Weinstein speaks at Sears strike rally in San Francisco.



Janice Lynn

Derrick Morrison at New York protest against Con Edison's price-gouging.



Olga Rodriguez marches in California Farm Workers picket line.



Nora Danielson addresses rally for defense of Denver Crusade for Justice.

Skip Ball



SWP campaign supporter at University of Minnesota child care demonstration.

Joanne Murphy



Sherry Smith confronts Houston mayor with facts of police infiltration.

Nelson Blackstock

Willie Reid, U. S. Congress, 1st C. D.  
Dennis Brasky, U. S. Congress, 9th C. D.

**INDIANA**

Harold Schlechtweg, U. S. Congress, 7th C. D.  
Greg Peterson, U. S. Congress, 11th C. D.

**MASSACHUSETTS**

Donald Gurewitz, Governor  
David Jerome, Lieutenant Governor  
Jeanne Lafferty, Attorney General  
Randi Dolph, U. S. Congress, 8th C. D.  
Jeannette Tracy Bliss, U. S. Congress, 9th C. D.

**MICHIGAN**

Robin Maisel, Governor  
Ruth Getts, Lieutenant Governor  
B. R. Washington, Attorney General  
Rachele Fruit, Secretary of State  
Lee Artz, State Board of Education  
Trudy Hawkins, State Board of Education  
Hattie McCutcheon, U. S. Congress, 1st C. D.  
Martha Pettit, U. S. Congress, 2nd C. D.  
Meg Hayes, U. S. Congress, 6th C. D.  
Judy Hagens, U. S. Congress, 13th C. D.  
Mark Severs, U. S. Congress, 14th C. D.  
Don Bechler, U. S. Congress, 16th C. D.  
Christy Wallace, U. S. Congress, 17th C. D.

**MINNESOTA**

Jane Van Deusen, Governor  
Ralph Schwartz, Lieutenant Governor  
Ed Jurenas, U. S. Congress, 5th C. D.

**MISSOURI**

Barbara Mutnick, U. S. Senate

**NEW YORK**

Rebecca Finch, U. S. Senate  
Derrick Morrison, Governor  
James Mendieta, Lieutenant Governor  
Ray Markey, Attorney General  
Sam Manuel, Controller  
Maxine Williams, U. S. Congress, 12th C. D.  
Robb Wright, U. S. Congress, 16th C. D.  
Katherine Sojourner, U. S. Congress, 18th C. D.

*Continued on next page*

Claire Moriarty, U. S. Congress, 20th C. D.

### OHIO

Philip Lazar, U. S. Senate  
Nancy Brown, Governor  
Herman Kirsch, Lieutenant Governor  
Carol Knoll, Attorney General  
Charles Mitts, U. S. Congress, 1st C. D.  
Marguerite Snyder, U. S. Congress, 21st C. D.  
Bernie Senter, U. S. Congress, 23rd C. D.

### OREGON

John Studer, U. S. Senate  
Stacey Seigle, Governor  
John Lemon, Superintendent of Public Instruction  
Caroline Fowlkes, Labor Commissioner  
Lisa Potash, City Council Position #2  
Robin Mace, City Council Position #3

### PENNSYLVANIA

Christina Adachi, U. S. Senate  
Roberta Scherr, Governor  
Fred Stanton, Lieutenant Governor  
Lea Tammi, U. S. Congress, 1st C. D.  
Tony Austin, U. S. Congress, 2nd C. D.  
Jon Teitelbaum, U. S. Congress, 14th C. D.  
Karen Pewitt, U. S. Congress, 20th C. D.

### TEXAS

Sherry Smith, Governor  
Dan Fein, Lieutenant Governor  
Pedro Vasquez, Attorney General  
Sara Johnston, State Board of Education, 18th C. D.  
William Rayson, Land Commissioner  
Rick Congress, Railroad Commissioner  
Sas Scoggins, Comptroller  
Kris Vasquez, U. S. Congress, 18th C. D.  
Jill Fein, U. S. Congress, 22nd C. D.  
Don Sorsa, State Representative, 90th District

### WASHINGTON

Clare Fraenzl, U. S. Senate  
Fred Lovgren, U. S. Congress, 1st C. D.  
Dorothy Hawkinson, State Senate, 43rd District  
Pat Bethard, State Legislature, 43rd District  
Mike Downs, State Legislature, 43rd District  
Jeff Ford, King County Prosecuting Attorney

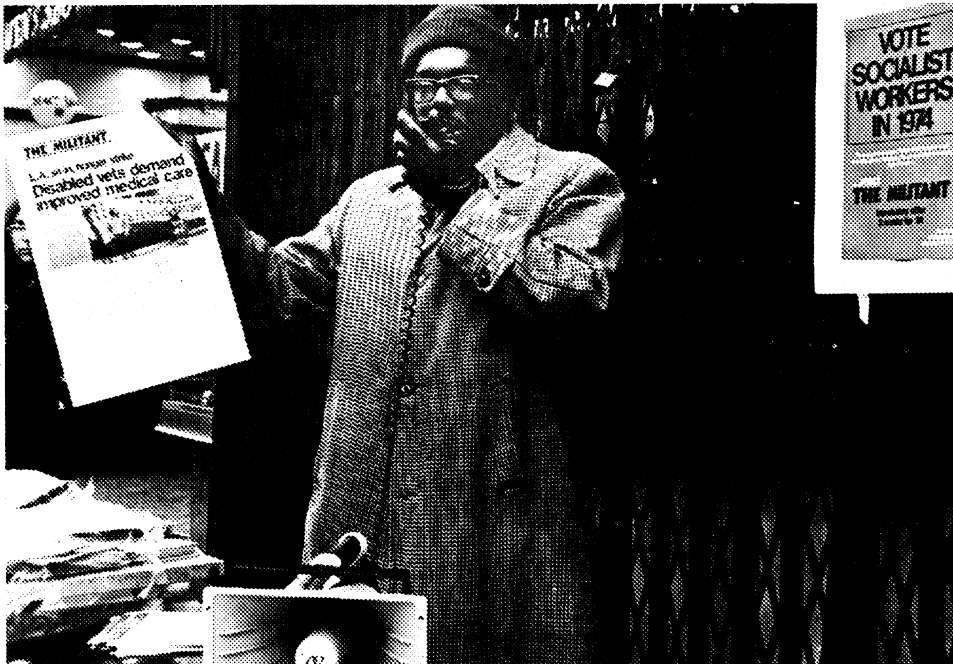
### DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Nan Bailey, Mayor  
Toba Singer, Nonvoting Delegate to Congress  
Allan Budka, City Council Chairman  
Anne Powers, City Council At-large  
Sara Smith, City Council At-large



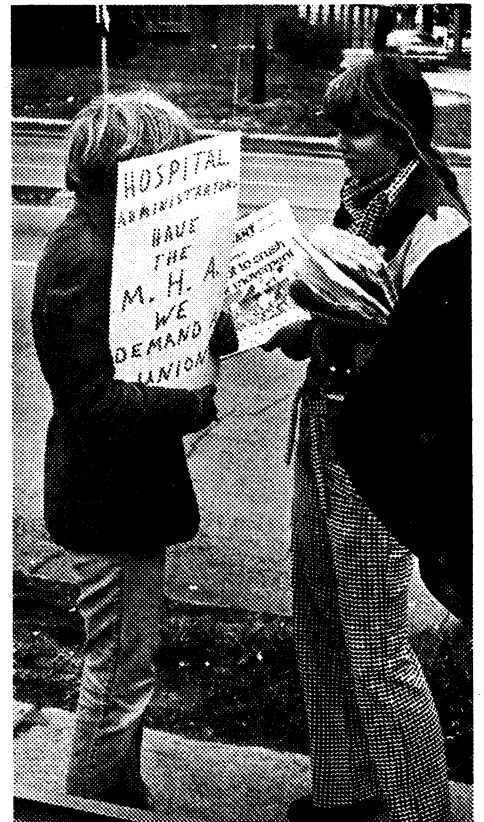
Norman Oliver

Vince Eagan (left) talks with another participant at National Black Political Convention.



Martha Harris

Street rallies and sales of the campaign newspaper, *The Militant*, are major activities of SWP campaign supporters.



Barbara Mutnick in St. Louis picket line demanding hospital workers' right to unionize.

## Activists in your area

# Join the socialist campaign!

For more information on the candidates and their campaign activities, contact:

### CALIFORNIA

**Statewide:** Socialist Workers Campaign Committee, 710 S. Westlake Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90057. Tel: (213) 483-2732.

**Berkeley-Oakland:** Socialist Workers Campaign Committee, 1849 University Ave., Berkeley, Calif. 94703. Tel: (415) 548-0537.

**Los Angeles, Central-East:** Socialist Workers Campaign Committee, 710 S. Westlake Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90057. Tel: (213) 483-1512.

**Los Angeles, West Side:** Socialist Workers Campaign Committee, 230 Broadway, Santa Monica, Calif. 90401. Tel: (213) 394-9050.

**San Diego:** Socialist Workers Campaign Committee, 4635 El Cajon Blvd., San Diego, Calif. 92115. Tel: (714) 280-1292.

**San Francisco:** Socialist Workers Campaign Committee, 1519 Mission St., San Francisco, Calif. 94103. Tel: (415) 863-3080.

### COLORADO

**Denver:** Socialist Workers Campaign Committee, 1203 California, Denver, Colo. 80204. Tel: (303) 623-2825.

### GEORGIA

**Atlanta:** Socialist Workers Campaign Committee, 68 Peachtree St. N.E., Third Floor, Atlanta, Ga. 30303. Or P.O. Box 846, Atlanta, Ga. 30301. Tel: (404) 525-0644.

### ILLINOIS

**Chicago:** Socialist Workers Campaign Committee, 428 S. Wabash, Fifth Floor, Chicago, Ill. 60605. Tel: (312) 939-0737.

### INDIANA

**Bloomington:** Socialist Workers Campaign Committee, c/o Student Activities Desk, Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind. 47401. Tel: (812) 334-1351.

**Indianapolis:** Socialist Workers Campaign Committee, c/o Dave Ellis, 1309 E. Vermont, Indianapolis, Ind. 46202. Tel: (317) 637-1105.

### MASSACHUSETTS

**Boston:** Socialist Workers Campaign Committee, 655 Atlantic Ave., Third Floor, Boston, Mass. 02111. Tel: (617) 482-8050.

### MICHIGAN

**Ann Arbor:** Socialist Workers Campaign Committee, Univ. of Michigan, Room 4103, Michigan Union, Ann Arbor, Mich. 48104. Tel: (313) 663-8766.

**Detroit:** Socialist Workers Campaign Committee, 3737 Woodward Ave., Detroit, Mich. 48201. Tel: (313) TE 1-6135.

**East Lansing:** Socialist Workers Campaign Committee, Michigan State Univ., Second Floor Offices, Union Bldg., East Lansing, Mich. 48823. Tel: (517) 332-6478.

### MINNESOTA

**Minneapolis-St. Paul:** Socialist Workers Campaign Committee, 25 University Ave. S.E., Minneapolis, Minn. 55414. Tel: (612) 332-7781.

### MISSOURI

**St. Louis:** Socialist Workers Campaign Committee, 4660 Maryland, Suite 17, St. Louis, Mo. 63108. Tel: (314) 367-2520.

### NEW YORK

**Statewide:** Socialist Workers Campaign Committee, 706 Broadway, Eighth Floor, New York, N.Y. 10003. Tel: (212) 982-4966.

**Brooklyn:** Socialist Workers Campaign Committee, 136 Lawrence St. (at Willoughby), Brooklyn, N.Y. 11201. Tel: (212) 596-2917.

**Lower Manhattan:** Socialist Workers Campaign Committee, 706 Broadway, (4th St.), Eighth Floor, New York, N.Y. 10003. Tel: (212) 982-6051.

**Upper West Side:** Socialist Workers Campaign Committee, 2726 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10025. Tel: (212) 663-3000.

### OHIO

**Cincinnati:** Socialist Workers Campaign Committee, P. O. Box 32084, Cincinnati, Ohio 45232. Tel: (513) 861-8625.

**Cleveland:** Socialist Workers Campaign Committee, 4420 Superior Ave., Cleveland, Ohio 44103. Tel: (216) 391-5553.

### OREGON

**Portland:** Socialist Workers Campaign Committee, 208 S.W. Stark, Fifth Floor, Portland, Ore. 97204. Tel: (503) 226-2715.

### PENNSYLVANIA

**Philadelphia:** Socialist Workers Campaign Committee, 1004 Filbert St. (one block north of Market), Philadelphia, Pa. 19107. Tel: (215) WA5-4316.

**Pittsburgh:** Socialist Workers Campaign Committee, 304 S. Bouquet St., Pittsburgh, Pa. 15213. Tel: (412) 682-5019.

### TEXAS

**Austin:** Socialist Workers Campaign Committee, Univ. of Texas, Room 340, Student Activities Office, Austin, Texas 78701. Tel: (512) 478-8602.

**Houston:** Socialist Workers Campaign Committee, 3311 Montrose, Houston, Texas 77006. Tel: (713) 526-1082.

### WASHINGTON

**Seattle:** Socialist Workers Campaign Committee, 5623 University Way N.E., Seattle, Wash. 98105. Tel: (206) 522-7800.

**WASHINGTON, D.C.:** Socialist Workers Campaign Committee, 1345 E St. N.W., Fourth Floor, Washington, D. C. 20004. Tel: (202) 783-2391.



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## The socialist newsweekly



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High unemployment, low wages, cutbacks in educational programs, rising tuition costs and soaring inflation hit young people hard.

The Young Socialist Alliance is joining with other young people in the high schools, on the campuses, and in major cities across the country to combat the economic attack on our standard of living, racism, and the discrimination against women.

The YSA opposes the candidates of the Democratic and Republican parties who are financed and controlled by the tiny minority that benefits from the spiraling inflation.

We are campaigning for the candidates of the Socialist Workers Party in the 1974 elections, the revolutionary alternative for working people.

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YSA, Box 471, Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003.

## Political Rights Defense Fund



The Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF) is gathering endorsements and financial contributions for the Watergate lawsuit of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance.

For more information on the suit or to order the above button (\$1 each or \$.30 each on orders of 10 or more) contact: PRDF, Box 649, Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003. Tel: (212) 691-3270.