

NEW AMERICAN MOVEMENT

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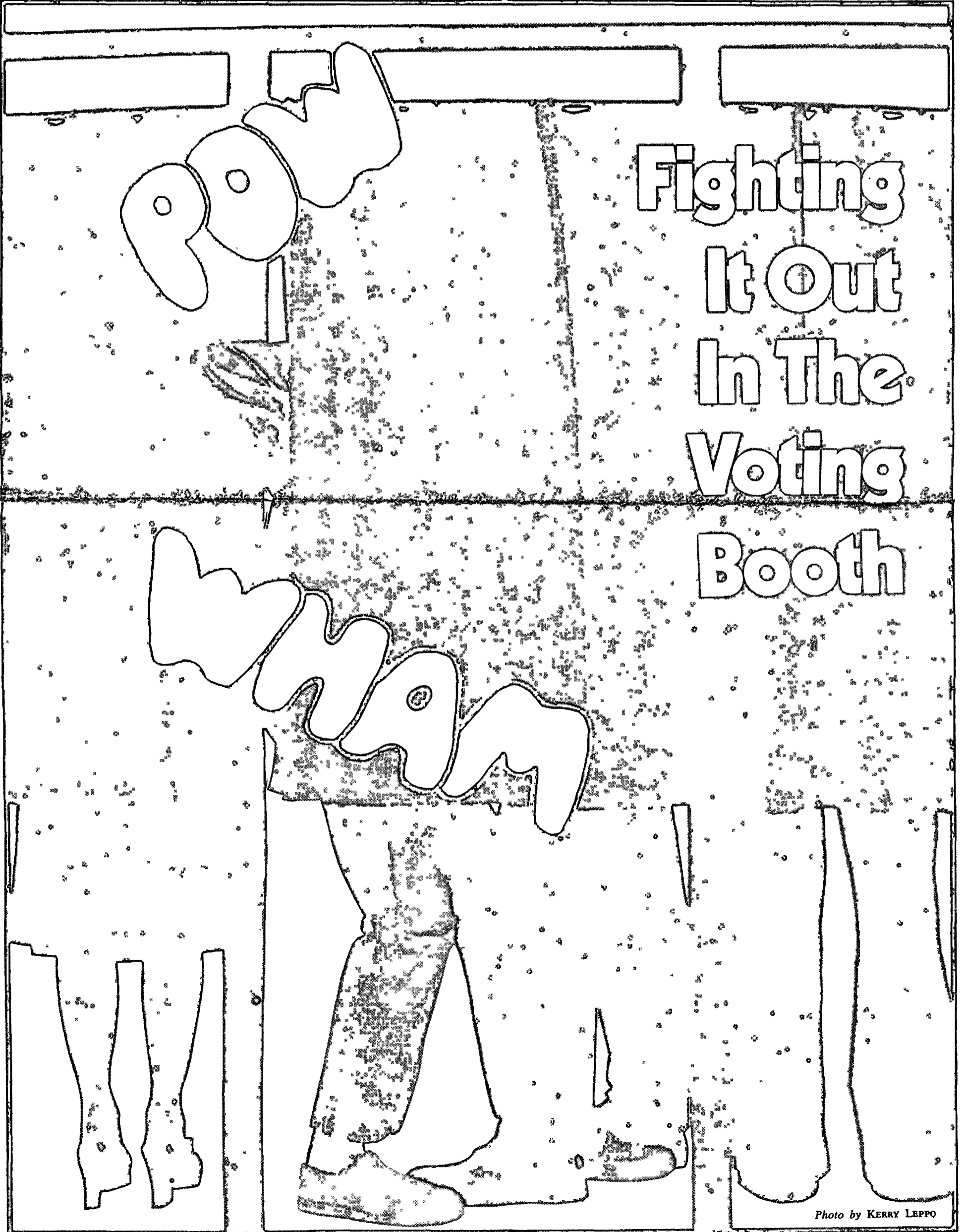
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Fighting
It Out
In The
Voting
Booth

Photo by KERRY LEPPA

editorial

Abortion: A Woman's Right to Choose

by the NAM Political Committee

Abortion is fast becoming one of the major issues of the 1976 presidential campaign, as well as a host of local campaigns. The attacks on abortion -- organized and financed by the hierarchy of the Catholic Church and various right wing groups such as the John Birch Society -- are escalating in scope and fervor as the campaign progresses. Rosalynn Carter now says that abortion is the number one issue in the race between her husband, Jimmy Carter, and Gerald Ford. In the Congress, abortion has become a political weapon during the fight over legislation that would deny Medicaid funds to poor women for abortions.

These attacks cannot be taken lightly. The right to legal abortion was won (not bestowed by the nine men of the Supreme Court) through the struggle of a strong and organized movement, primarily the women's movement. In the three years since abortions have been moved out of the back rooms and into the clinics and hospitals of this country, there has been a dramatic decline in the number of deaths and serious injuries related to abortions. There have been drastic reductions in the number of coat hanger and butchered abortions. The threat posed by the anti-abortion movement is not only a threat to women's rights to make their own determinations about their own bodies, but to women's lives and health.

Particularly outrageous is the move to deny poor women the right to abortion under Medicaid. It is indicative not only of the willingness of those in power to play politics with women's lives, but also of the fact that money -- or the lack of it -- determines who has what rights in this society. Congress is stating very clearly that the right guaranteed by the Supreme Court of the United States to every woman in this country, the right to choose whether or not to have a child, is in fact a right only for those who can afford it.

We should all oppose this attack on poor women, particularly blacks and other minority women who will be most affected by the decision. We should recognize it -- as the anti-abortion forces definitely do -- as a victory for the forces who would deny abortion to all women. It is clearly an ideological rather than an economic decision, since Medicaid covers the cost of all pre-natal care at over ten times the cost of an abortion.

The tactics used by the anti-abortion forces are varied. They range from small local pickets that harass abortion clinics to the National Conference of Catholic Bishops' open intervention into presidential politics with its hints that Catholics should support Ford over Carter because of his stand on abortion. Abortion foes are

well-financed and well-organized, and they are making themselves heard.

In this context, it is urgent that the movement that fought for and won the right to abortion be rekindled. Only a powerful movement can apply the political pressure necessary to defend the gains that have been made and open up new ground. In this process the demand for free abortion for those who cannot afford to pay should be central.

Misconceptions

The anti-abortion movement is steered by right wing forces and the Catholic hierarchy, but we should also remember that there are many sincere people involved in its ranks, people motivated by humanistic concerns. We should challenge the misconceptions under which such people operate. And we should urge them instead to join in other movements: to struggle against the destruction of the living -- against war, against nuclear power, against safety hazards on the job; to struggle for free and easily available birth control information to avoid unwanted pregnancies; and to struggle for a decent world, free of poverty and injustice, into which more people will feel able to bring children.

Desegregation in Dayton

Community Activists Make Busing Work

by Maddi Breslin and the Newspaper Collective

There was a fierce strength showing on the faces of mothers standing with their children at the bus stops. It was the first day of school desegregation in Dayton, Ohio.

While we travelled through the various neighborhoods monitoring bus stops that early morning, we were struck by those looks of determination. It was as if the mothers were serving notice that "nobody better try to hurt my child." That protective determination was one reason why the first days of desegregation went so well. But you probably wouldn't have realized that in reading the "official" reports, for it was generally discounted in the media coverage. So, too, were the efforts of small community groups like the Student Rights Center.

The first successful days of desegregation were not the result of inspired leadership by politicians in city government or the bureaucrats in the school system. The formula for success was the long, hard, dedicated work of parents, students, and small community groups.

The Student Rights Center began its work with an analysis of the needs of a broad cross-section of the community. We also studied how desegregation worked in other cities. Then we developed a program proposal for a desegrega-

Maddi Breslin is the director of the Student Rights and Responsibilities Center in Dayton, Ohio.

tion information center which seemed vital for a peaceful school opening.

The proposal was released to the media and placed on city government and school board agendas. Though our proposal was not officially endorsed or funded, our efforts facilitated the development of a viable information center by the school system in concert with the police, local ombudsman, and numerous community groups.

In addition to the proposal for an information center, we were successful in securing two positions on the court-appointed monitoring committee, one for a parent advocate and one for a student intern. Both individuals raised questions, presented important issues at every opportunity before this 55 member group.

We attended numerous meetings throughout the community to call attention to potential problems and areas that seemed to be overlooked. With just a few parents and students, we contacted committees and individuals who were active in different phases of desegregation. We received little response, but all but one of our suggestions were adopted.

Though we won't receive "official" accolades, the efforts of the Student Rights Center to prod the community into action was a valuable contribution toward peaceful desegregation in Dayton. But let us not forget that the question of whether desegregation was a success in Dayton is not only premature, but sidesteps the deeper issue of education in a capitalist society.



Frank Bove, Steve Carlip, Sandy Carter, Chris Casey, Chris Ghibelline, Roger Gottlieb, Carollee Howes, Jenny Lovejoy, Larry Miller, Kathy Moore

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The New American Movement (NAM) exists to help organize a movement for democratic socialism in the United States. Our aim is to establish working class control of the enormous productive capacity of American industry, to create a society that will provide material comfort and security for all people, and in which the full and free development of every individual will be the basic goal. Such a society will strive for decentralization of decision-making, an end to bureaucratic rule, and participation of all people in shaping their own lives and the direction of society. We believe the elimination of sexist and racist institutions and the dismantling of American economic and social control abroad are central to the struggle for socialism.

Help! We are starting out this month with a debt of more than \$750. Our utility bills are soaring, mailing costs are rising, and our taxes are due by October 31. There is some doubt as to whether we will be able to afford to print a November issue.

If any of our readers can send in a small donation (or a large donation for that matter), we would greatly appreciate it. Send checks to the NAM Newspaper, 16 Union Square, Somerville, MA 02143. Thank you for your help.



Two Years Without a Contract

Rally Kicks Off J.P. Stevens Boycott

by Bob McMahon, NAM member at large

ROANOKE RAPIDS, N.C. -- "You have ignored the rights and freedom of your workers, demonstrating again and again that the only freedom you care about is the freedom to make profits."

2500 textile workers from J.P. Stevens and supporters from other unions gathered in Roanoke Rapids, North Carolina, September 5 to post this defiant message on the door of the company's offices.

Marching from a rally site in a singing, chanting column three blocks long, the workers warned Stevens that because the company had "acted as if justice and freedom do not matter, and ignored the laws of the nation," the textile giant would now "face a confrontation with the American people."

The rally had been called by the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU) to protest "two years without a contract" -- the second anniversary of the union's victory in a representation election among 3500 workers at seven J.P. Stevens plants in Roanoke Rapids.

Refusal to Bargain

Scott Hyman, Southern vice president of ACTWU, blamed the failure to obtain the contract on the company's stubborn refusal to accept the normal features of labor management bargaining. He detailed Stevens' obstructive negotiating position:

- The company would not discuss arbitration for unresolved grievances, recommending only that workers could strike if they weren't satisfied.

- The company would not agree to "checkoff"

-- routine deduction of dues of union members from the paycheck.

- The company would not discuss any contract clauses detailing workers' rights and obligations in the plant. This includes such matters as what constitutes a fair day's work, what days of the week workers are obligated to report, and such basic parts of a seniority system as criteria for promotion or layoff.

(Stevens recently lost a major race discrimination suit at its Roanoke Rapids plants. The decision found that promotions at Stevens took place by arbitrary, "subjective" choice by supervisors, with blacks being almost wholly excluded from clerical and highly skilled positions in the plant.)

- The company had merely offered the union the same wages and benefits being offered at its unorganized plants.

The National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) currently considering a finding that Stevens has refused to bargain in good faith with the union and a sweeping corrective order against the company.

Firing Union Members

J.P. Stevens has a long history of fighting tooth and nail against unionization (see NAM Newspaper, July-August 1976). The case of Robert Williams is typical: fired from the Roanoke Rapids plant for supporting the union, blacklisted by the industry and left without a job for several years. Williams is one of nearly 300 Stevens workers who have been fired by the company in the 13 years that the Textile Workers have been trying to organize Stevens plants.

- A threatened general strike in Tonawanda, N.Y. has successfully forced the Spaulding Fibre Company to stop using scabs during a strike by the International Association of Machinists. Spaulding had been operating with 75 scabs, who were escorted through picket lines by riot-gear police. But the company withdrew the strikebreakers, reopened negotiations, and quickly reached a tentative settlement with the strikers after the Tonawanda Labor Council threatened to strike every plant in Tonawanda. The proposal for a general strike, with strikers from other plants joining the picket lines at Spaulding, was first made by a United Electrical Workers representative at a meeting of 100 presidents of union locals, who had met to discuss how to aid the strike. Strike leaders are now preparing a phone list of the locals and individuals who supported them, so that other area unions can call for support if they need it.

- Jimmy Carter has waffled about support for the right of California farmworkers to vote for a union. Asked if he supported the farm labor initiative sponsored by the United Farm Workers Union, which would guarantee the right to union elections, Carter said, "I would have no objections to Proposition 14 being passed." But two days later, he assured agribusiness representatives that "it's not a fair conclusion to say I support Proposition 14, because I'm not that familiar with it." Will the real Jimmy Carter please stand up?

boycott

A partial list of J.P. Stevens products and the labels they are sold under:

Blankets: Baby Stevens, Forstmann, Utica
 Carpets: Contender, Gulistan, Merryweather, Tastemaker
 Draperies: J.P. Stevens
 Hosiery: Big Mama, Finesse, Fruit of the Loom, Hip-Lets, Spirit
 Sheets and Pillow Cases: Beauti-Blend, Beauticale, Fine Arts, Peanuts (comic strip figures), Tastemaker, Utica, Mohawk
 Towels: Fine Arts, Tastemaker, Utica

Stevens was chosen as a target by the Textile Workers Union of America (recently merged with the Amalgamated Clothing Workers to form ACTWU) in 1963. The union hopes to organize the largely non-union Southern textile industry by cracking one leading company to get other companies in the industry to fall into line.

The payoff from the organizing drive was evident at the rally. Busloads of union members came from Stevens plants in Virginia, Georgia and Alabama. They were joined by over a thousand members of other unions -- teachers, steelworkers, paperworkers and machinists -- from neighboring states who came to show their solidarity. A North Carolina citizens' action group, the People's Alliance, had a strong presence.

Racial Unity

Pleas for racial unity came from many rank and file workers at the rally. Marty Thomas, a black worker from Alabama, told the crowd, "We're starting out with two strikes against us: the right to work laws and divisions from racism. We must unite as common working people and support our union. We're struggling against those who've taken years from our lives and money from our pockets."

At the end of the rally, a white woman from the Roanoke Rapids plant rose to thank everyone for coming, and added, "This isn't a white union, or a black union, but a union of the people."

With the backing of the AFL-CIO, the ACTWU is preparing a nationwide boycott of Stevens products. The union is also lobbying for legislation to strengthen the NLRB regulations and to cut off federal contracts for companies who violate those regulations.

labor notes

- In an unexpected move, the Supreme Court has limited the use of federal injunctions against strikers engaged in a sympathy strike. The court ruled that while federal courts could continue to forbid wildcat strikes and other strikes which violate a no-strike clause, they cannot issue temporary injunctions against a union honoring another union's picket line, even if the contract contains a no-strike clause.

- Members of the United Rubber Workers Union voted last month to end their four month strike against the major tire companies. The union won a \$1.35 pay raise over three years, plus an unlimited cost of living allowance, which had been a major union demand. The rubber workers had kept their strike solid for 19 weeks, even on strike benefits of only \$95 a week.

- A federal grand jury in Washington, D.C., is being used to persecute Washington Post pressmen who struck a year ago in the face of management union-busting attempts. A total of fifteen strikers have been indicted on charges of rioting and destruction of property. Their trials are scheduled to begin in November and December. The government developed the use of grand juries and riot charges as a method of repressing the black movement and the left in the '60's.



PATS ON THE HEAD?
LARGER PAYCHECKS INSTEAD.

- The Service, Office, and Retail Workers Union of Canada, an independent Vancouver-based union, has succeeded in linking the women's movement and the labor movement in recent contract fights. SORWUC, which was founded a few years ago by the feminist Working Women's Association, has won such gains as "family crisis leave," abolition of dress codes, and paternity as well as maternity leave. Recent contracts have also gained women office workers the right to refuse to run personal errands for the boss, such as getting coffee.

what we mean

Socialism vs. Bureaucracy

by Steve Carlip, Newspaper Collective

For most Americans, the word "socialism" brings up images of a huge, remote, impersonal government bureaucracy. If socialism takes power away from big business only to turn it over to a new set of bureaucrats, what good is it?

Socialists have replied that socialism also means a government controlled and run by working people: a government where officials get no special privileges, and where any bureaucrat who loses touch with the people can be quickly replaced.

This is easy to say. But can it work?

One way to answer this question is to look at one society which has confronted the problem of bureaucracy head on: China.

Continuing Revolution

Early in the Chinese revolution, Mao Tse-tung wrote of the need for a "continuing revolution." Socialism, Mao said, was not just a matter of socialists taking over the government. Even after a victorious revolution, years of struggle would be needed to make sure that a government bureaucracy didn't develop into a new ruling class.

According to Mao and his supporters, a socialist victory could not make the "old society" simply disappear. The Chinese people had lived in the old, non-socialist society all their lives, and they had been taught its attitudes and ideals. Selfishness, power-seeking, and the desire for status would not vanish over night. As long as these ideas persisted, there was a constant danger of a new bureaucracy.

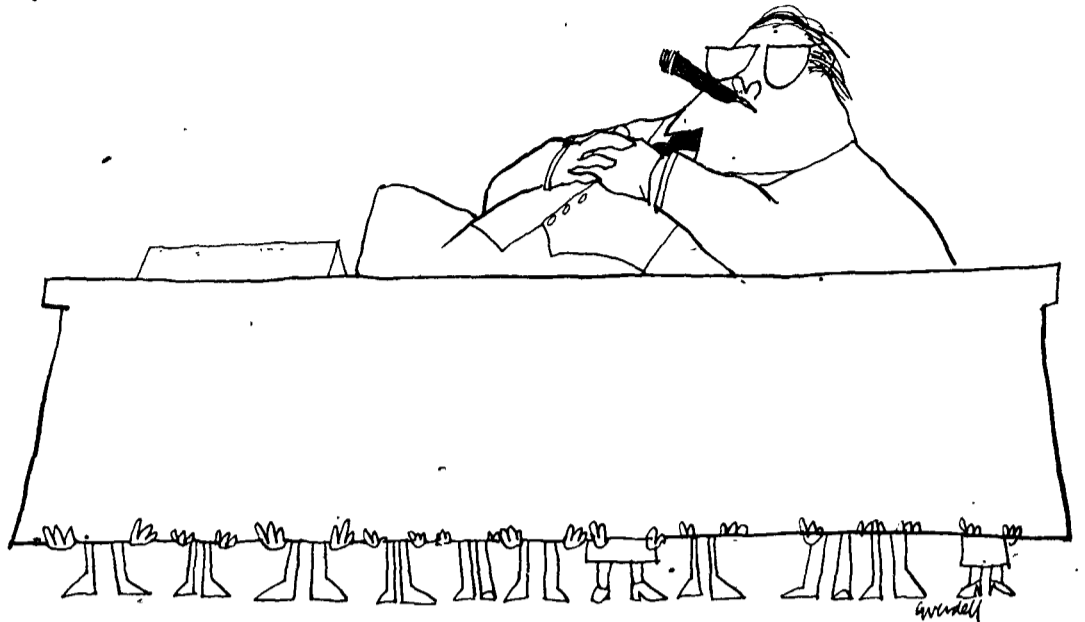
The idea of a continuing revolution was not new. It was Thomas Jefferson who warned after the American Revolution that a new revolution would be needed every twenty years. But despite Jefferson's warnings, the American Revolution ended. The Chinese revolution has not.

The Chinese communists took power in 1949. Fifteen years later, there were signs that a new bureaucracy was indeed developing. British economist Joan Robinson described one factory where an official "used his office car to go fishing on Sunday. He arranged for his wife to have an administrative job for which she was in no way qualified. ... [Factory managers] relied on experts, and gave orders without explanation to the workers. They ... misused factory funds, spending money on repairing the swimming pool and prettifying the office." Such corruption is pretty mild by American standards. But for the Chinese, it was a threat: a first sign of a bureaucracy that could become more and more powerful and autocratic if given free rein.

The Cultural Revolution

To most opponents of socialism, this development was not surprising. American academics confidently predicted that the Chinese bureaucracy would continue to grow in size and power, and would gain more and more special privileges. But since 1965, China has stubbornly refused to live up to the social scientists' predictions. That year saw the start of the Cultural Revolution, which soon swept across China in a wave of popular uprising against the new bureaucracy.

The Cultural Revolution began mildly enough, with a newspaper article criticizing a play written by Peking's deputy mayor. But within a year, millions of Chinese were involved in a mass movement against government bureaucracy. "Big character posters" criticizing government and Communist Party officials covered the walls in hundreds of cities and towns. Hundreds of thousands of students and workers demonstrated in Peking. Thousands of factories were shut down as workers struck against elitist managers and administrators. In Shanghai, an organization of 800,000 industrial workers actually took over the government. All over the country, new forms of government sprang up -- "revolutionary committees," made up partly of old administrators, partly of militia members, but mainly of ordinary workers elected by their fellow workers.



In the words of eyewitness Neale Hunter, "The whole population came alive; the crowds that surrounded the important wall posters thrashed out the nation's political problems right there on the street, and millions of people were inspired to join groups, to take sides, to act out the drama of change. ... The man in the street began to see that the Cultural Revolution was not something that could be carried out by edict from the center, that the struggle to revitalize Chinese society could only be fought and won by the people."

For the Chinese, the Cultural Revolution was a continuation of the socialist revolution of 1949. But it was a revolution with a difference: a revolution supported by most of the government and the Communist Party. The idea of a government inciting rebellion against its own administration is a strange one, and many Americans find it hard to believe. But Mao and his supporters were well aware of the danger of bureaucracy. And they knew that only continued revolution by millions of Chinese working people could preserve the ideals of socialism.

Workers Run Factories, Managers Plant Corn

The Cultural Revolution has had a far-reaching impact on Chinese society. The new revolutionary committees which were set up in the height of the rebellion continue to run factories, farms, and local governments. In Shanghai, the number of bureaucratic positions has been reduced by more than 80%. Admini-

strators are now expected to spend time every year doing ordinary manual labor; many spent six months to a year on farms, planting corn and rice, learning to dirty their hands, getting to know the peasants who make up the vast majority of China's population. Special educational privileges for the children of bureaucrats have been abolished. University teachers must make their knowledge relevant to the new society, rather than relying on Western attitudes and traditional forms of elitism.

The danger of bureaucracy in China has not disappeared. Before his death last month, Mao warned that it would take many more Cultural Revolutions before socialism was firmly established. And the Cultural Revolution has not always reached the level of national decision-making. Some areas, such as foreign policy, remain largely under the control of a small number of Communist Party leaders.

But China's experience can teach us an important lesson. Socialism can mean bureaucracy. But it need not. It can also mean real people's control of society, of the economy, the government, the workplace, all the institutions which affect our lives.

In a time when cynicism about the possibility of change has become popular, China's Cultural Revolution offers a challenge to us all.

Harry Braverman: 1920-1976

On August 2 at the age of 56, Harry Braverman died of stomach cancer. Best known to students of American society as the author of *Labor and Monopoly Capital*, Braverman spent his life in the service of the working class as a workplace organizer, active socialist and theoretician. He began organizing in the 1930's, and his experience included work as a journeyman coppersmith, a pipefitter, a steel layout person, and a blast furnace builder.

An early member of the Socialist Workers' Party, he became part of its central committee. In the late '50's he helped publish the *American Socialist* magazine, and in the '60's he joined the editorial staff of *Monthly Review*. His major work, *Labor and Monopoly Capital*, is recognized as a classic of contemporary Marxism, a description of how capitalism has degraded the work process in order to maintain its control of the American working class (see review in *NAM Newspaper*, March 1976). It is our misfortune that we will never see its sequel.



Militant/Mary Jo Hendrickson
HARRY BRAVERMAN

Mao Tse-tung: A True Artist of Revolution

by Judy MacLean, Chicago NAM, and Roger Gottlieb and Frank Bove, Newspaper Collective

Fifty years ago China was the victim of invasion by every European country, a country swept by plague, famine, crushing poverty, dominated by a tiny elite of wealthy aristocrats. Capitalist academics wrote "scientific" formulas "proving" that China would never feed its own population.

Today China stands as a model to all underdeveloped countries. Famine and plague have been eliminated. Rapid industrialization is taking place without crippling the health of workers or destroying the environment. And since the Cultural Revolution, China has created new forms of democracy and mass participation that provide a model for the rest of the world's revolutionaries.

Mao Tse-tung, whose death on September 9 is mourned by millions throughout the world, was a key figure in China's miraculous change. Mao himself always stressed that it is the people, not the leaders, who make history. This belief guided his political life. His individual commitment to the "broad masses" of China led him to struggle again and again to force the Chinese Communist Party to trust and depend on China's hundreds of millions of "ordinary" people.

Relying on the People

In the late 1920's, traditional Marxist doctrine saw the urban working class as the only group which could make a socialist revolution. In opposition to this doctrine, Mao directed the Communist Party's attention toward the countryside. Relying on the peasants, Chinese communists ten years later had a base of operations, physical and human resources, and controlled an area with a population of 15 million.

In the late '30's China was invaded by Japan. Although he knew that socialist revolution would eventually require a bitter struggle with Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalist Party, Mao insisted on a "united front" -- a broad coalition of all China's patriotic forces to oppose Japan.

In the mid '60's, when the revolution was in

danger from the rise in power of elitist and self-seeking bureaucrats, Mao unleashed the Cultural Revolution. He refused to accept the traditional "wisdom" that revolution must be made by a handful of "experts" behind the backs or over the heads of the people.

In each case, what was most important to Mao was to trust the people, to depend on the intelligence, courage, and dedication of China's masses. Though Mao is often identified as the "leader" or "maker" of the Chinese revolution, his goal was never personal power for himself or his party, but rather the self-transformation of several hundred million people from a position of powerlessness to a point where they could understand and control their own lives.

Revolutionary Successors

Recent visitors say the Chinese stress the need to create revolutionary successors to Mao. They don't mean who will hold Mao's posts now that he is gone. They mean the preparation of hundreds of thousands of leaders in every locality of China, who can use Mao's socialist methods in the day to day struggles of building socialism.

This is far from the version of Mao Tse-tung Thought that reaches us in the West, of a closed system everyone must memorize. Mao always directed his writings to open up new horizons for the Chinese people and develop each of them as his revolutionary successor, to break the chains of the old feudal habits of thought.

It does not diminish the accomplishments of the Chinese revolution for us to see some problems in its present course. Many revolutionaries here in the U.S. have been disturbed by recent Chinese foreign policy, which certainly had Mao's endorsement. Particularly, we find it hard to agree with the Chinese that the USSR is the main enemy of the world's people today, with the U.S. a comparatively minor danger. We need to say this in the spirit of criticism that Mao's



thought encourages. One of his greatest contributions to socialism, in fact, has been new methods of enabling the people of China to criticize and transform the policy-makers.

Mao's Life

We know very little of Mao personally. Even his poems and his beautiful aphorisms reveal a man more concerned with his role in the large historical struggles than with his personal life.

We have fragments. The American journalist Agnes Smedley reported that she tried to teach him to dance, but that he had no sense of rhythm. Edgar Snow, in *Red Star over China*, describes an earthy, open Mao: forever talking with his soldiers and the peasants about their daily problems, laughing uproariously at a revolutionary play, removing all his clothing when the weather was hot, and telling Snow that only the most fearful battles relieved his chronic constipation. A Chinese youth who served as his orderly in the 1930's wrote of a considerate man who read everything he could find.

We know he had a young wife who was murdered by the Nationalist Party early in the revolutionary struggle, and another wife with whom he mutually agreed to separate. He had a son, who died as an ordinary soldier in the Korean War. His present wife, Chiang Ching, a former actress, had been with him for over 35 years. As a young Chinese student reported in 1969, he did not grow flowers in his front yard (a mark of the old aristocracy) but vegetables.

But perhaps we don't really need to know about his personality. His joys and griefs must have been personal, but they were also the joys and griefs of the Chinese people. We should remember him best as novelist Han Su-yin described him: constantly preoccupied with revolutionary transformation, with the people as the force of history, forever getting up in the middle of the night to put finishing touches on his part of the creative venture of the Chinese people: a true artist of revolution.

Farewell to the God of Plague

Note: Schistomiasis was a parasitic disease transmitted by snails in irrigation water that infected approximately 10% of the population of China in 1949, the year Mao Tse-tung's Red Army won the Civil War. The disease caused paralysis, swelling of limbs, and eventual death. Often whole villages would be afflicted and the sick peasants, unable to work, would die slowly of starvation. To combat this disease, the whole population was mobilized to destroy the carrier snails, and those afflicted were treated medically.

The second poem is full of images of the land of China, transformed by the people, whose energies have been liberated under socialism. But it also depicts the liberation of people's minds from ideas such as that of disease being the work of gods, in this case the God of Plague, who speaks in the first stanza. It celebrates the Chinese people taking power over old ideas, so the "same griefs" no longer "flow down the stream of time."

Mao's note: When I read in the *People's Daily* of June, 30, 1958 that schistomiasis had been wiped out in Yulkang County, thoughts thronged my mind and I could not sleep. In the warm morning breeze next day, as sunlight falls on my window, I look towards the distant southern sky and in my happiness pen the following lines.

So many green streams and blue hills, but to what avail
This tiny creature left even Hua To powerless.
Hundreds of villages choked with weeds, men wasted
away,

Thousands of homes deserted, ghosts chanted
mournfully

Motionless, by earth I travel eighty thousand li a day,
Surveying the sky I see a myriad Milky Ways from afar.
Should the Cowherd ask tidings of the God of Plague,
Say the same griefs flow down the stream of time.

ii

The spring wind blows amid profuse willow wands,
Six hundred million in this land all equal Yao and Shun.
Crimson rain swirls in waves under our will,
Green mountains turn to bridges at our wish.
Gleaming mattocks fall on the Five Ridges heavenhigh;
Mighty arms move to rock the earth round the Triple
River.

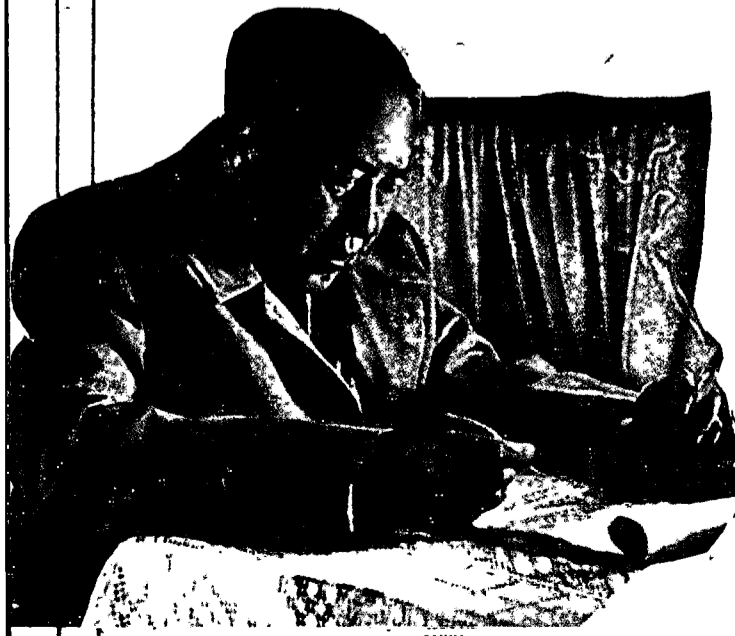
We ask the God of Plague: "Where are you bound?"
Paper barges aflame and candle-light illuminate the
sky.

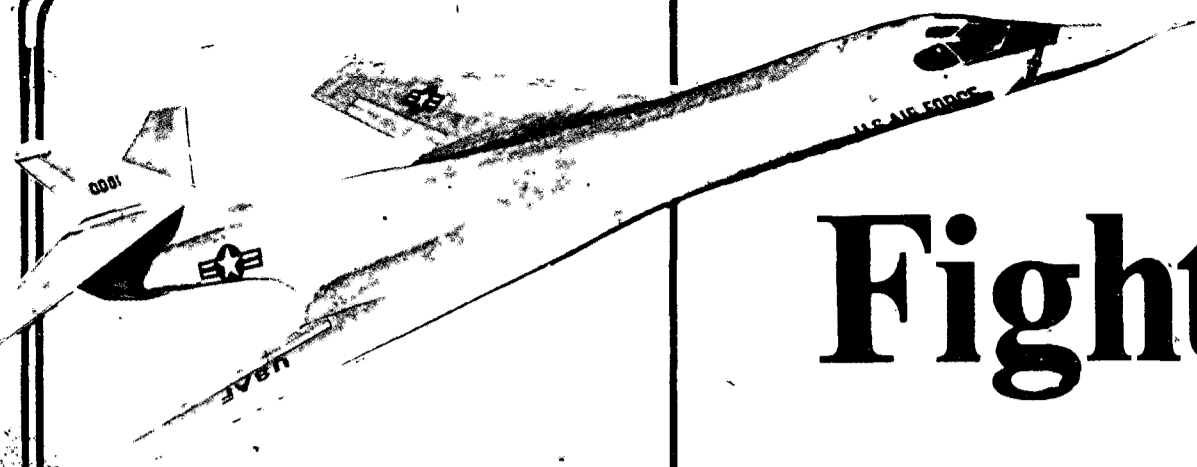
--Mao Tse-tung

translations by

of the New American

Movement





B-1 Bomber Grounded

by Stefan Ostrach, Resistance NAM

Congress's recent decision to delay production of the B-1 bomber was a victory for the peace, labor, and environmentalist forces that have opposed the bomber for three years. A House-Senate Conference Committee voted to postpone a final production decision on the B-1 until after a newly elected President takes office. But while the B-1 may be grounded, the future of some 6000 working women and men remains up in the air. These people, mostly employees of Rockwell International Co., have been held hostage to the military-industrial complex.

As part of Rockwell's effort to assure itself the guaranteed profits on \$12 billion worth of B-1 business, the corporation has tried to turn the national security issue of the B-1 into a job security issue. Threats of layoffs and promises of future jobs have been used to try to sway Congress. But B-1 opponents have responded that weapons production creates few jobs for the money -- spending on social services, for example, creates far more jobs -- and that the rapid surges of employment resulting from weapons contracts are quickly offset by massive layoffs.

Rockwell Workers Organize

Most Rockwell workers know that the corporation is interested in profits, not their economic security. One group, Concerned Minority Employees of Rockwell International, has been fighting since the '60's against discrimination against black, Chicano, and women workers, and has been demanding job security.

Another group, which includes former United Auto Workers regional director Paul Schrade, has recently appealed two provisions of the Rockwell-UAW contract. The contract sets up separate seniority lists for employees working on different products, so that B-1 workers with high seniority may be laid off before other workers with less seniority. Furthermore, the contract freezes base hiring rates, making B-1 workers the lowest paid in the aerospace industry. In effect, the bomber is being subsidized at the expense of Rockwell workers.

The contract appeal will be heard by the UAW Public Review Board in November. The UAW has stated publicly that the only solution to the chronic job insecurity among aerospace workers is conversion of aerospace plants to useful peacetime production. But so far, union leaders have ignored their public position, and joined with Rockwell to lobby for B-1 production.

Meeting over Labor Day, the Stop the B-1 Bomber: National Peace Conversion Campaign decided to directly address the problems of B-1 workers who face unemployment. The Campaign will organize a conference this winter to bring together peace activists, environmentalists, and B-1 workers to plan a strategy for gaining secure and useful jobs for B-1 workers. The conference will show that the time, energy, and skills of the workers and the B-1 factories and tools could be used for socially needed products such as mass transit. This effort should help assure the defeat of the B-1 and prove that while military spending is good for corporate profits, it is not good for the rest of us.

Fighting it out in the Voting Booth

by Eric Johnson, Dayton NAM

This November, California voters will get a chance to force their legislature to fund a state board to supervise union elections among farmworkers. Consumers in Ohio and Massachusetts will have an opportunity to vote for fairer electric rates. Voters in seven states will decide on propositions to require safeguards for nuclear power plants. Missouri residents will vote on an amendment to end the sales tax on food and medicine. And Philadelphians may have the opportunity to recall their law-and-order mayor Rizzo.

Each of these votes will take place because a citizens' group has forced the state to put an issue on the ballot. Across the country, the initiative process is being rediscovered as a tactic for social change. Initiative laws vary from state to state, but in most places citizens must be allowed to vote on a question if enough signatures are collected on petitions before the election -- even if the state legislature doesn't want to allow a vote. In fact, many of the initiatives on the ballot this year are there in spite of strong opposition from state legislators.

Initiative laws exist in many states largely as a result of turn-of-the-century Populist movements. Since the '50's, however, these laws have been rarely used. The paranoia created by the McCarthy era made even signing a petition seem like a subversive act.

In Ohio, for instance, the last grass roots initiative qualified for the ballot in 1949. The process had been used forty times before that. But this year, Ohioans for Utility Reform (OUR) succeeded in qualifying four issues for the November ballot. Voters will be able to create a Lifeline utility rate structure, set up a state consumer lobby, provide full insurance for nuclear power plants, and reform the state's cumbersome initiative process.

Initiatives and Voter Apathy

The rebirth of the initiative is particularly significant in a time of voter apathy. Predictions are that less than 50% of the voting age public will policies of the Federal Energy Administration and the Nuclear Regulatory Commission are collapsing under their own weight. The growing consumer revolt is being fueled by the use of statewide initiatives.

go to the polls this fall. Disillusion with government is at a peak, but along with it come cynicism and a feeling of powerlessness. The chance to democratically decide an issue, without concessions to corporations or politicians, excites people in a way no candidate can.

The democratic process of initiative is already being questioned by some conservative newspapers. We hear words like, "It is dangerous to let people decide issues of public policy," and charges that initiatives "subvert the representative form of government." After growing up thinking that the U.S. was a pillar of democracy, many people are angry to hear that government of the people, by the people, and for the people is now considered dangerous. The issue of democracy will always be part of the initiative battle. Where representative democracy diffuses dissent, initiative democracy stimulates it.

Spearheading the nationwide use of the initiative is a Los Angeles based group called Western Bloc. An outgrowth of California's People's Lobby, Western Bloc sets as its goal a national initiative and recall process. It offers advice to groups interested in using the process, and has sent out a small core of organizers who have an uncanny ability to collect signatures.

Across the country, the initiative process is being rediscovered as a tactic for social change.

Currently Western Bloc's focus is on the anti-nuclear power movement. Largely because of initiatives on nuclear safety, the tide of public opinion is turning dramatically against the nuclear industry.

When people are in motion, the militancy and sense of power is catching. The anti-nuclear movement is only the tip of a growing national movement around energy. Consumers in almost every major city are organizing around utility issues. The disorganized and corporate-biased Utilities in Ohio are waging a desperate campaign to defeat Issues 4, 5, 6, and 7. Placed on the ballot by Ohioans for Utility Reform, the issues would create a Lifeline rate structure, set up a consumer action group in the state capitol, provide for strict regulation of nuclear power development, and reform the state's initiative process. OUR has won tremendous victories up to this point in the campaign, but no one is underestimating the power the utility companies can exercise.

The United Auto Workers' CAP Council has unanimously endorsed the four issues statewide. This marks the first time a major union has endorsed an anti-nuclear initiative. The UAW has led the way to bridging the gap between labor and environmentalists. Between the



business orientation of some labor leaders and the anti-labor stands the environmental movement has taken; an alliance of environmentalists and labor has been difficult. If this alliance continues to develop, the potential for successful environmental action will increase greatly.

Representative democracy diffuse dissent, initiative democracy stimulates it.

One utility company attempt to confuse the issue backfired badly. The companies bought double page ads in all the state's major newspapers printing the text of the petition and warning people not to sign until they read it. The ad implied that OUR was trying to con the public.

At the time, OUR was feverishly trying to collect 21,000 signatures in ten days to make up for signatures thrown out in an initial count of 382,000 signatures. Despite the ads, 92,000 signatures were collected, representing every county in the state.

The utilities' front group is called "Citizens for Safe Low Cost Electricity." As a last ditch attempt to prevent a vote, CSLCE has filed a suit with the Ohio Supreme Court charging the issues are confusing, should be more than four

issues, and that each issue should have required a separate petition. Everyone admits that although the Supreme Court is in the utilities' pocket, CSLCE has no case.

After November

Ohioans for Utility Reform is a collection of diverse citizens groups around the state. Every major city is represented. NAM members in four areas of Ohio are active in the campaign. The Miami Valley Power Project, started by Dayton NAM in January 1975, is one of the oldest groups in OUR.

In Akron, the TEA Party, a nationwide tax reform group, was the first to suggest the use of the initiative. Groups are organizing in Youngstown, Toledo, and Cleveland. In Columbus, the Coalition of Concerned Utility Users has been the hub of the state organization for two years, but has still managed to build a strong local organization.

Although little time has been spent discussing what will happen after the election, a network of ties is developing among the organizers of these groups. Most feel that there is a strong future for a state utilities organization. What exists now is probably the strongest grass roots consumer movement in Ohio's history. As one Columbus organizer predicts, "Even if we lose in November, the utilities ain't seen nothing yet."



People's Power Project Cracks Bell Tel

by Mike Turner, St. Louis NAM

The People's Power Project finished its first campaign in St. Louis early in September, a fight against a 15% rate increase by Southwestern Bell Telephone Co. The PPP is a socialist action organization that includes members of St. Louis New American Movement.

Besides a general rate increase of 15% and an intrastate long distance increase of 6%, the telephone company wants to increase installation charges from \$22 to \$44 and to charge 20 cents for each directory assistance call after the first three per month.

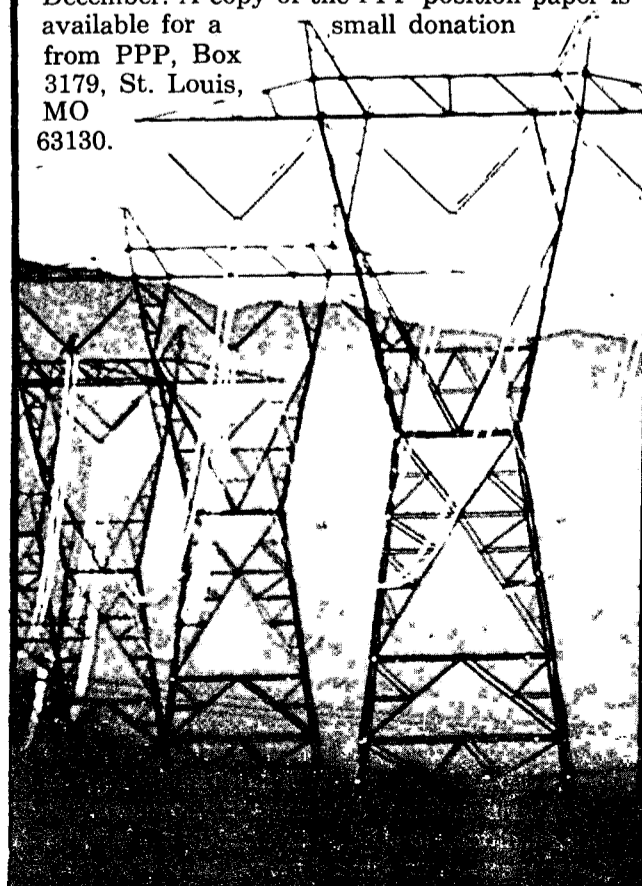
The Missouri Public Service Commission (PSC) held informal hearings on the increase in St. Louis and St. Louis County. To get people to attend the hearings and testify, PPP wrote a position paper on the increases and sent it to organizations throughout the city, PPP also leafleted, took petitions to shopping areas, and went door-to-door to talk to people.

At the hearings, representatives from several organizations of the blind testified that charges for directory assistance would place special burdens on them. Organizations representing the elderly and the poor protested the harsh financial burden of the proposed increases. The Association of Community Organizations for Reform Now (ACORN) got good publicity by hitting Southwestern Bell's \$234 million in "phantom taxes" collected from customers but never paid to the government.

PPP testified against the loss of jobs the directory assistance charges would cause, and against Bell's unnecessary advertising and its lobbying expenses. PPP called for public ownership and democratic control of the phone company.

The PSC is holding three weeks of formal hearings on the increases, with a decision due in December. A copy of the PPP position paper is available for a small donation

from PPP, Box
3179, St. Louis,
MO
63130.



FDR Rides Again?

The Presidential Depression of 1976

by David Levinson

To the dismay of many, the post-Watergate mood of the country has enabled Jimmy Carter to succeed in his quest for the Democratic Presidential nomination. If recent opinion polls prove to be correct, he will become the next President of the United States.

The nature of Carter's appeal is disturbing. At a time when the United States is experiencing its highest unemployment since the Depression of the 1930's, and corruption from the Presidency down to the FBI and the CIA has been exposed, Americans will vote for a man who sells his personality and Kennedy-like smile rather than his politics.

Unemployment is now officially 7.9%, with a truer estimate being about double that figure. (The official figure omits people who are not registered with the government as being out of work, and does not reflect the number of people whose unemployment benefits have expired.)

To make matters worse, the rate of inflation in the 1970's has far exceeded token cost of living increases granted to American workers.

Not since the Depression of the late 1920's and early 1930's has the United States been in such a state of economic turmoil. And by constantly comparing himself and his proposed policies with FDR and the New Deal, Jimmy Carter continually reminds us of the circumstances surrounding the Depression.

The Depression

When FDR assumed the Presidency in 1933, many banks were closed and over 15 million Americans were unemployed. Although there was a good deal of left wing organizing before and during Roosevelt's administration, most working people saw their difficulties as personal problems rather than as the problems of the entire working class. People were desperately looking for a savior. And because the Depression had not produced a sense of worker solidarity, Americans were not ready for a radical change in the economic system. Instead, FDR and the New Deal were accepted as the solution to the problems of the Depression.

Along with the implementation of the New Deal came the creation of millions of public

works jobs, the Social Security system, etc. These steps temporarily eased the suffering of the American people (though in fact, unemployment didn't really drop very far until World War II). The New Deal also insured the survival of American capitalism.

A continued depression almost surely would have caused greater and greater discontent with the American capitalistic system. This would possibly have created a situation ripe for the emergence of a socialist revolution. The New Deal was about all that could be done to save the status quo. And it worked.

Carter's New New Deal

Carter's proposed economic remedies and the ways in which he plans to deal with American disgust and disenchantment in the 1970's are strikingly similar to those used by FDR in the early 1930's. He has pledged he will conduct periodic "fireside chats" as Roosevelt did. He has promised the creation of public works jobs to alleviate unemployment.

Carter's appeal is one that tries to give people faith in the supposed high degree of upward mobility permitted by the American economic system. He has effectively used the media to portray himself as a "peanut farmer" who was poor as a child and had to walk miles to school. He states that he worked his way up from "rags to riches," which fortifies the myth that "anyone can become President." Jimmy Carter and the mass media tell us that he is the American Dream.

But while he portrays himself as the FDR of the 1970's, Carter has shown great empathy for multinational corporations. He recently told a group of business executives that they, too, could trust him in the White House.

Carter is a founding member of the Trilateral Commission, which is made up of 60 members from each of the three major sections of the advanced capitalist world (North America, Western Europe, and Japan). The purpose of the commission is to coordinate capitalist response to the demands of the developing nations for a greater share of economic power. The Trilateral Commission seeks to lessen conflict and main-

tain the multinational corporations' status quo. Although Carter has attacked Henry Kissinger's approach to foreign policy, Kissinger's approach is basically the same as that advocated by the Trilateral Commission.

The real danger of the Trilateral Commission is that it demonstrates the new, innovative methods used by the ruling class to prevent serious threats to its power. Rather than publicly attacking dissenters, the ruling class has shifted to a more behind the scenes approach. So has Jimmy Carter.

Carter says he's for the "little man and little woman." He talks about taxing the rich instead of the poor, about national health insurance, and about reducing the defense budget. But he also talks about how important the well-being of Big Business is for economic recovery.

In early August, addressing a group of corporate executives in New York, Carter promised to use "great caution" and to study the situation "for at least a year" before modifying the present corporate tax structure. While Carter is busy studying, multinational corporations will continue to go virtually tax free.

While Carter continuously states that he is for minority groups and women, his past record indicates quite the opposite. During his 1970 campaign for governor of Georgia, he said that he and George Wallace share similar views. As governor, he legislated abortion laws that were as restrictive as possible under the Supreme Court ruling. While Carter claims he is willing to give a few women influential positions in his administration, he refuses to give most women power over their own bodies.

Even on an issue like unemployment, where Carter is campaigning hard, he says that most unemployed workers will have to rely on the "private sector" -- in other words, on Big Business -- to get jobs. And in his first TV debate with Gerald Ford, Carter said even the limited social programs he proposes would have to wait until they can be done within a balanced budget, which in practice may mean they will wait for ever.

Under the guise of being a "people's candidate," Jimmy Carter will increasingly bring the rule of Big Business upon our everyday lives.



John C. Lei

health notes

by Rick Kunnes, Detroit NAM

•The American Medical Association (AMA) cheated the Postal Service out of nearly half a million dollars over the past four years. The AMA's Journal understated its free sample circulation by 40,000 copies per week for 230 weeks, according to Associated Press, in violation of second class mailing laws. The AMA had an excessive and illegal free circulation to high drug volume prescribing physicians, in order to make the Journal more attractive to drug industry advertisers.

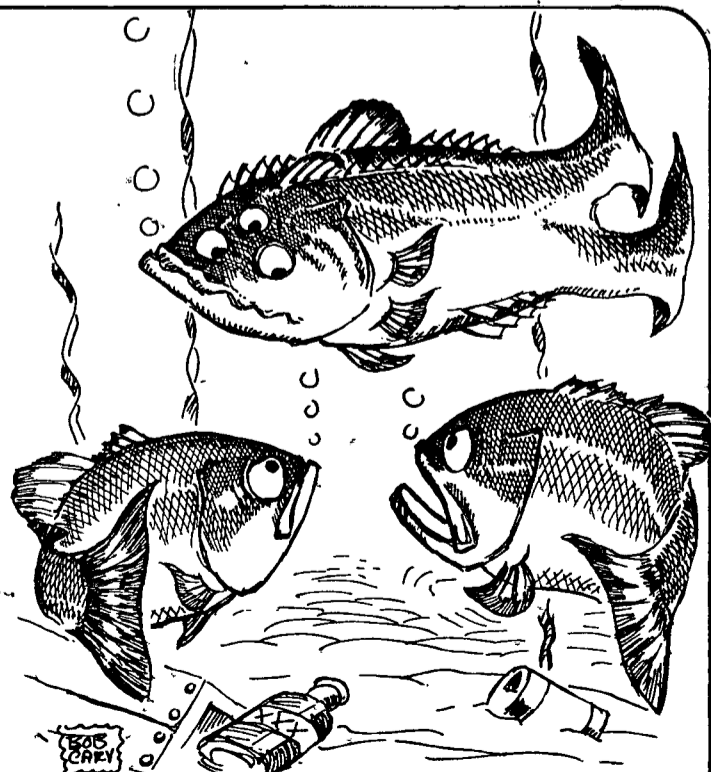
•Blue Cross says it does more than "just pay hospital bills." Apparently it pays a number of other bills as well. The federal government pays Blue Cross \$7 million a year to "administer" the Medicare program. Blue Cross, in turn, bills the feds (i.e., the taxpayer) for Blue Cross executives' first class flights and chartered private flights, stays in the finest hotels with all family members, and fleets of luxury automobiles used for business and personal reasons.

•... which in part accounts for why health care costs rose 300% in the last decade.

•The U.S. General Accounting Office reports that over 350 officials of the Food and Drug Administration have violated federal conflict of interest regulations by either owning stocks in drug companies or failing to file a financial disclosure statement about such stock ownership.

•One quarter of all medical lab tests are wrong or substandard, according to Rep. Paul Rogers, a member of the House Subcommittee on Health. More than half the states have no laws requiring any form of quality control or standards in medical labs. Of the 60,000 labs operated by physicians, not one is covered by any legal standard.

•80% of the world's population lives in housing inferior to that of the average farm animal in the United States.



"I'd like you to meet my cousin Fred from down back of the nuclear power plant."

It's the Real Thing Labor, COLA, and Incomes Policies

by Dan Marschall, These Times

Labor entered its 1976 contract negotiations in the position of underdog, still licking its wounds from massive unemployment and the spiraling cost of living. Contracts would expire for 4½ million workers this year, many in such crucial industries as trucking, rubber, auto, and electrical equipment. The labor leaders had been kicked around by Ford and Nixon for years, but now the pressure was coming from their own ranks, who demanded contracts that would heal the economic scars of the 1974-74 recession.

In the last few months, a lot of attention has been focused on union wage demands. But the main negotiating issues so far this year have not been wage and benefit increases as such, but Cost of Living Allowances (COLA) and a vaguely defined "incomes policy," under which unions would voluntarily limit wage increases.

Cost of Living Increases

COLA was first instituted in the 1948 contract between General Motors and the United Auto Workers. Operating over the life of the contract, the escalator clause tied wage increases to the Consumer Price Index, the government's measure of changes in the cost of living. It's interesting to note that COLA was not demanded by the UAW in 1948, but rather proposed by the president of GM as a way to avoid auto strikes in the future and to stabilize its labor relations with the still militant young union. In the wake of the bitter GM strike of 1946, the auto companies considered such measures absolutely essential. The cost to the corporation would be minimal, GM's president believed, since prices would be relatively stable in the post-war period.

Since that time, COLA has been as good for management as for the union leadership. Its main effect has been to greatly increase the length of labor contracts. By 1975, 90% of all major industrial agreements were for three years or more. In contrast to the 1930's and '40's, labor officials are now spared a yearly test of strength with their corporate counterparts.

But the economy has had its ups and downs since 1948, and COLA is not too popular with business when inflation soars, as it has in this latest recession. Both the trucking and rubber companies strongly opposed an uncapped COLA formula (that is, one with no upper limit). The Trucking Employers only relented under pressure from William Usery, the Secretary of Labor, who declared that a Taft-Hartley cooling-off period would not be invoked to halt the nationwide strike of some 450,000 truckers and warehousemen. The trucking strike continued for three days, and the Teamsters still accepted an escalator clause which, at expected inflation rates, will recover less than half of their loss in purchasing power over the life of the contract.

The rubber companies held out for over four months against cost of living demands by the United Rubber Workers union. Rubber workers were hit especially hard by the recession, since their 1973 contract contained no escalator clause whatsoever. To regain their usual parity with auto workers, 60,000 rubber workers displayed a high degree of unity and perseverance in holding out for their full demands.

From the point of view of management, COLA no longer fulfills its original functions. Instead of generating labor peace, escalators have become primary issues in prolonged strikes. And when it becomes difficult to predict the rate of inflation, COLA is no help to employers in computing labor costs from year to year.

From the unions' point of view, COLA has never allowed members to keep pace with the rising cost of living. Between 1968 and 1974, for example, COLA only recovered about half of the increase in the Consumer Price Index.

Incomes Policy

Despite these drawbacks, COLA will still be retained as a bargaining demand. But both labor and management have now embarked on a search for other methods to hold down prices and wages. The solution they're coming to is some form of "incomes policy," whereby unions would voluntarily agree to an upper limit on COLA and wage increases. According to *Business Week*, the key to such a proposal would be "candor" on the part of government in realistically evaluating the inflationary impact of its spending programs. It would also require a cooperative atmosphere "where there can be essentially voluntary agreement among treasury officials, central bankers, companies, and unions on how incomes should be distributed."

These projections rest on the assumption that the federal government really can regulate the economy, and that corporations will stick to some price restrictions. The impact of popular political pressure for more social welfare spend-

ing is nowhere taken into account. But "incomes policies" like this have been employed in Western Europe. In Britain, for example, the Trades Union Congress, the country's major labor federation, has agreed to a 4½% limit on wage increases this year.

The exact shape of an incomes policy in the United States has not been determined. It seems likely that whatever specific mechanism is developed, it would be permanent, unlike the temporary labor-management committees that were formed during World War I and II. It would also be voluntary, unlike Nixon's mandatory wage controls of 1971-74. In addition, an incomes policy would be administered by a group with real decision-making power within a national planning set-up, different from the advisory committees created by the Kennedy and Nixon-Ford administrations.

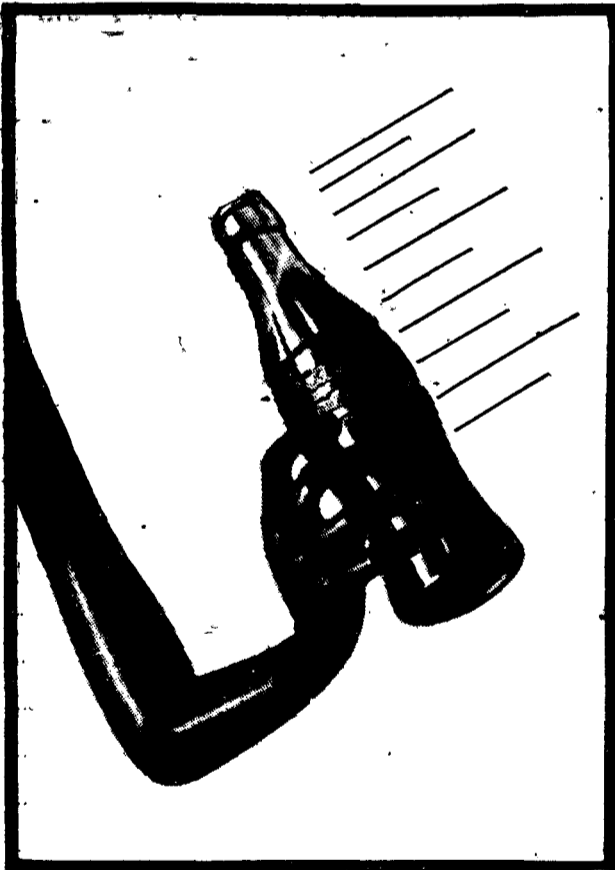
The advantage of this sort of policy for business is obvious: it would enable corporations to predict their labor costs from year to year, to maintain an "acceptable" level of profits, and to avoid the costly wave of strikes which have followed wage controls in the past.

Social Reforms and Presidential Politics

For union leaders, an incomes policy is a logical extension of their basic acceptance of capitalism and of the relatively low wage demands they've made since 1970. It's also a realization that if unions do extract large wage settlements, corporations will merely raise their prices. In return for voluntary wage restrictions, labor leaders hope to gain a series of major social reforms, many of which could strengthen the ability of unions to withstand the ill-effects of high unemployment, runaway shops, and layoffs of state and municipal workers.

To secure a new, improved New Deal, union leaders have cast their lot with Jimmy Carter and the Democratic Party in 1976. One of the first things labor would demand of a Carter administration is an executive order barring federal contracts from employers who violate rulings of the National Labor Relations Board. This measure would immediately aid the AFL-CIO consumer boycott of the J.P. Stevens textile company. Stevens has broken all records for violating labor law in the U.S., but has still received over \$100 million in Defense Department contracts since 1968. Breaking Stevens will be the opening thrust in the labor movement's renewed attempt to organize the entire South.

Labor would demand many other reforms if the Democrats controlled both Congress and the White House: the repeal of section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act, the clause which sanctions state "right to work" laws all over the South and Southwest; bargaining rights for workers in the public sector; full-site picketing rights for construction workers; and reform of the National Labor Relations Board. Would President Carter really resist the pressure of Big Business and undertake such historic legislation? Or is he just throwing a juicy bone to starving and defenseless labor leaders, ready to lure them back into the doghouse come 1977? Only time will tell.



Union Goons Attack Rank and File Militant in Dayton

by Eric Johnson, Dayton NAM

Eric Larson, a member of the Revolutionary Communist Party and a worker at the Frigidaire plant in Dayton, was beaten last month in a planned attack on the floor of a union meeting. After he repeatedly attempted to make a point about an impending strike vote, the union leadership asked that he be silenced. Larson was immediately attacked by men armed with brass knuckles, who continued to beat him even after he lost consciousness. He was hospitalized with two concussions and a fractured skull.

One black man who attempted to help was

shot in the stomach, allegedly by someone standing on the podium. Other known militants were also beaten, including a member of the Republic of New Africa (RNA). Immediately after the brawl, while the injured men and women were being attended to outside, the strike vote was taken.

IUE Local 801 is Dayton's largest union, and represents Frigidaire appliance workers as well as Delco auto workers. Several years ago a similar brawl occurred when a dual wage plan was proposed to split the union into two factions: The auto workers received higher wages, sup-

posedly because appliance workers outside of Dayton were paid less than the average auto worker. Ever since the union accepted the wage plan, hostility has existed between the two factions. The recent attack was an attempt to smash dissent against the leadership that has allowed the companies to divide the union.

NAM and the RNA have worked together to build support for the rights of all workers to a democratic union free from the threat of violence.



Black Rebellion Flares in South Africa as Kissinger Tries to Put Out the Fire

compiled by the Newspaper Collective

"He [the black man] knows his place, and if not, I'll tell him his place." In these words South African Police and Justice Minister James Kruger reaffirmed to a cheering white audience that Prime Minister John Vorster does not intend to alter his country's apartheid system. Despite the unprecedented black protest movement that has swept over 70 urban ghettos since June 16, as well as urgent calls for reform from the opposition white press and the advice of England and the United States, Vorster's regime remains committed to racial separation and white domination.

The government's tough stand has been reinforced by a crackdown on black leaders and threats to muzzle the opposition press. Police have rounded up more than 175 black ministers, school principals, lawyers, teachers, women's leaders, journalists, and student militants. The *Johannesburg Star*, a black paper, reported that almost the entire above-ground leadership of the militant black movement has been locked up. At the same time, Information Minister Connie Mulder has threatened to restrict the press if it continues to publish "irresponsible" criticisms of the government.

White Opposition

The government's policies face opposition not only from militant blacks, but from the small but growing white liberal Progressive Party. A more potent form of white opposition is brewing among South African industrialists, who depend on the black labor force and fear that student-inspired black protest will radicalize the black worker.

The Transvaal Chamber of Industries, representing the bulk of South African industry, has recommended both higher wages and acceptance of blacks as permanent rather than migratory workers. Harry Oppenheimer, head of the giant Anglo-American mining conglomerate, has advocated the line of England's *Economist* magazine: the goal is to "bring the blacks into a liberal capitalist system" if South Africa is "to stay a good investment." But men like Oppenheimer have been steadfastly opposed by hardline Afrikaaners, who dominate the ruling Nationalist Party.

Minister for Black Affairs Michael Botha's response to the black uprisings is to state that blacks in South Africa are not members of the "white nation" and never will be. Instead of reform, the government proposes to create semi-autonomous "homelands" far from the large white urban centers for each of the major black ethnic groups. Under this policy, the vast majority of Africans -- who make up 70% of South Africa's population -- will be resettled on 13% of the land. The remainder will be allowed to live in or near white urban areas, in Botha's words, "to sell their labor and for nothing else."

The homelands that now exist are economically dependent on the white industry and economy. Per capita income is \$8 a month, a fraction of the \$150 per capita income of South African whites. Blacks will be bound to the poverty of the homelands or forced to work as "foreigners" in the white cities and industrial areas.

At the last count, 13.9 million South Africans were designated "citizens" of the homelands, but only 6.9 million actually lived there. The rest live where they can find work. And the "independence" which the white government is promising the homelands is a sham: many elements of sovereignty, such as control over foreign relations, will remain in the hands of the South African government.

Enter Kissinger

In the midst of this situation comes Henry Kissinger, seeking Vorster's aid in solving conflicts in white-ruled Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) and South Africa's colony of Namibia. The rainy season begins this month in Zimbabwe, and the guerrilla forces fighting to overthrow the white minority regime of Ian Smith are expected to launch a major offensive. A spokesperson for the guerrilla movement stated last month that "Smith's fall may be a question of months, not years, if the U.S. and Britain 'do not interfere.'" Vorster wants very much to interfere. As he said in September, "If we can't get

negotiations started in Rhodesia by the end of the year, it will be a bloody mess." His goal is not to save the doomed Smith regime, but to keep a "radical movement" like the Zimbabwe Liberation Army from coming to power.

Similarly, in Namibia, he knows that SWAPO, the guerrilla movement, must be included in talks if there is to be any chance of negotiating a settlement. Through negotiated settlements, with the help of South Africa, he hopes to avoid "another Angola," and oversee the emergence of moderate, pro-Western black regimes.

Though Kissinger proclaims "moral support" for majority rule in South Africa, American government and business interests are firmly committed to maintaining the present regime. In the last decade, U.S. investments in South Africa have tripled, and now total over \$1.5 billion. Several U.S. multinational corporations plan to develop mineral deposits, and the Pentagon wants a naval base there.

But in order to maintain any credibility with black African leaders, Kissinger must push South African officials to negotiate with radical black groups and neighboring black-led countries. While Kissinger and Vorster share a common interest in promoting pro-Western black leadership in Zimbabwe and Namibia, a recent exchange over apartheid reveals a strain in their alliance.

In an August 31 speech, Kissinger denounced apartheid as "incompatible with any concept of human dignity." Vorster responded bitterly that no outside person or country could dictate to South Africa. Vorster must also answer to a powerful constituency within his ruling Nationalist Party that is suspicious of any compromise in South Africa's foreign policy and is adamantly opposed to change in apartheid.



International News Highlights

U.S. KNEW KOREAN TREE-TRIMMING MIGHT CAUSE INCIDENT -- Ford administration officials have revealed that the U.S. military knew ahead of time that the cutting of the celebrated poplar tree in Panmunjom could cause an incident. North Korean guards had warned U.S. officials against cutting the tree on August 6, twelve days before two Americans were killed trying to cut it. Defense Department officials told Congress that the military was concerned in advance that the tree-trimming might cause such an incident. "We were worried about it ... It was a concern obviously," said Assistant Secretary of Defense Morton Abramowitz. That account contrasts sharply with the U.S. statement made at Panmunjom August 19, the day after the incident. Rear Admiral Mark Frudden said then that the tree pruning was a "routine maintenance activity" which "in no way could ... be considered either hostile or provocative."

SURPLUS VIETNAM DEFOLIANTS STILL A DANGER -- A Houston chemical company is trying to get rid of 800,000 gallons of the highly toxic herbicide known as Agent Orange left over from the Vietnam War. Agent Orange, named for the color of its canister, contains dioxin, the most toxic compound known to scientists. On September 2, California's State Health Director stopped plans to bury canisters containing charcoal filters contaminated with Agent Orange in a landfill in West Covina, Cal. The disposal was an experiment. Scientists are still trying to find a way to break down the compound, which is so lethal that a billionth of a gram can kill a guinea pig.

It was the same chemical, released in a cloud of poison gas during a factory explosion, that forced the evacuation of 800 people in Seveso, Italy, in July. More than 500 people from the Seveso area have been treated for illnesses, ranging from skin rashes to liver disorders. Thousands of small animals and livestock have died since being exposed to the gas. An eye-witness said that after the cloud passed, "vegetables were shriveled, plant leaves were spotted with brown, and until the rain came there was a terrible odor."

Between 1962 and 1970, the U.S. sprayed 45,000 tons of Agent Orange containing dioxin over South Vietnam to destroy forest growth and expose guerrillas. Along with Agents Blue and White, the chemical was sprayed over six million acres of trees and crops, and is responsible, according to many scientists, for a marked increase in Vietnamese birth defects.

ARGENTINA DEATH SQUADS, TORTURE, AND FOREIGN INVESTMENT -- Although the government of General Jorge Videla has now publicly repudiated the actions of Argentina's right wing death squads, the groups -- which have ties to police and the intelligence services -- continue to operate without government interference. On August 20, the bodies of 46 people killed by machine guns and dynamite in two mass executions were found outside Buenos Aires. The right wing Argentine Anticommunist Alliance took credit. Among the victims targeted by the death squads are relatives of people active in the leftist opposition. On August 25, the son, daughter, and daughter-in-law of Juan Gelman, a well known left wing poet and journalist, were kidnapped.

The government itself continues to contribute to the climate of fear. The junta provides no public record of the thousands arrested since the March coup. Many people simply disappear. According to the London journal *Latin America*, Argentine authorities now admit to systematic use of torture to break the cell structures of guerrilla groups. Their techniques are reportedly based on French experience in Algeria, and are guaranteed to make any prisoner talk within half an hour.

Meanwhile, in what is described as a 180 degree turn around from the policies of the Peron government, the military junta issued a new foreign investment law on August 15, designed to attract rather than restrict foreign capital. The law opens the door to foreign investment in the defense industry, transportation, energy, banks, and insurance. It places no limits on the amount of profit or capital a foreign company may remove from Argentina, and gives foreign investors the same rights as local investors.



Feminist Pamphlet Probes Wife Beating

Wife Beating, by Betsy Warrior
New England Free Press

by Jenny Lovejoy, Newspaper Collective

Betsy-Warrior has written extensively on the subject of violence against women. In a new pamphlet of excerpts from her earlier work, *Houseworker's Handbook*, her basic analysis of wife beating and solutions to the problem have been compiled into a useful and informative form.

In the pamphlet, Warrior clearly shows the connections between the social position of women and society's attitude towards wife beating. American society demands that women be both economically and emotionally dependent in marriage. This framework limits the ability of women to escape their husbands' violence, and can frustrate them into resignation. Police protection and social services, so aptly dubbed Catch 22 by Warrior, are of little help, and often add to the already bad situation.

Warrior continues by discussing the use of psychiatry as a bandaid for the problem, rather than as a tool which could provide an in depth analysis. Psychiatry's focus on the individual, rather than the social, aspects of the situation cannot end wife beating. The author stresses that to understand violence against women, one must understand the social, political, and economic forces which form women's lives.

Warrior concludes that writing laws against wife beating are not a solution, as the conditions which breed the problem would still exist. Changing these conditions as a long term goal is necessary. But it does not provide help for today's victims. A helpful short term solution which Warrior suggests and illustrates is the establishment of refuges for battered women, and facilities and resources for these women to begin new lives.

The pamphlet is available from the New England Free Press, 60 Union Square, Somerville, MA 02143.

This Land is Your Land



Most of us are familiar with the first three verses of Woody Guthrie's ballad, "This Land Is Your Land." But our schools and summer camps never taught us the rest of the verses -- most of them also written by Woody Guthrie, one by Pete Seeger. Back in the Depression, when the song was first written, the idea that "this land is your land" -- and doesn't just belong to a few wealthy corporations -- was pretty revolutionary. It still is today.

CHORUS:

This land is your land
This land is my land
From California
To the New York Island
From the redwood forests
To the Gulf Stream waters
This land was made for you and me.

As I was walkin' that ribbon of highway
I saw above me that endless skyway
I saw below me that golden valley
This land was made for you and me

I roamed and rambled, and I followed my footsteps
to the sparkling sands of her diamond deserts
And all around me, a voice was chanting
This land was made for you and me.

The sun was shining as I went strolling
And the wheat fields waving, and the dust clouds rolling
As the fog was lifting, a voice was singing
This land was made for you and me.

In the squares of the city, in the shadow of the steeple
In the relief office, I saw my people
And they were hungry, as I stood whistling
This land is made for you and me.

And as I went walking, there was a fence to stop me
And a great big sign there said "Private Property"
But on the other side, it didn't say nothing
That side was made for you and me.

So if you're working as hard as you're able
And getting crumbs from a rich man's table
Then maybe you're wondering if it's truth or fable
That this land was made for you and me.

But no one living is gonna stop me
As I go walking down freedom's highway
And nobody's ever gonna make me turn back
Cause this land was made for you and me.

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Fonzie, Hawkeye, and Divorcee Chic



by Dan Luria, NAM member at large, Boston

Tuesday night is a good night. I have to be home anyway, because I'm on phone chain standby for a group coordinating a response to racist attacks on black families in Boston. So I watch TV. And Tuesday TV teaches two lessons: first, that TV can be pretty good, and second, the TV can never be super good.

At eight o'clock, I turn on ABC for **Happy Days**, an almost always funny show about three middle class boys whose adolescent insecurities lead them to worship the only working class character on the show -- Arthur Fonzarelli, the king of '50's cool.

The three pals, Protestants Cunningham Weber, and Malph, whose fathers own hardware stores and the like. And the Cunningham's boarder, the Fonz, the tough-as-nails auto mechanic ethnic. But how did these nice, clean, suburban Milwaukee people meet Fonzie, anyway? Why does Fonzie waste his time hanging around with these "nerds"?

The answers are what makes **Happy Days** a good show. Richie Cunningham is a malcontent. Sure, he's no rebel, and he wants to go to college; he certainly doesn't want to be like the Fonz. He just wants the "cool." But he's already wiser than his middle class parents. He knows that Fonzie is a complicated guy who has to affect utter composure because he's got a foot in both camps, the "hood" camp and the "nice kids" camp. Richie uses Fonzie to learn about the world, and Fonzie uses Richie to learn about the family and how to treat "high class chicks."

In fact, "chicks" are the link between classes in **Happy Days**. It's sexism for sure, but it's not vicious sexism. It's what **Happy Days** is all about: four boys and how hard it is for them to get laid. The verdict: If you want a show about four boys in 1959, **Happy Days** is a winner. If you demand a show that transcends the impoverished way things are, **Happy Days** is a dud.

Good Times

It's 8:30, and that means a choice for some, between **Laverne and Shirley** on ABC and **Good Times** on CBS. Personally, no problem. **Laverne**

and **Shirley** is a slick show about how stupid two women factory workers can be. It shares with **Mary Hartman** an appeal based largely on people's belief that working people are hopelessly confused and banal. They're both piggy shows -- insight without compassion.

So it's **Good Times**, always a joy. It's about a working class black family in public housing in Chicago. Father works part-time at a car wash, and is frequently laid off. Mother works variously as a salesperson, a maid, a check-out counter employee. Three children are equally believable: Thelma, the high school senior daughter about to become, say, a secretary; Michael, the 12 year old son who is supposed to grow up to be a doctor; and the 19 year old son J.J., the show's "all-us-blacks-are-funny-despite-it-all" centerpiece.

Good shows such as **MASH** make it because they are better than usual, more provocative than usual, but not too unusual.

J.J., the slick, brash "black dude," makes **Good Times** a racist show. But J.J. is clearly uncomfortable in this aspect of his role, and the constant clowning barely hides a real human being. The mother and daughter are almost real: both very serious, very bright, very unconfused -- but the time wasted on J.J.'s clowning doesn't leave enough to develop them.

Michael is amazing. He's scared to be bused to a white school; his father says blacks need better educations; Michael says "And so do most whites." Or, he writes a Bicentennial paper for school about how the nation is built on a legacy of slavery and exploitation -- including his father's exploitation at the car wash -- and the father is fired and the family visited by the FBI.

Good Times is a serious show. It's usually about real-life problems which the family face as a result of being poor more than of being black. J.J.'s slapstick "you-can-laught-at-me" routine

are TV's answer to the question, "What do you do to keep a serious show a comedy?" The right answer is that you don't turn to racist characterizations. Once again, TV does everything except rise above the expected.

But the best thing about **Good Times** is that when it ends, on comes **MASH**, the best show on television. Based on a viciously sexist, utterly middle class antiwar movie from the late '60's, the TV version is a delight. It's almost always about something important, it's never super-patriotic despite its Korean War setting, and the acting is super.

In one episode, happy-go-lucky Dr. Hawkeye Pierce finds that the nurse he lived with while a medical student has been assigned to the 4077 **MASH** hospital. They rekindle the old romance, despite her marriage to an advertising executive (Hawkeye calls him "just another huckster selling garbage to the people"). But the rerun of the relationship falters as it had the first time around: "he" is too into "his work" and "she" is too into "her emotional life." My first reaction was ho-hum, another male/female=career/family trip. My second reaction was that it's a real trip, but that the episode treated it as if it were eternal and not something that can be fought against and changed.

Jesus Christ

Best **MASH** I've ever seen: American pilot is shot down and ends up in the 4077 hospital. "What's your name, soldier?" "Jesus Christ, sir." Enter a CIA man, intent on exposing the patient as a coward with a messiah act aimed at getting out of the war. Then a psychiatrist, clearly antiwar, and hence accused of being a "pinko simp," judges that, "While it's not my metaphor, this guy is Jesus Christ all right, and he saw that the next bomb he dropped would be dropped on himself ..."

MASH's bad point, though, is the same as that of **Happy Days** or **Good Times** -- the refusal to combat many of the ideas we've all been taught to take for granted. The show is built around a group of men, and it is their camaraderie which gives **MASH** its power.

TV can be better than we've come to expect. All three of these shows, especially **MASH**, are miles above the competition in substance and acting. But good TV writers -- what really matters in the end -- are not so bold as to openly fight sexist and racist characterizations. Without "chicks" as the object of male activity, **Happy Days** would be incoherent. Without jive, self-mocking J.J., **Good Times'** ratings would plummet. And without male clubbiness, **MASH** would succumb to its pedantic moralism about war.

More important, attempts to build shows around characters who are constructed as counterpoints to dominant social roles have had trouble selling advertisers as well as viewers. **Hot L Baltimore**, a Norman Lear show about a hotel whose tenants include two prostitutes and a gay couple, disappeared within a few months. The fact is that writers can't write the stuff, actors have no experience playing it, and it doesn't sell products. Good shows such as **MASH** make it because they're better than usual more provocative than usual, but not too unusual.

There is no reason to expect television to be good. It is a spectator, rather than a participant, activity, and to make it work in the eyes of millions of different viewers it has to be made unexciting. It has to reflect the unexciting lives we lead. We watch it because we have been made unexciting, and it suits us. At some future time, we may have richer lives for art to reflect; but by then, we may find little electronic noise-and-picture boxes too painful a reminder of what we once were.

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