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*editorial*

## Smug Celebration Denies Revolutionary Past

This month the United States observes its 200th anniversary. The Pope and the Queen of England join the President in Philadelphia to celebrate the long life and power of the world's most successful capitalist democracy:

Believing that power is its own justification, the wealthy have used the occasion to launch an orgy of self-congratulation. Many of us have responded by treating the Bicentennial with cynical neglect. This is a tragedy, for by ceding the occasion to the ruling class, we have allowed our history to be distorted and devalued. We should not allow this to happen, not now.

In the first place, the corporate elite has used the Bicentennial celebration as an ideological weapon in the class struggle. Given the economic crisis, they could hardly do otherwise.

In the 1970's, most Americans have been severely hurt by inflation, unemployment, or the

cutback in social services. The basic necessities of life -- food, shelter, clothing, medical care and the like -- are becoming much harder to find and much more expensive to buy. For many Americans, the Bicentennial will be a cheerless celebration.

While millions suffer, business profits are rising, and giant corporations are instructing us on why they need even more profit. The contradictory interests of the capitalist class and the nation's people have become frighteningly clear.

For the ruling class, the Bicentennial comes at an opportune moment. Their goal is to drown the class struggle in a flood of patriotism. When file clerk and bank president both assert their first allegiance to Country, class divisions are muted. Conflict centers around clashes between nations. Instead of defending their own interests at home, workers sign on to dreams of conquest abroad. It is no coincidence that the most fervent (and gaudy) displays of Bicentennial patriotism are paid for by multinational corporations in the form of ads, contributions to official ceremonies, and consumer product packaging.

### Distorting Our History

Secondly, the official Bicentennial celebrates those national attributes which reflect the worst in our history. It worships national power and wealth. Yet the source of this power lies in a series of shameful crimes which still scar our nation's life, including

--200 years of slavery, during which black Africans were stolen from their homes, brought here in chains, and forced to work in the most degrading and oppressive conditions possible. Out of slavery came the basis of much of the

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## America's Got Red White Bicentennial Blues

by Chris Casey, Newspaper Collective

To judge from interviews with people in Amherst, Buffalo, Boston, and New York, it seems that more than a few Americans have severe cases of the Bicentennial blahs. While many of those interviewed thought that celebrating our nation's birth was a good thing in itself, most of them seemed both cynical and disillusioned about the way the Bicentennial is being used.

People called it "just another money-making scheme," "something that they're capitalizing on," or a "regular rip-off by big business." One person in Amherst, interviewed by Dave Russell and Valerie Maxwell of Amherst NAM, put it succinctly: "Well, it ain't what it used to be; I think a lot of it is pretty sick. Someone actually wanted to drape the Statue of Liberty red, white, and blue. That's crazy! What does that have to do with the Bicentennial? The Bicentennial means a reminder of what people in this country needed, wanted, and fought for ... and it wasn't for Bicentennial flashlights or souvenirs. Sell, sell, sell. Bullshit."

A young black lesbian told Rick Steinberg of Buffalo NAM that she felt it was "a drag to hear about the 200 years of how great things are in America for some people when it's been 200 years of hell for others." A 47 year old working woman Rick interviewed had a somewhat different view: she felt the Bicentennial was a "good thing" because "it gives you something else to think about and if the government wasn't doing this they'd be doing something worse. It's also real good cause it gives people of towns something to celebrate and get together about."

What do people feel about the need for change

in American society during this Bicentennial year? When asked what they might do to improve it, there was a wide range of responses varying from anger and despair to confusion and uncertainty. A South Boston teenager told me, "Man, how would I change it? Well, for starters I'd make sure there were at least some goddam summer jobs around for myself and my friends." A young mother in Buffalo had a fairly strong opinion on what she felt had to be done: "I'd distribute the wealth better. Each person should only make a certain amount of money. I can't see people being worth \$2 billion, they're not worth it, and they don't pay taxes. Everyone should be taxed the same, on their income."

But while some spoke of more jobs and more economic equality, others seemed anxious, uncertain, and even despairing in their comments. A young worker at a container factory in Boston said bluntly, "Change it? Power's in the hands of the fat cats and not the average person. I can't see how it's going to change, at least for now. When people get fed up, a lot of them just drink their troubles away or find some other escape. I don't know. I just don't know."

### Madison Avenue

And so the red, white, and blue Bicentennial beat goes on. Madison Avenue plays up an image of a nation filled with patriotically blind Americans whose main concern during the Bicentennial year is whether or not they will be able to save enough money to tour the nation's historic sites this summer. But despite Exxon's confi-

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- J.P. Stevens boycott
- Review: pornography and more . . .

**Editorial . . .**

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country's material wealth -- as well as the bitter racism and national oppression that continues unabated today.

-- The systematic extermination of the Native American population. White settlers, goaded by expanding business interests and backed by the federal government, broke countless treaties with the Native Americans and launched bloody wars to drive them from their homes. Most of this nation's land was stolen this way.

-- The invasion of Mexico. Not content with the huge area already under its control, the U.S. took possession of land that once belonged to Mexico -- the region that is now Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, and California.

-- Finally, the untold sufferings and injuries caused by industrialization. Millions of lives were wasted in long hours of dangerous, boring, and underpaid work. Millions of deaths and crippling injuries resulted from needless accidents, unnamed occupational diseases, and malnourishment and starvation. It is here, above all, that the wealth and power of this country are rooted.

**letters**

To the Sisters and Brothers at CUNY:  
Right On!

Poor people must continue to keep poor people's schools open. And all of us have the right to an education, period. As students at Indiana Vocational Technical College, my wife and I have also faced much of the oppression you have. It is a horrible thing to force young people to pay tuition when they already have been taxed three or four times, and their parents have been taxed 25 or 50 years.

In Indiana, they tax us to death, and then in Indianapolis where the largest amount of people are, we get the most inferior facilities, for which we work more hours and pay more taxes. They have not shut down the predominantly black and Chicano campuses as they have in New York City, because there are none.

Instead, blacks and minority people are made to feel inferior, and forced into the "must-fail" categories.

It is inconceivable to a Midwesterner like myself to imagine the abject poverty and misery people in New York City face. I too have faced food stamp lines, and slumlords, but never the reality of unemployment for years and years. And now, the racist trustees at CUNY want these people to pay tuition?

I hope you people never give up. Take over the buildings as you have, lock Mayor Beame in his "Bankruptcy City Hall" office if you must. Failure is impossible! We will win!

Tony Cesnik  
Co-Representative  
Grass Roots Committee  
Indianapolis Peace and  
Freedom Party

To the Newspaper Collective:

A few comments on the two articles with respect to candidates in the current elections appearing in the May issue of our paper:

The political immaturity of the average American is demonstrated by the fact that he/she judges candidates for office mainly by their personal characteristics, stands and record. There is seldom any consideration for how the candidacy affects the mass movement or the task of forging unity between labor, blacks, and people who are seriously concerned with issues affecting the poor, the quality of life, etc. -- a unity which can eventually become a force capable of challenging the capitalist power structure. These above mentioned

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The unsurpassed wealth of which American leaders are so proud -- symbolized by tall office buildings and sleek automobiles -- rests on a long history of crimes against American workers and farmers and foreign peoples. The official Bicentennial supporters would have us forget this central fact of capitalist development. To hear them tell the story, this nation's pre-eminent position in the world was a gift from God, a reward for the virtues of thrift, honesty, town meeting democracy, and the pioneering spirit. If the Bicentennial is to mean anything positive, this myth must be shattered.

**Much to Celebrate**

Is there anything left to celebrate? Yes, a great deal.

If the history of government and business in the U.S. is one of greed and brutality there is also a popular tradition in this country of unceasing and heroic resistance to the ruling class. Over the years countless Americans have fought for racial justice, equality for women, trade unions, political rights, and industrial democracy. To the extent that democracy, equality, and economic security do exist in this country, they have been won by mass movements among the ruling classes of the past.

The militants who fought for democracy and economic justice have given this country a tradition to celebrate and be proud of. The Bicentennial is a time to remember and draw strength from two hundred years of popular struggle.

We remember the Abolitionists who agitated against slavery, who organized the underground railroad to aid escaped slaves, and who took up arms against the slaveholders.

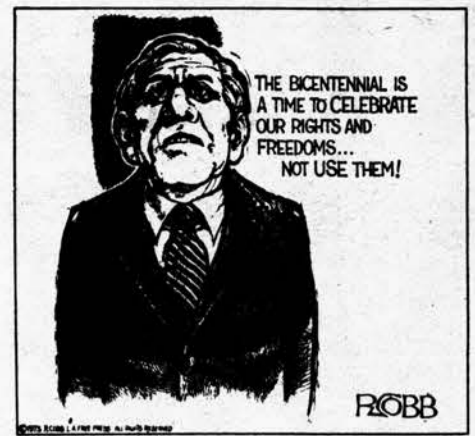
We remember the workers who launched general strikes against low wages, long hours, and inhuman working conditions in 1877 and 1886, who fought pitched battles with arms against Pinkerton guards and state militia.

We remember the women who struck for trade union principles in the textile industry in Massachusetts in 1834, and kept striking -- through the Lawrence strike of 1912 and the Farah strike of 1973.

We remember the Industrial Workers of the World, who infused trade union organizing with revolutionary socialism, who first unionized millions of miners, farm laborers, and unskilled immigrant workers, and who opposed the conservatism of the existing, fragmented craft unions.

We remember Eugene Debs and the Socialist Party, who condemned American entry into World War I because it was an imperialist war, and because the losers would be the workers of all countries who were shipped off to die.

We remember the suffragette movement which fought medieval notions about women's place and won the vote for women, raising issues of sexual discrimination that would be taken up



again a generation later.

We remember the radicals and activists of the CIO, who brought industrial trade unionism to this country to stay, who fought giant corporations for the right to bargain collectively, and who backed their demands with the sit-down strikes of 1937.

We remember the bravery of those Americans who volunteered to fight in the Spanish Civil War of 1936-39, the first Americans to directly oppose the fascist aggression that would soon cause the Second World War.

We remember the civil rights activists who walked the dusty roads of the rural South to win basic democratic rights for black citizens, who were shot, beaten, and jailed by the local police and vigilantes, and who shattered the complacent myth of the 1950's that America was a nation with no social conflict.

We remember the millions of Americans who opposed this country's criminal war in Indochina, who gathered half a million strong in Washington in November 1969 while the President watched a football game, who petitioned, demonstrated, resisted the draft, and organized GI opposition throughout ten years of war.

This is the history the Bicentennial should honor.

A revolutionary movement draws its strength from the people it serves. An American movement must root itself in the history and traditions of its own people. Otherwise it appears as an alien force which many honest workers regard with suspicion.

In this Bicentennial year, American socialists should proudly reaffirm the best in our own history. We carry the banners of a struggle that was begun in this country long ago by citizens who believed in democracy and human rights and sought to make them a reality.

Let the ruling class wallow in its own greed with pious self-congratulation. We should reaffirm that there was always another America besides the America of conquest and corruption.

In paying honor to the activists of our past, we should take this occasion to proclaim to all our fellow citizens that the great wealth of this country was not meant to be stolen and hoarded by a greedy few. It was meant to be shared, democratically and fairly, by all Americans -- and with all the peoples of the world.



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

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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.

Note to our readers: The NAM Newspaper collective is taking a much-needed vacation, and as a result of this and of time spent preparing for the NAM 1976 National Convention, we will not be able to produce an August issue of the NAM Newspaper. The next issue will be in September.

Africa in the '70's

# U.S. Backed Minority Governments Losing to People's Movements

by Andy Marx; reprinted from *Outfront*

The war in Angola is over. The last of the South African invaders have pulled out. Talk of a continuing guerrilla campaign by "nationalists" acceptable to South Africa and the United States have evaporated as quickly as these heroic allies of the West melted from the battlefields. Behind them they left nothing but a ravaged countryside and horrifying accounts of mass executions, rape, and looting.

After extensive travels in southern Angola, reporter Jane Bergerol of the *Observer* in London concluded, "Nobody can estimate with any accuracy the number of civilians shot by UNITA and FNL troops. But the total must be counted as many thousands, as far as I can judge more than the number of military deaths in the war."

Now the spotlight has shifted further south -- to Namibia (Southwest Africa), Zimbabwe (Rhodesia), and South Africa itself. Henry Kissinger is jetting around the country spouting threats and warnings against Cuban assistance for a frontal assault on these last bastions of white rule. Newspaper columnists and TV commentators have joined him in fretting noisily over the perils of a "race war" in southern Africa.

The fact of the matter is, of course, that a race war has been raging in Africa since the first Europeans set foot there. At various times and places it has also been a class war and a war of national liberation. But it definitely has been a war. What else can you call a history which saw as many as 15 million people shipped in chains across the Atlantic? How else describe nearly a million Algerians killed in seven years of fighting for their independence, or 10,000 Kenyans slain and nearly 100,000 held in British detention

camps, or more than a decade of guerrilla struggle in Mozambique, Angola, and Guinea-Bissau to drive out the Portuguese?

What has Kissinger and Co. worried now is the possibility that the war may be nearing an end, a white Waterloo in which settler rule and Western economic domination in southern Africa might go down to defeat together. It just could happen.

## War in Rhodesia and South Africa

If it does happen, it most certainly won't happen quite the way Kissinger has been pretending it will. No hordes of Cuban soldiers barreling across the Rhodesian border in Russian tanks.

It won't happen that way for any number of reasons, starting with the fact that Cuban assistance probably won't be necessary. Zimbabwe's black population outnumbers the 270,000 white settlers almost twenty to one. And South Africa, Great Britain, and the United States have been going out of their way to tell those 270,000 settlers they're on their own.

## U.S. corporations long ago recognized South Africa as a fine place to do business.

South Africa is another story. U.S. monopoly corporations long ago recognized South Africa as a fine place to do business. Since South African law forbids unions for black workers, wages are low, and profits are correspondingly high. U.S. investments in South Africa average a profit rate of over 20%, over twice the overall average profit rate on U.S. foreign investments. More than 300 U.S. corporations have a clear stake in upholding the status quo. This being the case, a showdown seems inevitable. It will inevitably be ugly.

South Africa's white supremacist government has expanded its armed forces and military budget almost geometrically in recent years. If its arsenal doesn't already include nuclear weapons, it will very soon, thanks in a large part to the United States, West Germany, and Iran. And the regime appears to be making progress in efforts to weld itself onto the NATO alliance.

Last year alone, South Africa practically doubled its armed forces, from 119,450 people to 201,900. Over the last five years the total armed forces have more than quadrupled.

Military spending has kept pace. South Africa's military budget today is more than twenty times what it was at the time of the Sharpesville Massacre in 1960 (when 67 peaceful African demonstrators were killed), triple what it was in 1970.

The level of South Africa's nuclear development is a closely guarded secret. But it is known that the government has refused to sign the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty and has been experimenting with isotopes of enriched uranium similar to those needed for explosive warheads.

South Africa's nuclear program was launched in 1965 with the blessings of the U.S. government and a reactor built by the American Allis-Chalmers Corporation. A new deal with Iran and West Germany will soon set up a uranium enrichment plant, which will further add to South Africa's nuclear potential.

## What Next?

What will happen next? Some things are fairly predictable. Fighting will escalate in Zimbabwe and also in Namibia, which South Africa rules illegally as Southwest Africa. Kissinger will



spend his trip to Africa trying to lubricate a "peaceful transition" to majority rule. Not that he's hung up on peace, as the people of Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos can testify. It's just that the U.S. has backed more than its share of losers lately. And the stakes in South Africa itself are too high to risk showing a weak hand in a preliminary skirmish.

And then there's the effect a prolonged struggle for independence could have on political development not only in Zimbabwe but in Africa as a whole. Within the Zimbabwean liberation movement, the pressures of an extended conflict might well bring to the fore a new, unified and vigorous revolutionary leadership. That is what happened in Mozambique, where ten years of guerrilla war transformed FRELIMO from a somewhat amorphous nationalist movement into perhaps the strongest revolutionary organization on the African continent.

The effects of such a development could be expected to overflow the borders of Zimbabwe. Without resurrecting the domino theory, it can be stated that Africa as a continent has learned from the example of individual countries.

In the words of British author Basil Davidson, probably the best known and best qualified African historian in the West, "The evidence today suggests that most African countries do not have the slightest hope of advancing by way of 'the capitalist model' to anything save continued impoverishment, growing internal or even external conflict, and a deepening sense of failure."

Many are looking for other models. Many are already experimenting with them -- Tanzania, Somalia, Mozambique, Angola, Guinea-Bissau, Benin, Guinea, Algeria.

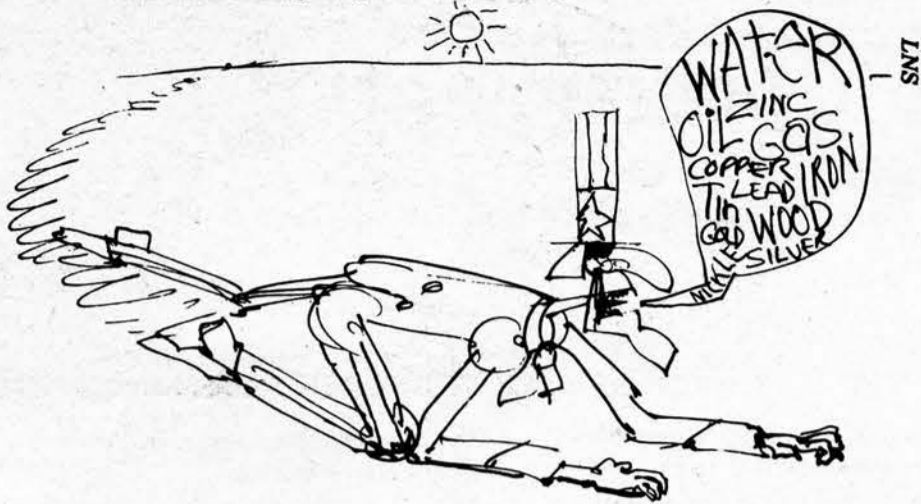
## A race war has been raging in Africa since Europeans first set foot there.

In the wake of Angola, it is clear that even some countries considered firmly within the free enterprise camp cannot be counted on. Nigeria recently withdrew its invitation to Kissinger, explaining that it could not guarantee his safety. Students in Kenya and Zambia demonstrated in support of the MPLA. And Zambia's President Kuanda, held up by the U.S. press as a model of moderation in Africa, showed his true democratic nature by closing the university and rounding up 37 members of the executive committee of the Student Union and at least four faculty members.

As liberation movements advance farther south, into Zimbabwe and eventually South Africa, the repercussions will be felt across the continent.

Amilcar Cabral, assassinated leader of the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands, put it this way: "We are African peoples. We have our own hearts, our own heads, our own history. It is this history which the colonialists have taken from us. Today, in taking up arms to liberate ourselves, we want to return to our own history, on our own feet, by our own means, and through our own sacrifices."





## what we mean

# IMPERIALISM!!!

by Steve Carlip, Newspaper Collective

In April 1971, President Nixon announced that American troops had invaded Cambodia. In the chorus of criticism that followed, one Congressman called the invasion "unprecedented." Never before, he charged, had a President sent troops abroad without even consulting Congress.

Senator Barry Goldwater disagreed. There was nothing so unusual about Nixon's action, he said. Past Presidents had done the same. To prove his point, he submitted a list of past American involvements in undeclared wars.

The completed list filled seven pages of the Congressional Record.

Today, with the new revelations about the CIA, we know that Senator Goldwater's list barely scratched the surface of American intervention in other countries. In the words of former CIA agent Philip Agee, "In the past 25 years, the CIA has been involved in plots to overthrow governments in Iran, the Sudan, Syria, Guatemala, Ecuador, Guyana, Zaire, and Ghana. In Greece, the CIA participated in bringing in the repressive regime of the colonels. In Chile, The Company spent millions to "destabilize" the Allende government and set up the military junta. In Indonesia in 1965, The Company was behind an even bloodier coup, the one that got rid of Sukarno and led to the slaughter of at least 500,000 and possibly 1,000,000 people ..."

Two hundred years ago, our country fought for the right to conduct its own affairs without British interference. How have we reached the point where we are engaging in such wholesale intervention in the affairs of other countries?

**"I was a racketeer for capitalism," said Marine Major General Smedley Butler.**

One answer to this question came from Major General Smedley Butler in 1935. He said, "I spent 33 years and 4 months in active service as a member of our country's most agile military force, the Marine Corps. I served in all commissioned ranks from Second Lieutenant to Major General. And during that period I spent most of my time being a high class muscle man for Big Business, for Wall Street, and for the bankers. In short, I was a racketeer for capitalism."

American multinational corporations have over \$80 billion invested overseas. By taking advantage of incredibly low wages (workers in Haiti, for instance, make \$1.00 to \$1.30 a day), tax breaks, the absence of unions, and the lack of regulations on job safety or pollution, they are able to earn huge profits. Such giants as IBM, UniRoyal, Honeywell, Woolworth, Coca Cola,

Upjohn, Mobil, Pfizer, ITT, Gillette, Reynolds, and Standard Oil of New Jersey make more than half of their total profits abroad.

These same corporations depend on foreign countries for markets and raw materials. U.S. and other Western corporations have acquired control of over 75% of the known major mineral resources in Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

As opportunities for profit decline in the United States, investments and markets overseas become more and more vital to the economic survival of many huge corporations. In a capitalist economy, corporations must constantly seek new ways to expand their investments and increase their profits. So multinational corporations, which operate both in the United States and abroad, have become more and more dominant in the U.S. economy.

But to keep those profits coming in, multinational corporations need "cooperative" foreign governments which will keep wages down, suppress unions, and above all not threaten to nationalize U.S. investments. The governments which the CIA has helped to overthrow have all had one thing in common: not that they were dictatorships, not that they were "communist," but that they threatened American business interests.

### "Destabilizing" Chile

One of the clearest examples of U.S. intervention overseas is Chile. There, despite a million dollars spent by the CIA and several hundred thousand more spent by companies like Anaconda Copper and ITT to defeat him, Salvador Allende, a Marxist, was elected president in 1970. Over the next three years, the U.S. government spent over \$5 million to "destabilize" Allende's socialist government, eventually bringing about a military coup which ended half a century of Chilean democracy.

Why was Allende seen as such a threat? In the three years he was in office, Allende nationalized millions of dollars of investments owned by American corporations, turning the control of the factories and mines over to those who worked there. In the words of an ITT internal memo, "If Washington ... does nothing to thwart Allende, it will be inviting a sharper turn towards leftist nationalism -- which translates into more danger for foreign investments -- among other Latin American countries." The CIA was acting for ITT (whose officials met secretly with CIA leaders in 1970 and offered \$1 million to help overthrow Allende), for Kennecott Copper, for Chase Manhattan Bank, for the other corporations whose profits were threatened by socialism in Chile.

Today, the military junta's economic policy is designed by conservative U.S. economist Milton Friedman. Unemployment has climbed to 35%, millions are starving, unions and strikes are illegal. But U.S. investment -- and U.S. profit-making -- is back.

For the large corporations, American foreign policy means profits. What does it mean for working people?

In November 1974, 1000 Chicago women lost their jobs when the seatbelt factory where they worked moved to Sonora, Mexico. Their story has been repeated throughout the country. "We'll move to Taiwan if you unionize here." "We can't give you a raise -- our competitor only pays 37 cents an hour to his Brazilian workers." "We don't care if you strike. We'll just shift production to our plant in Hong Kong."

Fairchild Camera, Texas Instruments, and Motorola have shifted operations to Hong Kong to cut labor costs. Timex and Bulova make increasing numbers of watches in Taiwan, where they share a union-free labor pool with numerous other corporations. Unions throughout America, from the electrical workers to the clothing workers, have been seriously weakened by the threat of runaway shops.

### Underdevelopment

But while American workers lose jobs, the foreign countries which receive American investments do not benefit, either. U.S. corporations will move to a country only as long as wages stay low. Sonora, Mexico, the site of the run-away seatbelt factory, has itself lost a fifth of its jobs as American companies have packed up and moved to other Latin American countries in response to Mexican unionization.

The enormous profits made by U.S. corporations are not reinvested where they are needed by underdeveloped countries. Corporations encourage one-product economies (bananas or sugar in Latin America, coffee or rubber in Africa) which are totally dependent on the United States. While small elites in underdeveloped countries may get rich off American investments, the vast majority have become, if anything, poorer.

**McGeorge Bundy summed up the reasons for the Vietnam War. "The imperium must first and foremost go to war to support its imperial representatives. Such reasoning lies at the foundation of the imperial role."**

And along with American investment comes American control. U.S. corporations invest in places where repressive governments can keep workers from organizing, and which will keep investments "secure." The U.S. government follows the corporations, and will intervene to keep those governments in power. As the Vietnamese discovered in the course of thirty years of war, the price of American investment can be high.

### Imperialism

McGeorge Bundy, special assistant to Lyndon Johnson, summed up the reasons for the Vietnam War in a secret National Security Memorandum in early 1965. "The imperium must first and foremost go to war to support its imperial representatives. Such reasoning lies at the foundation of the imperial role."

This "imperial role" -- the system of worldwide economic and political control -- lies at the foundation of American foreign policy.

Poverty, dependence, and dictatorship for underdeveloped countries; runaway shops, weakened unions, and thousands killed in wars like Vietnam for American working people; and huge profits for a few giant corporations -- this is what we mean by imperialism.

# Profits in Puerto Rico?

by Bob Magnuson

Is Puerto Rico still American capital's colonial oyster, ripe for exorbitant profit-taking? Or has it become an economic liability, with rising social unrest creating an atmosphere distasteful to American investment and corporate profit?

The view on these questions within the American business community is by no means clear.

On March 31, the Economic Development Administration of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico ran a full-page ad in the *New York Times*. The ad praised the profitability of American investment in the island's economy, citing the testimony of several U.S. corporate heads, and stressing the 100% federal and Puerto Rican income tax exemption granted American firms. The executives spun a grand tale of tremendous profits, high productivity, diligent workers, and promises to expand, seemingly forever, their commitment to the Puerto Rican economy.

On April 6, however, just six days later, the *Wall Street Journal* told a very different story. In a front page column, the *Journal* described a poor and steadily deteriorating business climate on the island, attributable mainly to rising transportation, utility, and especially labor costs, coupled with a growing national debt problem.

## Suffering the Consequences of Imperialism

What, then, is really happening to American investment in Puerto Rico? Despite business community bafflement, the answer is actually surprisingly clear: For nearly a century U.S. capital has been making profits at the expense of the Puerto Rican people -- their economy, their society, and their culture. Now, American capital must experience the logical consequences of its behavior: social rebellion, worker dissidence, and a growing popular will to be rid of foreign domination.

Years of U.S. involvement in the Puerto Rican economy have produced the present dismal economic picture. Unemployment, now above 20% by official reckoning, is actually closer to twice this rate, and growing. Consumer prices are 20% higher than those in New York and Boston, the two most expensive U.S. cities. Incomes for Puerto Ricans, on the other hand, are far below the U.S. average, reducing purchasing power to near zero. As a result, almost all Puerto Ricans receive federal food stamps, though there is currently a bill before the U.S. Congress to curtail the food stamp program.

As conditions worsen and rebellion grows, American corporations turn increasingly away from labor-intensive ventures and toward highly technological, machine-dominated production. This strategy enables them to benefit from tax exemption while circumventing the dilemma of rising labor costs. Textiles and apparel -- both extremely labor-intensive -- have been the largest single industry, and General Electric the biggest

employer, with over 3200 workers. The firms doing best now, however -- such as those cited in the *New York Times* ad -- are largely producers of either chemical/petrochemical goods or of precision equipment. Their interests are not so easily threatened by labor unrest or social revolt. All they need is someone to flip a switch. Allergan Pharmaceuticals, for example, was recently granted tax exemption privilege to make chemicals on the island. Allergan's total employment: seven.

For firms that rely on a considerable labor supply, the picture is not so inviting. Although wages are only 53% of the U.S. average, they have risen 25% since 1950, and at \$2.59 an hour are above the \$2.30 U.S. minimum wage. This means that with unemployment high in the States, it is cheaper to produce the same commodities in this country (of course, most who work at the minimum wage in the U.S. are of Third World origin; many, in fact from Puerto Rico). Combined with rising transportation costs and declining productivity due to worker discontent, business outlook in Puerto Rico is no longer positive.

As G. Ervin Dixon of Blue Bell, Inc., an apparel firm with over 1000 employees in Puerto Rico, puts it, "If the tax holiday wasn't there, I don't know anyone who could afford to be in Puerto Rico. We make the same identical prod-

uct, female western jeans, in Puerto Rico as in eastern North Carolina. When we put them on the shelf in Wilson, N.C., it has cost us more to produce the ones in Puerto Rico."

The U.S. and Puerto Rican governments have several remedial strategies in the works. A bill currently before the U.S. Congress would permit American corporations to bring back profits tax free from Puerto Rico, in addition to earning them tax free on the island. Another scheme would give Puerto Rico the right to set its own minimum wage, giving firms a profit advantage over production in the U.S. by lowering still further Puerto Rican workers' standard of living. Still another plan, proposed by a commission headed by American economist James Tobin, calls for wage controls to enhance profitability. Again, workers pay the price.

There is another way to solve Puerto Rico's massive social and economic predicament, a method that Puerto Ricans -- not representatives of American interests -- are finding increasingly attractive. This program entails the social, cultural, and economic independence of Puerto Rico, and the establishment of a domestic economy organized to meet the people's needs, rather than those of American corporations. The main proponent of this program, the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, is, despite intense U.S. efforts to destroy it, growing in strength and in numbers.



Photo by Miguel Rivera

## Congress to Approve Colony Status for Puerto Rico

Within the next six weeks, the U.S. government will try to railroad the "Compact of Permanent Union Between Puerto Rico and the United States" through Congress. This bill would be better known as the "Permanent Colony Bill." It claims to be an agreement between two equals, granting Puerto Rico more autonomy in its relationship to the U.S. In fact, Puerto Rico is militarily occupied and dominated by a foreign power -- the United States.

Representative Phillip Burton (D-Cal.), Chairman of the House Subcommittee on Territorial and Insular Affairs, and Jaime Benitez, Puerto Rico's Resident Commissioner in Washington, D.C., have emphatically stated that they are determined to move this bill through Congress before the 94th session is over. The Puerto Rican Information Service, a U.S.-based public relations arm of the Commonwealth government, has urged that the bill be pushed through Congress by early summer so that it can be used in a U.S. counterattack on the independence movement in the United Nations this August.

Why is the U.S. so determined to maintain its colony of Puerto Rico? The United States currently has \$14 billion invested in Puerto Rico. That represents 40% of all U.S. investment in Latin America. In 1974 alone, U.S. corporations extracted \$1.4 billion in profits from Puerto Rico. U.S. corporations receive higher profit returns from Puerto Rico than from the European Common Market, and Puerto Rico generates a third of the profit returns from Latin America.

From the assassination of Santiago Mari Pesquera, son of the Secretary-General of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party; to the arrest of PSP Trade Union Affairs Secretary Edwin Melendez on charges of possession of explosives; to the all-out mobilization of the FBI in a vicious campaign of harassment across the island; to the promoting of right-wing terrorist bands; to the launching of a series of grand juries in Puerto Rico and the U.S. to investigate and harass the

independence movement, the U.S. government is leading a massive, many-sided attack against the Puerto Rican national liberation movement.

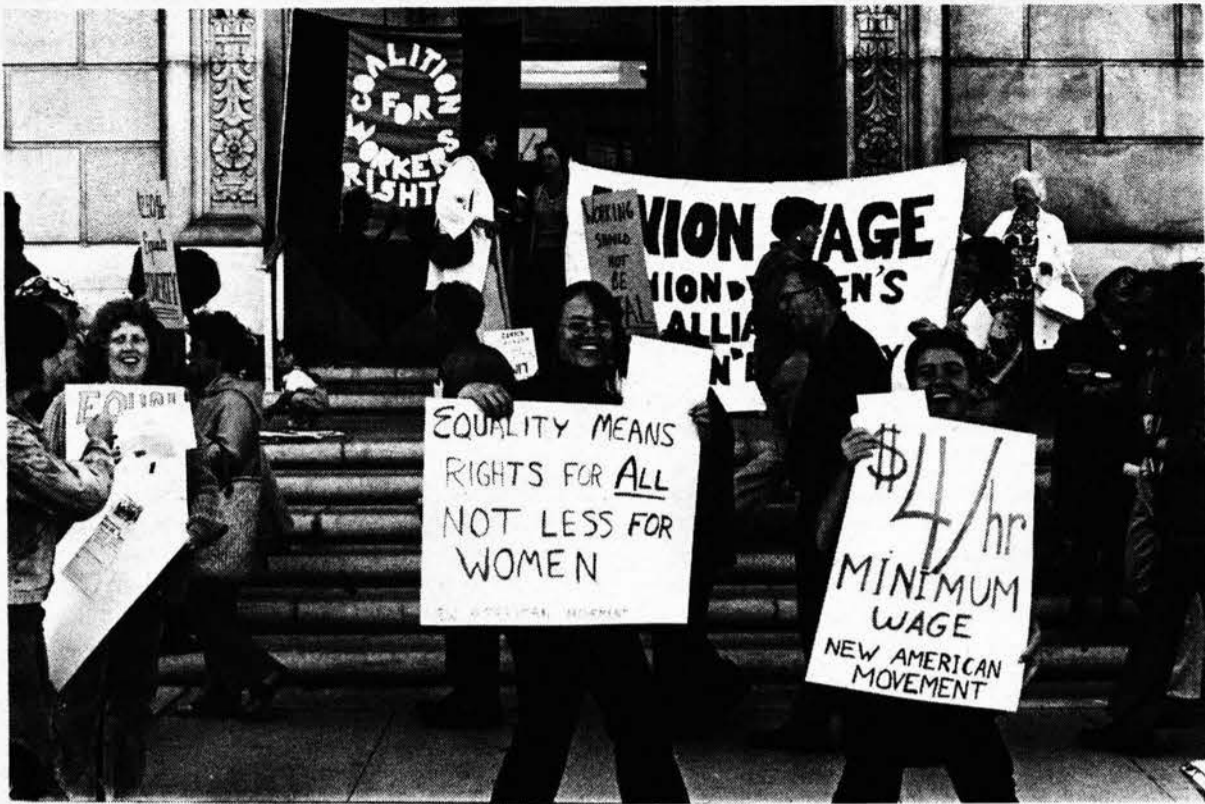
**U.S. corporations receive higher profit returns from Puerto Rico than from the European Common Market, and Puerto Rico generates a third of the profit returns from Latin America.**

But there is also growing support for Puerto Rican freedom throughout the world. Over 100 countries have affirmed the right of the Puerto Rican people to self-determination and independence in the United Nations General Assembly. More support has come from the Conference of Non-Aligned Nations, and the International Conference in Solidarity with Independence for Puerto Rico, which representatives from over 75 countries attended in Havana, Cuba last September.

We must help to educate people about the colonial reality in Puerto Rico, and expose the Permanent Colony Bill. One of the demands of the July 4 demonstrations in Philadelphia, San Francisco, Los Angeles, and Seattle will be to "Stop the Compact."

People should also send letters and telegrams to Rep. Philip Burton, Chairman, House Subcommittee on Territorial and Insular Affairs, Washington, D.C.; Rep. James Haley, Chairman, House Interior Committee, Washington, D.C.; Sen. Henry Jackson, Chairman, Senate Interior Committee, Washington, D.C., and their own Congresspeople, defining the bill as what it is -- a measure to perpetuate colonialism -- and demanding that they vote it down.





ANDY FRIEDMAN

## labor notes

●Jerome Ducote, a former sheriff's deputy and John Birch Society leader, has pleaded guilty to charges stemming from 17 political burglaries directed against the United Farm Workers Union. The break-ins, at least partly financed by major growers and agribusiness organizations, were directed against UFW supporters such as the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and Ramparts magazine, as well as the union itself. Ducote charged he was being made a "fall guy" for highly placed individuals, including FBI officials, the Pacific Gas and Electric Company, and at least two Congressmen. UFW President Cesar Chavez called the case a "little Watergate" and accused former governor Ronald Reagan with helping to cover up the crimes.

●Over 1000 members of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union and other area unions demonstrated at the Fall River, Mass. unemployment office May 18 to protest the governor's proposed "forced work" unemployment laws. The new laws would require unemployed workers to take jobs beneath their pay and skill levels or else lose their compensation.

●Pete Camarata, a leader of the Teamsters for a Decent Contract, was the top vote-getter in elections in Detroit for delegates to the Teamster national convention in June. The elections in Local 299, the home local of Teamster President Frank Fitzsimmons, were doubly embarrassing to the union leadership because Fitzsimmons's son had recently lost a bid for the local's presidency. But convention procedures allow only a small minority of the delegates to be elected by the rank and file, so the present union leadership has been able to remain in firm control.

●Members of an opposition slate in Teamsters Local 25 in Boston were beaten up after winning elections as delegates to the union's national convention. The three opposition candidates ran on a platform of supporting the election of union business agents by the rank and file. Local 25 President McCarthy, one of the most powerful men in the union, has sought the right to appoint business agents in order to strengthen his hold on the local. Shortly after the election results were announced, supporters of McCarthy jumped the victorious opposition candidates, breaking the leg of one. One Teamster said, "It looked more like the heavyweight championship of the world than an election."

●Victories by rebel slates in several of the country's largest United Steel Worker locals have given a big boost to the possible candidacy of Ed Sadlowski for president of the union. Sadlowski won the directorship of USW District

31, a huge Chicago area district, in 1974, beating the hand-picked candidate of USW President I.W. Abel. Now Sadlowski supporters have won the leadership of Local 1010, the largest USW local in the country, and Local 1011, both in Chicago. Opposition slates have also beaten Abel's candidates in southern California, western Pennsylvania, and Fontana, California, site of the biggest steel mill in the West. Sadlowski is now helping to organize Steelworkers Fight Back, a rank and file reform movement modelled partly after Miners For Democracy (which successfully ousted the United Mine Workers leadership a few years ago). Steelworkers Fight Back may run a slate of candidates early next year for national offices in the Steelworkers.

●A strike by employees of Dekalb County, Georgia, has resulted in the firing of 233 county workers for union activities. The predominantly black workers struck after the government of Dekalb County, the second richest county in the United States, refused to recognize and negotiate with the Laborers Union. The County Commissioner claims that county workers' unions are illegal in Georgia, although there is much doubt about the interpretation of the law. Numerous strikers have been arrested, and police ambushed one group of strikers on May 21, filling one worker's car with bullet holes.

●An Ontario woman has had herself sterilized in order to keep her job at the battery plant of General Motors of Canada. Norma James, 34, was one of six women told that they could not work in the battery area because lead oxide emissions could harm unborn children. Rather than installing safety devices to prevent the emissions, the company told its women employees to either prove they could not bear children or else transfer to lower paying jobs. "I need that job more than anything," James said. "I know I shouldn't have done it because I know it's not right that they should tell you you're not going to have any more children or else you can't work here any more." A sex discrimination suit has been filed.

●Seventy young Thai women have been holding and running a blue jeans factory in Bangkok for over six months. The workers locked the factory bosses out after unsuccessful protests over wages and working conditions. They started up production, raised wages by 150%, and with the elimination of profit, are selling the jeans at a third of their former price. Many of the women are living in the factory to prevent the former owner from taking it back. They have withstood attacks from hired thugs and police. "I'm ready to fight," a 16 year old worker told a reporter, adding that she wanted to be "as brave as Che Guevara and as wise as Chairman Mao."

# Prison and Repression

●The Revolutionary Coalition, a multiracial prisoners collective in the federal prison system, is calling for U.S. prisoners to boycott all 4th of July activities. By the boycott they hope to illustrate the contradictions between America's talk of freedom and its actual practice of oppression. All prisoners are asked to spend July 4 studying and discussing the American system of injustice and how to change it.

●Chicano activist Ramon Chacon has lost an important first round in his battle to win release from a Mexican prison. But public support for him is building, raising his hopes that the Mexican government may be persuaded to free him.

Chacon, a U.S. citizen, has been in jail in Monterrey, Mexico since October 2. Arrested in the company of a Mexican citizen whose pick-up truck allegedly carried hidden guns, he is accused of sedition, inciting rebellion against the Mexican government, and illegal transportation of arms. He is awaiting a hearing which may still be more than six months away.

As a political activist and Marxist scholar who has worked with farmworker organizing in Texas, Chacon believes that he has been framed by persons and agencies who want to discourage relations between U.S. Chicanos and oppressed Mexicans. More than two dozen Mexican police were waiting to stop the truck and make the arrests. Officers called him by name and showed a picture of him taken in the U.S. Mexican police had a thick file on his U.S. activities when he was arrested, and an unidentified American was present at his torture and interrogation.

●J.B. Johnson, a 26 year old black man, was sentenced to life in prison in May as an accomplice in the murder of a white during a jewelry store holdup in 1970. The case will be appealed because his all-white jury was not picked from a representative cross section of the population of St. Louis County, Missouri. The evidence in the case is contradictory and Johnson has consistently claimed to be innocent. Support for him has grown since he was first arrested in 1970. Last July the Missouri Supreme Court overturned his 1972 conviction and ordered a new trial. During the trial supporters packed the courtroom, and in February 400 people gathered for a rally in his defense.

●Michael Sturdevant has been convicted of all nine counts of armed robbery, burglary, and false imprisonment arising out of the Menominee Warrior Society's repossession of the Alexian Brothers Abbey (see NAM Newspaper, May 1976). He has been sentenced to eight years and is presently incarcerated in Waupun. His conviction will be appealed. John Perrote was sentenced to three years in prison on a plea -- a much heavier sentence than he had been expecting. Doreen Dixon was sentenced to 18 months on a plea. Her sentence has been stayed. Quill Chevalier is still underground. For more information, write to the Menominee Legal Defense/Offense Committee, Box 431, Keshana, WI 54135.

●On May 12, Judge Belloni of the U.S. District Court dismissed all charges against American Indian Movement members Dennis Banks, KaMook Banks, Russell Redner, and Kenneth Loudhawk. The dismissal was entered with prejudice (which means the case can probably not be reopened) because of the government's constant pattern of unjustifiable delay, which had the effect of denying the defendants their right to a speedy trial. Now that the federal case has been won, the next fight is to keep Banks from being extradited to South Dakota.

# It's Profits First, =People Last at J.P. Stevens

With the merger of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and the Textile Workers unions now finalized, an intensive organizing drive in the textile mills of the South is about to begin. In recent years the textile industry has been "running away" from Northern cities to take advantage of the cheap, unorganized labor of the South. Firms like J.P. Stevens and Burlington have built numerous small plants in rural areas as a means to isolate union drives, close out operations where unionization seems imminent, and generally defuse union efforts before they get started.

Textile workers throughout the South are now digging in for a bitter fight to resist this corporate strategy. A key struggle in the battle to defend Southern textile workers against this intense exploitation by the corporate giants is the union drive at J.P. Stevens.

J.P. Stevens, the second largest textile corporation in America, runs 85 factories, employing 44,000 workers, producing everything from sheets to hosiery, blankets, carpeting, including such names as Utica, Tastemaker, and Gulistan. In 1975 the company had profits of \$36.5 million before taxes. Chairman of the Board James Finley made \$254,000 that year. President Whitney Stevens took in \$216,000; 29 officers and directors earned an average of \$75,000 each plus expenses and a share of the profits.

## J.P. Stevens directors get \$75,000 a year when they retire. J.P. Stevens workers average a lump sum of \$770.

In its factories, J.P. Stevens pays its employees 31% below the average wage received nationally by factory workers. The average J.P. Stevens factory worker earns \$3.33 an hour, compared to a national average of \$4.84.

Department of Labor inspectors have found that Stevens plants in the Carolinas ignore minimum safety standards for employees. Thousands of Stevens workers suffer Brown Lung, or byssinosis, a disabling lung disease, thanks to cotton dust levels three times as thick as national minimum health levels allow.

Government inspectors found noise levels in Stevens plants far above national health standards, loud enough to cause deafness. Noise can be controlled, but the company refuses to spend the money to reduce the noise to tolerable levels.

At age 65, the officers and directors of Stevens can expect to retire with pensions as high as \$75,000 a year. Under the present J.P. Stevens plan, workers retiring in 1974 received a lump sum that averaged out to \$770. No pensions for them!

### Defying the Labor Relations Act

J.P. Stevens has been found guilty of violating the National Labor Relations Act 15 times since 1963, more than any other company in American history. It has been ordered to reimburse 289 workers over \$1.3 million in back pay because it fired them illegally, solely for the purpose of keeping them and their coworkers from joining the union.

J.P. Stevens has been found guilty of firing pro-union employees; threatening pro-union employees; coercing employees in interrogation; promising additional benefits two days before a union election to influence the election; and refusing overtime to pro-union employees. In an out-of-court settlement, the company paid the Textile Workers of America \$50,000 in damages for tapping the phones of union organizers.

J.P. Stevens paid \$260,000 in damages to the federal government for fixing prices and rigging bids on government contracts. Charged with misrepresenting over \$75 million worth of property to avoid paying local taxes, the company was forced to start paying back taxes of over \$100,000 in Catawba County and nearly \$200,000 in Duplin County.

Yet in spite of this record of illegality, J.P. Stevens continues to receive millions of dollars worth of business from the Defense Department. -- \$14.2 million in fiscal 1975 alone.

### The Power of J.P. Stevens

Stevens' power reaches far beyond its factories to apply pressure on pro-union workers. In Roanoke Rapids, N.C., banks and finance companies pressured union supporters about their debts and refused to make new loans until after a coming election. Ministers in town preached against the union.

In August 1974, some 3600 workers at seven Stevens plants voted to join the Textile Workers Union. Since that time, the company has flatly refused to bargain in good faith. In Statesboro, Ga., Stevens closed a plant and threw 350 employees out of work rather than negotiate with the union.

When a company does a billion dollars in sales, makes huge profits, and turns its back on the basic needs and legitimate demands of its employees, it becomes obvious why there must be a union.

"What they really blamed me for is knowing that I'm a black human being, not a thing to be owned," said Raymond Johnson. "Here I was with six years of service and doing a good job too. But I was union, strong union, and they knew I was union. So they kept hiring people right off the streets and giving them better jobs than mine. I was working as a warp servicer. One day an overloaded warp storer broke down, the chain just busted on it, twenty feet in the air above me. They fired me that day. Now how could they blame me for a chain breaking up in the air? They couldn't. What they really blamed me for is knowing that I'm a black human being, not a thing to be owned."

Maurine Hedgepeth, another J.P. Stevens worker, was reinstated by the courts with four years back pay after the company refused to rehire her from pregnancy leave. "I was always a real good worker," she said. "But when I joined the union, all of a sudden, I wasn't a good worker any more. I mean I was working just as good but they didn't want to see me doing good work."

## "It's only when we stick together and show how strong we are that we'll get something out of them."

"I testified on behalf of other workers before the NLRB in Spetember 1964. Two weeks after that I went on pregnancy leave. I was supposed to go back to work in January 1965. When I went back to get my job they told me there were no jobs available. And they'd fired my husband the day before Christmas, after 25 years as a loom fixer. A new baby and neither of us had a job. The Stevens Company made it real clear that they didn't like me telling the truth to the Labor Board.

"In 1969 I was reinstated with back pay. Four years is a long time to wait. I just wouldn't let them get to me. And now we've voted in the union. It's only when we stick together and show how strong we are that we'll get something out of them. 'Til then, they'll never change."

J.P. Stevens has spent millions of dollars to prevent its workers from exercising their basic right to unionize. It has fired workers with as much as 30 years on the job for attending union meetings. Stevens has tried to turn black and white workers against each other to foment hatred that would keep workers from organizing together.

The Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union has launched a nationwide consumer boycott of J.P. Stevens products. Only through support from people all over the United States will J.P. Stevens workers win their fundamental right to a union.



## 500 Protest =Secrecy in =Boilermakers =Union

by Dennis Brun, Resistance NAM

CHESTER, PA -- Over five hundred first shift workers at the Sun Ship plant here staged a lunch hour protest march today against their union leadership. Speaking to workers who crowded around the steps of the Boilermakers Union Hall, a spokesman criticized the leadership for duplicity and secrecy. Sun Ship workers have been in turmoil since a week-long strike and three disputed contract elections last December.

The speaker told the men that reform of the local union was urgently needed and that it could be done with the help of the international union. But he added, "I have been told that there are representatives here today from another international. I hope it doesn't come to that -- but it may." Workers marched from the shipyards to the union hall wearing red, yellow, blue, and green hardhats. They carried a large banner reading "No More Watergate" and cheered and shouted occasionally to onlookers. The march included a cross section of the plant's workforce of 3000, which is over half black. The marchers dispersed quietly after the one speaker had finished.

Dissidents in the local charge that the leadership has refused to respond to rank and file discontent with the contract, that it has given up important previous gains in working conditions, that it has forced the current contract on the membership through fraudulent voting procedures. In addition, the critics claim that the union's local leaders have stifled criticism by harassing and expelling workers who raise questions about the contract at union meetings. Official investigations by the Boilermakers International into allegations that the contract votes were rigged have resulted in a whitewash, rank and file critics contend.

# WORLD PREMIERE UNION MAIDS AND MIDNIGHTS TONITE



Union Maids, a film about three women CIO organizers in the '30's, premiered in Dayton April 30, with 400 people attending the first showing. The film was made by three NAM members.



NAM chapters throughout California joined a 1000-person march against S-1

## Why Join

Since the rebirth of the grassroots movement for radical social change in the 1960's, millions of Americans have become involved in the struggle for change in our country. Their work helped to finally end the vicious war in Indochina. We have won concessions on racial and sexual discrimination, helped gain decent wages and safe working conditions for thousands, and won reforms which have given some relief to the victims of economic injustice. In these actions, people have also learned about their own strength, discovered a new meaning in their lives and become excited with a new hope for America.

Tony Heriza

The New American Movement is a nationwide socialist organization which seeks to bring all of us from different sections of the country, different parts of the working class, and different movements for social change together. In NAM, activists can learn from each other, support each other in our separate struggles, combine our strength in nationwide programs and activities, and work to build a socialist party which can bring about a truly democratic revolution. In doing that, we want our organization to reflect the new way of life we want to build: we want people to discover their own potential, to become active, to find friendship and community with others.

NAM is fundamentally an organization of the working class. By the working class, we mean the vast majority who are forced to work for wages in order to survive, who must work without pay in the home, or who are forced by

age, disability, imprisonment, or other reasons, to be supported by the state. This system has divided the working class into two camps: one that pits these sectors against each other, and another that all the institutions of the capitalist system live and work are vital arenas for the struggle for socialism. Only a united working class is able to overthrow corporate capitalism and build a democratic socialism.

NAM is committed to the struggle against oppression, and we believe that the success of socialist movements in the working people cannot be achieved without the oppression of other nations in Asia, Africa, Latin America, and the Caribbean cities. We are committed to a national, multinational socialist movement at the same time seeking an independent working class movement in all national minorities.

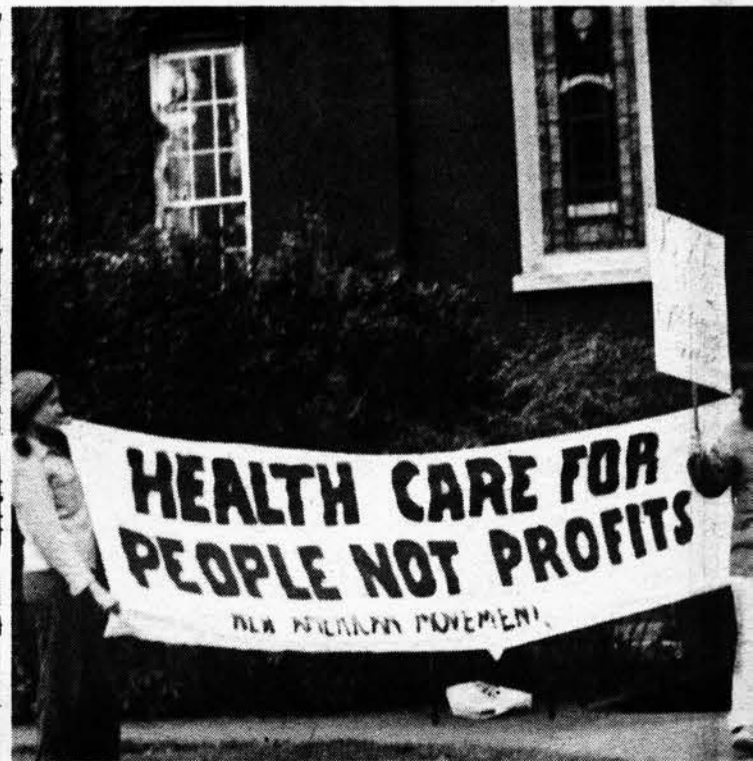
NAM is a socialist-feminist movement. We are committed to the struggle against the oppression of women, both in the workplace and the "private" family and personal relationships. We believe that this struggle is central to the development of socialism. While a strategy for the liberation of women must be an integral part of the movement, we recognize that



North Carolina textile workers demand enforcement of health standards in the mills. NAM has helped organize the Brown Lung movement of Southern textile workers who are in constant danger of lung disease from breathing cotton dust.



Buffalo NAM's utilities project is helping lead the fight against gas rate increases. Weekly picket lines have drawn over 100 people.



NAM members in Oregon call for nationalization of the health care industry, outside a hearing on national health





Andy Friedman

Senate Bill One in Sacramento May 1.



Demonstration initiated by Pittsburgh NAM protests a state law that would prohibit homosexuals from working in a large number of state jobs.

# Join NAM?

ment, or lack of jobs to state. Modern capitalism g class into sectors with income, lifestyle, and y in the workplace, and t each other. We believe rking class are necessary ovement in the United institutions in which we renas in the struggle for d working class will be ate capitalism and build

chosen to struggle in an independent women's movement, and we support that movement.

NAM recognizes that the oppression of gay people, like the oppression of women, is shaped by and helps maintain capitalism. We firmly support the gay liberation movement.

NAM sees itself as part of an international socialist movement whose principle enemy is American corporate capitalism. We therefore support national liberation struggles around the world. NAM supports and learns from the positive accomplishments of existing socialist countries, while recognizing and criticizing their shortcomings.

In the coming years, NAM hopes to grow in strength and numbers through active involvement in people's movements against the most deeply felt injuries of the capitalist system. We participate in unions and community organizations, coalitions and electoral alliances, as well as forming new organizations. We fight for real reforms, while at the same time trying to show the limits of reforms under capitalism, and educating people to become not simply disgruntled critics of the system, but conscious socialists.

The articles in this section of the NAM Newspaper describe some of the recent activities of NAM chapters around the country. If you're interested in joining or want more information, contact your local NAM chapter (addresses are listed on page 15) or write to the National Office at 1643 N. Milwaukee, Chicago, IL 60647.



Pittsburgh NAM members demonstrate on Halloween against Duquesne Light's "phantom taxes" -- taxes collected from its customers, but never paid to the government. The demonstration was part of a NAM-led campaign for lifeline utility rates.



of the health care industry under worker and health insurance.



Dayton NAM members protest U.S. intervention in Angola.

# Chapter Notes

## Antioch Strike Unites Workers, Students

by Linda Post and David Cooper, Yellow Springs NAM

At Antioch College's Yellow Springs, Ohio, campus, the administration has been practicing union-busting to balance its budget. United Electrical Workers Local 767, representing cafeteria, maintenance, and janitorial staff, has a history of militance that has gained most members a living wage. To gain leverage in up-coming negotiations over a cost of living wage increase, the cafeteria and business managers fired two workers in late May, charging them with theft and fraud. The charges were based on a violation of an unofficial policy change made last fall. The local walked out in protest of the inflated discipline.

Student and staff support was coordinated by the recently formed Antioch Community Alliance, in which Yellow Springs NAM is an active participant. The alliance staged protests, educated other students through dormitory discussions, sponsored **Union Maids**, a film about unions and union organizing made locally, and collected money to subsidize the union's strike fund, which fed students as well as workers during the week-long strike.

The union eventually negotiated a settlement in which one worker was rehired; the other's case is pending arbitration. The firings were clearly unjustified, and students, staff, and the union are working together for the reinstatement of the other worker.

## Oregon NAM Demands Public Health Care

by Willamette Valley NAM

The Willamette Valley, Oregon, chapter of NAM demonstrated at national health insurance hearings in Salem last month, calling for nationalization of the health care industry under worker and consumer control. The hearing was one of six sponsored by the Ways and Means Committee to seek public and professional reaction to the various national health insurance bills now before Congress.

The hearing was dominated by supporters of the most liberal bill, the Health Security Act. This bill, sponsored by Sen. Edward Kennedy and Rep. James Corman, is the only bill before Congress which minimizes the role of private insurance companies. It is supported by organized labor and the Grey Panthers.

Jeffrey Gottfried, one of two NAM members to testify at the hearings, said none of the bills went far enough. "The Kennedy-Corman bill is the best of a bad lot," he said. "But under it, private drug companies would still be allowed to maintain their 18% profit margin and create false needs through wasteful advertising, which costs hundreds of millions of dollars per year."

NAM members said that even the Kennedy bill would repeat the history of Medicare and Medicaid, pumping large amounts of federal funds to private companies with no real way to control prices, while the burden of cost would continue to fall on lower and middle income working people. According to Iris Dudman, "If low cost, quality health care were considered a basic right, the federal government could reallocate its budget. For example, one B-1 bomber, which is wasteful and bad for people's health, could pay the annual salary of 2500 doctors at \$40,000 a year."

The Health Security Act would be an improvement over the present system, and is better than the rest of the bills Congress is considering. But as Gottfried testified, "The only way to assure cost control is to take all aspects of health care out of the profit system. Besides raising prices, profit-making rarely leads to the best kind of care. For example, preventative care does not bring in high profits and is not well provided in this country."

## NAM Chapters Fight S-1

NAM chapters around the country are mobilizing to fight Senate Bill One as part of a nationwide campaign against the repressive legislation. S-1 would outlaw a wide variety of political and union activities, and could be used against almost every people's movement in the United States (see *NAM Newspaper*, December 1975 and June 1976).

Baltimore NAM is circulating petitions calling for the defeat of the bill, and speaking at a wide variety of events. The chapter helped initiate student groups against S-1 at Morgan and Community Colleges in Baltimore. Buffalo NAM formed a coalition in their city to publicize and mobilize for the defeat of the bill. Pittsburgh NAM is part of another coalition in their city.

San Francisco, Santa Cruz, Hocking Valley (Athens, Ohio), and Radcliffe-Harvard NAM have all sponsored forums on S-1. All of the California NAM chapters were part of a coalition which held a 1000-person rally against the bill in Sacramento May 1.

On New York City's West Side, NAM members have organized a broad coalition against S-1, including tenants groups, legal organizations, several reform Democratic clubs, and other community organizations, many of them not leftists. A 2½ hour rally June 12 attracted over 500 people, making it one of the largest anti-S-1 activities in New York.

## Oakland City Workers Organize Against Lay-Offs

In response to a City Council threat to drastically cut back on social services and lay off city workers to balance the budget, the Oakland Jobs Alliance is organizing city workers whose jobs are in danger. The City Council is using scare tactics, including the threat of a fiscal crisis like New York's, to justify the cuts. But at the same time, it has refused to raise money from taxes on large Oakland corporations like Pacific Gas and Electric. The Port of Oakland pays no taxes at all.

The Jobs Alliance, organized by NAM's Workers' Rights Center, has proposed tax reforms that would raise money from the city's large corporations. A group of Oakland city workers is meeting regularly, and has appeared at two City Council hearings to protest cuts in jobs.

## Lifeline Advances in Penn.

A bill for lifeline electric rates has passed the Pennsylvania House of Representatives, despite massive utility company lobbying against the measure. Under lifeline rates, utility companies could charge only a fixed low rate which they could not raise for a minimum amount of electricity for household necessities. Pittsburgh NAM's People's Power Project played an important part in getting the bill, which still must be approved by the state Senate, passed in the House.

The People's Power Project mobilized a statewide network of unions, senior citizen and consumer groups to help fight for the lifeline bill, as well as organizing Pittsburgh consumers to fight their local utility company. One legislative aide said, "If consumers in the rest of the state were as militant as they are in western Pennsylvania, they'd have to do lifeline right away."

Several other NAM chapters around the country are also involved in movements against utility companies. Buffalo NAM is part of a statewide coalition for public ownership of the utilities, and has been fighting a rate increase by National Fuel Gas. Dayton NAM is collecting signatures to get a referendum on lifeline on the state ballot, and may win a refund to consumers of Dayton Power and Light's recent rate hike. NAM chapters in Chicago, Boston, and Detroit are also involved in utility organizing.

## Other NAM Activities Around the Country

Other NAM chapters are engaged in a variety of activities in different cities around the US. At least fifteen chapters are working on the July 4 demonstrations in Philadelphia and the West Coast. Dayton NAM has pulled together a broad coalition to work on the demonstration, including religious groups in the black community and a number of other people who have not recently been involved in this kind of activity.

Austin NAM is helping to run a socialist school, which has brought together people from all over the city for courses such as Introduction to Marxism and Strategies for Workplace Organizing. Austin is also helping to organize mental health workers. Dayton NAM has begun a project to organize that city's clerical workers. East Bay NAM has started a newspaper, the *East Bay Voice*, for the Oakland area. Riverside (California) NAM is assisting a union drive by the United Electrical Workers among women assembly line workers.

Chicago NAM chapters are working on two workers' rights centers, and through one center are working with a group of women who lost their jobs when their factory ran away to Mexico. NAM chapters at Harvard and the University of Chicago are both involved in coalitions with Third World students and women's groups to fight discrimination in university admissions. St. Louis NAM is involved in a campaign against a sterilization program at Washington University which trains doctors from Third World countries. Middlesex NAM is developing an alternative budget for Somerville (Mass.) in response to threatened cuts in jobs and services, and hopes to unite community groups and city workers.



The New American Movement will hold its fifth annual convention August 19-22 at Coe College in Cedar Rapids, Iowa. Major decisions about anti-racist and socialist feminist program will be made. In addition, proposals on the structure of the organization and its national leadership will be debated and decided.

This year we are asking people to make their plans early and fill out the coupon below and send it to the NAM National Office, 1643 North Milwaukee, Chicago, IL-60647 if you plan to attend.

The cost of the convention, which covers room, board, registration fee, and travel pool, will be:

- For period August 19-22 \$45.00
- For period August 20-22 \$35.00
- For period August 21-22 \$25.00

There will be reduced food rates and sleeping space for children. Vegetarian meals are available. There will be a reduced rate for unemployed people with no means of support other than welfare or unemployment compensation (a \$7.00 reduction).

Name(s) .....

Address .....

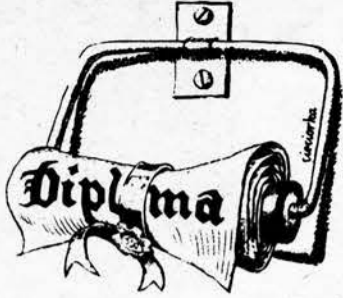
Number of children ..... Chapter .....

Dates attending:

- August 19-22
- August 20-22
- August 21-22

return to NAM, 1643 North Milwaukee, Chicago, IL 60647.

# Shortcuts



## campus notes

•The New York City Board of Higher Education has voted to impose tuition next fall for undergraduates at the City University of New York. The 7 to 1 vote on June 1 ended 129 years of free public undergraduate education in New York City. The only dissenting vote was cast by the board's one black member. The \$750 tuition for the first two years of college, rising to \$900 for the last two years, will put a college education out of the reach of tens of thousands of poor and minority students in the predominantly working class CUNY system. Earlier in the week, four members of the Board of Higher Education had resigned in a protest against the intense pressure from the bank-controlled Emergency Financial Control Board and the state government to impose tuition.

The decision to impose tuition came after most CUNY classes had ended for the year, but students will be organizing over the summer to oppose the measure. Students won an important victory when the state legislature voted a special appropriation for Hostos College, the only bilingual college in the East. Hostos, whose students are overwhelmingly black and Puerto Rican, was occupied by thousands of students, faculty, and staff after the city announced plans to close it. The legislature also voted that no other CUNY campuses could be closed without its permission.

•Chicano students at the nine University of California campuses struck in June to protest pervasive discrimination throughout the university system. Although Chicanos are 17% of the state's population, they make up only 2% of the students in the University of California, and Chicano enrollment is declining. "Our patience has run dry," a spokesperson said. "Our good will has been betrayed. So now our defiance has been summoned. Sometimes people can no longer tolerate their conditions -- sometimes they have to resist."

•A reform slate of more than twenty students was overwhelmingly elected to next year's Student Government at the University of Chicago, and Margaret Dudney, a NAM member, is the new Student Government president. The Students For Alternatives, organized by the U of C NAM chapter, ran on a platform calling for no tuition hikes, increased student activities and financial aid funds, an end to race and sex bias in admissions, better housing for students and staff, democratic participation by students in university policy-making, and public access to relevant university records. The SFA platform also stressed the need to develop ties between students and faculty, campus workers, and the neighboring community.

This year, the Student Coalition on Admissions, Aid, and Tuition began to organize students after a Student Government investigation revealed a 22% drop in the percentage of minority students and an 11% drop in the percentage of women undergraduates. "It is hoped that educational efforts and stronger research can spark a strong pressure campaign next fall," a member of the coalition said. Besides NAM, the coalition includes the University Feminist Organization, the Chicago chapter of the National Association of Black Social Workers, and half a dozen other women's, black, and political student organizations.

### AFFLUENT AMERICA?

More than a million American infants and young children have either suffered stunting of their brains or are under risk of that kind of damage because of malnutrition, a team of scientists has estimated on the basis of national nutritional data. The cause of the malnutrition is poverty. When malnourished pregnant women are considered in the estimates, one million babies yet to be born are added to the total in jeopardy. "Finding evidence that a substantial proportion of an affluent country like the United States is in jeopardy for brain growth and development comes as a shock to us," the scientists said. (Workers World/New York Times)

### SWAT VS. TOY WEAPONS

In two separate incidents in Miami and Los Angeles in early April, Special Weapons and Tactics (SWAT) police officers nearly had shoot-outs with teenagers armed with toy guns. In Miami on April 7, a retarded 14 year old boy was surrounded by two dozen armed policemen after he pointed a toy gun at some elderly neighbors. The building was surrounded for two hours, until the boy's stepfather arrived and explained that it was probably only his son in the building. A week later, a frightened 14 year old girl was surrounded by 40 policemen, including 20 SWAT snipers, in Los Angeles after she fired a starting pistol (which makes a noise but doesn't shoot bullets) she found in her apartment. She was too terrified to respond to police commands to surrender. The siege finally ended when SWAT members backed up by machine guns broke down the apartment door. (Northwest Passage)

### GAY HEALTH WORKERS MEET

Over 200 gay people who work in the health field met at a Bay Area Gay Health Workers Conference March 19 and 20 in San Francisco. The conference-goers, about half women and half men, included aides, nurses, mental health workers, and alternative health workers. "We got together because we felt the lack of any place where we could combine and share two very important aspects of our lives -- our jobs as health workers and our social identities as gays," a conference planner explained. A gay health workers' newsletter may be started. For further information, write to Gay Health Workers, Box 42242, San Francisco, CA 94142.

### NAVY TORTURES U.S. PILOT

A Miramar Naval Air Station pilot has filed a \$15 million damage suit naming 50 individuals after receiving serious injuries at the Naval Survival School near Warner Springs. The school tortures trainees to supposedly strengthen their ability to withstand torture if they are captured by hostile forces. The pilot suffered fractures in his back and ribs and a sprained spine. (Up From The Bottom)

### IRS VS. THE POOR

Although the Internal Revenue Service insists that audited tax returns are mostly chosen at random, a recent federal study showed that the lower a person's income, the higher the chance of IRS scrutiny. In 1974, 3.6% of returns with income under \$10,000 and with itemized deductions were audited, compared with only 2.4% audited in the \$10,000 to \$50,000 income bracket. (LNS)

## NAM Literature

All literature listed below is available from the NAM National Office, 1643 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60647. Please send payment with your order, unless you are ordering in bulk.

### GENERAL LITERATURE

**NAM Political Perspective** (\$.25 each, \$.15 for 10 or more). Basic principles of the New American Movement, written in 1972.

**Attica** (\$.25 each, \$.15 for 10 or more). Pamphlet by members of two NAM chapters describing the Attica prison rebellion.

**Discussion Bulletin #8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13** (\$1.00 each, \$.75 for 10 or more). Internal debate and analyses of programmatic work over the past year in NAM.

**Working Papers on Socialist-Feminism** (\$.50 each, \$.35 for 10 or more). Reprints of articles from NAM Newspaper and Discussion Bulletin on the development of socialist-feminism, Third World women, and CLUW. Includes article by Eli Zaretsky on the development of the family.

**NAM Film Packet** (\$.75 each). Information on how to get films, lead discussions; special emphasis on women's films.

**NAM General Brochure** (\$.05 each, \$.02 for 50 or more). Short, popular explanation of what NAM stands for.

**Convention Papers 1975** (\$.75 each, \$.60 for 10 or more). General strategy, workplace strategy, and one-year plan adopted at NAM's most recent convention.

### OUTREACH PAMPHLET SERIES

**What's Wrong With the American Economy?** (\$.10 each, \$.05 for 10 or more). Pamphlet by Barbara and John Ehrenreich discusses the current economic situation and explains why capitalism can't meet our needs.

**Unemployment: What's Ahead?** (\$.10 each, \$.05 for 10 or more). Pamphlet by Dave Ranney discusses the effect of unemployment on working

people and suggests what to expect in the future. **Processed Ideas and Packaged Dreams** (\$.10 each, \$.05 for 10 or more). Pamphlet by Elayne Rapping discusses ruling class control of the media and all that is taught and published.

### CHAPTER LITERATURE

**Women in China** (\$.20 each). Clear account of women's role in China today based on author's visit to China. Pamphlet by Judy MacLean, Pittsburgh NAM

**Who Rules Somerville?** (free). By Middlesex NAM (Boston area)

### POSTERS

**International Women's Day Poster** (\$1.50 each, \$1.00 for 10 or more). Beautiful and brightly four-colored in red, blue, yellow, and black. 18x22 inches. Commemorates International Women's Day.

**Stop S-1 Poster** (\$.10 each for the first 50, \$.05 for each additional poster in excess of 50). Black and white, 11x18 inches. Designed to publicize this repressive piece of legislation, delineates some of the major features of the bill.

### PERIODICALS

**NAM Newspaper** (\$4.00 per year). Order from NAM Newspaper, 16 Union Square, Somerville, MA 02143.

**Moving On** (donation). Published three times a year as an organizational newsletter.

### NAM RESOURCE MATERIALS

The NAM National Office has put together packets of materials on several topics, consisting of resource materials, educational and organizing materials, and outreach materials that chapters have used in their organizing projects. Topics presently available are: S-1, Unemployment, Utilities, Chile, and Puerto Rico. \$.50 each.

# Is this what America's 200<sup>th</sup> birthday is all about?



People's Bicentennial Commission

## Bicentennial Blues . . .

continued from page 1  
 dence that "the spirit of achievement is the spirit of America," there are steadily growing numbers of Americans who are not too happy with the society we have "achieved."

The selling of the Bicentennial will go on. But if the Madison Avenue and media psychologists think that most Americans will be smiling through their red, white, and blue toothpaste for years to come, they are forgetting that capitalism's ultra-brite sex appeal is beginning to yellow badly these days. More and more Americans are seeing through the bright and toothy Bicentennial grin that the big corporations are selling us. An Amherst man said it well: "To make the Bicentennial real, ya got to deal with people, and this country seems to be made for things, not for people ... and running a country like that is just plain phony."

## what we did The IWW

The Industrial Workers of the World -- popularly known as the Wobblies -- was founded in Chicago on June 27, 1905.

Their goal was to combine all wage workers into one big union which, by a series of strikes culminating in a general strike, would overthrow capitalism and the bourgeois state and replace it with a socialist commonwealth, governed directly by trade unions.

The Wobblies' roots were among ex-frontiersmen, like "Big Bill" Haywood, who had helped open up the West but had lost their property and been pressed into "wage slavery" in the mines and in various kinds of migratory and seasonal work. European immigrants were also part of their base.

The tactics of the IWW were those of direct action on the job, including actions aimed at slowing production. The wooden shoe and the black cat -- symbols of industrial sabotage -- appeared widely in IWW literature between 1913 and 1917.

Another tactic pioneered by the IWW was the free speech fight. Organizers would call for Wobblies and sympathizers to come to a designated town. Hundreds would arrive by boxcar, assemble on improvised platforms, assert their right to recruit members at street meetings, and end up in jail. Congested courts and the extra costs of feeding and policing the rebellious inmates in the now crowded prisons would force town officials to rescind ordinances against street organizing.

The bloodiest free speech fight culminated in the Everett Massacre, November 5, 1916, in which vigilantes and policemen fired on a boat of arriving Wobblies. Five Wobblies were killed.

Wobblies, among them Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Joe Ettor, and Arturo Giovannitti, were also involved in several major strike actions, the most famous being the textiles strikes at Lawrence, Mass. and Patterson, N.J. in 1912-3. They also organized industrial unions into stable unions in a number of places; most notably they united black and white longshoremen in Philadelphia.

The significance of the Wobblies in labor history is at least two-fold: they combined radical opposition to the capitalist system with a mass base; they helped to create a culture of resistance with a mass base. Such IWW songs as Casey Jones, Solidarity Forever, The Preacher and the Slave, and Hallelujah I'm a Bum are part of the American folk tradition.

The heyday of the IWW is long past; government repression in 1917 severely weakened the organization. Perhaps the best way to remember the IWW is to carry out the testament of the martyred Wobbly Joe Hill: "Don't mourn for me, Organize!"

### history review

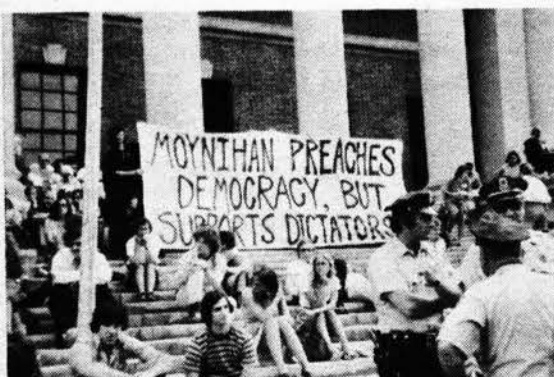
## The Way It Was

by Hardy Green, Middlesex NAM

In a year when the Bicentennial seal of approval graces American commodities from cars to coffins, the past is sometimes difficult to find. As a remedy for this commercial manipulation and flag-waving zeal, we offer the following list of readings about the way it really was.

As much a social history as a biography, Esther Forbes' *Paul Revere and the World He Lived In* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1942 -- available in paperback) offers useful information on the changing customs, family life, and relations of production between 1715 and 1818. During the Revolution, Revere's role as midnight rider was less significant than his serving as a propagandist and as an artisan link between upper class and lower class revolutionaries. This volume captures the spirit of the annual street riots of Pope's Day and the so-called "Boston Massacre," actually a pushing and shoving brawl between the "lobsterbacks" and (in John Adams' words) "the motley mob of saucy boys, Negroes, mulattoes, Irish teagues and outlandish jacktars."

Lucy Larcom's *A New England Girlhood* (originally published in 1889; available in Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith reprint, 1973) is a narrative of a farm girl from Beverly, Mass., who aided the family through economic hard times by going to work in the textile mills at Lowell. Modern readers may find the sentimental and religious tone offensive, but this book offers a significant description of the paternalistic labor relations of early industrial capitalism. Though Larcom did not allow the "incessant discords" of the machinery to drown out the "music" of her thoughts, by the 1850's the system was washed up, and the "refined" girls were replaced by immigrant laborers.



Radcliffe-Harvard NAM members protest speech by Daniel P. Moynihan, former ambassador to the United Nations, at Harvard graduation.



**Roll, Jordan, Roll: The World the Slaves Made** by Eugene Genovese (New York: Vintage Books, 1976 -- available in paperback) is a massive and scholarly yet quite readable account of plantation society. Genovese is especially good at demonstrating how the slaves exploited the slaveholders' contradictory attitudes -- at once they regarded the slaves as human dependents and as dehumanized property -- in daily situations. The volume also describes the interrelationship of law and class rule, the uses of slave religion, status differences among the slave population, and slave revolts. In addition to all these virtues, it is one of the few American history books to draw upon the wisdom of Mao Tse-tung, Bishop Berkeley, Antonio Gramsci, and Imamu Amiri Baraka.

Two novels are excellent as guides to understanding the work and society of the late 19th and early 20th centuries: Hamlin Garland's **Main Travelled Roads** (New York: New American Library, 1962), and Upton Sinclair's **The Jungle** (New York: New American Library, 1960). Garland provides an account of the drudgery, misery, and deprivation of the rural West, the social base of the Populist revolt of the 1890's. **The Jungle** describes a Lithuanian worker's struggles in the Chicago meat-packing plants, the destruction of his home life, and his ultimate discovery of the socialist movement.

Gabriel Kolko's **The Triumph of Conservatism** (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1967) focuses on ruling elites and attempts to demonstrate that Progressive reforms were all part of the plan of monopoly capitalism to save itself from the competition of feisty and innovative small businesses, and alternately from the wrath of the American public.

Finally, Paul K. Conklin's **The New Deal** (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1967 -- paperback) is a concise New Left critique of Franklin Roosevelt's administration. The author discounts the liberal characterization of the New Deal as "pragmatic," and instead finds the programs an unsystematic mirror image of the Roosevelt personality. As a result, "The New Deal solved a few problems, ameliorated a few more, obscured many, and created new ones." Conklin spoons up a terse but careful analysis of the alphabet soup agencies; his brevity makes one wonder how so many millions of pages could have been spent on the topic elsewhere.



Boston demonstration June 7 shows concern for the upcoming trial of two American Indian Movement members charged with shooting two FBI agents during a government attack on AIM. The demonstration, one of several around the U.S., was sponsored by the Native American Solidarity Committee and the July 4 Coalition.

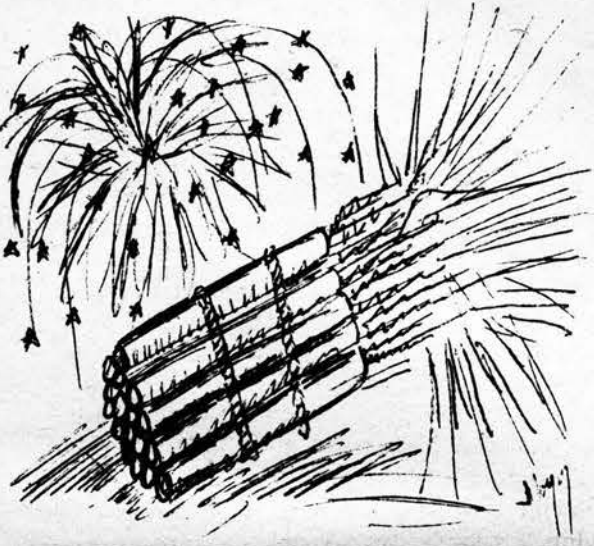
Fourth of July

# It Ain't What It Used to Be

by Chris Casey, Newspaper Collective

For any Staten Island kid who successfully guarded a stash of Blue Moon firecrackers on the eve of July 4th, backyard-barbecue America had to be the greatest country on earth. Yet even the less fortunate cases, who were foiled by snoopy and over-protective parents and sentenced to the ultimate humiliation of being forced to share a box of ten sparklers with one's brothers and sisters, could not complain all that much.

You could always get away from the endless compliments and questions of beer-happy relatives, grab a few hotdogs, and head towards that sweet staccato sound in the distance. Oh beautiful for spacious skies and declarations of independence from school and paper routes but most of all for cherry bombs, ash cans, cart-wheels, Roman candles and the all-American Chinatown firecracker.



Sure, we were celebrating the birth of our nation in that grade school history essay corner of our minds. But for the most part we were busy having one helluva good time shooting off firecrackers. Furthermore, when we were younger, there was something illegal and daring about it all. After all, the guy up the street was a fireman and if he caught us with "the stuff" he could have us arrested. And unlike an illegal substance popular these days, it is extremely difficult to chew and swallow a pack of Blue Moon firecrackers.

But we remained undaunted, placing our utmost trust in the creepy teenagers who travelled to Chinatown every June to buy "the stuff." When they came back, smoking cigarettes and mumbling Humphrey Bogart-style commands about who gets what first, they were treated like returning war heroes: "Any cops follow ya?" "Where d'y hide the stuff?" "Shit, man, he's got over five pounds of crackers there!"

### Times Change

Of course, as we got older, the thrill of doing something illegal wore off with the disappointing recognition that most adults never took the legal ban on firecrackers seriously. In fact, rumor had it that the local fireman we all had feared only confiscated kids' firecrackers so he could give his own 4th of July celebration a boost. Throwing lit cherry bombs in the air was still a lot of fun, but the "who gives a shit about the law" act that those creepy teenagers were so good at lost its punch.

And, naturally, the 4th meant more than ten pound bags of charcoal briquets and five pound bags of firecrackers and ashcans. It meant eight o'clock Million Dollar Movie special on Channel 9: John Wayne and John Garfield in *The Battle of Iwo Jima*. You flinched at lines like "I'll get 'em right between the eyes, sarge," but in the end you wound up cheering. After all, the "Japs" looked funny, killed helpless women and children and had to be beaten to save the world for freedom and democracy. And the fight wasn't over, said the *New York Daily News* in its Independence Day editorial. We still had to fight

against enemies in our government, like the two "communist" Senators who were beginning to oppose the Vietnam War.

But even if there were a few communists in the government, did you really have to worry that much? There were over two months of summer vacation to go and the forever dependable N.Y. Yankees were in first place by about six games. I can remember one Independence Day afternoon spent in the shifting shadows of Yankee Stadium for a holiday doubleheader. As the national anthem was being played, I stared reverently at the hero of my childhood, Mickey Mantle, and watched his solemn gaze directed towards the flag in center field. Mickey Mantle, John Wayne, and a God who protected American co-pilots during World War II were in their respective heavens and all was right with the world. I never wondered why my father hung the flag out on Independence Day ...

### Land of Opportunity

And how could I knock it? My parents had left Ireland for the land of opportunity, and for the most part their dreams had been realized. A steady job, a small house, a used car, and backyard-barbecue America seemed to have made good on its promises. But most of all, their four sons would have a good education, an education that would be the key to a better job and a secure future.

But now that those sons have grown up past the childhood visions of American promise into adulthood, they have become, like millions of Americans, mere bowling pins on a job market that constantly undermines any hope for security or dignity. Owning a house has always been largely an empty dream for many poor white and minority families over the past few decades; now it is becoming an impossible goal for steadily increasing numbers of working families who once might have been able to make it.

So while Mickey Mantle, John Wayne, and the

## Mental Patients Resist Forced Treatment

by the Mental Patients Liberation Front

Lunatics. Maniacs. What kind of person do you think of when you see those words? Do you think, for instance, of people who can't sit still, drool, shake, walk in shuffles, or seem dizzy, inarticulate, or dazed? What you may not know is that most of these characteristics are among the numerous side-effects of powerful mind-controlling drugs which are forced on mental patients in hospitals.

Patients are locked in seclusion rooms for long periods of time, merely because they do not conform to dehumanizing hospital rules. Isolation, electroshock, psychosurgery (such as lobotomy), and massive drug treatment are all part of the psychiatric establishment's technique for controlling mental patients.

This control is being challenged by the Boston Mental Patients Liberation group in a historic lawsuit, *Rogers v. Macht*, which comes to trial June 21. The suit represents a group of patients from Boston State Hospital who are claiming the right to refuse treatment and to have seclusion reserved only for "emergency" situations.

The Mental Patients Liberation Front sees this trial as part of a continuing struggle of mental patients against those who attempt to "cool out" people by telling them that anxiety, depression, and unhappiness are personal problems, to be solved by individual therapy, drugs, or operations, and not social problems.

promise of a Great Career beckoned me as a child to that good old fashioned faith in the flag and everything our government did, the kids who stash their firecrackers today face a very different vision of America. For the great American dream, which seemed so believable in those decades when the U.S. corporate empire was expanding virtually unchallenged, is not what it used to be.

Sociologists wonder why drug and alcohol abuse, vandalism and violence, are so high among young people. They should just admit that kids can't be fooled by all the Bicentennial hoopla in the world when times are tough.

A young high school student I recently talked to summed up the feelings of his peers: "Most kids think the country's goin' down the tubes..." When that frustration and alienation, shared by millions of Americans young and old, begins to develop into a mass movement against this destructive capitalist system, then we'll see some real fireworks on the American political scene. And we could have something to really celebrate on the 4th.

## health notes

by Rick Kunnes, Detroit NAM

All the items below were contained in reports of major research and medical centers or government agencies released in the last 60 days.

•State and federal governments together are spending nearly three times more for research on how to feed animals than for studies on human nutrition.

•President Ford is attempting to cut food stamps, claiming too much "cheating." But the Department of Agriculture admits that fraudulent claims account for less than one in one thousand food stamp recipients. In contrast, the government's estimate for fraud on professionally prepared income tax returns is more than one in six.

•In February 1975, Procter and Gamble began to distribute "Rely," a tampon containing polyurethane, a known cancer-causing agent. The Food and Drug Administration said the company did not adequately test the product before marketing, but because the FDA has never set health standards for such tampons, it did not run tests before marketing either. Only adverse publicity from women's and consumer groups forced the tampon's removal from stores.

•Secretary of Agriculture Earl Butz, a close friend of food processing corporations, denounced as "utter nonsense" a federal law banning cancer-causing additives from food. He said, "... poison, properly used, is good for people."



# International News Highlights

*There is an intimate link between international and domestic events, as we hope to demonstrate in this new regular column. We encourage readers to submit items, ideas or suggestions for inclusion in this column, sending them to Sandy Carter at the newspaper office. Contributors will be both from inside and outside NAM. Contributors this month: Sandy Carter, Kathy Moore and Shepherd Bliss*

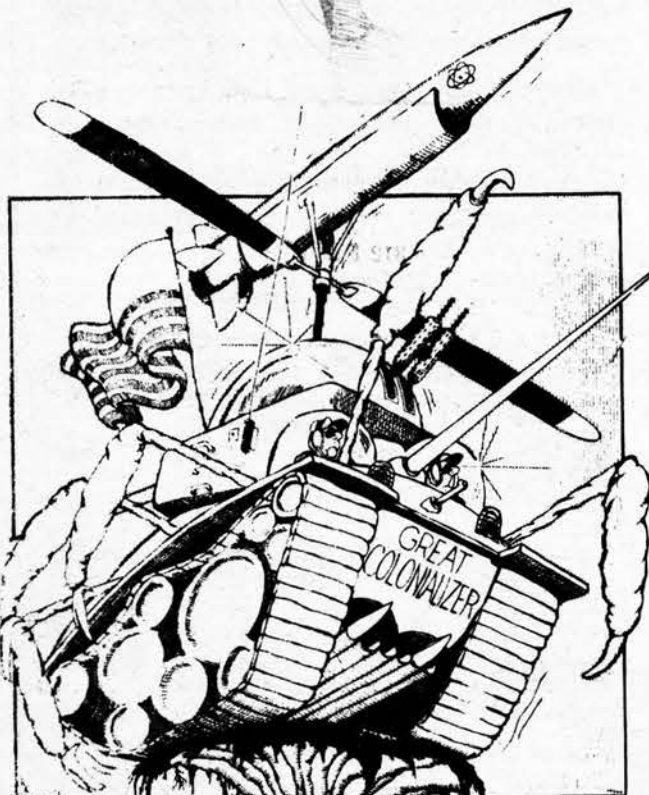
**"DESTABILIZATION" IN JAMAICA AND GUYANA** -- Two socialist prime ministers in the Caribbean, Michael Manley in Jamaica and Forbes Burnham in Guyana, have denounced U.S. government attempts to "destabilize" their elected governments. Both English-speaking former British colonies have been moving rapidly to the left in recent years.

In Jamaica the U.S. seems to be collaborating with the reactionary Jamaica Labor Party (JLP) to derail Manley's Peoples National Party (PNP) from its goals of "democratic socialism" and "a voice at the workplace." In Guyana the U.S. is employing its sub-imperialist power, Brazil (see NAM Newspaper, May 1976) to amass troops on Guyana's border. Jamaica and Guyana are the primary producers of bauxite for the U.S., a crucial ore in the production of aluminum.

In late May, Guyana celebrated its tenth anniversary of independence by nationalizing the British transnational corporation, Booker, which controlled 40% of its economy. Jamaica's 14th anniversary of independence will be celebrated in early August. Fidel Castro is expected as the guest of honor.

**LATIN AMERICA'S SOUTHERN CONE** -- Political repression has mounted in Latin America's southern cone countries of Argentina, Uruguay, Bolivia, Paraguay, and Chile since the March 24 military coup in Argentina. As many as 25,000 political refugees had fled to Argentina from right wing dictatorships, only to be greeted by government "death squads" engaging in systematic assassinations. Among the hundreds of victims have been former progressive Bolivian President J.J. Torres and two former leftist Uruguayan parliamentarians. Other refugees, such as Chile's Edgardo Enriquez of MIR (Movement of Leftist Revolution) have been deported back to their home countries, where they have been tortured or killed.

Resistance leaders in the southern cone believe that increased U.S. interest in that region following defeats in Southeast Asia and Southern Africa have encouraged massive repression. Many brutalities occurred during Kissinger's second 1976 trip to South America, a region he had not visited in his previous three years as Secretary of State.



*Correction:* We accidentally left out a photo credit in the June issue of the NAM Newspaper. The photograph on page 5 of the California demonstration against S-1 was taken by Andy Friedman.

**CHILE'S NEW P.R. EFFORT** -- Chile's military junta is on a public relations campaign -- seeking not love, but cash. The PR effort culminated at the early June meeting in Santiago of the Organization of American States (OAS). One of the principle architects of the 1973 coup that toppled Chile's elected socialist government, Henry Kissinger, was warmly welcomed by Chilean dictator General Augusto Pinochet. Of OAS's 24 members, only Mexico boycotted the meeting. While Jamaica led a protest against Chile's continued violation of human rights, General Pinochet called for all Latin America to unite with the U.S. in "an ideological war against communism."

Chile's much-documented abuse of human rights has hurt the junta's ability to get desperately needed financial help from abroad. Public reaction in Western Europe and the U.S. has slowed down loans, investments, and debt re-scheduling. The U.S. in particular has urged the junta to do something to improve its image so as



continued from page 2  
articles did little to enlighten NAM readers with respect to this broader perspective.

There is no doubt that a realignment of forces is taking place in the U.S. today -- new situations developing.

Take the South -- As a result of the gigantic efforts of Martin Luther King and his followers there is now a black voting constituency. Also, some changes for the better have resulted from these efforts. But more important, the blacks now have a degree of political power and now occupy thousands of elective positions at the grass roots level.

A number of black leaders including the mayor of Atlanta, Andrew Young, a close cohort of Dr. King and now a member of Congress, and several black mayors in Northern cities have endorsed Carter's candidacy. In general, the rationale for doing this was the need they felt for isolating and defeating the right-wing, fascist oriented trend that Wallace and his followers represent. After all, Wallace won a lot of primaries in the '72 elections. Thanks largely to the policy of these black leaders, Wallace has been cut down to size.

What about Carter himself? Since he will be at least partly beholden to the black vote for his election if he is elected, he will not be able to ignore totally black demands for reforms. If, by chance, in spite of everything, he does practically nothing to improve the status of blacks, then those who have voted for him will have learned something about the limits of bourgeois democracy and **people learn these things from their own experience**, not by being told by the radical left in advance.

Is Carter acceptable to sections of the ruling class? Yes. He is acceptable to that section that does not see fascism as the best way out of the crisis of capitalism. This section wants stability above all. Now it so happens that a degree of stability, rather than fascism, offers more favorable terrain for the struggle against the system. So, for the present, the fact that Carter is acceptable to the Establishment need not bother us too much.

What about labor and the Democratic machine? In the 1972 Democratic Convention, Daly and his cohorts, Meany and his sell-out followers were left on the outside looking in. They determined not to be left out of the picture this time. So they formulated a plan for getting a lot of "favorite son" candidates that could tie up the

to clear the way for "strong economic ties." Treasury Secretary William Simon carried this message to Santiago last month. The trip was part of a campaign to put a new face on the military dictatorship.

Part of the economic aid promised by Simon has already materialized. Sixteen U.S. and Canadian banks have agreed to loan Chile \$125 million to help with balance of payments problems.

**ANGOLA: THE ROAD AHEAD** -- The gradual withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola appears to reflect the MPLA's confidence that it can defend Angola from foreign attack and cope with scattered resistance inside the country from the remnants of the pro-Western guerrilla forces. The Angolan minister of information, Luis de Almeida, insisted to the *New York Times* May 25 that the Cuban withdrawal -- at the rate of at least 200 soldiers a week -- was "an act of sovereignty" and not the result of U.S. pressure. "The People's Republic of Angola appealed to Cuba for help against the South African invasion last fall and has now decided that the situation is sufficiently under control that the Cuban troops can begin to withdraw," Almeida told the *Times*.

Conventin, prevent a first ballot win, making it possible to bring forward their candidate in the form of Hubert Humphrey, who has been called the most despicable man in public life. However, there was a fly in that strategical ointment -- their strategy has been showing signs of being spoiled by the rank and file of labor who are not following their traditional leaders. In Pennsylvania the Rizzo machine recommended Jackson, but the workers voted for Carter. The power of the Democratic machine and reactionary labor leadership has obviously been weakened.

The net effect of this weakening of reactionary labor leadership and machine politics could open a Pandora's box. It was also a warning that the black constituency could no longer be ignored -- that an alliance was mandatory.

There are many other lessons that could be learned from the current campaign, but it is necessary to think in terms of trends -- how candidates fit into the total picture, what effect they have on the developing mass movement. NAM writers should be assisting in this process rather than following the traditional, simplistic approach of being either for or against a candidate, or, on the other hand, implying that dropping out of the electoral arena is the only possible answer.

Betty Willett

Dear people,

We of the St. Louis NAM chapter think that it is important for NAM to have an articulate, informative, and analytical newspaper. In line with this point of view, we have already written a detailed letter to the newspaper collective containing our criticisms of the paper, both positive and negative. There are, however, things that only the readership can do to improve the paper.

We, as readers, have an obligation to correct mistakes and wrong impressions, write comments on articles, and raise new points and issues. We should write more articles on important local events, and should write follow-up stories.

There is a large segment of the NAM membership which is talented and articulate. **We know you're out there. Write!**

In solidarity,  
St. Louis NAM

# Book Recalls McCarthy Period

Lillian Hellman, *Scoundrel Time*

by Barbara Zheutlin, L.A. Westside NAM

In May 1952, Lillian Hellman appeared before the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC). She took what was later termed "the diminished fifth." She was willing to testify about herself, but she refused to say anything about anyone else. After she appeared, she was blacklisted. In *Scoundrel Time*, her third autobiographical work, Hellman offers her own account of that grim period in our recent history.

If Hellman simply recorded her own individual experiences, she would be providing us with fascinating new material. She describes what she felt and what she did upon receiving her subpoena. She shares a dialogue she and Dashiell Hammett had on the subject of "going to jail." She reports conversations she had with Clifford Odets and Elia Kazan soon before they became informers. In short, she makes those scary Kafkaesque -- yet stupid -- days tangible and immediate.

But *Scoundrel Time* presents even more. Hellman points out that the anti-communist Cold War, of which HUAC was but one part, led directly to the Vietnam War and the election of Richard Nixon in 1968. And she goes further than just criticizing the more obvious villains of the period (Joe McCarthy et al). She holds the intellectuals responsible as well.

She writes that they "...went to too many respectable conferences that turned out not to be under respectable auspices, contributed to and published too many CIA magazines. The step from such capers was straight into the Vietnam War and the days of Nixon."

## Betrayal

For Hellman, the issue at stake in the battle with HUAC was freedom of speech, thought, and



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belief. "Since when do you have to agree with people to defend them from injustice?" she asks. But for the government, the issue was communism. "Are you now, or have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?" And though it was perfectly legal to be a Communist, the government decided that it was "un-American." Hellman objected at the time, and now concludes that the communists did not harm their country, but that the anti-communists did.

*Scoundrel Time* centers on a betrayal. For Hellman did not simply chronicle her times, she actively participated in them. And so when she demonstrates how anti-communist intellectuals helped to get the U.S. involved in Vietnam, she becomes righteously angry. She feels betrayed.

Earlier in her life, Hellman had "...believed that the educated, the intellectual, lived by what they claimed to believe: freedom of thought and speech, the right of each man to his own convictions, a more than implied promise, therefore, of aid to those who might be persecuted ..." She has now lived through a historical era that proved differently. She watched her colleagues criticize HUAC for its "crude methods," but refuse to come to the aid of those whose lives were being ruined because their beliefs conflicted with those of the Committee. She witnessed literary people naming names in front of HUAC, fully participating in the "witchhunt." And as if this were not enough, long after formal blacklisting seems to have stopped, and even seems to have been condemned, few have come forth to admit their mistakes. So Hellman demands an apology.

## "My Belief in Liberalism Was Mostly Gone"

Still, I am disappointed with *Scoundrel Time*. I wanted Hellman to do more than chastise anti-communist intellectuals. I wanted to know more than that she had been betrayed; I wanted to know why.

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Why did anti-communism become such a rage? Why did the fight for our very precious freedoms of speech and belief fail? What is the relationship between freedom of thought and the capitalist system?

Perhaps I expected too much of Lillian Hellman. She has taken a very confusing, though moral stance. She has lost much more than money, her farm, and the ability to work since she appeared before the Committee. She has lost her belief in liberalism, and has found nothing solid to replace it.

She writes, "But the mishmash of those years, beginning before my Congressional debut and for years after, took a heavy penalty. My belief in liberalism was mostly gone. I think I have substituted for it something private called, for want of something more accurate, decency ... but it is painful for a nature that can no longer accept liberalism not to be able to accept radicalism. One sits uncomfortably on a too comfortable cushion. Many of us now endlessly jump from one side to another and endlessly fall in space."

Hellman's dilemma -- to be without faith in liberalism, and yet to yearn for a decent world -- is serious and not unique. Who knows how many of the people who actively opposed the Vietnam War and the presidency of Nixon are also caught in the same void?

What Lillian Hellman offers on the Cold War, her life and the wrongdoings of the anti-communist intellectuals interests me. But what she reflects in her basic perspective on the world challenges me. Why do so many people reject radicalism? How can we move beyond liberalism?



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# Illusions of Love and Power

by Elayne Rapping, Pittsburgh NAM

Sex, sex, sex. Got your attention, didn't I? Well, you're not the only one. There are few subjects which arouse more interest, bring in more money, and ultimately cause more misery and frustration to Americans than sexuality.

Everywhere you look there are signs of the so-called "sexual revolution." For the upper classes, open marriage, bisexual chic, and sado-masochism are all the rage. And for the rest of us, there's a burgeoning business pounding out every conceivable form of pulp fiction, magazine, film, and gadget, the sole purpose of which is sexual arousal. It's called pornography, and its significance -- economic and ideological -- is far too pervasive and profound to be ignored.

Now I happen to be very much in favor of sex. I think it can be an incredibly rewarding form of communication, sharing, and intimacy -- not to mention, a lot of fun -- which I'll go out on a limb and include in my personal list of political values.

So how come a society as repressive and inhuman as ours is pushing it so hard? Well, to find out you only need to slip into your raincoat and shades and slink over to your local porn district. There you'll find the answer: what they're selling has little to do with human relationships, or even fun, for that matter. On the contrary, the purpose of contemporary pornography -- from the super-crudies which present their women with blemishes, dirty toenails and all, to the super-slick, air-brushed types like *Playboy* and *Gallery* -- is to promote feelings and beliefs which are clearly and disturbingly political in implication.

## Objects and Slaves

On the most obvious level, pornography pushes a view of sexual relations which reflect the dominant values of capitalism: that the way to relate to people is to dominate them, use them, treat them as objects or slaves. Men are encouraged and instructed on how to "get a woman," make her do what you want and beg for more.

But this is a fairly minor theme in both hard



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and soft core pornography. In fact, what most porn is about is not "curing" sexual problems but mystifying and compounding them. It's geared to an audience of lonely, insecure, frustrated men, and, boy, does it intend to keep them that way.

Look at the ads, for example. Besides the usual stag films and photos -- "Hot and Juicy," "Horny Housewives," etc. -- there are countless gadgets, sprays, and creams guaranteed to do what no one but God could possibly do for the male physique and performance. But far and away the most visible ads (and here's where my heart goes out to the guys who read this stuff) were for life-sized vinyl dolls equipped with such bizarre features as "remote control vibrating fingers" and "electronically functioning female organs." My favorite began, "I was bored and lonely until I met Judy," and went on to extol the virtues of this new "friend" as a conversationalist(?), dancing partner, and all-round companion. I'm still haunted by visions of men all over the country coming home from a hard day on the line and snuggling up to their little vinyl honeys.

When you get to the substance of the magazines -- the stories and photos -- the political implications of these ads become clearer. Most of the articles assume an almost total, and really pathetic, ignorance about both sexuality and women. I read through an entire article called "How Much Do You Know About Unusual Sex Practices?" without finding anything all that "unusual." And there were any number of articles explaining to men that it was really okay to use their hands, and even their tongues, in sex; that it might even improve their relationships. But these articles were decidedly different in tone from *Masters and Johnson* or *Joy of Sex*. Implicit in all of them was a view of women as mysterious and perverse creatures filled with strange and unnatural desires which, if not satisfied by men, would lead them to other women.

## Lesbianism

In fact, lesbianism was among the most common subjects in all these magazines. One magazine, called *All Man*, contained almost nothing else. The approaches ranged from erotic photo spreads of women loving women to articles chronicling the spread of this aberration, with varying degrees of tolerance and alarm, to out and out appeals to male paranoia.

In one story, called "The Bitches," a man was murdered by his fiancée and sister, who inherited his estate and lived happily ever after, together. In another article, called "Hot Dykes," a "lesbian" warned men to get with it and learn to satisfy their wives as she could. "On second thought," she ended, "if you do that I'll be out of business."

What's striking here isn't just the anti-gay sentiment, but the mechanistic view of sex as something totally isolated from any social or emotional context. Only the rarest lip service is paid to the possibility that the reader might have an actual wife or lover. Nor is there any suggestion that one's sexual orientation or habits might in any way relate to one's lifestyle or values. It's all in-out, up-down, or whatever, and the kinkier and more preposterous the better.

## "Real" People

In fact, the most interesting and outlandish sections of these magazines are the Letters to the Editor, in which "real" people supposedly write in descriptions of the most improbable, if not impossible, escapades. Anyone reading this stuff and believing it would have to suffer a profound sense of inadequacy and frustration. There are endless tales of group -- well, really mass -- sex; of men who buy Winnebagos and spend the summer fighting off panting hitch hikers; of women who insist on including their dogs in their sexual activities -- and, "boy, if you haven't tried it don't knock it"; and just about anything else you could dream up.

This brings me to the real hard-core stuff, which I had neither the stomach nor finances to more than browse through. There are racks of specialized magazines and film strips catering -- in the most graphic and brutal language and imagery -- to such esoteric tastes as bondage and discipline, bestiality, transvestism, "water sports," incest, enema sex, and, most distressing to me as a parent, sex with children.

So what does it all mean? And why does the ruling class let it flourish? Well, first, as I said, pornography promotes the most extreme mystification, fear, and hatred of women. In spite of all the "girlie" pictures, there are no real or attainable women in these books or films. And when you promote ignorance, frustration, and fear, what do you get? Violence, of course. Which is where all the kinky stuff comes in. What passes for "liberated sex" in this society is at best dehumanized and at worst an out and out death trip (as in "snuff films," where women are supposedly actually killed on film), where the infliction of pain and humiliation becomes the ultimate source of sexual release.

Lord knows there's a lot for the average American male to feel angry and violent about. And isn't it just convenient for the hotshots up on Wall Street and Capitol Hill that it's all being taken out on neighbors, relatives, and lovers, instead of them. Because that gives them the peace and quiet they need to get on with the serious business of American life: the brutalization and destruction of the rest of the world.