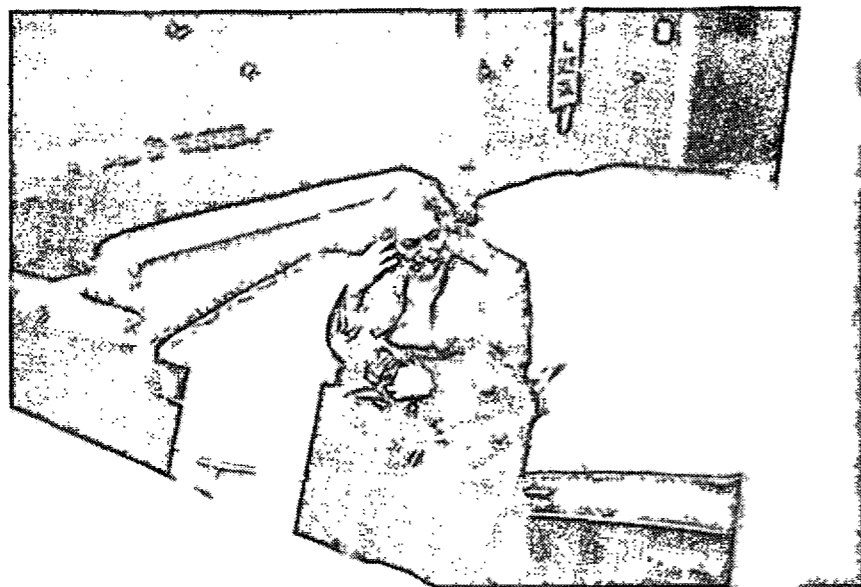


VOL. 3, NO. 1
SEPT. 1973

NEW AMERICAN MOVEMENT



Food Prices

Watergate

Attica

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ATTICA



SINCE BLOODY MONDAY

by John French -
Amherst NAM

FORTY-ONE PERSONS were murdered and hundreds wounded at Attica prison on Bloody Monday, September 13, 1971. The attack was followed by what the U. S. Second Circuit Court called "cruel and inhuman abuse of numerous inmates. Injured prisoners, some on stretchers, were struck, prodded or beaten with sticks, belts, bats, or other weapons. Others were forced to strip and run naked through a gauntlet of guards armed with clubs which they used to strike the bodies of the inmates as they passed. Some were dragged on the ground, some marked with an 'X' on their backs, some spat upon or burned with matches, or poked in the genitals or arms with sticks. . . Bloody or wounded inmates were not spared in this orgy of brutality. . . Hand in hand with physical violence. . . were threats of death or further brutality. Correctional officers, addressing inmates as 'niggers' or 'coons' threatened to get rid of them or shoot or kill them."

The second phase of the state's official murder is now taking place in the courts, where sixty participants in the uprising are under indictment on charges ranging from murder, kidnap, and coercion, to "Promoting prison contraband."

The course of events since the uprising was predictable on the basis of the state's behavior in dealing with the rebellion. The 28 demands, twenty-six of which Commissioner Oswald had agreed were "100 years overdue," are still unfulfilled. Conditions in Attica have not changed for the better although a widespread publicity campaign by the state Corrections Department has attempted to convince people otherwise. For example, a much-publicized "Inmate Liaison Committee" has been a cynical public relations fraud. There have been some changes: color TV has been installed; but four new gun towers have been constructed, as have new assault tunnels--and the guards have been armed with M-16s. Also, sixteen non-white guards have been appointed in the overwhelmingly third-world prison and they themselves are subject to the racist attitudes of the older white guards.

Negotiations between the prisoners and the state had broken down precisely over the issue of legal and administrative reprisals. It was Nelson Rockefeller's decision to make an example of these rebels--even at the cost of the lives of guards held hostage--and he refused to give up the right to prosecute the prisoners. In the aftermath of the rebellion he appointed a special prosecutor and a committee to investigate Attica. The McKay commission, as with most such efforts, wrote a liberal report vindicating the prisoners in many respects, but making no real difference. The first act of the special prosecutor, Deputy Attorney General Fisher (also known as "supercop"), was to appoint State Police Captain Henry Williams--the man who led the attack on Attica--to spearhead the investigation of "inmate crimes." The three million dollars already spent in the effort show the priority given to prosecuting the participants in the rebellion. Fisher's task force had been appointed to investigate organized crime before it was shifted to persecuting Attica inmates. The state's opinion of who the real criminals are is clear.

The members of the grand jury appointed to investigate possible violations of the law--whether by prisoners or police--are all white, elderly, and unanimously biased against the prisoners. Out of 26 jurors, 12 have friends or relatives who work in prison, five have friends who were hostages in the yard, and three knew guards who were killed or wounded. None had friends who were prisoners. The evidence against the Attica Brothers was bought by offers of pardon and early parole (two white inmates who testified twice got executive pardons) and threats of indictments and "long hits" (denial of parole with a long time before they come up for parole again). This "impartial" group handed down a thirty-seven count indictment against sixty participants. Possible penalties are heavy. All those indicted for first degree kidnap could get life sentences, in addition to other charges: The grand jury returned no indictments of police or officials, the real murderers, but only a presentment, a knuckle-rapping.

The trials are scheduled to begin this fall in Buffalo, New York. The defense had asked for a change of venue from Wyoming county where Attica is located. This was granted but not, as the defense had requested, to New York City where the majority of the defendants, their families and their supporters live. So far only the preliminary hearings have been held, and these have been tense. The state has imposed excessive security arrangements at the courthouse in an attempt to intimidate people and to give the impression of dangerous "wild beasts" from prison. There is a large screen fence outside the courtroom and spectators are not allowed in unless willing to give their names and addresses and to be searched. Ten or twenty police stand around the courtroom to keep "order." All of this has led to two court incidents where several people, including a defense attorney, were arrested. The judge in the case is Carmen Ball, a former district attorney, who has been partial to the prosecution (originally the Attorney General and his staff were not searched while the defense people were). Ball sees his role in an extremely narrow sense, refusing to deal with the treatment of prisoners, beatings, etc. The defense has demanded that he step down in the case for those reasons. One defense lawyer, Leonard Klaf of the ACLU, summed up his impression, "Justice is minor (to Ball), legality is minor, as long as things go smoothly."

THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES on both sides, both in and out of prison. The prisoners were not "defeated" at Attica although the state would like to think so. It was one encounter in a long war. In July of 1972 there was a successful four-day food and work strike at Attica over the firing of a respected nurse who actually treated inmates as human beings. In November a group of Puerto Rican prisoners struck demanding solutions to their problems.

Continued on Page 13

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.

For more information on NAM, please write:

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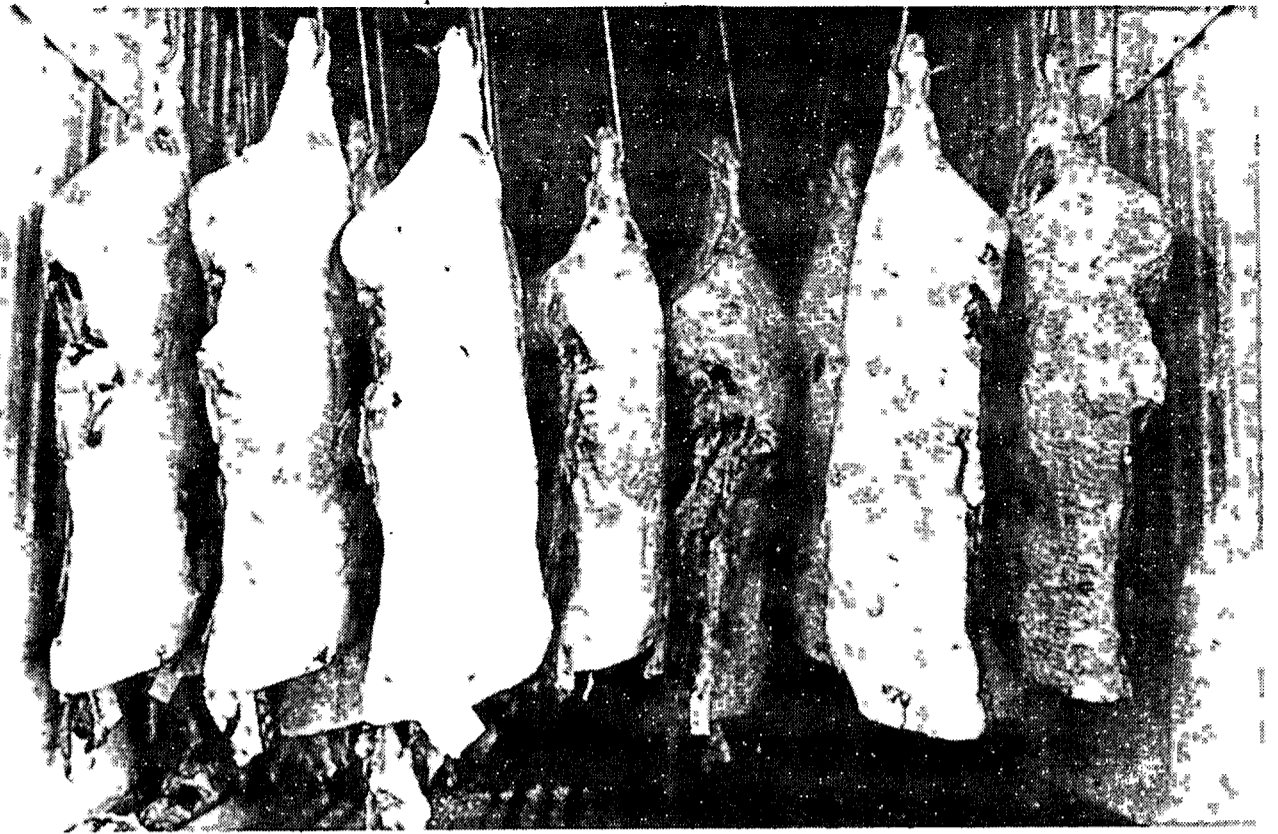
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food prices

by R. Sorkin
Los Angeles NAM



OUTA SIGHT!

IN 1363 THE ENGLISH government passed a law that domestic servants could not eat meat or fish more than once a day. The servants were to content themselves at other meals with "milk, butter, cheese, and other such victuals." Today, after 600 years of capitalist "progress," we're lucky if we can afford the cheese.

Why do we drag capitalism into the question of high food prices? Because there is absolutely no reason why a nation with as much productivity and wealth as ours should have a food shortage. It's true that the last couple of years have seen a series of crop failures in other countries. But in the United States there were no natural disasters. The disaster was the Department of Agriculture, which deliberately prevented farmers from planting 60 million acres (or 15%) of U. S. crop land. In a capitalist economy "too much" production is bad for profits, which is why F.D.R. destroyed food while people went hungry. It worked so well that since then the government has paid farmers billions of dollars each year not to grow enough food to force prices down.

THE CAUSE OF OUR present shortage is mainly the big Soviet grain deal which doubled the amount of grain exported last year. To make up for this loss, the Nixon administration should have returned the 60 million acres to production *last spring*, at the time they negotiated the sales. But since they were afraid of losing farm votes and big agribusiness campaign contributions they continued the subsidies until January, when it was too late to affect this year's crops--or last year's elections. You might think that 15% more land wouldn't make a huge difference anyway. But any change in the amount of grain on the market always leads to a much greater change in prices.

Last year big grain dealers exported two-thirds of the whole U. S. wheat crop. This year exports are running at an even greater rate. Why didn't Nixon put on controls before prices get completely out of hand? If it were for humanitarian reasons they would have sent food to central Africa, which has had several years of drought. The real reason for the exports is to help solve the "balance of payments crisis." This means that Pentagon has spent so much money to maintain U. S. troops and bases in foreign countries that our economy has been losing money to the rest of the world. In order to break even we have to sell more abroad. But domestic inflation, resulting from unpopular deficit war spending, has priced U. S. goods out of the world market. About the only thing we can export right now is agricultural products. To put it all in one sentence, the cost of the bombs and planes in Indochina shows up each week on your grocery bill.

There is another reason the war helped promote the grain exports. Nixon wanted to buy the cooperation of Russia and China in attaining "peace with honor" in Viet Nam. It's probably no coincidence that Secretary of Commerce Peterson was in Moscow negotiating the grain deal at the same time that mines were falling in Haiphong harbor.

Some politicians like to blame food prices on the high cost of labor. Others, like (ex-)Senator Fred Harris, blame monopoly profits in the food industry. But as far as labor costs go, increasing productivity has exactly kept up with rising wages. For example, meatcutters' wages have added only a little over 1¢ per pound to the cost of meat since 1964.

What about monopoly profits, though? Let's take a specific example. Iowa Beef Processers made a very high 15% profit on investment last year--twice as much as they made the year before. For the capitalist this profit on investment is what counts; but for the consumer, profit as a percentage of sales is the important figure. Iowa Beef's profits amounted to less than six-tenths of 1% of their total sales, or about a penny a pound on the retail cost of beef. Profits in the food industry as a whole run about 2½% of sales. Therefore, even if we cut out profits entirely you could only expect to save two cents per dollar on your food bill.

Does this mean that profits are not the culprit? Not exactly. It is not profits themselves but the insane and inefficient profit system that is to blame. For example, food advertising costs the consumer more than food industry profits. (Of course, without advertising how would we know about such revolutionary new foods as General Mills' "Mr. Wonderful's Surprise"--a cereal injected with delicious creamy filling?!) But the ultimate insanity of organizing production for profit instead of for people is that it prevents us from carrying out rational solutions to problems like the food crisis.

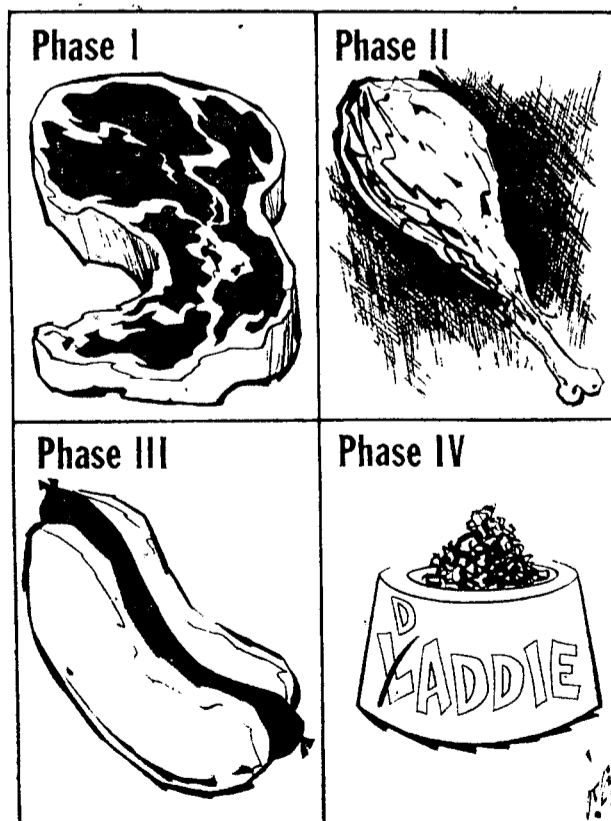
What would we do if we didn't have to operate within a capitalist system? In the first place we would take immediate steps to grow more food, both by more intensive farming and by bringing into production all that land which can produce good crops but isn't farmed now because it won't bring a profit. Then we would have enough to feed ourselves and plenty of surplus to be used for humanitarian purposes. With the people themselves in charge of production and distribution, feeding, housing, and clothing, people would be the first priority and we would not let the "law" of supply and demand keep some people from having enough to eat. Nor would we make luxuries out of what used to be essentials for others. We would spend the effort and money saved from advertising and other wastes to prepare food that's really good for all of us. For example, we could produce only two or three kind of (real) hot dogs instead of twelve brands of sawdust-sausages.

We in NAM are working for a socialist society in which we could really do these things. What can we do in the mean time? We can try to implement some of the same solutions described above; but every such reform comes at a cost. In the short run we could control exports of grain. But this will re-aggravate the balance of payments problem unless other steps are taken, such as closing down U. S. military bases abroad.

In the longer run we should guarantee increased production by killing the farm subsidy program for good. The government must never again pay farmers not to grow crops.

Finally, we should discourage waste in the food industry. There should be no tax write-off for advertising expenses.

Political pressure like the meat boycott forced Nixon to put the 60 million acres back in production for next year. There is no reason why more long-term mass political activity couldn't force the administration to control exports, increase food production, and begin to rationalize the food industry. These steps would mean a big improvement in food prices, even if they are not a complete solution. ●



GUATEMALA

by Susanne Johns

the Struggle Resumes

EVER SINCE THE CIA-sponsored Counter Revolution of 1954, Guatemalans have lived under one of the most repressive regimes in Latin America. A principal victim of the repression has been the labor movement. Within a year after the Counter Revolution and U. S. intervention, it was reduced from 100,000 to 27,000 members, and most leaders were killed, jailed, or exiled. In the last three years, under the government of General Carlos Arana Osorio (who first rose to fame as the head of the 1966-8 counter-insurgency campaign in Zacapa, and whose brutality earned him the title, "butcher of Zacapa"), the general level of repression has been intensified. But during the summer of 1973, what began as a simple strike by teachers, spread to other sectors of the working class, and generated massive street demonstrations--the first public signs of widespread popular mobilization since 1962.

The Arana government claims that the country is in better economic and financial shape than ever. For foreign (mainly U. S.) investors and Guatemala's small capitalist class, this may be true. But for the Guatemalan working class, it has been anything but a boom. Recently, the cost of living has been steadily rising. Since the beginning of 1972, Guatemala has had the highest increase in the rate of inflation in Latin America: the inflation index rose from 1.1% in December, 1972, to 14.3% in May, 1973. As a result, staple foods--milk, meat, coffee, sugar, beans, corn and bread--are almost luxuries. Meanwhile, wages have not risen proportionately.

The result has been an increase in labor conflicts and demands for higher salaries. The past year has brought strikes or threatened strikes in several areas--electrical and communications workers, university and court workers. The Arana government could not totally ignore this situation, and early in 1973 introduced, and Congress passed, a new Law for Salaries of Public Employees that establishes a salary increase every two years and makes severance pay obligatory.

One important group, nearly half of all public employees, was not included in this new law: public school teachers. Even though it is legally stipulated that the base salaries for teachers must be adjusted each year according to the rise in the cost of living, no government since 1962 has raised the base salaries for teachers (despite a more than 40% increase in living costs since 1962). Starting pay for public school teachers is \$89.33 a month, going to \$176.77 a month after 25 years of service.

In response, teachers in the departments of Quezaltenango and San Marcos began protesting. The movement soon spread to the rest of the country, involving more than 20,000 teachers in the National Teachers' Front. In March, the Front formulated a demand for a 50% salary increase, inclusion in the new benefits, and an assurance from the President that teachers involved in the movement would not be fired or physically eliminated. Receiving no response, the Front called for a work stoppage and a national strike if the demands were not met. On April 23, grade school teachers began a work stoppage, with the aim of expanding to include all teachers by May 2.

The government immediately declared that the strike was illegal and that the government would take all necessary steps to stop it. The Vice-President announced that Congress had evidence that outside agitators were responsible for the Teachers' movement.



President Arana declared that it was a Communist plot to overthrow the government. The government coalition in Congress, MLN-PID, passed a resolution urging that "drastic" steps be taken to avert the strike. Despite these threats, the work stoppage began as announced. 150 teachers were fired and the police were called in several times to disperse teachers' meetings.

The National Teachers' Front received support from the University Council, several parents' associations, teachers' organizations from private schools and student associations. In addition, many other labor organizations and students from the major public high schools pledged their support. Finally, on the eve of a general teachers' strike, in the second week of May, the Arana government met with the leaders of the movement and agreed to reinstate all the fired teachers and to negotiate a salary increase. The teachers, in turn, agreed to a sixty-day waiting period.

Before the sixty days were up, however, the government announced a raise for all public employees, including teachers, of less than 10%. The teachers rejected this offer. On July 14, primary school teachers declared a strike; public high school students, as well as high school and kindergarten teachers, soon followed their lead.

This second strike revealed a new political maturity among the teachers. The National Teachers' Front was much better organized, and had used the 60 days to organize teachers and to gain support from other labor organizations. On July 25, a National Popular Unity Front was formed, involving high school and university students and several important labor organizations.

The government tried to divide the teachers by offering a differential wage increase, and to isolate them by asserting that the teachers were trying to get higher raises than the rest of the public employees. The Teachers' Front agreed to negotiate with the government and declared that it would accept a 25% increase, while demanding a revision of salary increases for all public employees.

On July 26, a demonstration organized by the Popular Unity Front attracted over 3,000 people. The government declared the demonstration, held in front of the National Palace, illegal and sent two squads of special riot police, heavily armed for street disorders with tear gas, rifles, and batons, to break it up. After

several days of street demonstrations, the School of Medicine at the University was invaded by police when protesters sought refuge there, and 50 people were arrested. In response, the School of Medicine and the interns in all public hospitals went on strike. The brutality of the riot police received widespread condemnation and gained wider support for the striking teachers. The government's excuse followed Nixonian logic: "We know that subversive groups have planned to infiltrate armed elements with instructions to shoot at students and teachers and to provoke disorders and acts of terrorism. This has made necessary the moderate but firm intervention of the public forces."

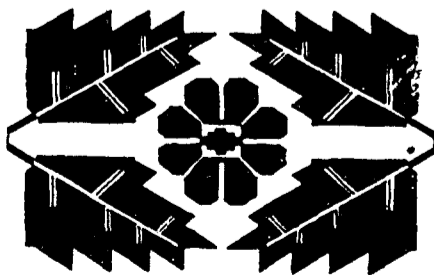
Despite these repressive measures and threats from the newly formed Death Squad, the teachers' movement maintained its demands and the strikes continued. Five days later, the government announced that it would grant a 25% wage increase. The kindergarten and high school teachers agreed to call off the strike, while the primary school teachers insisted on the release of all those arrested.

This movement represented far more than a union demand for higher salaries. It caused the first street demonstrations in Guatemala in 11 years. It served as a catalyst for the organization of other sectors of workers and re-politicized the university students, once famous for their activism, but removed from politics in the last few years. Moreover, after six months of pressure, the government was forced to accede to workers' demands for the first time in recent years.

Even after the strike was settled, the movement continued to cause problems for the government. Inspired by the teachers' movement, the Popular Unity Front organized a massive demonstration on August 7 to protest the rise in the cost of living. Despite a heavy rain, at least 4,000 people participated in this rally, including teachers, students, workers, peasant leagues, women's clubs, and the Committee of Families of the Disappeared.



For more information, write to American Friends of Guatemala (publishers of *Guatemala Report*), P. O. Box-2283, Station A, Berkeley, CA 94702.



The Watergate Scandal, signaling the utter debasement of America's Cold War policies, opens the way to serious consideration of socialism as an alternative for the United States.

W A T E R G A T E

...its origins and its cure

by John Judis
Berkeley NAM

FROM WORLD WAR II TO VIETNAM: THE ORIGINS OF WATERGATE

THE SCANDAL CREATED by the exposures of the Senate Watergate hearings is the deepest in American history. Unlike Teapot Dome, or the more recent TFX and Bobby Baker scandals, it has involved an entire administration. Not one cabinet officer remains from Nixon's first administration. All his major advisors with the exception of Kissinger have been forced to resign. The Vice-President may be indicted. And if Nixon escapes impeachment, it will be largely because the Democrats would prefer that the Republicans remain under Nixon's crippled leadership.

Like previous scandals, Watergate has included extensive exposures of shady financial dealings between the white house and business--from Vesco's attempt to buy himself out of trouble with the Securities Exchange Commission, to Nixon's deals with the milk industry and ITT. But this kind of corruption pales before the Nixon administration's attempt to destroy any opposition to its policies through repression and intimidation, and to further centralize decision-making in the white house, out of reach of both the congress and the public.

This process is epitomized in the "secret plan" Nixon formulated in 1970 right after mass opposition to the Cambodian invasion. Repressing political opponents was to be taken out of the hands of the FBI, which was inefficient, and to be placed within the jurisdiction of a new executive agency, directly responsible to the president. Through such an agency, Nixon hoped to eliminate opposition to his policies and to hide the process of repression from the public.

The basic reason for Nixonian manipulation, deception, repression and further centralization of power is that he had to maintain an electoral majority while pursuing policies blatantly opposed to the interests of most Americans--continuing the war in Southeast Asia, cutting back social but not military spending, and imposing wage and price controls. He had to pursue these policies because of the imperative of advanced corporate capitalism, not because he serves the interests of any one group of capitalists.

To understand Watergate, we have to go back to the problems American capitalism faced at the end of World War II and to the policy approach that American leaders worked out at the time. Presidents from Truman to Nixon have followed this policy approach. The special features of Nixon's administration--the degree of political repression and centralized private decision-making--come from the increasing conflict between that approach and the way the majority of Americans understand their needs.

The United States came out of World War II the most powerful capitalist country in the world. At the same time, American businessmen and political leaders feared a return to the depression of the 1930's, and to the political unrest that accompanied it. Dean Acheson, Harry Truman's Secretary of State, expressed this in 1944: "We cannot go through another ten years like the ten years at the end of the twenties and the beginning of the thirties without having the most far-reaching consequences upon our economic and social systems." Underlying this fear was the realization that neither Roosevelt's policies nor the natural upturn of the business cycle had rescued the United States from the depression. Only World War II and the artificial stimulation created by wartime production got us out of the depression.

In his testimony before congress in 1944, Acheson went on to admit that "under a different system [socialism] you could use the entire production of the country in the United States." But under capitalism, where production and distribution are regulated by the individual corporation's quest for profits, it was necessary to provide outlets and incentives for capitalists to expand their production. These outlets would be created through economic expansion overseas and through massive armament production.

Foreign expansion, or imperialism, became a central part of the solution that American policy-makers worked out to the problems posed by post-war American capitalism. Overseas expansion not only provided new profits for American corporations, it required the continuation of the wartime economy and the draft. American expansion overseas requires the defense of corporate interests against the peoples of colonial countries that want to control their own economies. The hot war of World War II was continued into the fifties and sixties in the form of the "cold war."

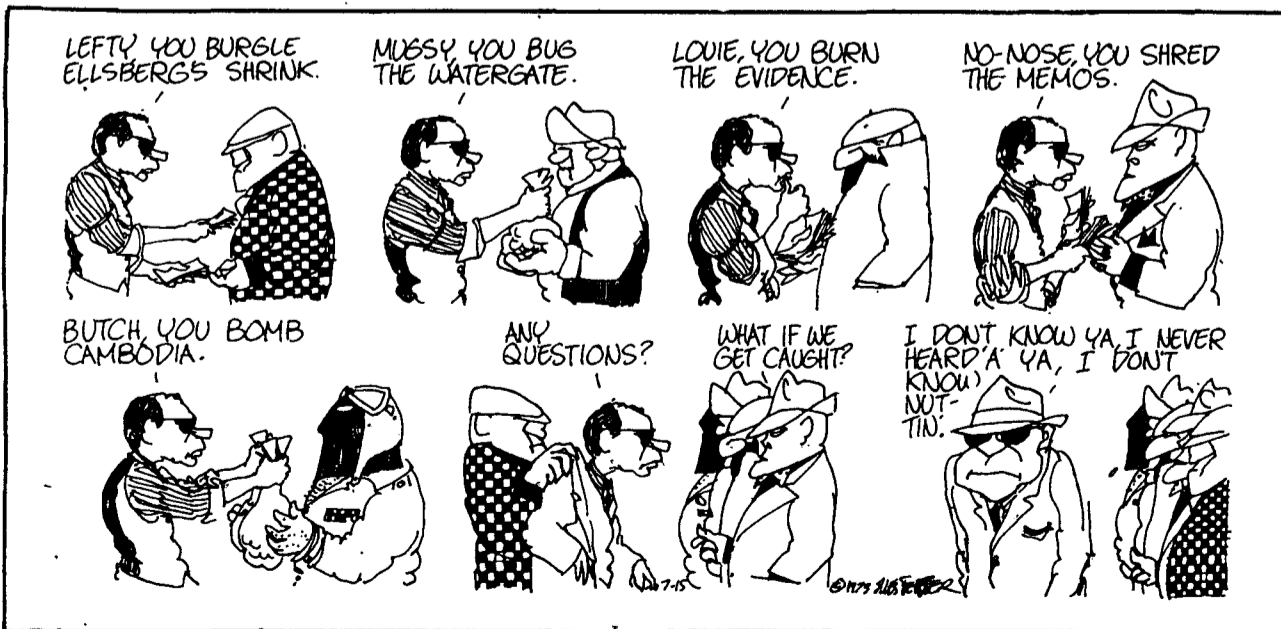
But the cold war had to be sold to the American people who were weary of war after five years of sacrifice and death and who were reluctant to see their tax dollars and sons going overseas to prop up foreign regimes. To justify these measures, American policy-makers invoked the spectre of the world Communist movement, led by the Soviet Union, which would destroy the freedom and prosperity of Americans unless it were combatted and contained at every juncture. Beginning in Greece in 1948, American policy-makers defended our aid and intervention on these grounds. So was the repression and intimidation of any domestic opposition to these measures, from the Communist Party and Henry Wallace's Progressive Party, to the thousands of groups and individuals who shared Communist objections to the cold war policies but were not themselves Communists, or even left-wingers.

Meanwhile, some measure of actual prosperity was achieved by the continuation of the wartime economy, and by continuing those new deal measures intended to keep the unemployed and unorganized from starving. Business followed a "carrot and stick" approach to the organized labor movement. While destroying militant leadership and limiting the political power of labor, concessions were made on wages and working conditions. As a result, during the first twenty years of the cold war period, the living conditions of American working people improved; this improvement became an important prop in the argument of American policy-makers about the necessity to preserve the free enterprise system in the face of godless Communism.

Continued on Page 12

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NAM Newspaper
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the BAILEY BUST

by Bill Kononen and Nick Rabkin
Berkeley NAM

BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA has been in the forefront of radical social activity and change since the early '60's. But on August 21, Berkeley became the first city in the country to recall a black man from city government.

D'Army Bailey, the object of the recall, has committed no crimes, accepted no bribes, has been guilty of no "moral turpitude." The recall was a naked power grab by conservatives who opposed Bailey and were willing to use racism to their best advantage.

Bailey was elected to the Berkeley City Council in April, 1971, as part of the slate sponsored by the Black Caucus and the April Coalition, two local radical coalitions spawned by Berkeley's social upheavals in the '60's and the election of Congressman Ron Dellums. Bailey, who arrived in Berkeley a short time before the election, had a long and militant history in the civil rights movement, a Yale law degree, and a lot of money. A combination of political skill and ugly manipulation led to endorsement by the Black Caucus. The money was used to run a professional campaign around the slogan "New Blood," and to build a black base for Bailey, independent of the Black Caucus.

NATIONALISM

Bailey used every opportunity after his election to advance black social, cultural, and economic interests. From the beginning of his tenure in office he frankly argued that black-white unity must be preceded by economic development in the black community that would enable it to participate as an equal member of a coalition. He was instrumental in winning one of the strongest affirmative action hiring programs in the country; he helped get important appointments for blacks in City government; he forced the City to solicit bids from minority contractors on all City contracts; and he helped settle a labor dispute that favored the dominantly black refuse collectors.

Bailey's antagonistic political style alienated his adversaries and often made compromise impossible. He reserved special ire for fellow blacks on the City Council who he knew were pawns of Berkeley's white capitalist power structure. He called black Mayor Warren Widener the city's "chief pig" on one occasion, and labeled Wilmot Sweeney, the city's first black Councilman, an Uncle Tom (at a Council meeting). He filibustered against proposals that did not meet with his approval and used parliamentary procedure to harass the operation of the Council when it was considering measures that would not directly help the black community.

The priority that Bailey gave to advancing black interests led him to overlook or oppose, in practice if not in intent, the legitimate demands of other oppressed groups. Bailey often acted as if he believed that many of the left-wing women and young people who helped elect him in 1971 were, in fact, his adversaries. He fought against funding for several women's programs, and initially opposed rent control.

RENT CONTROL

His opposition to rent control reveals a great deal about Bailey's politics. He was first presented with a proposal for rent control in the winter of 1972. He refused to support the measure because it would hurt black landlords, and he made no guarantees that blacks would be represented on the elected board that was to administer rent control. In Bailey's view the black community was so economically underdeveloped that there were no significant class distinctions contained within it. Any measure that endangered the development of any sector of the black community was seen as a threat to the entire black community and, therefore, could not be supported.

When the electorate passed rent control, Bailey became one of the members of the Council who favored strict enforcement, but his initial opposition alienated many of his former supporters.

RECALL COMMITTEE

The Recall Committee was supported by the major white businesses of the city and by the black and white politicians who represent them. Bailey's vigorous support of black economic interests threatened them. They understood that of the three radicals who had been elected in 1971 Bailey was the most vulnerable because his nationalism had alienated so much of his initial white support. And it was possible to deepen support for the recall by publicizing and exaggerating Bailey's undiplomatic style and his opposition to women's programs. These became the issues that the Recall Committee stressed. They claimed that Bailey had "intensified racial tensions and set one group off against the other."

Their claim had some basis but the Recall Committee was not really concerned about blacks and women. They were primarily concerned with the contradiction between black interests and the interests of the white business establishment. Bailey intensified that contradiction. The Recall Committee sought to obscure its real motive by charging Bailey with "wild behavior" and "reverse racism." They even suggested that he actually worked against the interests of the black community.

Bailey did work against the interests of part of the black community--the part that works hand in glove with white capital in return for a few crumbs. The fact that that part of the black community actually led the recall campaign further obscured the racist and class nature of the recall itself.

BAD STRATEGY

Bailey was unable to reveal the racist and class nature of the recall partly because of the opposition's political skill. But he also failed because his analysis of the black situation in Berkeley and his own strategy for changing it were inadequate. In his two years in office Bailey acted much like the traditional ethnic politician: scrambling to push the interests of his black ethnic minority, and especially building the economic base of his constituency by building its petty capitalists. This approach might have been good earlier in the development of American capitalism, but attempting to build an economic base today through the development of a small capitalist class is beating a dead horse.

Moreover, Bailey's nationalism is a dead-end in cities with white majorities, like Berkeley. Instead of formulating black demands within the context of programs that could represent the diversity of working people in Berkeley, Bailey fought for blacks as a special interest group in opposition to other working people. As a result, whites who might have supported him came to distrust Bailey's motives and to be apathetic about his work. The majority of people in Berkeley came to see Bailey as a threat to their needs, rather than as a class ally.

In spite of this, many leftists in Berkeley supported Bailey against the recall. The New American Movement, the Berkeley-Oakland Women's Union, the Berkeley Tenants Organizing Committee, and the Communist Party all argued the need to fight against the racism that motivated the recall and to fight against the white businessmen whose interests it served. In addition, and most significantly, Bailey was able to organize a larger black grouping behind him than had ever before been done in a Berkeley election campaign.

The activity of so many blacks in the anti-recall campaign shows the power that Bailey's form of nationalism has within the black community. But Bailey's failure to prevent his own recall will surely move many of these people toward new strategies for winning black demands. Some will move to the right, where some black demands can be met within the context of the continued development and hegemony of white capitalism, but where the ultimate goal of black liberation will be stifled. Others will move to the left, toward a class perspective and socialism, the only ground upon which the struggle for black liberation can fully be won. ■

◆ OUR EXPLOITATIVE society continuously generates violence of every description by its very nature. As the failure to meet the basic needs of most people becomes critical, and the frustration and desperation of the more oppressed sectors of the society mounts, one can anticipate a corresponding increase of violence in general. The Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA) traditionally gives huge sums of money to local police forces for new weaponry, data banks, and surveillance. Now, the powers-that-be are turning increasingly to medicine and the behavioral sciences for more subtle or sophisticated ways to control individuals and preserve the status quo.

Psychiatry is coming into greater prominence as the handmaiden of law enforcement and corrections. But this does not mean more humane and enlightened "treatment of the violent and violence-prone individual," no matter how well-intentioned the participating psychiatrists may be. The proposed Center for the Study and Reduction of Violence (CSRV) at UCLA, which Governor Reagan announced in his State of the State message last January, is a case in point. The Center is strongly opposed by the Medical Committee for Human Rights (MCHR) and a host of community organizations.

MCHR, which had its inception in the Civil Rights movement in the south and has been involved in the struggle to place the crisis-ridden health care delivery system more equitably in the service of the people, is also involved in combatting the perversion of medical skills to the service of oppression. It is not surprising that our concern regarding the abuse of psychiatry led us at the very outset to the penal system, the most oppressive institution of our society and, no doubt, the most sensitive barometer of the general social climate.

Although the prison system in this country has a long history of outbreaks and rebellions, in recent years prisoners have shown a new level of political awareness in their struggle to survive in a totalitarian environment. One need only mention Soledad, Folsom, San Quentin and Attica. In California the ethnic minorities, black and brown, make up from 50% to 75% of the prisoner population and the remainder are largely poor whites. More than ever inmates see themselves as victims of an exploitative society; despite the authorities' age-old strategy of "divide and rule" prisoners are developing a growing solidarity. One consequence is that more and more prisoners are confined in maximum security sections, euphemistically named "Adjustment Centers." Many "incorrigibles" who continue to struggle against the process of dehumanization to which they are subjected have been categorized as "hard-core, militant revolutionaries." Others have been maddened by the interminable outrages committed against them. Their keepers, casting about for "more effective means of controlling the violent and violence prone," sought answers from psychiatry and, finally, neurosurgery.

IN NOVEMBER, 1971, ON the heels of the killing of George Jackson at San Quentin and the uprising at Attica, members of MCHR's Bay Area Chapter learned of the construction of the Maximum Psychiatric Diagnostic Unit (MPDU) at the California (Prison) Medical Facility at Vacaville. An arrangement has been made with a neurosurgeon at the UC Medical Center in San Francisco to select subjects for amygdalotomy (brain surgery). Others would be treated to an active regimen of chemical pacification (with serious potential for addiction and permanent brain damage).

MCHR saw psychosurgery on prisoners as a highly-questionable means of behavior modification, one that has considerable potential as an instrument of political oppression. Furthermore, prisoners selected for such a controversial procedure are incapable of giving free and informed consent (a position confirmed in an historic decision on July 11, 1973, by a Detroit judicial tribunal). The public outcry that followed these revelations forced the Department of Corrections to abandon, for the time being, this aspect of its control program.

In March, 1972, we discovered that the Houston Neurological Society and the graduate division of bio-medical sciences at the University of Texas were holding a symposium on the "Neural Bases of Violence and Aggression." In addition to papers on neuro-anatomy and neurophysiology the program listed presentations by Drs. Ervin and Mark of Boston on prisoners, violence and "ablations of the cortex." We decided to send a delegation to the meeting. In addition we insisted that a place be

PSYCHIATRISTS and COPS

Unholy Alliance

made on the program for Peter Breggin, a Washington psychiatrist and MCHR member who had just finished a study on the "new wave" of psychosurgery. A head-on collision occurred. The meeting, which we had appraised as a prestigiously-supported attempt to legitimize psychosurgery, became the focal point for a national campaign against it and its perpetrators.

THE THIRD AND LATEST chapter of this widespread effort on the part of the state and its agencies of law enforcement and corrections to treat violence as an essentially medical problem, is to treat it by psychiatry, if not by neurosurgery. Recognizing that there are well-intentioned people within the criminal justice system, we nonetheless are cynical regarding its "humanitarian" posture. The proposed Center for the Study and Reduction of Violence would go beyond the prison walls and, in our view, bodes ill for the people at large, especially the most defenseless.

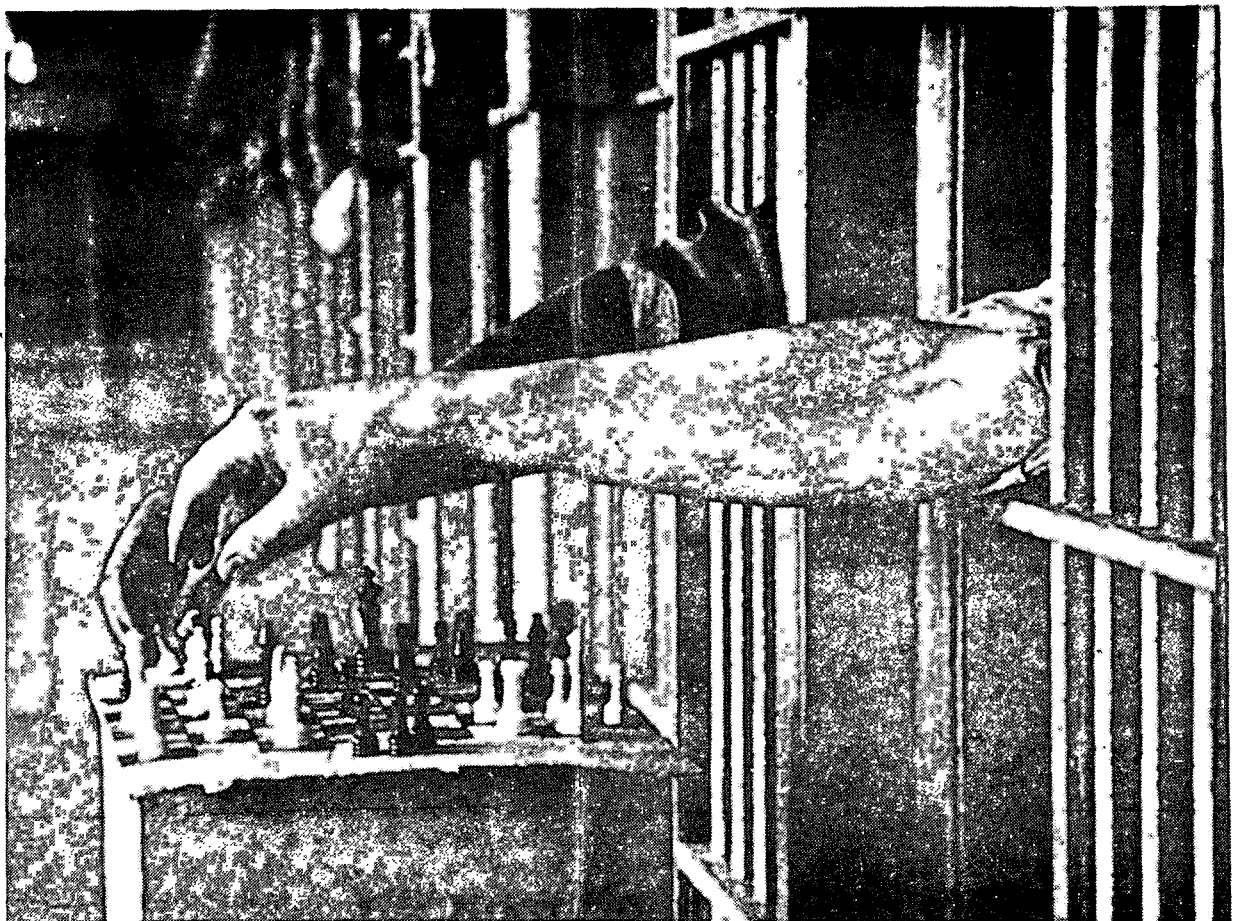
Dr. Jolyon West, director of the Neuro-psychiatric Institute at UCLA and chief architect of the Center, is aware that the major generators of physical violence are racism, poverty, unemployment, sexism, inadequate housing, education and health care and, not least, the penal system itself. Yet West and his staff, perhaps recognizing their limitations, prefer to address the problem of violence as primarily a manifestation of individual pathology, i.e., genetic, hormonal, cerebral, metabolic, et cetera. Yet there is no reason to suppose that individual organic pathology is, in fact, on the rise, while there is a great deal to indicate that the lot of the poor and the oppressed minorities is deteriorating rapidly. No wonder then that Gov. Reagan, having saved the wealthy of the state millions of dollars in tax rebates by virtue of drastic economies in the social services of health, education and welfare, has placed a high priority on funding an agency that promises to lighten the burdens of an overworked criminal justice system by employing psychiatry to shift the focus from social causes to the "sick" individual.

by Phillip Shapiro
San Francisco Psychiatrist
Co-Chairperson of the
Prison Health Committee,
Bay Area MCHR

The Center defined its goal as the elaboration of "models" for the prediction, detection and control of violent behavior. MCHR has pointed out that harnessing a psychiatrist to a computer will not enable him to predict violent behavior. Such efforts and contemplated procedures for labelling individuals as "violence-prone" would, in our view, inescapably bring about an abridgement of human and constitutional rights and to "preventive detention." An analysis of research protocols initially issued by West made it clear that the proposed Center would lead to the extension of surveillance techniques and the coercive use of chemical and electronic means of restraint. The Center proposed to use prisoners and mental patients in its studies and experiments, a fact which at once raised issues of confidentiality and of securing free and informed consent from persons in detention as well as those under threat of detention. Other research studies on the agenda were clearly racist and sexist in their conception. In an early draft Dr. West indicated that wide consultation had been sought in the planning of the Center; he then proceeded to list fourteen agencies, all in the area of law enforcement.

West had hoped for a minimum publicity while preparations for securing funding (\$3,000,000) for the first three years of the Center's operation went forward. However, the Committee Opposing the Psychiatric Abuse of Prisoners (COPAP) which, in conjunction with a parallel organization in Los Angeles and the Bay Area Chapter of MCHR has spearheaded the attack on the CSRV, was able to obtain early drafts of the proposal. Since then, it has gone through a series of at least seven revisions, a progressive "laundering" process designed to disarm the opposition by postponing, modifying or removing features that have provoked criticism.

Continued on Page 16



STEELYARD BLUES

by Mark Cohen
Pittsburgh NAM

I WORKED AT the National-Duquesne Works of U. S. Steel in Duquesne, Pa., for a little more than six months. There was then a good deal of hostility toward the "Experimental Negotiating Agreement" that I. W. Abel, United Steelworkers' (USWA) president, signed over our heads with the company. People were pissed off but felt powerless to do anything.

I talked to some workers at the beginning of August about the "no-strike" agreement. Most were angry:

"It's no fuckin' good. He oughta get his head examined."

"Not worth a damn. The way I look at it, if you can't strike your hands are tied."

"It stinks. It takes our bargaining power away. The union should fight for a shorter work week."

The most positive thing anyone had to say about Abel negotiating away the right to strike was that it was "in some ways good and some ways bad."

Joseph Butchki, who had worked 23 years in the mines before working the blast furnace 17 years at Duquesne, commented: "...no good. Ain't gonna get nothin'."

I asked him if he thought anything could be done about the agreement.

"If the men stuck together they could do something about it. You never get nothin' unless you strike for it."

He explained, as did other former mine workers I met while in the mill, that the mine workers used to strike a lot.

The agreement Abel signed gives up the right to a company or industry-wide strike in return for a \$150 "bonus" for each worker (which comes to less than 3 cents an hour over the life of the contract), as well as a wage increase of only 3%. The rationale is the same as was used for forming labor-management "productivity committees" and for the "Buy American" campaign. It was also used in a film jointly produced by U. S. Steel and the USWA called "Where's Joe?" which was shown to workers at the mill as well as on local educational T.V. The film argues that workers should protect the competitive position of American industry against Japanese and European steel in order to protect their jobs: if industrial peace is guaranteed then steel consumers won't have to look outside the U. S. due to the threat of a strike.



AT THE BASE OF THE BLAST FURNACE

Drawn by Joseph Stella

The import scare is really a hoax to increase profits. The truth is that steel imports have been decreasing.

But a strange psychological factor surrounds the Japanese and German steel scare. Many of the guys I worked with had served in the second world war and are vicariously reliving their youth in the battle cry against the "Japs" and Germans. I heard countless war stories in the mill many of which began as discussions about the "threat" of imports.

What has really arisen from the "productivity agreement" in two years is increased steel production even with the lay-off of some 40,000 workers. Some jobs have been combined and time-motion study men (euphemistically known as Industrial Engineers) have been busy finding ways to speed up the work process. The faster pace of work has created greater work hazards and, with the implementation of "productivity committees," disabling injuries increased 25% during the first quarter of 1972.

Opposition to the "no-strike" agreement has been mounting. The following locals have gone on record against it: Jones & Laughlin in Aliquippa, U. S. Steel in Braddock and Clairton (all in the

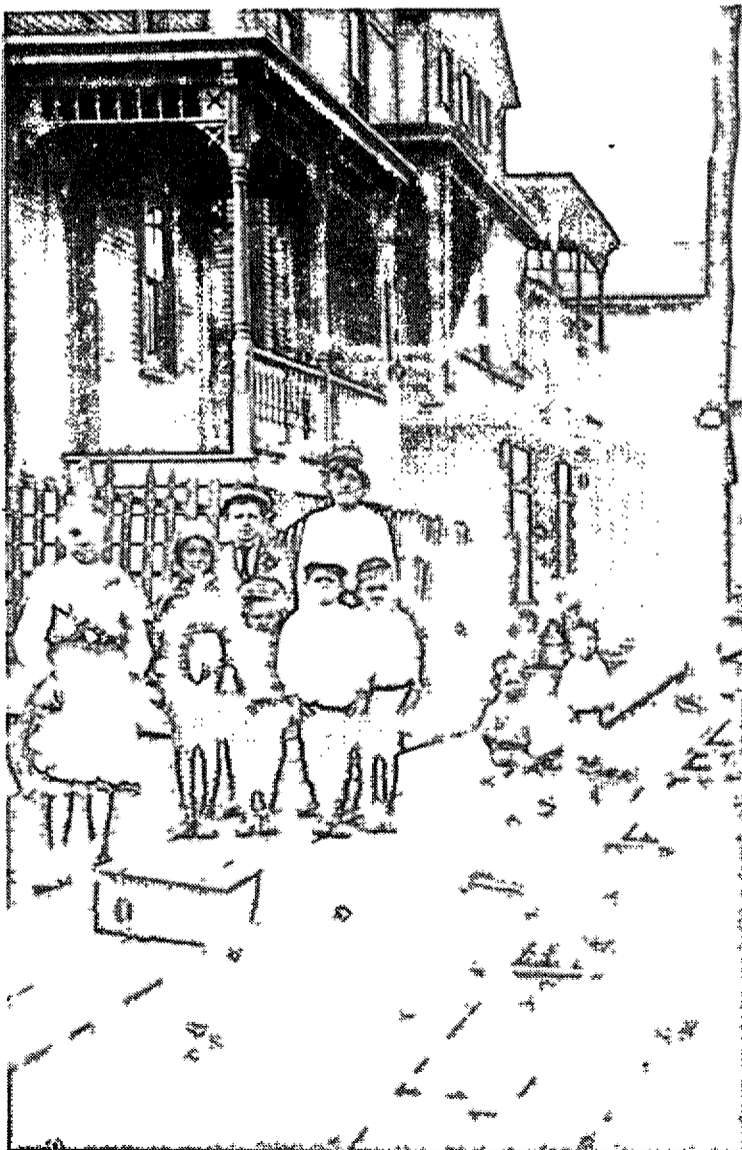
Pittsburgh area), U. S. Steel in Lorain, Ohio, and American Bridge in Los Angeles. Resolutions condemning the agreement have been passed by the U. S. Steel South Works and Bethlehem Steel locals in the Gary, Indiana, area. The Bethlehem local 6787 has elected a rank and file caucus to union office.

A lawsuit to void the "Experimental Negotiating Agreement" is now being prepared by David Scribner, former general counsel for the United Electrical Workers. The suit charges that the international union officers violated the policies of the USWA constitution and convention, federal and state laws relating to the rights of union members to participate effectively in the affairs of the union, the current Basic Steel Agreement, and the fundamental right of union members to decide whether they should strike.

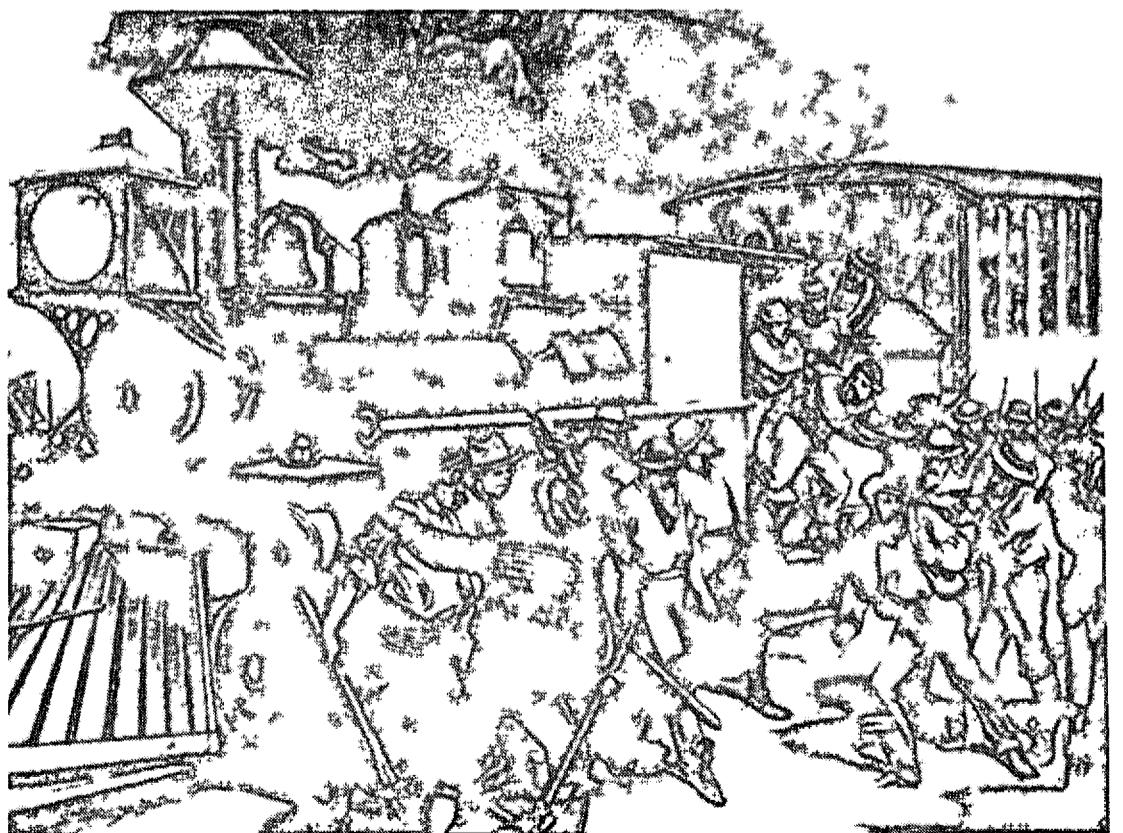
The suit also calls for recovering damages from international union officers and members of the international executive board who used or expended the property of the international union (including salaries, union property, and facilities supplied them) in the negotiation and adoption of the "Experimental Negotiating Agreement."

For more information write:

WORKERS FOR DEMOCRACY
5303 Hohman Ave., Room 505
Hammond, Indiana 46320



MILLER STREET, DUQUESNE
Open drain at side of street



The four pictures on these pages are from Pittsburgh NAM's "People's History" film strip. They depict the lives of steel workers and their families in the Pittsburgh area in the early 1900's.

REBELLION ON THE DOCKS

by Dave Wells
New Orleans NAM

On Monday, July 23, more than 1,800 New Orleans longshoremen began a historic wildcat strike. They struck to open up the royalty fund paid by the steamship companies to the International Longshoremen's Association to compensate for jobs lost to containerization. Established in the 1968 contracts, this fund contains undisclosed millions of dollars. The membership has not seen a penny of it.

"Chink" Henry, president of the large black local 1419, and Al Chittenden, head of all-white 1418, faced the first serious challenge to their rule since they came to power in the early 1950's.

The contracts, which had never been seen by most rank-and-file workers, allocated 75% of the royalty money to the union welfare and pension fund, and the other 25% to a fund designated for direct distribution to the men. According to strike leader Irvin Joseph, over \$50 million was already in the pension fund, and not one longshoreman had received a dime of royalty payments since the contracts were signed.

The second day of the strike the longshoremen met with Mayor Moon Landrieu in the council chamber at city hall. He refused to become involved. This was an omen of things to come. It was the rank-and-file workers' fight to win or lose.

MEDIA BACKS BUREAUCRATS

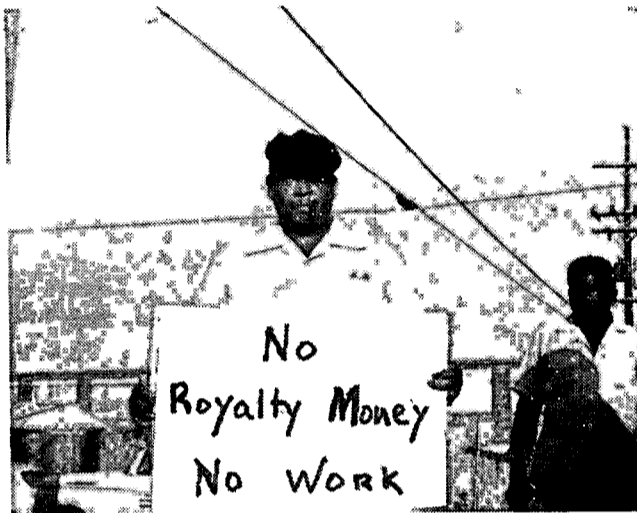
Throughout the week, the radio stations and the Times-Picayune quoted predictions by Henry and Chittenden that the strike would be over the next day and that a "handful of dissidents" and "trouble-makers" were trying to stir things up. The Times-Picayune even ran a headline Wednesday morning saying "Dock Strike Ends," based on a phony meeting at which a phony "settlement" was reached the night before.

But the strike went on. Morale was high, black and white solidarity was at its peak, and the strike was 100% effective.

GLEASON COMES TO TOWN

Thomas Gleason, International president of the union, flew down from New York to quell the uprising. He promptly sealed himself off in back rooms with the shippers and Henry and Chittenden, issuing press releases and ignoring the strikers' invitation to come down to Orange and Chippewa Streets next to the hiring hall to either "Give it up or tell where it's at."

Several men pointed out the obvious fact that Gleason was just as corrupt as, if not more than, their local presidents. Gleason left town after two days, somewhat insulted and probably more than a little glad to leave such a "hot" climate.



STRIKE SLOWS DOWN

But by the weekend men were gradually beginning to drift back to work. The leadership had announced that there was \$892,000 in the royalty fund, which would break down to about \$200 per man, on the basis of 90% distributed to the rank-and-filers, and 10% to the union office. This offer was rejected by the more militant strikers, who demanded all the money, and who also claimed that the \$892,000 figure was only a drop in the bucket, that there was really several million dollars unaccounted for.

On Thursday, the Steamship Association announced it was bringing an unfair labor practice charge against five black strike leaders. The NLRB would decide whether the men were guilty of "acting in concert," whatever that means. This was a blatant attempt to split the blacks from the whites: none of the white strikers were charged.

To an extent, the tactic worked. By Monday morning, the 30th, many dockers were returning to work, and there were few white strikers visibly engaged in what was now referred to as a "protest." Strikers passed out leaflets demanding an open meeting of longshoremen, the U. S. Department of Commerce, and the Steamship Association to find out exactly how much containerized cargo had passed through the port since 1968, and how much of the royalty was already in the union pension fund.

When the men arrived for the meeting--about 700 of them--they found themselves locked out, the union officers claiming that they had not received enough advance notice to call a special meeting. There was anger and frustration; without total unity the strikers were faced with the imminent failure of the wildcat and possible reprisals against the main rank-and-file leaders who still wanted to stay out. Their hands were indeed tied. Chittenden and Henry could wait it out since only they knew exactly how much money there was and where it was located.

QUESTIONS STILL REMAIN

On August 3rd, U. S. District Court Judge Boyle ruled that the ILA members must vote on the 90% plan by August 17th. This was something of a victory--getting to vote at all--but it still leaves unanswered the basic question of unaccounted-for money. Few believe Chittenden and Henry have told the truth. There must be more than \$892,000 somewhere--but where is it?

Also remaining to be settled at the time of this writing is the question of the NLRB charges against Irvin Joseph and the other protest leaders. Most likely they will be cleared of the phony charges, but will they be able to get their jobs back?

The royalty fund issue is only the tip of the iceberg in the emerging rank-and-file rebellion against corrupt union leadership in the ILA. Despite the racist tactics of the Steamship Association there remains strong solidarity among black and white dockers who work together on the waterfront and are equally robbed by their gangster leaders.

WHAT FUTURE FOR THE PORT?

An important underlying issue, of course, is the whole question of automation and containerization. There are fewer and fewer jobs on the docks each year. The proposed Superport and Centroport schemes may very well dry up the Port of New Orleans and leave thousands of local workers jobless. Longshoremen will be hit first and hardest. Politicians like Mayor Landrieu and Governor Edwards--so-called friends of labor and of blacks--are very openly collaborating with corporate bigwigs on the Dock Board and with the giant oil companies to sell us all, literally, down the River. ■

We have a new address:

NAM Newspaper
388 Sanchez Street
San Francisco, CA 94114



LITHUANIAN WOMEN-FOLK
A door-step group in Braddock

Letters



THERE IS PRESENTLY for prisoners in prisons throughout the United States, in both state and federal prisons, a new kind of warfare and dehumanization.

At one time the old methods of "Divide and Conquer" were used effectively by prison officials. They would sow racial tension to keep the prisoners divided and fighting among themselves, knowing that in this state of mind these men would never become politically aware, realize why they were in prison, wonder why the rich who also break "laws" were not, or wonder why prisoners get paid slave wages (if any) for first-rate work, or most of all to wonder what some people meant by "Unity is Strength."

The authorities did not want the prisoners to ever wonder about these things and many more, for this would be the beginning of political awareness. They knew that through unity the prisoners could change the prisons by mass legal action, mass work strikes, or even the complete take-over of a prison. The officials were successful for quite a while in their tactics. I am a prisoner, and at one time I threw all my angers and frustrations on other prisoners because of their color and never placed them where they really belonged. So it was with prisoners throughout the U. S.

Then awareness made its way into the prisons via music, books, papers, and new prisoners who had witnessed the struggle or maybe even been a part of it. Prisoners began awakening and slowly, surely, unity of all races of prisoners began to develop.

When this unity came, the authorities began to change their tactics to "pacification." This was performed by giving the submissive prisoners all kinds of little goodies such as radios, popcorn, etc. These were given to prisoners who would completely submit and worry only about themselves and their little goodies, and turn their backs completely on the great numbers of prisoners being beaten by the guards or thrown in the hole. All this had the same objective as "Divide and Conquer" but using slightly different methods.

The pacification of certain prisoners has not worked effectively. Now the officials have stepped up their tactics to scenes right out of a science fiction movie or book. This is the use of mind control programs and tranquilizing drugs in great quantities; electric shock treatment, and even lobotomies as punishment of uncooperative prisoners. The objective of such sadism is twofold: one, to destroy the prisoners who refuse to voluntarily submit themselves to dehumanization, and second, to scare some prisoners into submission by the horrors inflicted on others.

In October of this year the federal government is supposed to open the National Behavioral Research Center in Butner, N. C. There will be prisoners, both state and federal, used as guinea pigs.

As I write this, I find myself in one of these programs by the name of S.T.A.R.T. at the U. S. Medical Center. It was opened September 11, 1972, and we have fought it from the beginning, including a 65-day food strike from September to November 1972, and a strike (not food) which began February 1, 1973, and continues to this day. This protest involves non-cooperation, no work or shave, destruction of government property, litigation. Out of the 14 prisoners in the program 6 of us are on this protest. We 6 are Edward Sanchez, 18827-175, William Ruiz, 2149-135, Gerard Wilson, 19481-175, Gerald McDonnell, 36119-115, Larry Cronca, and Forrest Gustave.

They are doing all they can to break our spirits. We are locked in our cells 24 hours a day; we have all been put into chains, two men were assaulted with tranquilizer drug injections; all of us have been on half ration of food, all of us are harrassed daily. We have been denied legal and religious materials. We have been denied the minimum requirements for prisoners in the "hole" according to U. S. Bureau of Prisons policy.

THIS CRISIS AND THE mind control programs in general affects you outside if you have political awareness or if you are active in movements for social change. The odds are that if and when you are arrested, you will very likely find yourself inside looking out of one of these programs. So you must, not only for us but for yourself, do what you can while you can to stop these programs.

We are doing our part inside; will you cadres outside do your part? We need the following types of help: 1. Write a letter in our behalf to the Director, Norman Carlson, U. S. Bureau of Prisons, Washington, D. C. 20537, asking him to remove the 6 of us from our forcible confinement in the S.T.A.R.T. program; 2. Write to Dr. P. J. Ciccone, Warden, U. S. Medical Center for Federal Prisoners, Springfield, Mo. 65802, with the same request; 3. Ask Congressmen Bernie Sisk, Ron Dellums, and Charles Rangel at the House of Representatives, Washington, D. C. 20515, to intercede in our behalves and have us transferred from the program; 4. Write the U. S. District Judge for the Western District of Missouri, Southern Division, Springfield, MO 65802, asking him to rule in behalf of the S.T.A.R.T. prisoners who have filed petitions before him for release from the program; 5. All people doing any of the above, please contact me, Edward Sanchez, advising me of such. Letters of support should be written to the 6 prisoners listed above at P. O. Box 4000, Springfield, MO.

As common people, we make our plea for help to the common people. Power is in the people.

Eddie Sanchez

To the Newspaper Collective:

In the June, 1973, issue of the New American Movement newspaper there appeared an article that reputed to be an analysis of the recent Oakland mayoralty election and, in particular, the significance of Bobby Seale's participation in that election. I am concerned because this article contained statements which were simply not true. For example, the article stated that Ron Dellums had supported Otho Green in the April 17th primary. Ron Dellums gave no endorsement to any of the candidates for mayor in that election. The article also implied that outside of the Dellums endorsement and that of the Oakland local of the American Federation of Teachers, Seale had difficulty getting endorsements from Democratic groups and individuals and labor organizations. A partial list of Seale endorsers for the May 15th run-off include the United Farm Workers and Cesar Chavez, the Northern California Young Democrats, the San Francisco Council of Democratic Clubs, the CBS Club, an Oakland Democratic Club, the Women's Black Political Caucus, a Bay Area women's political group, the Oakland local of the American Postal Workers Union, the United Airlines Black Caucus, the BART Black Caucus, the National Black Caucus, the Parishes United for Political Action, Coretta King, Mervyn Dymally, State Senator, Andrew Young, United States Congressman, and the Rev. Jesse Jackson. This is a partial listing and I have not included the names of numerous other members of the Oakland clergy and the Black business community who supported Seale's candidacy. Equally important is the fact that Bobby Seale and Elaine Brown had close to 1,000 community volunteers, not paid workers, *volunteers*, doing door-to-door precinct work. This represents a real endorsement by the People and no other candidate for any office in Oakland has ever been able to organize and field numbers of people like that.

Your article further states that Bobby Seale, suggested that the Black Panther Party would dissolve and become part of the Democratic Party. This is simply not so. What he said was that it wasn't inconceivable that the Black Panther Party might dissolve and merge with a broadbased democratic community organization, that meaning democratic with a small "d" based on the original meaning of the word: government by the people. That sort of coalition is already organizing in Oakland with broadbased and multi-ethnic membership. To assume that the Black Panther Party is even contemplating any sort of merger with the official Democratic Party, short of a complete transformation of that organization is very simplistic and obviously based on a complete lack of investigation on the part of your reporters.

There are other statements in the article that I could take issue with but that shouldn't really be necessary. It should be obvious to you that the article simply was not well researched. Since your paper has a national circulation, I am concerned that people in other parts of the country are going to get an entirely false impression of what went on in the Oakland mayoralty race and of what Bobby Seale actually said and meant when discussing the future of the Black Panther Party and the role of the Party in electoral politics. I sincerely hope you will print a retraction of the article. The June, 1973, issue of your newspaper was the first issue I have ever read, and based on the inaccuracies in the article on Seale, I am most reluctant to give any credibility to the other articles in the paper. Correcting the false impressions created by that one article would go a long way toward convincing me that you are a sincere and reputable organization with the long range interests of the People at heart.

Jo-Ellen Fehrle
Oakland, California

John Judis and Nick Rabkin's reply: Fehrle cites one important error in our article on the Seale campaign. Dellums originally took no position in the Seale-Green primary. Privately, it was rumored that he supported Green, but that doesn't justify our unqualified assertion that he did. Fehrle proceeds, however, to make a general case against the accuracy of our article. None of the other examples she gives are inaccuracies; at best, they are evidence of different opinions between us and her.

Seale did have difficulty getting Democratic and labor support, both in the primaries and runoff. Neither of the other liberal Democrats who opposed him in the primary--Green and Sutter--supported him in the runoff. COPE--the main political arm of the labor movement in Oakland--refused to support him. So there is some basis, besides the examples given in the article itself, for saying Seale had difficulties getting labor and Democratic support.

On Seale's relation to the Democratic Party, Seale's position, like Fehrle's in the letter, was ambiguous. The version we gave in our article--"their entry into the Democratic Party would depend upon their ability to transform it into a 'people's organization'" was the Panther position, which we checked through the Panther office. The present Panther position--embodied in the formation of the New Democratic Organizing Committee in Oakland--seems to be one of continuing to rely on the ambiguity between Democrats and democrats. Our position is that in the long run, this reliance on the Democrats, whether in name or spirit, will cause problems for a socialist movement, and perhaps it is here that we and Fehrle disagree.

Moving Beyond Good Vibes

by Jim Weinstein
San Francisco NAM

CAN A MASS SOCIALIST party be created in the United States, and what is NAM's role in that process? What does it mean to make socialism vs. capitalism the central issue in American politics during the 1970's, and what is the relation of electoral activity to doing this? How can NAM become a multi-national (chicanos, blacks, whites, etc.) organization while contributing to the building of a large-scale multi-national socialist movement? These were the main questions discussed at the second annual National Convention of the New American Movement at DeKalb, Illinois, July 5 through July 8.

The convention, which was attended by 165 delegates, representing about 30 chapters, and 60 observers, reflected the diversity of NAM and a serious commitment to working collectively to develop a new non-sectarian socialist politics. The convention also made clear that we have a long way to go, for while some basic political issues were discussed, the discussions were generally unfocused and confusing--and they were cut short by the tight schedule and a show of impatience with political debate on the part of many delegates. Despite these limitations, this was the first national meeting of NAM (there have been three earlier ones--the founding conference in Davenport, Iowa, the First National Convention in Minneapolis, and the National Council meeting at Yellow Springs, Ohio) at which definable political tendencies emerged, and out of which political caucuses began to form. In short, the convention produced the beginnings of substantial discussion about the direction of NAM and the meaning of a popular movement for socialism in the United States. And it did it in a way that makes it possible for all NAM members (and anyone who joins NAM) to participate fully. This alone is a major accomplishment, one that no other socialist group within memory has achieved.

The major panels at the convention were on NAM's overall strategy, both national and local, on how to build a multi-national movement, and on electoral politics. In addition, the women's caucus met twice and established a permanent organizational framework and a women's newsletter. The panels themselves were generally unfocused because there

had been little discussion in the organization around the issues they confronted. As a result the issues were often unclear, discussion from the floor jumped from topic to topic, and few people participated. For the first two days the convention seemed aimless, but it came to life on Saturday morning when the electoral panel took place--largely because this question had been widely discussed in the newspaper and within many chapters in the months leading to DeKalb. The electoral panel, and the issues raised by the Minneapolis delegates in discussing their experience with the Domed Stadium referendum (which a coalition of NAM and populist groups in Minneapolis won in June), led to two separate caucuses, one on socialist strategy and another on building a party. These groups then formed on-going organizations whose purpose it is to continue discussion within NAM as a whole.

The task of building a multi-national movement was stressed at the convention. The highlight of this discussion was Johnetta Cole's presentation, and her answers to questions, at the morning plenary on the second day. Cole asserted that NAM's goal is "concrete and obtainable: to pave the way for NAM's participation in building a multi-national movement as a necessary, but not sufficient, condition for seizing state power and building a socialist society." Racism, she said was not innate in human society, and in fact takes on a specific and virulent form under capitalism, which was built largely on slavery and on the expropriation and annihilation of native Americans. That racism can be eliminated under socialism, she said, has been made clear in Cuba, which has made a "concerted and vigilant effort" to combat racism "before, during, and after the revolution."

Building a multi-national organization and movement, Cole concluded, must be done on several levels at once. Local chapters can change themselves through their activity, as have the Amherst and Washington, D. C., chapters. Chapters can build coalitions around specific issues and work with various oppressed national groups, as have the Berkeley and Minneapolis chapters. And this can be done on the national level by supporting struggles that have both a clear class and national basis--like the Farah boycott, the Farm Workers struggle, and Attica defense work. The next year will be decisive for NAM. It must begin

Continued on Page 14

The major decisions of the NAM Women's Caucus during the Convention were to develop:

STEERING COMMITTEE. We recognized that the Women's Caucus had suffered during the past from being very unclear of its direction and purpose. To alleviate the pressure women on the NIC have been under to build a strong women's caucus as well as give overall leadership to NAM, we chose a steering committee for the Women's Caucus itself. The tasks of this group are to make contacts with independent women's organizations, actively solicit articles for the NAM newspaper, the internal discussion bulletin, and the Women's Newsletter, plan the fall and spring conferences, and develop women's caucuses in their own regions. On this committee, in addition to Robin Suits and Connie Norton of the NIC, are Chris Carroll (South and East), Connie Flannigan (Midwest), and Toby Silvey (West), who can be reached through the National Office.

NEWSLETTER. We had discussions on the problems of the Newsletter in the past, clarified its purpose, and gave it more political direction. The New York City Chapter No. 1 is producing the paper and the first issue is coming out soon. Articles of all kinds should be sent to Susan Blau, 306 W. 93rd Street, Apt. No. 56, New York, NY 10025.

CONFERENCES. Tentative plans are being made, following the decisions of the Women's Caucus, for a NAM women's conference in October, and a second, larger conference in the spring planned primarily for women not in NAM and not necessarily in the independent women's movement.

OUTREACH LITERATURE. We agreed that we had shied away from analysis of the relationship between socialism and feminism. The links are not easily seen and, in the historical development of the left and the women's liberation movement, have even had contradictory practice. The Caucus will write a new pamphlet explaining our perspective on autonomy, the functions of women's caucuses, NAM's relationship to different aspects of the women's liberation movement and, "once more from the beginning," the political connections between the movement for a socialist revolution and the struggles against patriarchy. We are also compiling a bibliography and articles for other women's publications.

Correspondence with the NAM Women's Caucus can be sent care of Robin Suits, 945 Ferndale, Dayton, Ohio 45406.

Dear Friends,

Ronald Larry Miller, Reg. No. 8856-116, a federal prisoner, is to stand trial on October 1st, 1973, for escape from the U. S. Federal Penitentiary at Terre Haute, Indiana. Brother Miller will plead "not guilty" stating his whole defense for escape as self defense. His grounds for such a plea is the escalation into the field of psychological dehumanization by the U. S. Federal and State Prisons. As evidence he will bring to the court's attention the psychological 1984 barbarities being perpetrated on prisoners around the country, such as psychosurgery, tranquilizing drugs, behavior modification better known as Mind Control Units, such as S.T.A.R.T. program at U. S. Federal Prison, Springfield, Missouri, the Prescription Center in New York, Michigan Intensive Programing Center, Marquette Prison, Vacaville, California, C.A.R.E. program, U. S. Penitentiary, Marion, Illinois, Special Programs Unit, Joliet State Prison, Illinois, and the numerous others.

Ronald Miller is serving 18 years and feels he fits the requirements for these barbarities because he has never submitted to dehumanization. He has consistently been a leader or participant in numerous prison protests for prisoner grievances. Brother Miller states, in this position a person has no choice but to escape before he is kidnapped into one of these tor-



ture centers. If he waits there will be no chance as none of the prisoners are warned, like the S.T.A.R.T. prisoners who do not know nothing until the guards tell them to put there hand through the bars to be chained for transfer. Brother Miller states that his human instinct of self-preservation urged him to run for his life. Brother Miller gambled his very life going through two high fences and with bullets being fired at him. His two escape partners, James Culotta and Jerry Stone were forced to plead guilty due to being railroaded by the prosecution. Brother Miller also knows this will happen to him, but believes this can be prevented if the people all over show their support and solidarity by writing letters to the U. S. District Court, Indianapolis, Indiana, referring to United States of Amerika V. Ronald Larry Miller, case No. TH 73-CR-6, demanding the Judge to free Ronald Miller, that you the public will allow no under the table deals between the U. S. Government and the judge. That the only justice that can be shown to Miller running from fear of prison tortures is to dismiss the case as not criminal, or release Miller from his threat of prison torture by freeing him from prison. That you as the public are not criminal, yet if you were in the same position as Miller you to would have attempted escape. ■

watergate

Continued from Page 5

VIETNAM AND THE 1960'S: THE EROSION OF THE COLD WAR CONSENSUS

During the 1960's, mainly as a result of the Vietnam War, much of the cold war ideology and the policy approach it sustained fell apart, leaving politicians without a clear approach to the problems that American capitalism faced. Many Americans came to see the Vietnam War as a war waged by the United States in order to protect a corrupt dictatorship from an indigenous liberation movement. From that point on it became very difficult to justify further interventions in the Dominican Republic and Cambodia in the name of fighting international Communism.

Vietnam also made it more difficult for American politicians and businessmen to pursue the other side of their program: increased social spending directed at the unemployed and unorganized, exemplified in Johnson's War on Poverty, and increased wages for organized workers. By 1968, social programs were threatened by the enormous military budget; the drain of dollars abroad had accelerated the decline of American economic superiority. The costs of the cold war was coming home to the American working people.

These difficulties resulted in a political crisis, which further increased the difficulties. The left opposition that had been suppressed during the 1950's began to re-emerge during the 1960's. An anti-war movement arose that in its demands and composition went from being an elite group of pacifists critical of both sides to a mass movement demanding immediate withdrawal, an end to the draft, and the dismantling of the wartime economy. The civil rights movement was similarly transformed from a Christian pacifist movement centered in the South and demanding equality at the polls and within public facilities, to a black liberation movement centered in northern cities and demanding the total restructuring of the American economy. At the same time, the American right, under the leadership of George Wallace, added a neo-populist opposition to Wall Street and taxes to its politics of patriotism and white supremacy.

The continuation of the war, the deteriorating economic situation and growing political opposition created a difficult situation for Democrats and Republicans. American intervention in Southeast Asia could not be ended without threatening the interests of American corporations in Asian markets and encouraging the growth of national liberation movements in other countries. But to continue American intervention meant further political unrest at home. Social programs could not be financed without drastically altering budget priorities or increasing taxes, neither of which were acceptable alternatives. But in the absence of such programs, movements would grow among the poor and unemployed. Finally, the prospect of pricing American goods out of the world market made it impossible for American corporations to resort to price-raising in order to be able to raise wages and maintain their rate of profit. But not to raise wages could bring organized workers into the new left opposition.

Given this situation, Nixon and Humphrey had no choice in 1968 but to campaign largely on personality and demagoguery. Nixon evaded the issue of Vietnam by suggesting that he had a "secret plan" to end the war. He substituted a pledge to "law and order"--to defend whites from blacks and the old from the young--for programs that would improve working people's lives. His victory was largely due to Humphrey's association with Johnson.

THE FIRST NIXON ADMINISTRATION

When Nixon took office, he had to figure out how to continue the war, cut back social but not military spending, and later impose wage and price controls, while preserving support and avoiding a popular rebellion. Nixon continued and extended the rhetoric of his campaign--trying to build a conservative majority of southern whites, northern suburbanites, and white ethnic workers around appeals to law and

order, anti-welfare spending and anti-Communism. But he was also forced to intensify two features of postwar politics: the centralization of power in the executive branch of government and the campaign of repression and intimidation against opponents.

1) *The Centralization of Power in the Executive:* Beginning after World War I, major decisions on the budget and foreign policy have increasingly been placed in the hands of the president and taken out of the hands of the congress and the presidential cabinet (which is legally responsible to the congress). In 1939, Franklin Roosevelt created a new department of executive government called Office of the President which included the Bureau of the Budget (transferred from the Treasury Department) as well as a staff responsible solely to the president. During the Truman administration--the first crucial years of the cold war policies--the Office of the President was significantly enlarged to include the National Security Council, the Council of Economic Advisors, and the Central Intelligence Agency.

One motive for centralizing executive power was to make decision-making more efficient. But the other motive was to take important and potentially unpopular budgetary and foreign policy decisions out of public politics into the secrecy of the executive office.

Under Nixon, this process was intensified. Not only congress but also cabinet members like Rogers became irrelevant to the formation of policy. The Watergate hearings have revealed only some of the ways Nixon operated behind the scenes through the power of the executive office: the secret bombing of Cambodia, the attempt to create a super-intelligence agency to



"Oh, hello--uh--Look what I'm uncovering here." replace the FBI, and the manipulation of the federal budget so as to increase military spending and hold back funds for social programs.

2) *The Repression of the Opposition:* To carry out his policies while retaining majority support or at least acquiescence of the American people, Nixon had to prevent a mass opposition to those policies. Early in his administration, Nixon and Mitchell tried to destroy the Black Panthers and brought to trial some of the leaders of the anti-war movement. It was in 1970, when measures like these had failed to prevent mass opposition to the Cambodian invasion, that Nixon and his advisors tried to set up the special super-repression agency.

Nixon extended this repression and intimidation to his liberal critics, especially those in press and television. He kept an "enemies list" consisting largely of congressmen like Ron Dellums from California, whom he had harassed in a variety of ways (including having their tax returns audited). And when a former government employee, Daniel Ellsberg, released the Pentagon Papers to the press, he tried to send him to jail.

Like the centralization of power, the repression of the political opposition was not new to American politics. In particular, it recalled the Truman and

Joe McCarthy days when the policies Nixon has pursued were first being tried out on the public. Nixon's particular fitness to be president in 1968 came from his having matured as a politician during those early days. But while 1948 was the painful birth of these policies, 1968 and the succeeding years have meant their death agony.

WATERGATE AND THE 1972 ELECTIONS

The same logic that led Nixon to centralize power and repress his opposition led to his strategy to defeat the Democrats in 1972. While he had been forced to do both in order to prevent mass opposition to his particular policies, he was now forced to resort to repression and intimidation in order to ensure an electoral majority for himself in the 1972 elections. In the light of his resounding victory over McGovern, it is hard to remember the difficult situation Nixon faced when he was working out his campaign strategy.

By 1971 Nixon's policies had sharply reduced his popularity. In the summer of 1971, just before the Committee to Re-Elect the President was formed, Muskie led Nixon in some election polls. Teddy Kennedy, an even more formidable opponent, was a potential candidate. And George Wallace was a possible third-party candidate, one that would take Southern votes away from Nixon. In addition, Nixon had to fear that the Vietnamese would ensure his defeat, as they had precipitated his predecessor's departure, by staging a repeat of the Tet offensive in 1972.

Nixon responded to this situation in several ways. By travelling to China and arranging to sell wheat to the Soviet Union, he tried to isolate the Vietnamese from their feuding supporters and force a compromise in the negotiations. Through more secret deals, he gained the support of several important unions, particularly the Teamsters, breaking the possibility of united opposition to his economic policies. He used the power of government in regulating business and awarding contracts to extort huge campaign contributions out of businessmen. He got Wallace to agree to run within the Democratic Party by threatening his brother with tax prosecution. He had a report prepared on Kennedy and Chappaquidic to hold over Kennedy's head. And he tried to sabotage the Democratic Party, particularly Muskie. The Watergate break-in was part of this latter activity.

Nixon's campaign strategy did succeed. The Democrats were left with McGovern, the weakest candidate. His strong stand on the war, which got him through the primaries, was nullified when Nixon was able to convince most Americans that a ceasefire was at hand. When he abandoned or watered down his other programs in the face of corporate or labor opposition, American voters were left with another negative choice; they responded by staying away from the polls in great numbers. Nixon was able to win in 1972, as in 1968, without proposing any solutions to America's problems.

WATERGATE AND THE SECOND NIXON ADMINISTRATION

Democrats and the liberal press had a special interest in pursuing the Watergate scandal to the point of seriously crippling Nixon. Nixon's actions had posed a threat to the two-party system and to a liberal press. But these forces will probably not go so far as to demand Nixon's impeachment. The process of impeachment would prove too disruptive of the ordinary affairs of government and would jeopardize interests that Democrats share with Republicans and that the Washington Post shares with the Washington Star. Only further evidence that conclusively linked Nixon to the cover-up or a massive popular campaign could force congressional Democrats to initiate an impeachment.

In the absence of these, a chastened Nixon will proceed cautiously through his remaining three years. This was apparent already in Nixon's appointment of Kissinger as secretary of state, which subjects his chief foreign policy adviser to congressional approval. Kissinger in accepting the appointment affirmed the need for an open and bi-partisan foreign policy: "Our foreign policy will mean little if other nationals see our actions as sporadic initiatives of a small group reflecting no coherent national purpose or consensus."

But such a course will not avoid the problems that created the need for political repression and centralized decision-making. It now appears that the ceasefire in Vietnam will be followed by a victory of national liberation forces in Cambodia and South Vietnam. The measures taken to protect American

Continued on Page 13

...its origin

Continued from Page 12

profits from foreign competition have led to massive exports of American agricultural products, leading to spectacular rises in domestic food prices. A recession is expected in 1974. In the face of these problems, neither Nixon nor the Democrats have a program that can win popular support.

CONCLUSION: DEMOCRACY AND SOCIALISM

The most important issue raised by the Watergate scandal is the viability of American democracy. For the Watergate committee, and most Democratic and Republican politicians, the fact that Nixon's anti-democratic activities were brought to light proves that American democracy works. But their own reluctance to press the issue towards its constitutional conclusion by impeaching Nixon gives the lie to this simple affirmation of faith in American institutions.

Behind Nixon's misuse of executive power lies the policies he pursued. These policies were dictated largely by the imperatives of corporate capitalism. Of course, Democrats have differed from Republicans on many issues. Some of these differences--for instance, over the degree to which concessions are made to organized labor--reflect different electoral constituencies; other differences--over overall economic policy or sometimes foreign policy--merely reflect the fact that one party is out of office. Much of Democratic criticism of Nixon's foreign and economic policies has been of this kind.

The basic similarities between the two parties arise from the fact that they both accept the primary assumptions that have governed American policy since World War II and before: the increase of corporate profits as the means toward social well-being, and the subordination of all policies to ensuring their increase. From this has followed not only the cold war foreign policy, which Nixon carried on, but also an economic policy that resists any attempt to redistribute wealth.

Because such policies are not in the longrun interests of most Americans, they must constantly be disguised, their formation and execution must be made increasingly private, and when necessary, rising opposition to them must be suppressed. This was the course adopted most flagrantly by Nixon, but it has also been adopted by Democratic presidents.

As the problems that beset American capitalism increase, the tendency toward centralized decision-making and political repression will grow, regardless of the exposure of Watergate. The only real opposition that can challenge this tendency is a political movement that understands the connection between the threat to democracy and the continuation of policies intended to preserve capitalism.

For such a movement, a struggle to maintain and defend democratic rights will have to be combined with a struggle against capitalism and for a socialist society. ●



ATTICA

Continued from Page 2

The struggle inside is supplemented by the struggle outside--the defense effort. The arm of the Attica Brothers outside the prison is the Attica Defense Committee, coordinated by Rahaam Karanja, himself one of the defendants in the case. The ADC, whose national headquarters is in Buffalo, New York, has begun making progress in building a movement of political and legal defense. Originally a grouping of law students and some of the observers committee at Attica, it originally was involved only in legal work and became a defense committee in January, 1973, when the indictments came down. Since then it has become a reality, helping with legal work, doing propaganda around the indictments and the demands of the uprising, and now beginning to organize to build a nationwide defense effort. This process of expanding outward is just beginning but will be crucial for the successful outcome of the trials. An initial series of activities in Buffalo and around the country are being held from September 9 to 13 to commemorate the uprising with demonstrations to be in New York, Los Angeles, Chicago, Atlanta, and North Carolina. The contacts being built on are those of the National Alliance

Against Racist and Political Repression; several NAM chapters are also involved. The political purpose of these first activities is, as one ADC worker put it, "To announce our existence and resolution to fight."

At present the issue of Attica has been successfully removed from the public arena. This is a key part of the government's strategy. But if there had been 10,000 people outside the prison on September 13, 1971, the state could not have carried out its murderous attack. Similarly, if a truly aroused people follow and support the Attica Brothers in their present fight, legal railroading by the state will not be possible. As Eugene V. Debs, one of America's great socialist leaders, said when sentenced to jail for his opposition to the first world war, "Great issues are not decided by courts, but by people. I have no concern in what the coterie of begowned corporation lawyers may decide in my case. The court of final resort is the people, and that court will be heard from in due time."

For more information write Attica Defense Committee
1370 Main Street
Buffalo, New York 14209

FLASH!

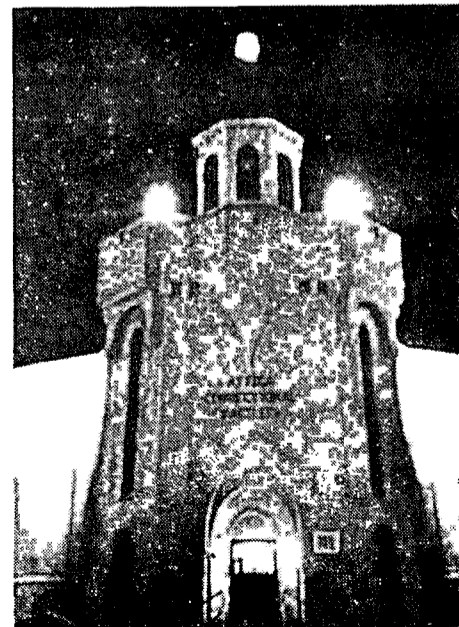
A NAM campus network is now in the process of formation.

At the National Convention last July, members of the campus workshop expressed a need for more communication among the various campus projects at work throughout the country. We decided to set up a communications network to keep us in contact with one another, not only as a means of sharing and developing our ideas, but as a prelude to the possible future development of regionally and nationally coordinated activities. Through this network, we hope to achieve both organizational and political growth which we will communicate to NAM as a whole through the newspaper and the Internal Discussion Bulletin.

The network is now beginning to act. During August, letters with return postcards were sent to all chapters in NAM and, so far, many people and projects have returned the postcards expressing a desire to participate in the network. A network mailing list is thus taking shape.

Each project belonging to the network will compile a packet of information (leaflets, chapter histories, etc.) which they feel will be of interest to their fellow NAM campus activists. After the initial packet of information has been distributed to the member groups in the network, subsequent packets will be compiled and distributed (every six to eight weeks) for the purpose of keeping all members abreast of developments on the various campuses. Each project will mail their packets to the Educational Liberation Front (ELF--a NAM chapter on the U. C. Berkeley campus, and ELF/NAM will then mail the sum total of packets collected to each project on the list. In this way, NAM people at work on the campuses will be able to keep in close touch with one another, and thus take a long step towards making NAM a genuinely national organization.

For socialism!
Laurel Smith
ELF/NAM



beyond good vibes

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building a multi-national organization as part of its general growth.

There was full agreement with the perspective put forward on the racism panel, but this was certainly not true of the other major panels. The politics of Minneapolis, and the conclusions the chapter drew from its Domed Stadium campaign were criticized widely. Similarly, the discussion of electoral politics revealed distinctly different views. The issues were not resolved in either discussion, but formed the basis of the caucuses, both of which will try to define the issues more clearly and argue for their politics in the year ahead.

Minneapolis delegates argued that organizing should be done around issues without raising the question of socialism, and that socialist consciousness would develop "when people find out they can't achieve their goals in liberal coalitions." (One Minneapolis delegate argued against a proposal to change NAM's name to the New American Movement for Socialism on the ground that their Domed Stadium coalition would have been impossible if the word "socialism" had been part of NAM's name.) This view was criticized as classical revisionism, in which reform movements become the center of "socialist" politics, and the "ultimate aim" of socialism remains the private property of the organization's members. This is the policy that has been followed by almost all socialist parties and groups in the U. S. since the 1930's--based on the theory that building a mass socialist movement takes place in two-stages. First, build a broad (classwide) alliance. Second, this alliance becomes socialist. The critics argued that the second stage remains a mysterious one, and in practice keeps receding endlessly into the future, with the result that the "socialists" end up working to build liberalism.

The electoral panel reflected the range of views in NAM. Melissa Upton argued that electoral activity, in conjunction with other kinds of organizing, was central at present to building a mass movement for socialism. Ed Clark (New Orleans) insisted that electoral activity should be shunned entirely because the electoral process was somehow more corrupt and coercive than other institutions under capitalism. The remaining two panelists, Miles Mogulescu and Henry Guinn, generally agreed that electoral activity was just another activity, appropriate sometimes and inappropriate at others. The ensuing discussion from the floor divided up about the same as the panel. Most delegates seemed to be in the middle, while New Orleans and Queens were opposed and San Francisco, Berkeley and a few others supported electoral activity as particularly important in this period. The Socialist Strategy

NEW AMERICAN MOVEMENT ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE

Membership in the New American Movement is open to all individuals who subscribe to the statement of political principles, purposes, and practice of the organization.

The chapter is the basic unit of NAM. Five or more members constitute a chapter. Dues must be paid semi-annually in order for a chapter to be in good standing.

Dues are \$10 per year for members with annual household income under \$4,000 per person, and \$20 per year for members whose annual household income exceeds \$4,000 per person. Chapters may apportion dues in any manner they choose.

The National Convention is the highest policymaking body of NAM. It is held annually and is open to all NAM members. (Referenda conducted between conventions according to the constitution are of equal authority.)

The National Council is the highest administrative body of NAM between conventions. It meets annually, approximately six months after the convention. Two delegates (one man and one woman) are elected by each chapter to the National Council. These representatives also act as liaisons with the national organization between national meetings.

The National Interim Committee is the highest administrative body of NAM between meetings of the National Convention and the National Council.

The NAM newspaper is edited by a collective working out of San Francisco. Each local chapter should delegate one member to be responsible for communication with the newspaper collective and coordination of newspaper distribution.

The National Office is located in Minneapolis. NO staff are hired by the NIC and the Office has a collective vote on the NIC. Other staff are hired by the NIC (e.g., travelers, newspaper) from time to time when deemed necessary.

Caucus was organized by this latter group.

Another issue, raised in the final plenary session on Sunday by the New Orleans delegation was NAM's impeachment campaign. New Orleans moved that the NIC's decision to conduct such a campaign be rescinded. The debate was lively and involved two separate issues: whether such a campaign should be organized by NAM and, if so, what its politics should be. Although the convention voted two-to-one against the New Orleans resolution, most of the delegates were highly critical of the liberal content of the impeachment literature put out by the National Office. The final decision was to continue the campaign but to rewrite the impeachment materials so that they clearly reflect a socialist point of view, an argument for socialism.

SO FAR, THE RESULTS of the DeKalb convention seem to have been very positive. In contrast to last year, when almost all chapters were immobilized for months after the convention, activity began immediately after delegates returned home. Several new chapters have been formed or are forming (one or two have fallen apart), and the Women's Caucus and Socialist Strategy Caucus show signs of life. The delegates clearly had mixed feelings about the convention, but its effect has been generally good. ■

This is our new address:

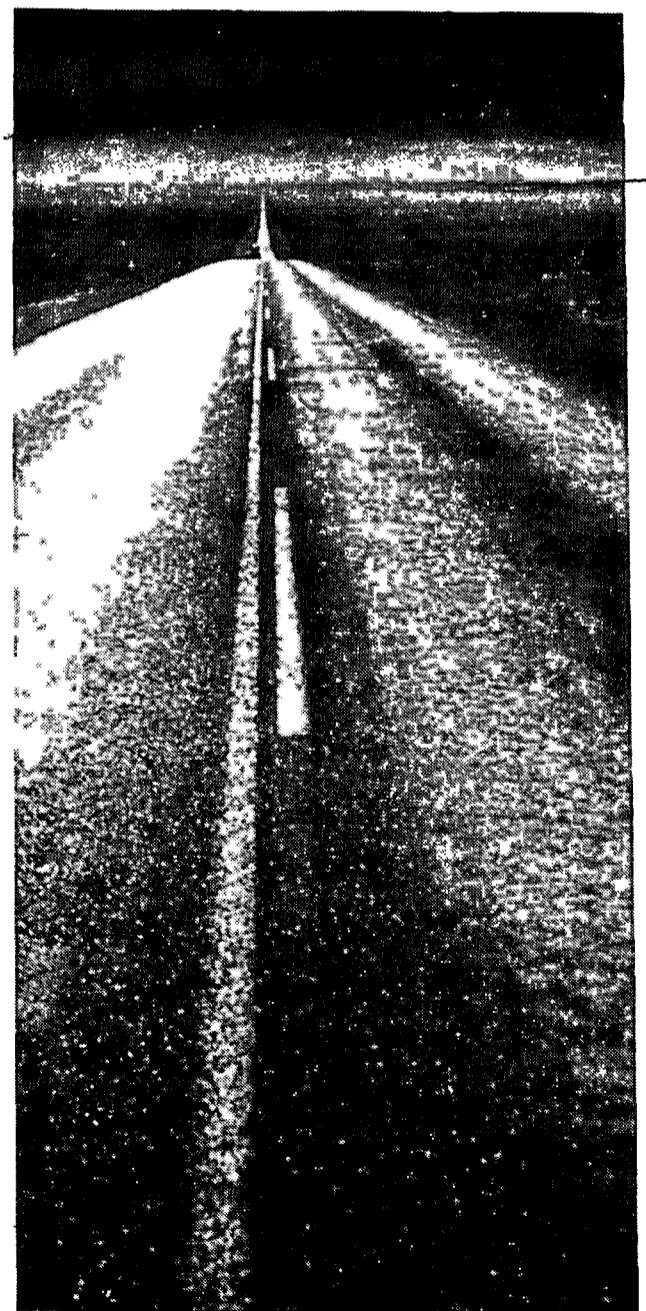
NAM Newspaper
388 Sanchez Street
San Francisco, CA 94114

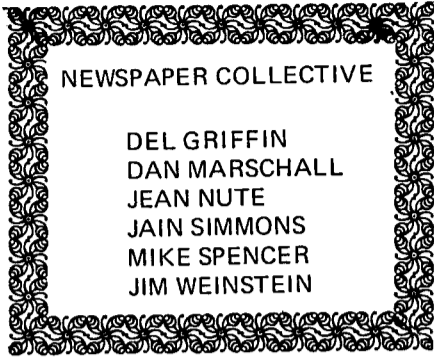
NAM CAUCUS FOR A NATIONAL STRATEGY

The Caucus for a National Strategy was formed at the 1973 convention of the New American Movement around the general ideas discussed in the pro-electoral articles in the NAM newspaper and in John Judis' speech at the convention. We are for developing a relationship between socialist electoral activity and other activities carried on by the Left, such as workplace and community organizing. While there are some disagreements within the caucus, certain principles are shared by all:

- 1) Making socialism a public issue--In our activity, we should combine the struggle for concrete reforms and programs with the attempt to build the socialist movement.
- 2) Toward this end, we need to combine socialist activity in the workplace and around specific issues with socialist electoral activity--We see these kinds of activity as interrelated, each necessary to the development and success of the other. Socialist electoral activity does not merely or necessarily consist in running candidates for public office, but in relating to the struggles going on in the political arena.
- 3) We believe that this approach will make a major contribution to the development of a socialist movement that is multi-national and feminist in its programs and activity, and not just in its "political perspective."

Inquiries about the caucus, including requests for its newsletter, should be addressed to Nick Rabkin, 2417 Webster St., Berkeley, CA 94705; or to Melissa Upton, 659 W. Armitage Ave., Chicago, IL 60614.





DOWN

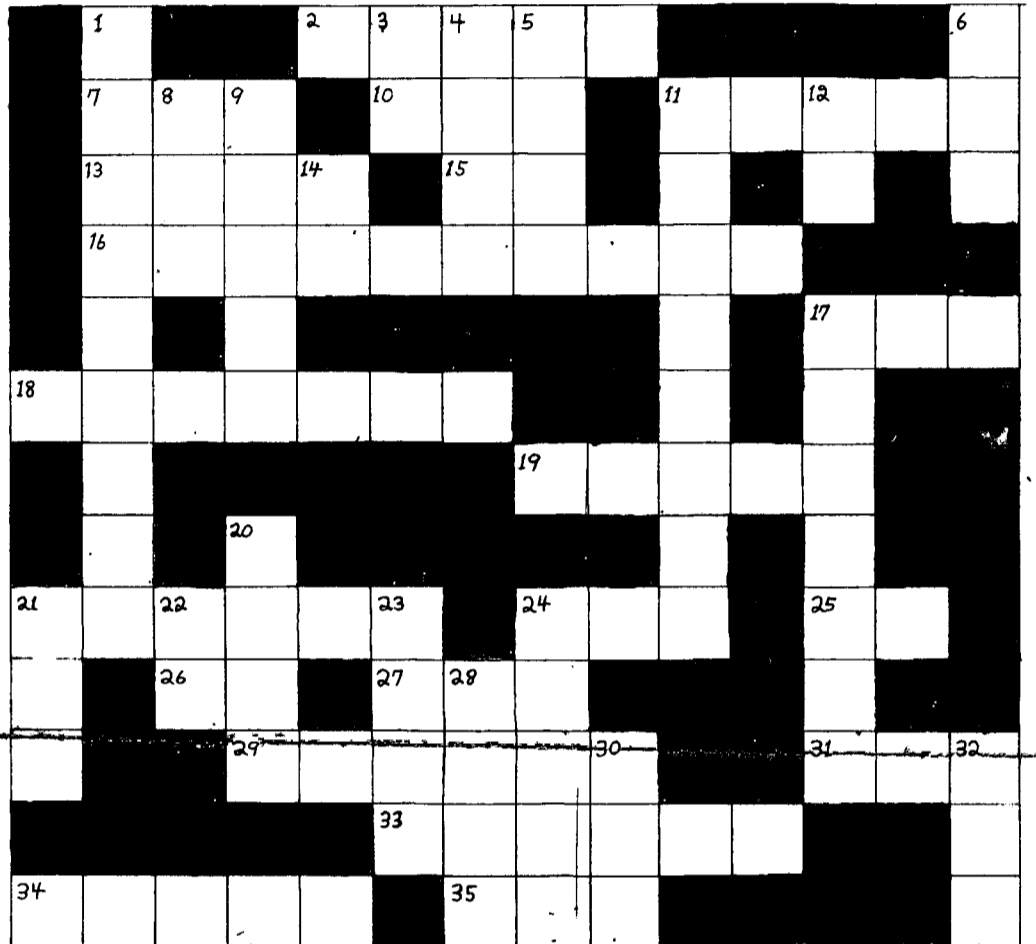
1. The social ----- of production shape us.
3. Where it's -----.
4. Late German democratic socialist-feminist.
5. ----- there be any doubt, Nixon'did it.
6. Big character posters were described by Mao as People's -----.
8. Pig Capp's Abner.
9. Laissez- ----- capitalism.
11. French utopian socialist who believed the working class should buy homes.
12. "----- the People."
14. Concerning.
17. Another Karl.
20. The direction of an infantile disorder.
21. Noah's escapist vehicle.
22. Chavez' agreement.
23. Workers in feudal times.
24. Erich -----.
28. Bourgeois academics insist that politics is not their -----.
30. H. ----- Brown.
32. Ann Arbor's Plamondon.

CROSSWORD PUZZLE

by Dan Luria

ACROSS

2. Marx and Kautsky.
7. A worker at the Keebler cookie factory.
10. One fifth of a foot.
11. With 34-Across, what we must prepare to contend for.
13. What John Dean is not, lately.
15. What Anne Frank feared.
16. Condition workers feel in capitalist nations.
17. White-hooded night riders of Dixie.
18. Bearded bolshevik leader.
19. Late fake-socialist Indian leader.
21. What the rich have most of.
24. One-third of what she'll have until her father takes her Thunderbird away.
25. Hillquit was its 1917 N.Y.C. mayoral candidate.
26. Movie about would-be Weathermen.
27. What Nixon uses to hear the football game.
29. One of the heaviest reigns ever.
31. What Abbie and Jerry once said.
33. Sex of most unpaid laborers in the world.
34. See 11-Across.
35. "If we don't, we're gonna blow a fifty ----- fuse."



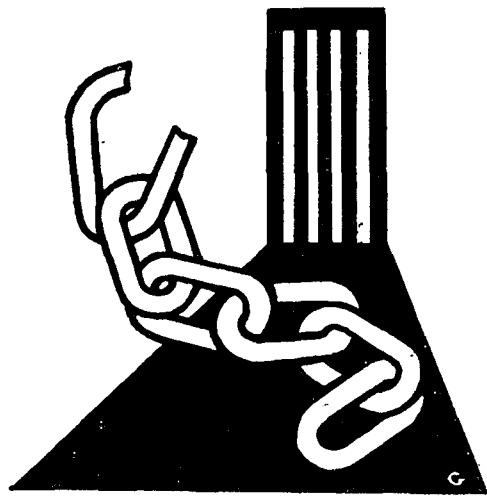
NAM CHAPTERS & PRE-CHAPTERS

NAM chapters are numbered; pre-chapters are starred.

- | | | | | |
|---|--|---|---|--|
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Durham, NC 27701 | 21) Iowa City NAM
509 Davenport
Iowa City, IA 52240 | 29) San Francisco NAM
388 Sanchez St.
San Francisco, CA 92114 |
| 2) New York NAM No. 1
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Bronx, NY 10473 | 8) Philadelphia NAM
c/o Richard Schuldenfrei
4107 Chester Avenue
Philadelphia, PA | 15) Chapel Hill NAM
630-C Hibbard
Chapel Hill, NC | 22) Chicago NAM
c/o Tulley
1908 S. Halsted
Chicago, IL 60608 | 30) Berkeley NAM
2022 Blake
Berkeley, CA 94705 |
| 3) New York NAM No. 2
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New York, NY 10023 | 9) D. C. NAM No. 1
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Washington, DC 20008 | 16) New Orleans NAM
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New Orleans, LA 70126 | 23) Minneapolis NAM
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Minneapolis, MN 55406 | 31) ELF NAM
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| 4) Amherst NAM
c/o Cole
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Dayton, OH 45406 | 25) DeKalb NAM
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5108 Newhall Street
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| | | | 28) Los Angeles NAM
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Los Angeles, CA 90024 | * St. Louis NAM
c/o Greenwell
6409 Cates
St. Louis, MO 63130 |

unholy alliance

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This criticism received substantial coverage in the media and led State Senator Beilenson, Chairman of the Committee on Health and Welfare, to hold hearings. As a consequence the Committee addressed a letter to the California Council on Criminal Justice (the funding agency) stating a number of serious objections to the Center, including concern about its potential for political control, and making clear that support would be "ill-advised."

Meanwhile, in response to objections raised on ethical and legal grounds, Dr. West announced the Center would include a Task Force on Law and Ethics. Its chief coordinator was to be James Fisk who had served with the Los Angeles Police Department from 1940-70 in every rank through Deputy and Acting Chief and who had played an important role in setting up its Intelligence Division.

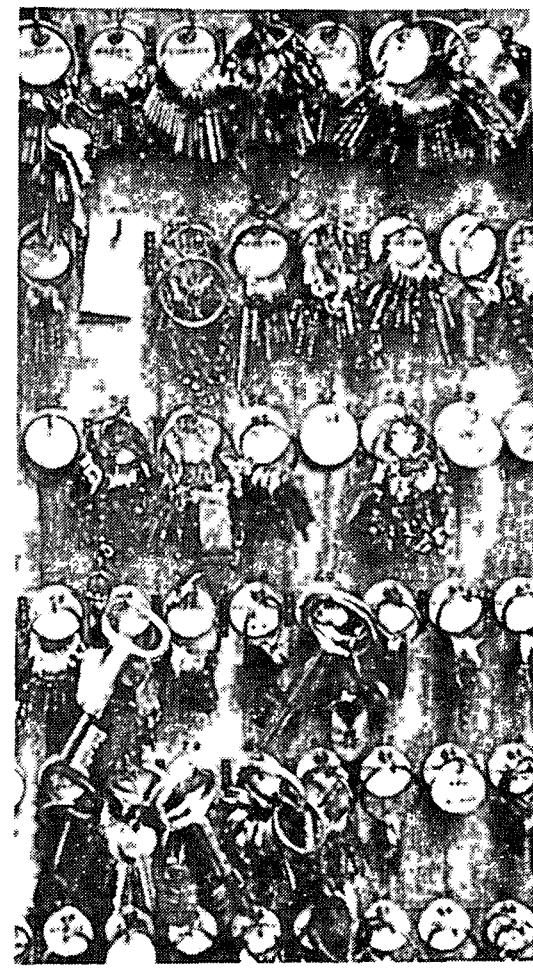
Draft number one of the proposal mentioned Dr. Frank Ervin, exponent of psychosurgery and co-author with Dr. Vernon Mark of "Violence and the Brain." Following the Detroit riots in 1966 they had addressed a letter to the Journal of the AMA in which they advocated, as a prophylactic measure, the screening of ghetto populations to discover those with "abnormal" brain waves. Earlier CSRV drafts spoke of studies designed to correlate violence and "abnormal" brain waves. These references were subsequently dropped and Dr. West is vehement in denying that the Center contemplates psychosurgery, although many months ago he gave Dr. Ervin a berth at the Neuropsychiatric Institute. Likewise, West now asserts that no experiments employing prisoners will be done. In fact, by August 22nd the twenty-two research projects listed in the *Precis* dated June 25th had been reduced to seven!

CSRV RECEIVED A stunning blow on June 30th when the Legislature adopted an annual budget that contained a six-line item providing that the Center was to receive no funding, from whatever source, without prior approval of that body. Apparently the Governor was not cognizant of this section when he signed the budget.

On July 27th the California Council on Criminal Justice, chaired by Attorney General Evelle Younger, held its hearing on the funding of CSRV. Among the organizations whose representatives spoke in opposition were: the Mexican-American Political Alliance, the Black Panther Party, National Organization of Women, NAACP, American Friends Service Committee, United Farm Workers, Federation of American Scientists (L.A.), United Methodists, United Prisoners Union, California Prisoners Union, COPAP and MCHR. The Council, as expected, proceeded to approve funding (providing some minor changes were made) by unanimous vote. This action provides no funds. That will require the introduction and passage of a special bill in the up-coming session of the state Legislature. A battle has been won but the struggle continues.

ONE WOULD BE REMISS not to mention that a section of organized psychiatry has been a substantial ally in this struggle. The Task Force on Alternatives to Violence which was set up by the Associated California Branches of the American Psychiatric Association made a special study of the proposed center and has just come up with the following statement of "Areas of Criticism and Concern:"

1. Despite its admission that the most important causes of violence are social, CSRV seems only negligibly concerned with them.
2. The proposal lacks definition of experimental controls and adequate review.
3. The frequency and nature of the changes and revisions provoke questions regarding their reasons and significance.
4. There was minimal community involvement in planning and an explanation from Chancellor Young of his cancellation of a charter for a Public (community) Advisory Committee should be forthcoming.
5. CSRV's hostile reaction to criticism raises questions.
6. The quality and quantity of the opposition raises questions.
7. There is considerable concern regarding the Reagan administration's sensitivity to human needs (especially with reference to the disadvantaged) and its relation to law enforcement. There is concern over the level of influence which these two power bases will exercise over the Center.
8. The CCCJ had apparently made its decision prior to the hearing.
9. The selection of subjects for study, viz., blacks, Chicanos, prisoners (2/3 are ethnic minorities) and the mentally ill, seems influenced by racism, be it conscious or unconscious.
10. However competent and/or well-intentioned the personnel there is serious question regarding their ability to control the uses to which the results of their research might be put.
11. Given its choice of subjects (see 9) it is disturbing in the extreme that the Center proposes to use its results for identification, prediction and treatment of those thus designated as "violence-prone."
12. How can the civil liberties of subjects be respected if they represent freedom-deprived populations?
13. The concern with the violent act fails to consider the continuum of which that act is merely the middle portion, being preceded by the provocation and followed by a reaction to it.
14. There is, apparently, a gross lack of black, Chicano and female investigators in members of various levels of involvement.
15. Concern remains as to the extent of Frank Ervin's influence, despite all disavowals.



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NOTE: A library of materials relating to the CSRV is being established at the office of COAP (formerly COPAP), c/o Elsa Knight Thompson, 1444 Walnut Street, Berkeley, CA 94709. Copies will be available at cost.

