

NEW AMERICAN MOVEMENT

BULK RATE
U.S. Postage
PAID
Permit No. 1048
Berkeley, CA 94704

VOL. III, NO. 5

FEBRUARY 1974

25 cents



Truckers in Ohio prepare for Washington, D. C. protest.

Wounded Knee Trial

A Momentous Turning Point

by Martin Bunzl

AS THE TRIAL OF Russell Means and Dennis Banks moves out of the jury selection phase, there is an increasing recognition here of the tremendous historical significance of this event. For the trial represents not only an attempt by the government to eliminate the American Indian Movement's leaders (they are charged on ten felony counts), but also the first round of an attempt by AIM to force the government to address itself to its treaty obligations. Against government objections, Judge Fred Nichol has ruled that the question of treaty rights may be raised in the trial if it can be shown to be relevant to the charges. Defense attorneys are confident that it can.

The confrontation between Indian People and the government over treaty rights represents a momentous turning point in the struggle against the government's attempt to steal Indian land and destroy Indian culture. The priority that AIM has placed on the treaty rights issue (along with repeal of the Indian Reorganization Act and removal of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) from the Interior Department), represent the recognition on the part of AIM that Indian culture can survive only on politically independent and economically self sufficient reservations.

ON THE INSIDE

Capitalism & Shortages	p. 3
Houston 12	p. 4
Peronism	p. 5
Steel and Red Lung	p. 7
Energy Crisis Program	p. 9

The desire to return to the reservation is an almost universally shared aspiration of urban American Indians. And the realization that the reservations must be politically and economically self-sufficient is born of the recognition that the survival of Indian culture is incompatible with the demands of capitalism.

LAND GRABS AND RELOCATION

The "urbanization" of the American Indian represents the final step in the U. S. government's attempt to disenfranchise Indian people of the remaining 1-1/2% of the land they still own in North America. Before 1950, the government had removed the economic base of the Indians by slaughtering 50 million buffalo within a six-year period, has broken up tribal land holdings, selling many to whites (through the

(Continued on Page 2)

the effect of forcing all the states in the area into the hands of the racist apartheid regime of South Africa."

Egypt plans to widen and deepen the canal over the next four to five months at a cost of \$32 million. But it will be six to twelve months before normal traffic through the canal can be resumed.

Egypt will lose some of its former customers, since the supertankers introduced since 1967 are too large for the century-old canal. Still, a modified canal may be large enough for the supertankers to pass through when they are empty and en route to the Persian Gulf.

The volume of trade in general cargo has certainly increased enough to make up for the loss of the tankers. In 1966--the last full year the canal functioned--one-third of the general cargo loaded in Red Sea and East African ports and one-quarter of the freight in and out of South Asia, Australia, and Southeast Asia passed through the canal. Egypt's gross revenue from the canal for that year was \$197 million. (Since 1967 Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and Libya have paid Egypt subsidies to make up for lost revenue from the canal.)

ISRAELI ELECTION

Inside Israel, meanwhile, the atmosphere is tense and uncertain. Golda Meir received majority parliamentary approval for the Suez agreement, but she has not yet succeeded in forming a government since the December 31 elections.

The results of the election were, in effect, as vague and complicated as the campaign waged by the dominant Labor (Continued on Back Page)

Squeeze on Independents

Competition in Retailing, Target of Big Oil

by Dan Biggs and Fred Block

THE ENERGY CRISIS has hit hard at consumers and workers in industries like air travel and auto production where major layoffs have occurred. Two groups who are particularly affected by the crisis have already taken action to defend themselves against a worsening of their living conditions--the gas station owners and independent truck drivers. Both are small businessmen on the fringe of the working class who have struggled hard for a little prosperity. Their position is indicative of the American male worker's struggle to escape the discipline of factory life--to become his own boss. Any guy with enough savings to buy a gas station or a rig could go into business for himself.

The special vulnerability of these two groups becomes clear when one understands that the energy crisis is really a crisis of profitability for the oil companies. Because oil-producing countries have been rebelling against the exploitation of their resources and have been attempting to regain control of their own oil, the big oil companies are facing a profit squeeze at the production level. Historically, the oil companies, through monopoly pricing, have been able to make the production of crude oil so profitable that they were willing to tolerate a highly competitive, relatively low-profit set-up for petroleum retailing. But pressure from the oil-producing nations is threatening the huge profits gained at the producing stage. The response of the oil companies is to defend their profits by transforming the retailing of gasoline into a low competition and high-profit business. The first steps in this transformation--a big increase in the retail price of gas and the elimination of many independent gas stations--has already begun.

The plight of small businessmen in an economic world dominated by giant corporations has always been shaky. Now the energy crisis is turning (Continued on Back Page)

Middle East Settlement

Tense and Uncertain

by Russ Stetler
Internews

DESPITE THE SUEZ agreement, there is little trust in the Middle East, and still less unity. Golda Meir and Moshe Dayan gave rather different assessments of the current situation in a recent briefing of Labor Party MP's. Prime Minister Meir argued that Egypt's President Sadat genuinely wants peace so that he can tackle domestic problems, but Defense Minister Dayan was skeptical. He said that Israel is accelerating its arms purchases for 1974 because he fears Sadat won't be able to resist pressure from more extreme elements in the Arab world.

The official Libyan paper *Al Fajr Al Jadid* meanwhile denounced the Suez disengagement agreement as an "assassination of the Arab cause" and an intolerable neglect of the Palestinian cause, while warning that Syria was in danger of attack by concentrated Israeli forces once they are freed from the southern theater of operations.

Optimistic sources in the Arab world are still predicting that Syria will sign its own pact with Israel and that the Palestinians would then participate in the Geneva peace talks. The recent Soviet Egyptian communique has echoed this sentiment. But there is no immediate prospect of Palestinian participation at

Geneva, since the Palestinian National Council is expected to postpone the meeting it had planned to hold in Cairo next month to decide whether Palestinians should go to Geneva. Palestinian sources indicate that there is a fear that a premature meeting might polarize views in the Palestinian community, and that these weighty issues must be discussed more adequately before putting them to a vote.

OPENING THE CANAL

Egypt is moving ahead to reopen the Suez Canal and take advantage of the disengagement agreements main benefit to Egypt. The fate of the canal--closed since the Six-Day War of June, 1967--affects many other countries. The Soviet Union gains mobility for its Navy, which will be able to pass back and forth between the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean 30 to 50 percent faster. All of Europe gains a shorter trade route to East Africa and Asia. And South Africa, in turn, loses the influence it had as long as the canal was closed and all shipping had to pass around the Cape of Good Hope.

The Ugandan ambassador to the United Nations told the General Assembly, "The Suez Canal is the shortest route between East Africa and any point in Europe and North America. . . The closure of the Suez Canal has had

WALLER, FRISCH 192



Wounded Knee trial defendant Russell Means (first from left).

Wounded Knee

(Continued from Page 1)

1887 Allotment Act), and had imposed a system of government on the Indians that had no checks and balances (through the 1926 Indian Reorganization Act). In the early 1950's, it embarked on a relocation program. Under the leadership of Dillon Myers, who headed the internment program of Japanese Americans during the second world war, the BIA began offering money to Indians to move from the reservation to urban locations selected by the government. Trapped on reservations where there were no jobs and, ruled by corrupt political machines that had replaced traditional forms of tribal government, thousands of American Indians were forced to move to the city. Arriving in the city, they were given one month's rent from the BIA and, from 1956 on, some job training. While they were on the reservation the sole agent of Indians' oppression had been the BIA; in the city they experienced repression from all sides. They were forced into providing a cheap labor pool to fill the most menial jobs in the economy, subject to white racism, police harassment, cultural indoctrination in the schools, poor housing, and the white welfare bureaucracy. At the same time, they saw, as one woman put it, "Rockefeller living high off the hog on land ripped off from the Indians."

AIM'S ROLE IN STRUGGLE

AIM was born in 1968 out of the struggle against this repression. Equipped with radios capable of picking up police broadcasts, AIM began shadowing police cars around Indian neighborhoods in Minneapolis. By providing witnesses and lawyers for victims of unjust arrest, AIM helped cut down the incidence of police harassment.

AIM went on to set up numerous service programs in the next four years. An Indian Health Board was set up to provide health care because hospitals in the area (that were only 60% full) refused Indians service unless they could guarantee payment in advance. A survival school was begun after the Minneapolis schools made only token moves to help cut down on the 92% high school

drop out rate of Indians. AIM also helped found cultural centers, employment training programs, mental health programs, and alcoholism treatment facilities.

CAPITALISM VS. INDIAN VALUES

In the course of the struggle for basic human rights, young urban American Indians not only began to rediscover their cultural heritage, but also came to realize the basic incompatibility between it and the demands of American society. Basic incompatibilities between the two value systems implies that the most Indians can expect to retain of their cultural heritage under capitalist cultural pluralism is its mere superficial trappings: "beads and fried bread," as one man put it. The competitiveness and alienation of American society conflicts with Indian traditions of respect for human relationships. The emphasis on quantity of production conflicts with Indian traditions that emphasize quality and workmanship. The atomization of society conflicts with traditional reliance on the extended family as a means of conflict resolution in the family. And the rape of nature is antithetical to traditional Indian respect for nature.

In a society based on profit, only the dominant culture is provided for. As an Indian woman put it, on hearing Buffy St. Marie on the radio: "What station is that? They must want to go broke!"

In spite of AIM's and the Indian community's efforts, police harassment still continues. The AIM patrol had to be started again in 1973 after the police let their attack dogs loose in the Indian neighborhood and began using mace "because the Indians have lice." Indians still have the highest unemployment rates, child mortality rates, and shortest life expectancy of any group in the U.S.

Indicative of the welfare bureaucracy's attempt to impose its ways on Indians and other working class people is a plan for "Failing Families" by Hennepin County Juvenile Court Judge Lindsay Aurthur. Details of the plan were leaked to this writer by a member of the Indian community who declined to reveal her source within the city welfare department. The plan, which will be considered for adoption by the courts, police, and wel-

fare department without community input, calls for a family to be designated as "failing" if it meets one of 9 criteria. These criteria include: persistent truancy on the part of the children of the family, habitual disobedience on the part of children of the family, and two or more convictions of the custodian of the children for being or using a prostitute. Upon being designated as a "Failing Family," the family, whether it wants to or not, will be subjected to intensive evaluation and intervention. Intervention will include the use of "punitive resources" and will be provided by an "elite corps with combat pay." Among other things, the corps will include a policeman who will provide "intensive surveillance of the family members, slightly short of harassment." After an 18-month period, a "Final Plan" for the family will be developed that may include "Dispersal of the family by termination of parental rights, adoption, or incarceration. . ." (All quotes are from Aurthur's "The Massive Intervention Team for Failing Families.")

AN END TO BROKEN TREATIES

The trail of Broken Treaties that culminated in the takeover of the BIA in Washington, D. C. in 1972 signalled a shift in AIM's focus, away from reform of urban institutions, to a strategy of confrontation on the issue of treaty rights. This strategy was an outgrowth of the recognition of the incompatibility between Indian values and the demands of modern industrial society.

The realization that only in a reservation setting could Indian culture survive implied three immediate political goals: first, to drive a wedge between the BIA and the oil and mineral interests it is allied with through the Department of Interior; second, to rid the reservations of the U. S.-imposed form of government that concentrated power in the hands of one man, the tribal chairman; and third, to demand that the U. S. fulfill its treaty obligations. The third goal is crucial because it is the key to the possibility of economic independence for Indians.

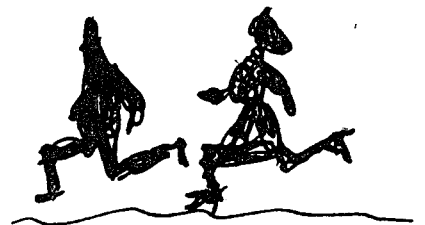
Following the government's destruction of the buffalo in the 19th century, the Indians negotiated treaties that guaranteed them mineral rights over large areas of land. Even though these minerals were of no value in the Indian culture and economy, tribal leaders realized that they were a scarce and valuable commodity for whites. Although in subsequent years the Indians were forced onto smaller and smaller reservations, and large tracts of their land were leased to whites for \$1 per year, the treaties still have the force of law. Under the 1868 Sioux Treaty, the Indian retained sole control over land that includes the whole of South Dakota and parts of Nebraska, Wyoming, and Montana. Within these boundaries fall Homestead Mine which is the largest gold mine in the western hemisphere, and the only gold mine in the U. S. Also within these boundaries falls the only uranium source for atomic reactors. The gold mine supplies most of the gold that backs U. S. currency and keeps the government from having to sell dollars to buy gold abroad. Preliminary research indicates that about two-thirds of U. S. mineral resources lie beneath Indian treaty land. (As Arab peoples assert their right to receive a fair price for their oil from U. S. companies the government stake in control-

ling Indian uranium resources has become vital.)

ONE STRUGGLE

As the AIM trials begin, the need to build broad support for Indian Treaty Rights has become urgent. Indians expect no help from Congress. As G. Magovern stated, "If you start with the wrongs. . . that go back over a hundred years or more, every government that exists on the face of this earth would have to fall." Indians see as inevitable the need to have confronted the government at Wounded Knee. It marked an apex of Indian pride in recent years and many Indians see their struggle as a common one with other oppressed peoples: "American workers have always been told how much better off they are than everyone else, with their cars and houses. Now they can't even get enough gas to get to work," an AIM member told me. "An awful lot of people have experienced the repression of the government and the alienation of this way of life."

(Thanks to Jerry Roy, The Indian New Careers Program, Roger Buffalohead, and Paula Giese.)



For more information on NAM, please write:

NATIONAL OFFICE:

New American Movement
2421 E. Franklin Avenue So.
Minneapolis, MN 55406
612-333-0970

NEWSPAPER:

New American Movement Newspaper
388 Sanchez Street
San Francisco, CA 94114

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.

SHORTAGES

YOU CAN'T ALWAYS GET WHAT YA' WANT

by Economic Research Group
Middlesex NAM

THE NEXT TIME you go to the supermarket there may not be any big brown paperbags available for carrying home your purchases. But don't worry. The "great paper bag crisis" so far seems to be confined to certain regions. But at least one major East Coast chain has started paying customers a penny (yes, a whole penny!) for returning good bags.

The paper bag situation is part of a general paper products shortage that seems to include everything from toilet paper to the pages of *Readers Digest*. The paper situation in turn is only a particularly visible example of the shortages that have begun to appear in several sectors of the economy. Included in the list of scarce items are both basic materials like steel, aluminum and cement (not to mention fuel), and consumer items ranging from bread to clothing.

All these shortages reflect the severe troubles currently facing U. S. capitalism. The sanguine forecasts of business consultants and government advisors will not make the troubles go away. Nor, however, will the recitation of old formulas by the left make the current situation into "the final crisis." To be sure, the U. S. economy is in a period of crisis, but it is a relatively new type of crisis and requires fresh analysis.

AN OVERVIEW

The current shortages have their immediate roots in certain important changes that appeared in the economy last summer. Most important were the, closely related phenomena of a rapid growth of U. S. exports and a rapid expansion of the entire economy.

The expansion of exports in 1973 was a result of policy actions taken by the government when the U. S. trade situation was so dismal in 1971 and 1972. Most important was the devaluation of the dollar. This made American goods cheaper for foreign buyers, and made foreign goods more expensive for American buyers. The result is that foreigners buy more American goods and people in the U. S. buy less foreign goods.

For example, in 1971, before the first devaluation of the dollar, a Japanese buyer had to pay roughly 360 yen to purchase one dollar's worth of American goods. By mid-1973, the same amount of U. S. goods cost only 260 yen. Naturally, this meant that Japanese businesses and consumers bought many more U. S. exports in 1973 than in 1971. The reverse effect was felt within the U. S.—imports from Japan were much more expensive in 1973 than in 1971.

The overall result of the devaluation of the dollar was a sharp improvement in the U. S. trade position. Preliminary figures (final data for 1973 are not yet in) indicate that while U. S. imports rose by about \$13 billion over 1972 levels, U. S. exports rose faster, by at least \$20 billion and possibly more. This was great for the balance of payments (the bankers and government officials who worry about the balance of payments have been thrilled), but it was also a major cause of shortages and inflation in the United States.

The problem was that production in some parts of the economy could not be expanded fast enough to meet the \$20 billion increase in demand. Compared to the U. S. gross national product of around \$1,300 billion, the \$20 billion increase in exports may not seem like much (less than 2 percent); but the increase in export demand was



concentrated in certain sectors of the economy where it had a larger impact. Food exports, for example, almost doubled, from \$7 billion in 1972 to \$13 billion in 1973. The U. S. exported about one-tenth of all its farm products in 1972, and about one-fifth in 1973. Such a rapid rise in food exports—due both to the dollar devaluation and to a series of natural disasters in other countries' agriculture last year—was bound to cause shortages.

Export-related shortages are not confined to food products. At least \$10 billion of last year's export increase was in manufactured goods. While this is still small relative to total manufacturing production of roughly \$400 billion, again the exports were concentrated in particular areas, leading to shortages. Heavy export demand has driven prices sky-high on a variety of American manufactures, ranging from plywood to oil-drilling equipment.

Last year's dramatic increase in foreign sales of U. S. goods coincided with an upswing in the domestic economy, as the recovery from the 1970-71 recession continued. That recession had "disciplined" labor,

dampening the workplace militancy that had begun to appear in the years of near full-employment and political turmoil in the late 1960's.

Following the recession, in 1972 and 1973 business enjoyed a profitable climate for expansion. Workers' demands, still "disciplined" by high unemployment, were moderate; profits rose much faster than wages and salaries. (Recessions always produce such a climate in the first phase of the recovery, one of the reasons why an occasional recession is good for business.) Government policy, as well, has been oriented to stimulating the economy, ever since the beginning of the recession—the federal government ran substantial deficits from early 1970 through the first quarter of 1973, over \$22 billion deficit in 1971 alone, a post-World War II record.

The statistics of the 1972-73 expansion are as follows: real gross national product increased by 6 percent in each of the two years; total real after-tax personal income increased by 3 percent in 1972 and by 5 percent in 1973; after-tax profits, in real terms, were up 8 percent in 1972 and then shot up by at least 20 percent (perhaps as much as 25 percent) in 1973.

This rapid growth of the last two years, combined with the export boom, has strained the capacity of some parts of the manufacturing sector. At first glance it appears that capacity growth during the last few years was sufficient to meet the new demands: between 1967 and 1972 total manufacturing capacity grew by about 30 percent. However, some industries expanded more slowly. In the same five-year period, the capacity of the basic materials industries—petroleum, steel, paper, aluminum, natural and synthetic fibers, etc.—increased only 19 percent. In other words, the low profit rates that began to appear in the late 1960's and continued through 1971 discouraged investment in certain key industries.

The most visible aspect of this problem is the energy crisis. By now it is widely known that the current shortages of petroleum products are due primarily to the lack of investment in refining capacity over the past few years. In addition to the generally low profits of those years, the oil companies faced Middle Eastern nationalism, demands for environmental protection, and other political forces which threatened to reduce oil profits even further. (Cutting back investment in refineries was not necessarily the act of "conspiracy;" it was the rational response, under capitalism, for a company facing actual and threatened declines in profits.) Several years of low profits seem to have caused similar, though less extreme, situations in other basic materials industries.

(Continued on Page 10)

Repression in Houston

Our Crime... Legal Picketing

by Austin NAM

TWELVE PEOPLE who protested U. S. involvement in the Mid-East at a demonstration in Houston (Texas) last October are experiencing the U.S. brand of justice.

Five of the 12, Jose Barrigo, Miguel Trujillo, Jr., William Christianson, Alex Rodriguez, and Roy Barte Haile, ages 21 to 28, are scheduled to begin trial February 10th on charges of aggravated assault on a policeman and assault on a policeman with intent to murder.

Trial date has not yet been set for seven other defendants also arrested at the demonstration. The seven face the lesser charge of aggravated assault on a policeman.

The 12 defendants were arrested October 9 while they peacefully picketed a fundraising rally for Israel attended by then Mayor Louie Welch. (The rally raised over a quarter of a million dollars.) Twenty-five sign-carrying pickets were attacked by a force of 100 police armed with guns, clubs, lead-lined flashlights, dogs, and a helicopter. The 12 were beaten again and again; their lives were threatened repeatedly. Only widespread community support stopped the beatings and lowered the bail from a total of \$255,000 to \$74,000.

Why was this repression so brutal? What are the charges so heavy? Some of the reasons are general, and affect all of us; some are special problems of organizing in Houston.

The first reason, a general one, concerns the enormous stake the U. S. government has in maintaining the mythology of Zionism, at least passively, among large sections of the American people. The demonstrators were charged in the Houston press with anti-Semitism, although they distinguished clearly between the Israeli state and the Jewish people (foreshadowing the outcry against Daniel Berrigan?). As Alex Rodriguez said, "Our crime was that we were part of an orderly, legal picket line called by Youth Against War and Fascism to oppose the role of the U. S. government and big business in another war—this time in the Middle East. The U. S. has just gotten out of one war, which lasted ten years."

Second, many of the demonstrators had picketed a Houston police academy graduation two weeks before the demonstration, protesting racism on the police force. Undoubtedly, the cops were anxious to revenge this embarrassment, and felt that a demonstration against Zionism would be an isolated easy target. Even by U. S. standards, the Houston police force is especially brutal. Herman Short, who was Police Chief at the time of the demonstration, had a special history of sponsoring attacks on political organizations in Houston. In the late sixties, the police suppressed student demonstrations at the predominantly black Texas State University by shooting-up, invading, and ransacking the dorms. In 1968, an undercover

agent pulled in black activist Lee Otis Johnson for thirty years on a single joint—it took a defense movement three years to get him out. In 1970 a police sniper squad murdered 21-year-old Carl Hampton, chairman of People's Party II, in the infamous Dowling Street Massacre. Two other revolutionaries, Johnny Coward and Roy Barte Haile, were wounded in the shooting and charged with assault with intent to murder a police officer. History has a way of repeating itself.

Since October 9 Houston has gotten a new mayor and a new police chief, but it's not likely that this will do the 12 much good. The Houston Twelve Defense Committee has been working hard to bring the facts of the case to people in Houston, to raise the issue of police brutality, especially against minorities, and to put together a good legal defense.

Since the outbreak of the Mid-East war, it's become clear that leftists in the U. S. can no longer maintain a polite silence on the question of Israel. Zionism, often accompanied by racism against Arabs, stands squarely in the path of developing any consistent anti-imperialist consciousness among working people in this country. The Houston 12 took a stand against Zionism and for the Palestinian people—they deserve our support. To send money, get further information, or be placed on the mailing list, write to the Houston 12 Defense Committee, 3250 Moore Street, Houston, Texas 77009. ■

books

A Vision of Human Experience

The Summer Before the Dark, by Doris Lessing

by Elayne Rapping
Pittsburgh NAM

TO COUNTLESS American feminists the name Doris Lessing has a special meaning. To me, *The Golden Notebook*, read in political ignorance and isolation, was an emotional and intellectual catalyst which gradually but unquestionably changed my life. It made me a feminist before I knew the word. More importantly, its portrayal of a woman's struggle to live creatively, productively, and autonomously in a male-dominated world, placing that struggle in a broader political context, led me ultimately to see the mutual interdependence of feminism and socialism, and to define myself in those terms.

For Lessing is, above all, a political artist who has struggled to integrate the personal and political, the private and public, the psychological and ideological in all her work. The task has been difficult: "I'm tormented by the inadequacy of the imagination. . . the conflict between my life as a writer and the terrors of our time," she said recently. "I feel the writer is obligated to dramatize the political conflicts of the time. . . I am unable to embody my political vision in a novel." Nevertheless, she has pursued it, against the grain of literary fashion and at the cost of critical neglect, misunderstanding, and even ridicule. The *New York Times*, for example, saw in her most recent novel, *The Summer Before the Dark*, nothing more than a trite soap opera about

a 45-year-old London housewife who takes a job with an international service organization and discovers that mothering is marketable. She travels abroad and enters into an affair with a young man, only to find that he is deathly ill. She returns to London, ill herself, slowly pulls herself together, and at last goes home restored to health, wiser, more critical, and more at ease with the idea of growing old and dying.

The Summer Before the Dark, like all Lessing's novels, is essentially political. Beginning on the first page, when Kate Brown copes with the immediate

domestic effects of a power crisis while reflecting on its larger meaning, the connection between the private experience and the public event is clear. The insights of these early pages—Kate's sudden realization that her thoughts, her actions, even her most private feelings, are mere socially-determined clichés, while what she really feels is "something else again"—are extended and refined throughout the book. She searches for that "something else again," first in her past, and then in various possible avenues of escape: a job, an affair, even a retreat into madness.

The job, she soon realizes, is no different from her role at home. She could accept a job "in this organization, or another like it, for no other reason than that she was unable to switch herself out of the role of provider of consolation, warmth, 'sympathy.' She had been set like a machine by twenty-odd years of being a wife and mother."

And with her young lover, things are much the same. Again, she is rewarded for performing the services of wife and mother. Again, she finds herself "in that most familiar of all situations—alert, vigilant, while a creature slept who was younger than herself."

At this point the novel moves beyond the "normal" to the landscape of "madness" in which Lessing's heroines so often learn their deepest, most shattering truths. Stripped by her illness of the "skin privileges" of sexual attractiveness and social grace, Kate sees herself and her sisters through new eyes. She observes young women moving with "grace, freedom. . . confidence," while her contemporaries move as though "afraid of being trapped. . . as if surrounded by invisible enemies;" and, recognizing herself in these tormented creatures, she concludes that she has been "demented. . . obsessed from morning till night, about management, organization. . . how things ought to go."

On this level the novel gives a very Laingian view of modern life, especially family life. For Kate's family, like so many Laing describes, is on the surface happy and harmonious. But Kate,



recalling the "years when she felt as if she were locked in a large box with four perpetually exploding egos," suddenly sees her family, and every family, as a "quietly pulsating organism" at the hub of which is a "woman, sparks flying off her in all directions as the psyches grind together like pebbles on a beach in a storm."

Lessing's analysis of the family goes beyond the merely psychological, however, to the economic and institutional roots of Kate's alienation. For she, like most women, has been laboring, serving, producing products for someone or something other than herself, the ultimate uses of which have had nothing to do with her desires or choices.

The novel never loses sight of this political truth, or of the crucial connections between Kate's experiences and those of women everywhere. Lessing comments on the subtle but cruel exploitation of an airline stewardess, "a receptacle for admiration, desire, envy" whose function is "to dispense love" and project "the idea of easily available, guilt-free sex," but who, when she marries, will become useless and miserable, "like a child. . . the grownups have got bored with."

Such parenthetical reflections on the lives of women of various ages, classes, and life-styles form a composite picture of contemporary womanhood, the common denominator of which is the feminine role as defined by the structure and dynamic of the nuclear family. For all women, everywhere, no matter what their title, are wives and mothers, serving, assisting, repairing and organ-

izing male-controlled enterprises.

This insight into the universality of feminine destiny is at the heart of the novel which ends, appropriately, when Kate has the first wholly honest relationship of her life, with a young woman about to marry and seal the fate Kate has tried so desperately to escape. Kate can be open with Maureen, with whom she shares an apartment while preparing to return to her family, because they are both temporarily in social limbo and therefore free of the competition and resentment which mars so many female relationships.

The novel ends ambiguously, however, for while Kate can help Maureen to understand her fate more clearly than she herself had, she cannot help her to change it. There is, at best, in the relationship between the two women, a sense of continuity and growth, from generation to generation, in our consciousness of the forces determining our lives. Maureen and the rest of us, Lessing seems to say, will continue to act out our historically-determined charade, at least into the foreseeable future; but we will do it with increasing self-consciousness and disaffection. This isn't much to take to bed with you in a time of political uncertainty, but it does at least transcend the shallow nihilism of so much contemporary art and leaves us clinging, if only by a thread, to a vision of human experience as shared, continuous, and historically progressive. ■

Carolina Death Penalty

Capital Punishment Aimed at Blacks

by Bob McMahon
Chapel Hill NAM

ONE THOUSAND blacks and whites gathered in Raleigh, North Carolina, on Sunday, January 13, to declare their opposition to North Carolina's death penalty. North Carolina now has 22 convicts on Death Row, over half the nation's total of prisoners facing execution.

The number sentenced to die in North Carolina results from a state Supreme Court ruling in January, 1973, making the death penalty mandatory for capital crimes. The state court ruling was made in an attempt to comply with a U. S. Supreme Court ruling that the death penalty was unconstitutional when unevenly and capriciously applied. The death sentence in North Carolina is now required for all persons convicted of

first degree murder, rape, arson, and first degree burglary.

Participants at the rally included 150 blacks who made a two-day march to Raleigh from Tarboro, North Carolina, where three blacks accused of raping a white woman were sentenced to death in August. Also present were some sixty members of families of persons sentenced to death. These people have formed an organization called Concerned Families for Justice Against Capital Punishment to fight together against the death penalty.

The primary organizers of the rally were the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and the North Carolina-Virginia Commission for Racial Justice of the United Church of Christ. White, and especially black churches were a strong presence at the rally. A number of church spokesmen followed each other in announcing their church's

opposition to capital punishment and in reaffirming "Thou shalt not kill." If the individual does not have the right to kill, neither does the state."

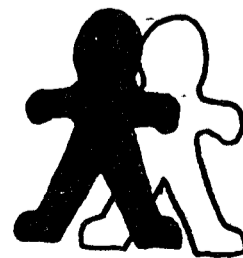
Other sections of the black community were also present. A black attorney and state legislator who spoke called for attacking the roots of crime in poverty and discrimination rather than merely focusing on punishment. He called for giving the poor and oppressed the means to rise within the system. Owusu Sadaukai, a founder of the African Liberation Support Committee, told the audience "You cannot talk about the death penalty without speaking about racism and its origins in capitalism." He urged those present to go back and organize—in the community and especially in the workplace—so that they could "hit the Man where it hurts."

Most speakers condemned the death penalty as racist, pointing out how it is only used in North Carolina against blacks, Indians, and the poor of all races who lack the power to defend themselves effectively. Several speakers pointed to the use of the rape charge as a vehicle of oppression. Convictions are almost never obtained except when black men rape white women. This was tied to the myth of pure Southern Womanhood, in which white women

were the exclusive property of white men, not to be violated by black men without fearsome retribution. The rape charge, as it is actually enforced, was labeled as a way to reaffirm the subjugation of both black men and white women.

The rally voted unanimously to call for abolition of the death sentence and commutation of sentence for all now on Death Row. A compromise "murder only" death penalty now being discussed by the state legislature was condemned.

Other organizations sponsoring the rally included the NAACP, the North Carolina Civil Liberties Union, and the North Carolina Council of Churches. ■



No Peace For Peron

by Nick Rabkin
Berkeley NAM

JUAN DOMINGO PERON's return to power last year was hailed by much of the Argentinian working class as a victory against the military which had ruled Argentina since 1955. But last month Peron replaced the commanders of the Argentinian army and navy with officers who the *New York Times* described as having a "more conservative political line." Peron has presided over a general purge of leftists within the Peronist movement in the government and the unions and decreed a moratorium on strikes throughout the country. What first seemed like a triumphant gain for the Argentinian working class has become a growing nightmare that seems to be headed toward a revolutionary showdown.

PERON AND PERONISM

Peron first came to power in a 1943 coup of officers who were sympathetic to European fascism and who sought to keep Argentina out of the war in opposition to the wishes of much of the Argentinian bourgeoisie and the powerful Communist Party of Argentina. As Minister of Labor, Peron organized "alternatives" to the Communist and Socialist-led unions. His dual unions met with the favor of much of the Argentinian working class because of the Communist's no-strike pledge in a period of great gains for Argentinian capitalism.

When the war ended the military chose to return to a more conservative labor policy and removed Peron from his cabinet post. The union's response to this move forced elections in which Peron ran for the presidency against a popular front alliance of the C. P., S. P., radical conservatives, and progressive democrats. That alliance enjoyed financial backing from the U. S. government. Peron focused his campaign on nationalistic promises and the slogan,

"Braden (then U. S. ambassador) or Peron--Dependence or Liberation!" Peron was the easy victor.

Post-War Argentina was a prosperous exporter to a devastated Europe. Peron nationalized the grain and beef export industry and applied its profits to industrial development. In the process a new urban proletariat grew and a new national bourgeoisie developed. Both groups were enthusiastically loyal to Peron.

As Europe recovered through the forties and early fifties, Argentina became increasingly dependent on foreign investment for its economic development. The super-profits demanded by foreign investors--predominantly from the U. S.--

THE CORDOBAZOS

Cordoba is Argentina's most recently industrialized city. The rebellion began at the Fiat plants which were constructed after Peron's fall and whose workers had no tradition of paternalistic Peronist trade unionism. They responded to Ongania's addition of four hours to their work week and his refusal to negotiate with their union by seizing the factories and threatening to burn them to the ground. This action by 8,000 auto workers led to sit-downs in all of Cordoba's major plants. Students joined workers in barricading Cordoba and Rosario, the third largest industrial city.

The "cordobazo" ended only after thousands of deaths, injuries, and arrests. Property damage was in the millions of pesos. The military then replaced Ongania with General Marcelo Levingston. By that time the labor movement was rebelling against the government and its corrupt Peronist union leadership.

Levingston was unable to stem the rising tide of militance. In 1970, there and a chronic inflation led to the erosion of the workers' gains of the forties. In 1953-4 a wave of rank-and-file rebellions were violently repressed by Peron. In 1955, while Peron was giving Pagagonian oil rights to Standard Oil, a small group of pro-imperialist officers organized a coup and toppled the government.

MILITARY RULE AND THE UNIONS

The military sought to ease foreign investment. At the same time loyal Peronists remained in control of the unions, through the Argentinian equivalent of the AFL-CIO, the Confederacion General de Trabajo (CGT) which had organized 90 percent of Argentina's workers.

After seizing power, the military outlawed the top structure of the CGT. But its democratic internal structure led to rebellions among the workers. The government relegalized the Peronist bureaucracy and established a peace predicated on Peronist enforcement of labor discipline in return for personal gain for the bureaucrats and legality for the unions. An elected government held power from 1963 to 1966, when a coup led by General Ongonia sought to crack down once again on the Peronists. In May, 1969, Ongonia's repression sparked a rebellion in Cordoba.

were two successful general strikes and in the first half of 1971, general strikes shut down the workplaces of Cordoba nine times. When Levingston ordered the "decapitation of the subversive serpent" in Cordoba the workers again took to the streets in defense of their unions. Eight days after the outset of this second cordobazo, Levingston was replaced by yet another general, Lanusse.

Lanusse legalized all bourgeois parties and promised free elections in three years. His strategy was to strike a more permanent bargain with the forces of Peronism. Peron himself would be allowed to return to Argentina in return for promises of labor peace and the isolation and extermination of the revolutionary left.

Peron has actively pursued his part of the bargain since his return last August. The crowd which greeted him at the Ezeiza Airport included activists from the left wing of the Peronist movement who have moved to a revolutionary socialist position. Right-wing Peronists fired on them. Part of the bargain was Peron's dismissal of the army and navy commanders appointed by Hector Campora, the centrist Peronist who had preceded Peron in the Presidency.

PROTRACTED STRUGGLE

The Peronist movement today is a populist movement that includes parts of the Argentinian bourgeoisie and large parts of the working class. In the years since Peron's first reign the movement has become increasingly ideologically polarized with bourgeois Peronists and trade union bureaucrats leading the right wing and rank and file workers leading the left. The right has maintained control of the movement as a whole because of its superior organization and direct support from Peron. The massacre at Ezeiza and the purge of leftists from positions of power has taught many Peronists that they may actually have an enemy within the Peronist movement itself.

Since the first cordobazo, left-wing Peronists and revolutionary socialists have organized at least five urban guerrilla groups. The most important of these, the People's Revolutionary Army (ERP), has claimed responsibility for the assassination of several top Peronist labor bureaucrats. ERP has also kidnapped several top representatives of imperialism in Argentina and made political demands part of the ransom. When ERP kidnapped a Swift Meats executive, they demanded improved working conditions for Swift workers and payment of \$63,000 to workers' neighborhood councils. Most recently ERP demanded \$1 million to be distributed among workers and the unemployed for the safe return of a Standard Oil executive who they still hold.

The level of militance in Argentina has created a climate in which foreign investment has all but dried up. The Ford Motor Co. has removed all of its executives from Argentina. Peron's dependence on foreign capital is clearly threatened by this situation and he is doing what he can to change it.

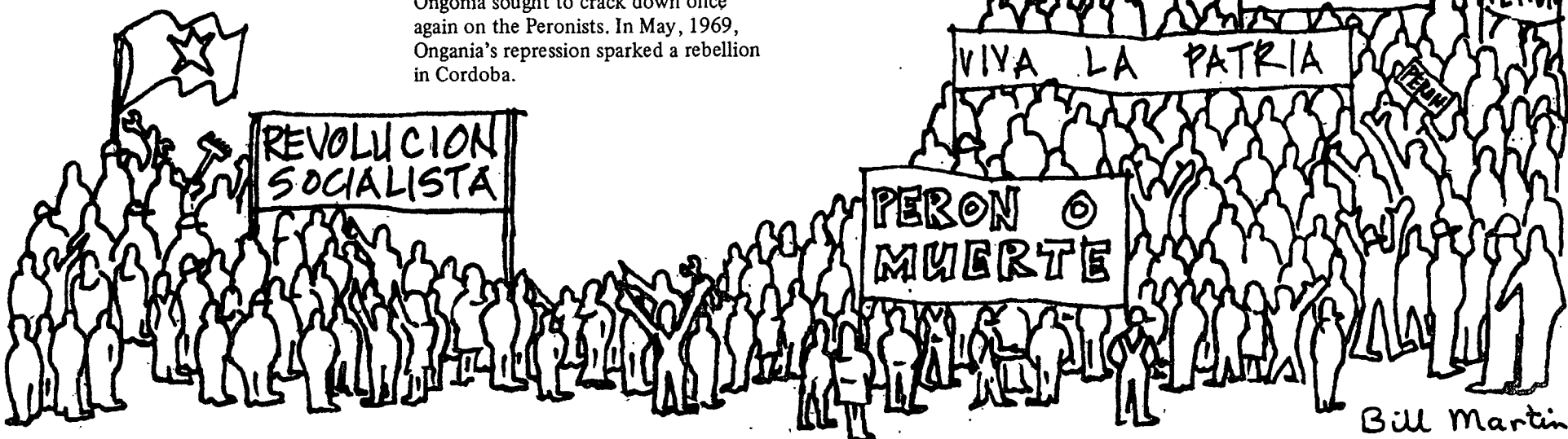
But it does not appear likely that Peron will succeed in unifying the Peronist movement and bringing labor peace to Argentina. Latin America has experienced the Cuban revolution and Argentina the cordobazos since Peron was first deposed. The workers of Argentina will not settle for a new conciliation with imperialism, even under the aegis of Juan Peron.

A right-wing military coup remains a threat that will increase as unity grows between leftist Peronist and socialist forces. Peron's appointment of rightists to high positions in the military may set the stage for this coup, much as Allende's compromises set the stage for the bloodbath in Chile. But if the armed guerrilla groups and the left-wing Peronists are able to organize a unified revolutionary party, their emphasis on state power in Argentina may make the result of such a confrontation altogether different. ■

The Traitors is a new film from Argentina on Peronism, trade unions, and revolution in that country. The film portrays the life of a typical union bureaucrat--his initial steps as a leader in the workers' struggle, his lack of faith in the victory of his class, and his alliances with the regime and the capitalists--his betrayal of the workers. It also portrays the development and consolidation of a new socialist revolutionary left in Argentina --a response to the betrayal of Peronism.

The Traitors was made by a collective of professional filmmakers and revolutionaries under semi-secret conditions shortly before the elections that brought Peronism back to power in Argentina. It is a tremendously powerful film, the best political movie since *State of Siege* technically, and it is available for rent in 16 mm. Contact Tricontinental Film Center at P. O. Box 4430, Berkeley, CA 94704, or 244 West 27 Street, New York, NY 10001.

N. R.



by Mark Cohen
Pittsburgh NAM

"While we are sure steelworkers never welcome strike action, we are equally confident they know that there are times when the alternatives are worse. And under the ground rules of freedom, American workers revere and uphold the precious right to lay down their tools when it becomes necessary. We shall always seek the orderly, harmonious solution through peaceful negotiations; but we will never surrender our inherent right to withhold our labor when the events of the time justify such action."

From USWA, "A NEW ERA," p. 18, from speech given by I. W. Abel at June 1, 1965, inauguration as President of USWA.

ON SEPTEMBER 16, 1973, a petition with over 2,000 signatures of rank and file steelworkers was presented to Abel in Pittsburgh opposing the "no-strike" agreement. Bill Litch, a leader of the Rank and File Team, William Ross from District 31 committee to defend the right to strike, and George Edwards of the National Steelworkers rank and file, rallied together to present the petitions. Abel refused to meet with the three steel workers.

On Monday, January 7, a suit was filed in the Western District of the Pennsylvania Federal Court to make the Experimental Negotiating Agreement ("no-strike" agreement) void and inoperative. The plaintiffs in the suit are thirty-three steel workers including Litch, Edwards, and Ross. Representing the rank and file workers are David Scribner, former chief counsel for the United Electrical workers, Arthur Kinoy, Michael Tigar, and John Mage.

The suit charges Abel, William Burke, and John Johns (the International Officers) and the ten major steel companies with violating Title I of the Landrum-Griffin Act which guarantees the rank-and-file members the right to take part in union decision-making.

Scribner also contends that even had the union followed democratic procedures (which they did not), the agreement would still be open to challenge. The EWA calls for steel workers to give up something definite, the right to strike, in exchange for things yet to be determined.

A trial date has yet to be set.

THE UNITED STEEL WORKERS of America has never been a democratic

union. Its top heavy structure is the fruit of its birth at the hands of John L. Lewis and the "New Deal." The first President of the USWA, Phillip Murray, was the International Vice-President of the UMW from 1920 until 1942. His successor as USWA President, David J. MacDonald, had been Murray's secretary during his tenure as Vice-President of the UMW, and moved over to the USWA along with his boss. Neither were steel workers.

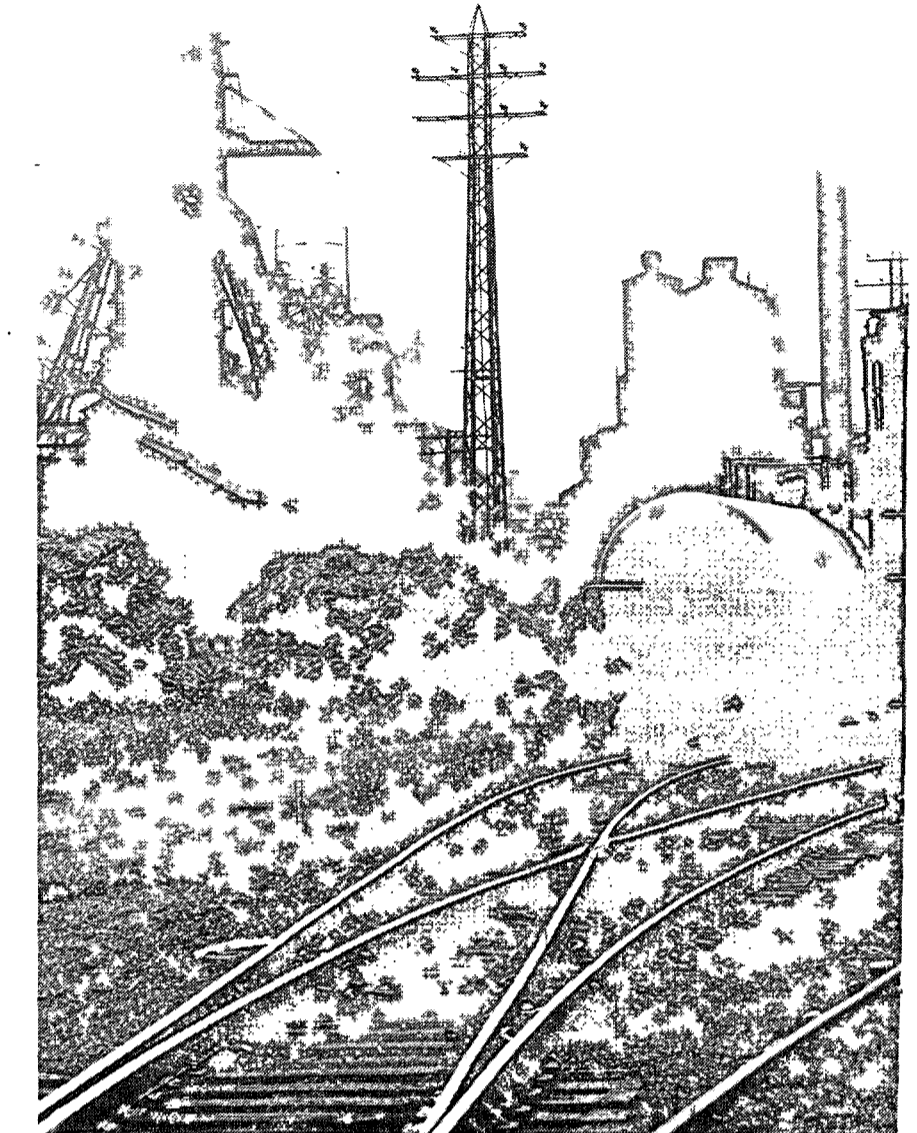
During Murray's term in office, the USWA agreed to lengthen the basic contract period from one to three years. So after the second world war, national strikes occurred every three years beginning in 1946 (MacDonald replaced Murray in 1952). The last national steel strike was in 1959.

The pattern of strikes at each contract expiration led the companies to begin stockpiling steel months before each contract ran out. This could have been avoided had the union insisted upon one-year contracts or if the union did not tell the companies when it planned to strike. But the USWA leadership had other ideas.

After Murray's death, MacDonald took the second major step leading to the "no-strike" agreement. This period was characterized by MacDonald making tours of U. S. Steel mills with corporation President Benjamin Fairless and traveling around in chauffeur-driven limousines.

The 1959 national strike, the longest in the union's history, was settled by federal intervention with inconclusive results. The companies precipitated the strike by attempting to change Section 2B of the basic steel contract which limits the companies' control over local working conditions. While the industry did not get a change in Section 2B, it did get a "Human Relations Committee" composed of top union and management personnel which the companies hoped would bring about a relaxation of work rules.

During the 1959 strike MacDonald, Vice-President Howard Hagle, and Secretary-Treasurer I. W. Abel argued: "While your attention and the eyes of the public have been fixed on the alleged affect of 'inflation' and 'foreign competition' the steel corporations mapped their plan to atomize and completely undermine your job rights." Abel and his associates went on to explain that American industry was vulnerable to foreign competition due to its high rate of profits. While



Japanese concerns were working on a 2-3 percent rate of profit and investing heavily in new technologies, the American steel industry had a rate of profit of about 10 percent in 1959.

The advent of the "Human Relations Committee" brought about a disgraceful contract in 1962. The union got about 2.5 percent of the industry's employment costs in fringe benefits in return for no wage increase and the dropping of the cost-of-living clause. When MacDonald announced in 1964 that he did not intend to even threaten a strike when the contract expired in 1965, the stage was set for a palace coup.

In a leaflet entitled "Where We Stand," the opposition declared: "The Abel-Burke-Molony Team stands for 'Union Trusteeship'—not 'Mutual Trusteeship!' The Union can't serve two masters—the companies will take care of themselves—the Union's leadership must look after the interest of the membership!"

But the militant rhetoric didn't last long. In 1967 Abel first proposed "arbi-

trating any issue which could not be resolved in the forthcoming negotiations." But, Abel promised to the international officers, "no agreement of this type could possibly be reached under any circumstances without prior approval from all the policy-making bodies within our union. . . and a poll of the membership involved." Abel broke his promise when the USWA announced in March, 1973, that the union forfeited the right-to-strike in 1974 contract negotiations without prior consultation with any of the policy-making bodies other than the International Executive Board, nor by holding a membership referendum. It is not surprising that Abel waited until just after his re-election to make public the secret negotiations he'd been carrying on since 1967.

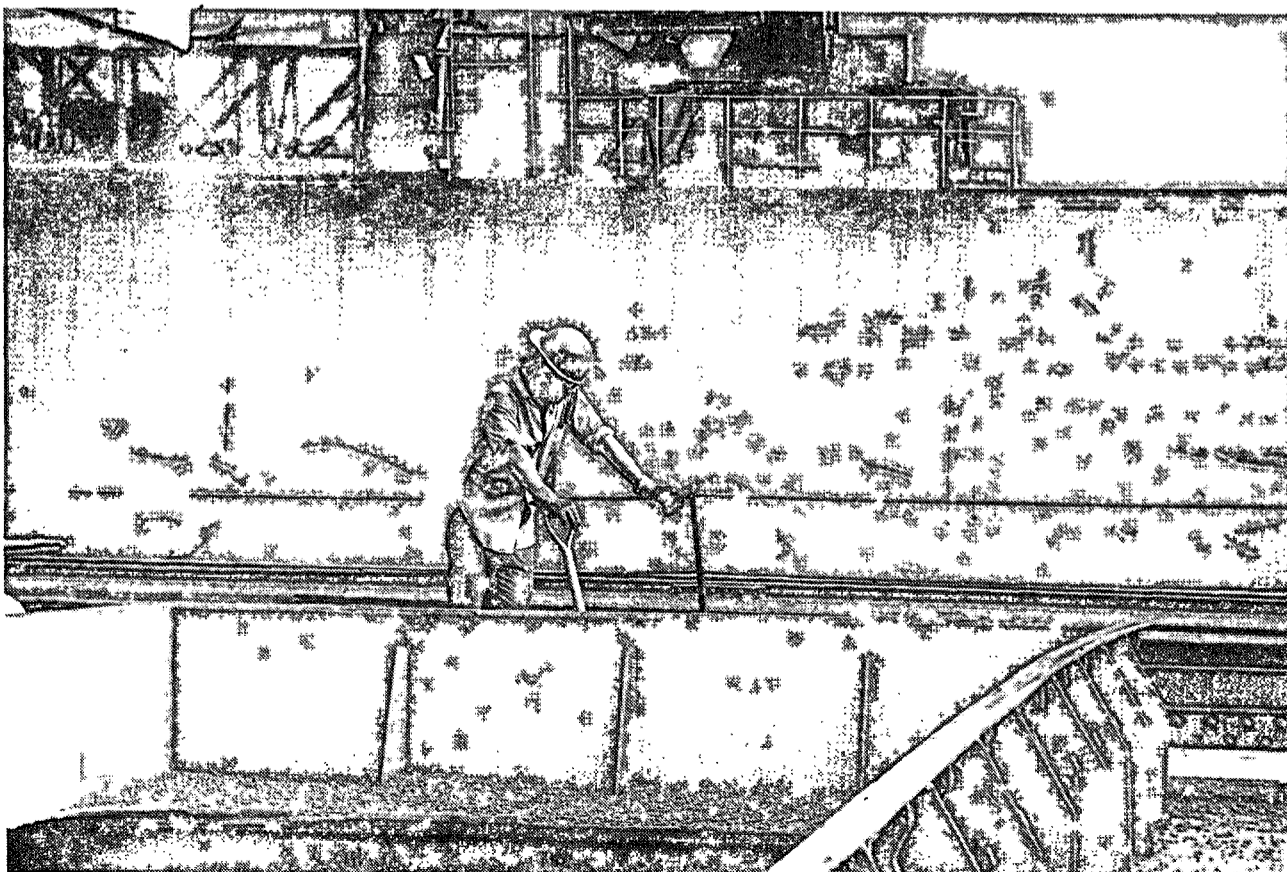
Abel has put the finishing touches on turning the USWA into little more than an administrative arm of the companies. In 1971 the "productivity clause" was first written into the basic steel contract. Composed of joint union-management committees in every mill, the purpose is to insure "uninterrupted operations in the plants." How this benefits the company is self-evident.

In 1971 there were 530,000 production and maintenance workers employed by American steel firms. In 1973 there were only 490,000 people employed. In 1973 as well as 1971 the steel industry was producing near capacity but with 40,000 fewer employees. To maintain the rate of production speed-up, job combination and crew reduction has been utilized resulting in a 25 percent increase in accidents for the first quarter of 1972 over the rate for 1971.

A few of the more honest local Presidents have gone on record against the no-strike agreement. But thus far Abel has kept tight control over the union machinery. Resolutions in a number of locals have also been passed opposing the agreement.

For more information contact

Workers for Democracy
5305 Hohman Ave., Rm 505
Hammond, Indiana (937-1800)



RED LUNG

Which Side Are You On?

by Joni Rabinowitz
Pittsburgh NAM

BLACK LUNG--the "coal miners' disease"--has been known for many years. But only recently have people suffering from this and similar occupational diseases begun organizing to demand the right to safe working conditions.

Pneumoconiosis is a general term referring to "disease caused by dust in the lungs." Coal dust gives a black color to the lungs. But steel workers, asbestos workers, iron and cotton workers are subject to other lung diseases. With steel workers, dust and particles from ferrous metals enters the lungs, and eats holes in them. Iron oxide (rusted iron particles) gives the lungs a reddish color; hence, the name "red lung disease." This lung disease, similar to emphysema, gets progressively worse, beginning with shortness of breath and dizziness, and often ending in an ugly death.

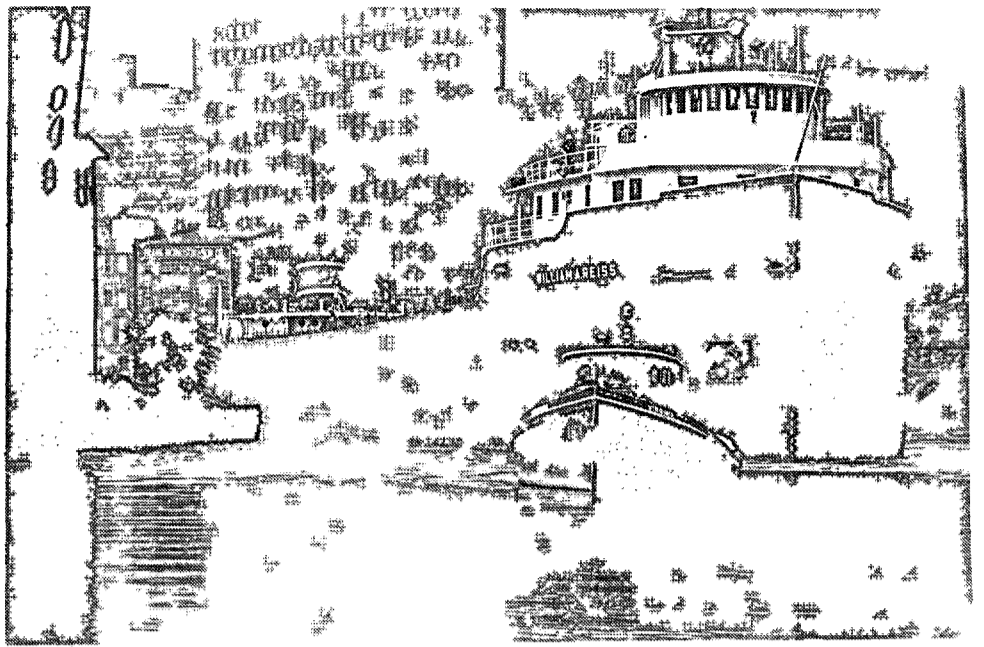
Dr. I. E. Buff, a cardiologist active in the Black Lung movement, has been treating coal miners for twenty years. Publicity of his work was partially responsible for the Black Lung move-

ment in the coal fields, and the subsequent interest by union officials whose members were demanding action.

On January 16, Dr. Buff appeared in Pittsburgh before an audience of about 150 people, primarily rank and file steel workers. This meeting was sponsored by the Pittsburgh Area Committee on Occupational Safety and Health (PACOSH), an area-wide organization of individuals concerned about health and safety in the workplace. Dr. Buff's speech was the fifth educational meeting sponsored by this group.

Using slides, Dr. Buff described red lung disease, emphasizing the importance of working towards prevention rather than compensation. He proposed a tax on the steel industry to pay for prevention.

Buff came down hard on the unions for not taking a more active role in campaigns to eliminate occupational hazards. After all, he said, both West Germany and Czechoslovakia have steel mills, and neither country has any Red Lung disease. Are we really free in American, he asked, when medical schools won't diagnose Black and Red Lung disease, for fear of losing their jobs?



The dilemma of the professional--doctor, lawyer, engineer--has become more real as workers begin to organize around occupational health and safety issues. Throughout the country, such campaigns have already created personal contradictions for professionals. As the movement grows, these will increase.

Dr. Buff left the meeting immediately following his speech because he had received threats from people who intended to disrupt the meeting. He has been followed, on many occasions by company people who disrupt meetings and attempt to discredit him. Other members of the audience working in the field of occupational health and safety agreed to answer questions, and spirited discussion followed.

A member of the United Steelworkers International Union responded to Buff's accusations of union inactivity. Asserting that the union had, indeed, been active in health and safety issues, he said that most of the union's bargaining activity has been in the area of compensation, rather than prevention.

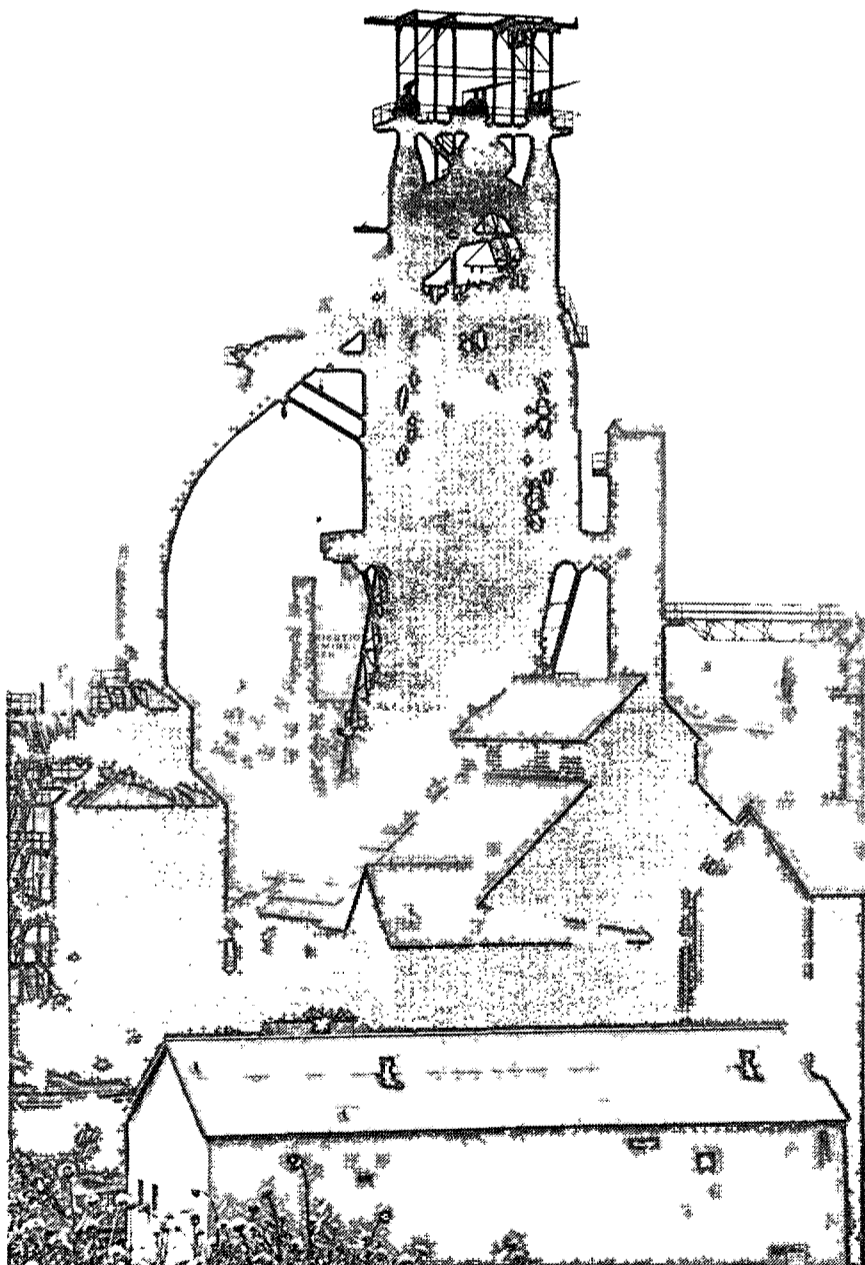
Several doctors in the audience contradicted each other about the seriousness of Red Lung--the opposition stating

that there needs to be more research before Red Lung is designated as a serious disease. Members of the audience, many of whom suffer from the disease, expressed disagreement with the contention.

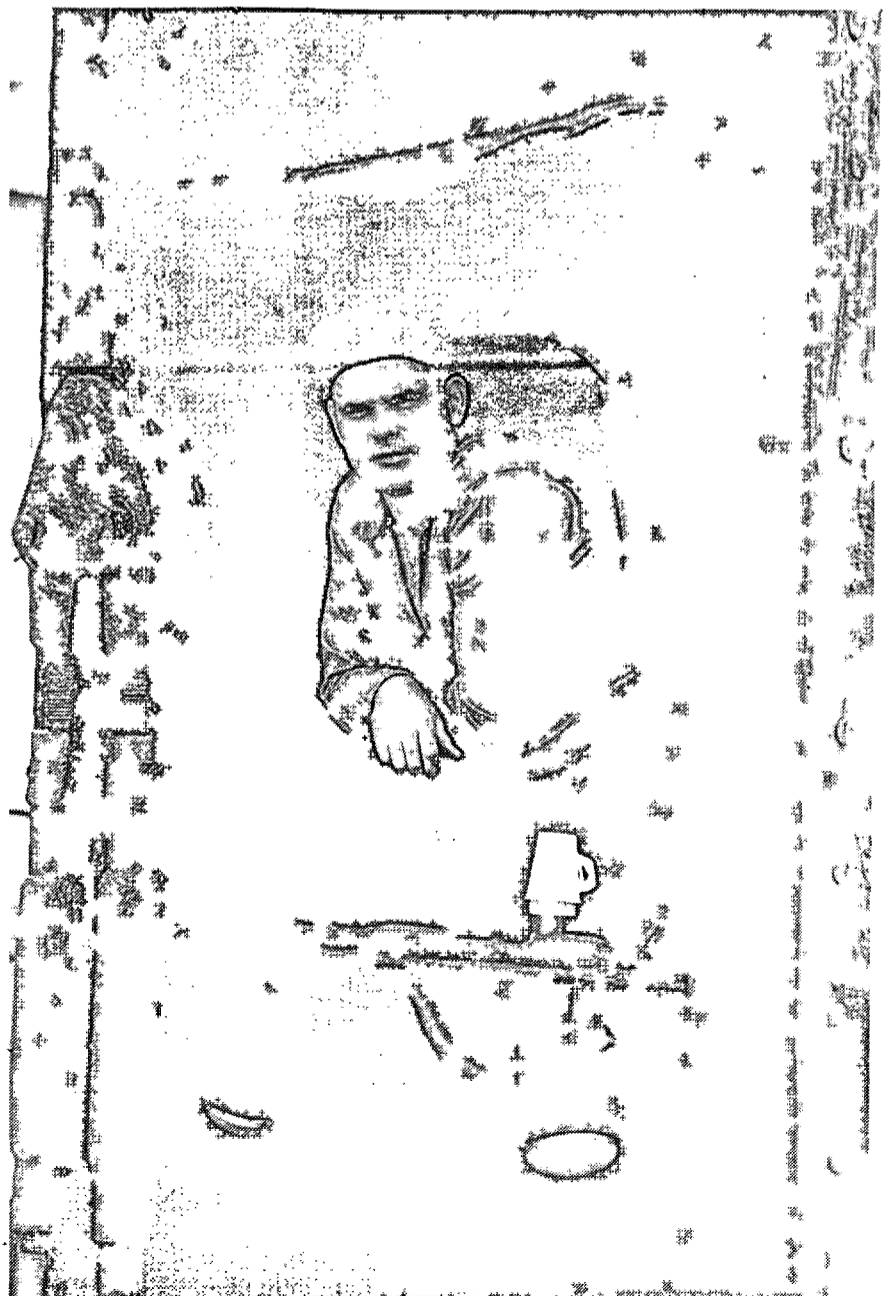
A debate between an environmental activist and an engineer from the County Air Pollution Board almost developed into a free-for-all, with workers yelling from their seats, "What have you done for us?" and "When was the last time you were in an open hearth shop?"

Most of the audience knew and understood what Buff was talking about. They know that steel workers and people living near steel mills have an inordinately high incidence of respiratory diseases, and that company doctors do not diagnose these diseases. And they understand that the union leadership is not about to organize around health and safety issues until the rank and file forces them to.

The rank and file in many industries will be speaking out and organizing in the future. The right to work in a healthy and safe environment will assuredly be one of the major workplace issues of the 70's.



The photography on these pages depict scenes from the Flats, the industrial area of Cleveland, Ohio. The photos were taken by Steve Cagan, who would like to contact people interested in photography around political themes. The newspaper welcomes any samples of original artwork--cartoons, photographs, line drawings, etc.



Building the New American Movement

The new year marks a time of resurgence in activity and a reassessment of program and structure for the MINNEAPOLIS CHAPTER.

For the North Country Peace Campaign, work continues apace in both its priority programs--Indochina and Impeachment. NCPC helped coalesce a wide grouping of peace activists and organizations around the Congressional focus of ending aid to Thieu. They pressured the Minneapolis city council into passing a resolution opposing aid to Thieu and declaring Jan. 20-27 "Days of Concern for the Indochinese People." On Jan. 23 they co-sponsored a forum, "Honor the Peace Agreement," featuring Cora Weiss, recently returned from PRG-controlled territory.

NCPC sponsored an Impeach-in with Sidney Lens and Arthur Waskow in early December and are now planning for the "Day of Truth" on Feb. 18. Their work and leadership has energized small groups in colleges and communities around the state.

The Mid-East Taskforce has been working with a third-world coalition called the Dispossessed since last spring. They are planning a series of three workshops at Macalester College in February on the Middle East, Greece, and Brazil, and are also launching a speakers' bureau.

The Praxis School, a socialist education project, is currently in its second year of operation. Courses of from four to six weeks in length, often focusing on the theoretical and strategic ramifications of ongoing chapter practice, are offered by chapter members and widely advertised in the community. In the fall the courses were "The Dynamics of Modern Class Society," an introduction to socialist politics, "The American Labor Movement," convened by members of the Workplace Taskforce, "The Zionist Endeavor in Palestine," given by an Israeli socialist, and "The Occupation of Wounded Knee." Current offerings are the introductory class on socialist politics, a continuation of the labor history class, "Imperialism," and "Theory and Practice of Revolutionary Parties," for those with some grounding in socialist theory.

In conjunction with the Praxis School, the chapter publishes *Our Times*, a bulletin of commentary on current political controversies, announcements of classes, forums and other major events, and reports on chapter activities. The bulletin provides a regular communica-

tion link with people we contact through our work.

Last June a number of women from Minneapolis NAM and the Twin Cities Women's Union began meeting to discuss Socialist-Feminist strategy, its meaning for current work, and the development of Socialist-Feminist programs to work on together. The NAM women saw the chapter declaring itself a Socialist-Feminist organization theoretically while offering little genuine programmatic work aimed at developing that perspective. After probing the structural and organizational questions of their group, their organizations, and the broader left and feminist movements, they turned to inflation and its impact on women for study and potential programs. Though the collective period of study was the most positive they had ever experienced, isolating a single winnable demand was more difficult.

In the fall, the Socialist-Feminist group wanted to move from discussion to activity as part of a revolutionary mass organization. They chose, after lengthy discussion, to work as a part of NAM. The reasons were threefold and overlapping: they wanted to develop programs that relate to the totality of women's needs, to their daily experiences of living in America, that stress their class as well as psychological and social oppression; they wanted to work autonomously within a socialist organization and reach the kind of women NAM's politics could reach but as yet have not; they felt the chapter's work demonstrated its ability to promote struggles that could lay the basis for a broad workingclass movement; and they wanted to make its theoretical commitment to Socialist Feminism concrete.

The Socialist-Feminist group projects three kinds of work: political activity that enables them to talk and work with women other than themselves; study that enables them to develop a strategy for the revolutionary movement (women's and mixed); and personal struggle and support among themselves to foster collectivity. Their initial political activity in NAM will focus on developing a speakers' bureau, with the Farah film, the Women in Vietnam slide show, and the theory and practice of Socialist

Feminism as vehicles for discussion and action.

Several chapter members are also working with the Wounded Knee Defense/Offense Committee on various aspects of the Wounded Knee trials from jury selection to coordinating the St. Paul office.

At the chapter level, we are attempting to revitalize a moribund taskforce structure to assure greater flexibility in responding to new challenges and constituencies, to facilitate chapter (rather than taskforce) debate on program and strategy, and to provide easier access to chapter work for prospective members.

•••

For the last eight months, the PITTSBURGH CHAPTER has been working on the City Budget Campaign as part of a city-wide Coalition for Human Needs. About one-third of the Task Force on the city budget are NAM members.

Proposals on housing, services to the elderly, handicapped and homebound, and ambulance services, have been presented to City Council for inclusion in the 1974 budget. The proposals totalled a realistic \$4.8 million. The mayor's policy--publically stated many times--has always been that such programs are not the city's responsibility. And he has not made any effort to seek federal and state funds for them.

Our campaign centered around pressuring City Council to oppose the mayor on these issues. Members of the Task Force spoke to some 40 groups and on 30 radio programs to explain the issues and urge support of the proposals. The Task Force testified several times before Council, and was joined by representatives of many groups and by professionals working in the various fields. Other groups wrote letters to Council and the mayor. Still others wrote letters to local newspapers. One of the daily papers gave editorial support to the principles of the campaign, and published our letters every day. Several small papers gave us excellent coverage.

•••

Last fall, IOWA CITY NAM ran two members on a socialist platform for a city council position. The campaign involved a broad-based coalition of progressive groups and individuals in a "People's Alliance" within which NAM maintained autonomy. For the campaign, two issues of a newspaper were published and widely distributed. In the process of the campaign, the candidates received the endorsement of Iowa City's major labor groups.

The NAM candidates (Karen Carpenter and David Ranney) had middle-of-the-road opponents who were forced to run as a team for the first time in the community's history because of the Carpenter/Ranney ticket.

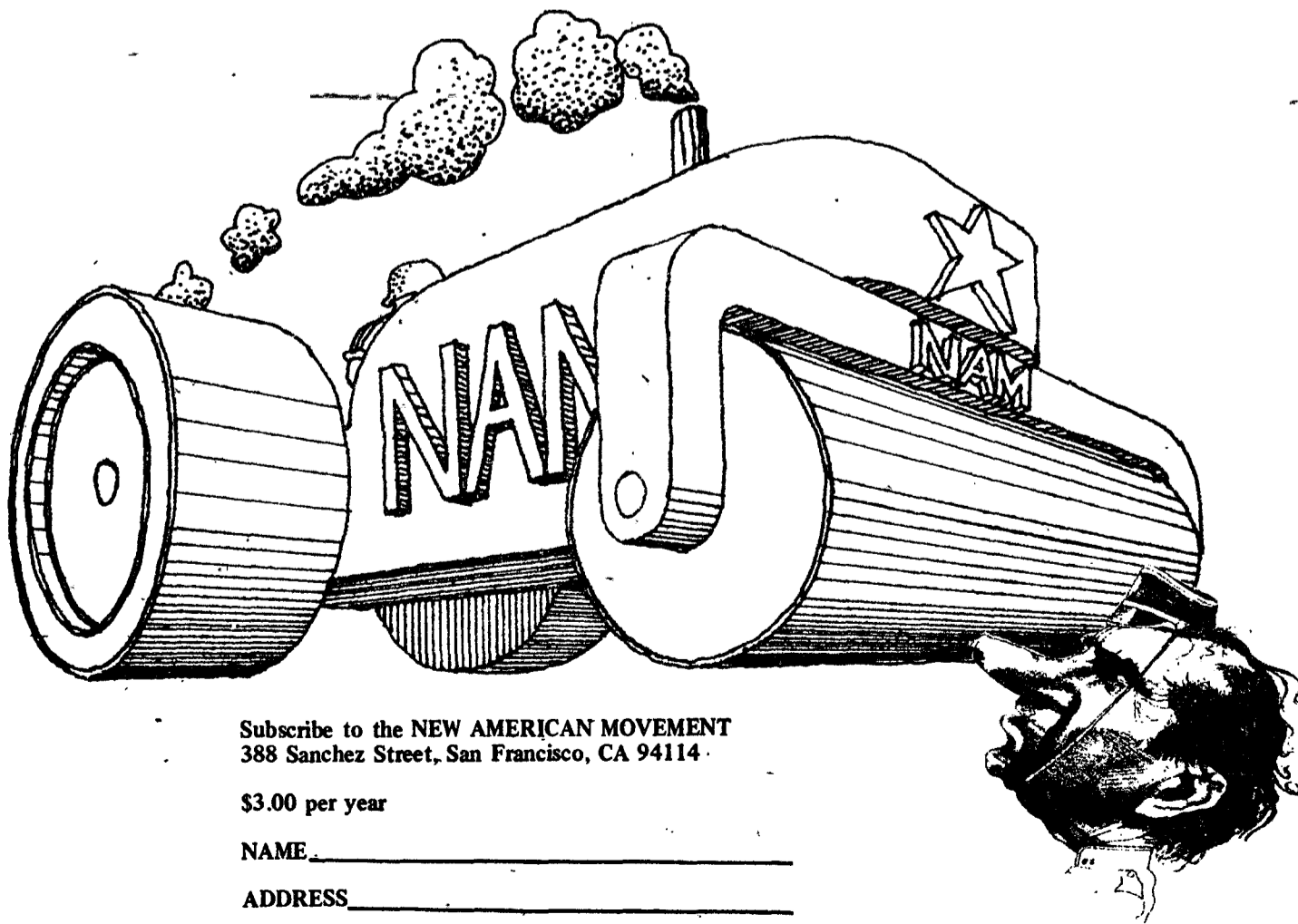
For the socialists the campaign centered on labor, city development, feminist, and class-related issues. Three key precincts comprised of workers, students, poor and elderly people were identified and concentrated on in the campaign. Community people were warmly supportive of NAM and the People's Alliance but expressed doubt and discouragement about winning and changing through elections. The ruling class came out in force, whereas the key precincts of the People's Alliance did not turn out strongly. In the end, the socialists received only one-third of the vote.

A split developed within the Alliance after the election. Some members decided to form a "Marxist-Leninist" cadre organization. NAM is continuing in Iowa City within the People's Alliance. The newspaper will continue to publish and will hopefully become a viable tool in the community. A new steering committee has been formed to work within the People's Alliance (about 30 people) and NAM (about 15 people). The Alliance has before it a serious question: "Can the people's cynicism about the electoral arena be overcome?"

•••

In the middle of October, FOX RIVER VALLEY NAM became aware of broad public sentiment in our communities (combined population 30,000) against a proposed shopping center complex, a mammoth development that would pulverize stable communities into a typical suburban area. The developers and local politicians were planning gargantuan changes in the area, changes that obviously would not be paid for by the corporations. Their decision was political dynamite in an area that had experienced a spontaneous tax rebellion a year before.

From the outset our task has been to unite two diverse sectors of the workingclass on the basis of their fundamental interest of preventing a regional shopping complex from being constructed. One sector, white collar workers and homeworkers in a district near the shopping center site, was outraged at the



Subscribe to the NEW AMERICAN MOVEMENT
388 Sanchez Street, San Francisco, CA 94114

\$3.00 per year

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____

Why Nationalization: A Draft Energy Crisis Program

by Dan Marschall
Energy Committee
Berkeley NAM

THE ENERGY CRISIS is a critical issue for socialist organizing. It affects the daily lives of working people in numerous ways, from exorbitant gasoline prices to massive layoffs and the threat of a new recession. All segments of the oil industry are monopolistically controlled by giant, multi-national oil conglomerates, whose role in directly causing the crisis is very evident.

An energy crisis program could unite many sectors of the working class, from steelworkers to airline stewardesses. It would offer the possibility of several approaches to political work: organizing at the point of production, working with rank and file caucuses in trade unions, activity around environmental issues, and coalitions with consumer groups. It would also give us the chance to make demands that raise the question of socialism versus capitalism

We would envision a three-part program around the energy crisis, the first phase being an anti-corporate educational campaign. Such a campaign would expose the monopoly character of the energy industry as well as present a long-range perspective of the crisis as the direct result of capitalist production. The current energy crisis would be viewed as a concrete example of how our economic system functions and who controls it.

The specific roots of the energy crisis are neither a general lack of crude oil nor the Arab oil embargo, but a shortage of sufficient refining capacity. The major oil companies deliberately failed to build the necessary domestic refineries in the late 1960's because the profitability of refinery investments was no longer guaranteed. They were unwilling to make the large capital outlays for the construction of new refineries in the face of uncertain supplies of cheap foreign crude oil, environmental restrictions, congressional pressures against tax benefits, and federal import quotas.

A key aspect of our analysis of the energy crisis must be an anti-imperialist perspective, especially in relation to the Middle East. We must meet the attempt to blame the energy crisis on the Arabs or on other oil exporting countries by suggesting the nationalization of their energy resources. In general, we must support Arab nationalism while opposing Zionism and the role of American imperialism in the Mid-East.

An initial step in an educational campaign would be for NAM to produce a tabloid newspaper with current analysis of the energy crisis along with socialist perspectives on other environmental issues. (See the proposal by a NAM chapter in Austin, Texas.) At least at first, this newspaper would not be seen as a regular publication, but as a permanent piece of national literature for NAM. One chapter could take responsibility for producing it and then solicit articles from other parts of the country.

The second part of the energy crisis program would be around specific winnable demands directed at the oil industry and at the federal government. Following are a few immediate demands essential to an energy crisis program.

1. A freeze and rollback of wholesale and retail prices of gasoline and fuel oil. This demand would effectively

force oil companies to pay for any "increased operating expenditures" from their own corporate profits.

2. Direct taxation of all oil industry profits to finance massive research into alternate, nonpolluting, unlimited sources of energy.

3. A moratorium on all further highway construction and the diversion of gasoline taxes towards the development of free mass transportation.

4. A halt in the construction of additional nuclear power plants, a potentially disastrous and now inefficient alternative energy source.

5. Any system of rationing would be administered by worker and community representatives to be democratically chosen, not just appointed by government bureaucrats.

The third part of an energy crisis program would be a long-range demand to nationalize the energy industry. We would demand expropriation of the energy industry and its control by public trusts administered by worker and community boards, democratically elected and composed of members of different sectors of the working class.

This demand strikes at the source of the energy crisis: the right of private corporations to decide on energy use and production according to their own needs to maximize profits. It would allow us to project the character of one aspect of a socialist society. Popular control over the energy industry could be seen as a transitional step towards consumer control over societal priorities and worker control over the capitalist plan of production.

~~Only by removing the profit motive~~ from the energy industry and placing its control in public hands, can we begin to develop an inexhaustible and inexpensive source of energy. The demand thus speaks to the ultimate problem that fossil fuels will some day

be depleted. If privately-owned corporations continue to exercise control over energy resources, the world will eventually be in a disastrous situation.

Any attempt to develop a movement for nationalizing the energy industry would meet the strongest opposition from the corporations concerned and from politicians of both parties. The major oil companies, which virtually control the energy industry, are among the richest and most powerful American corporations. But the declining fortunes of American capitalism have placed them in a difficult position. The "energy crisis" they created to ensure their profits has also created the potential base for a movement for public control, giving us an unprecedented opportunity to press for a reform that would in fact threaten capitalist power and profits.

Nationalization of the energy industry would not mean socialism—the elimination of all private ownership and control over industry, and the transformation of the state to ensure direct control by working people over major economic decisions. But it raises the issue of socialism versus capitalism as no other demand we could make.

CONGRESS AND THE MAJOR OIL COMPANIES

Nationalization of the oil industry will be a topic for public discussion in the coming months, and it is essential that NAM take a position on exactly the kind of nationalization we would favor. There are several pieces of legislation before the Congress calling for nationalization, though they may simply propose state management of the oil industry until the crisis has passed. The position of NAM in such a discussion would be as a continual pressure towards the left.

The major oil companies are now in an unusually weak situation, and a serious campaign around anti-capitalist nationalization would be seen as an additional threat. Though the majors have already won a few significant victories (e.g., the Alaska pipeline, mining oil shale, and off-shore oil leases), the extremity of the energy crisis could easily backfire on them.

..ASK NOT WHAT
STANDARD OIL CAN DO
FOR YOU... BUT WHAT
YOU CAN DO FOR
STANDARD OIL!



Several Congressional committees are now investigating their operating methods and public hearings may continue all year.

In addition, Congress as a whole will be considering numerous pieces of energy legislation calling for such measures as a direct tax on profits, discontinuing the oil depletion allowance, a tax on foreign oil earnings, prohibition of oil company operations in both crude oil production and refining-marketing, public disclosure of operating data, and anti-trust legislation. In the meantime, the major oil companies desperately scramble to bolster their public image, as exhibited by Arco's proposed elimination of the oil depletion allowance and Shell's recommendation for a future reduction in oil industry profits. Exxon even called a special news conference to release their 1973 profit statement which showed a 59 percent increase over 1972 levels.

Even if the Arab oil embargo ends after the disengagement of troops in the Middle East, as Kissinger has lately been predicting, the major oil companies will still undergo intense public scrutiny. 1974 could be the year when a socialist energy crisis program would have a real impact. It could be a giant step forward in the development of NAM as a public organization.

Though the energy crisis is still upon us, it has passed the stage where the public just wants to hear quick solutions to ward off impending doom. Working people are beginning to sit back and wonder exactly how the whole crisis came about and why it may not be as disastrous as everyone predicted at first. According to recent opinion polls, only a tiny minority believe that the Arab oil embargo is the root cause. Now may be the time when people will seriously consider more fundamental solutions to the problem. Why not nationalization?

A program around anti-capitalist nationalization is by no means perfect; it does have some shortcomings. But the overall campaign we would conduct is as important as the demand itself. The expropriation of the energy industry will not be enacted by Congress, only a mass movement could bring it about. If a mass movement could be built to force such expropriation, it would very likely have the strength to administer the public trusts of the energy industry. By immediately demanding that any rationing system be controlled by elected boards of workers and consumers, the formation of the groups that would administer nationalization would be encouraged.

In summary, we would propose a three-part program around the energy crisis. (1) An educational campaign focusing on the dynamics of American capitalism and integrating an anti-imperialist perspective. (2) A set of short-term, winnable demands calling for basic structural reforms. (3) A long-range demand for anti-capitalist nationalization of the energy industry as a transitional step towards socialism.

NAM ENERGY CRISIS READING LIST

Prepared by the Austin NAM Energy Committee

A. General Ecological Information and Perspectives

1. *Beyond Repair: The Ecology of Capitalism*, Barry Weisberg, Beacon Press, 1972.
2. *The Last Play: The Struggle to Monopolize the World's Energy Resources*, James Ridgeway, 1973.
3. *The Energy Crisis*, Lawrence Rocks, Crown Publishers, 1972.
4. *Murderous Providence*, Harry Rothman.
5. *The Environmental Handbook*, Garrett DeBell, Bantam Press.
6. *The Closing Circle*, Barry Commoner, 1972.

B. The Automobile and Mass Transportation

1. *Dead End: The Automobile in Mass Transportation*, Ronald Buel, Prentice-Hall, 1972.
2. *The Death of the Automobile*, John Jerome.
3. *The Urban Transportation Problem*, J. R. Meyer.

C. Oil and Gas Industry

1. *The Politics of Oil*, Robert Engler, 1967.
2. *The Political Economy of Oil in Underdeveloped Countries*, Michael Tanzer, Beacon Press, 1969.
3. *The Empire of Oil*, Harvey O'Connor, Monthly Review Press, 1970.

D. Nuclear Power

1. *Poisoned Power*, John Gofman.
2. *The Nuclear Power Rebellion: Citizens vs. the Atomic Industrial Establishment*, Richard Lewis, Viking Press.
3. *The Atomic Establishment*, Peter H. Metzger.
4. *The Political Economy of Nuclear Energy*, Duncan Burn.
5. *Perils of the Peaceful Atom*, Richard Curtis

E. Electricity Generation

1. *Brown-Out: The Power Crisis in America*, William Rodgers, Stein and Day, 1972.

F. Coal Industry

1. *The Economics of the Coal Industry*, Herbert Risser.
2. *Economic Redevelopment in Bituminous Coal*, Carroll Christenson.
3. *The Coal Industry in America: A Bibliography and Guide to Studies*, Robert F. Munn.

Shortages

(Continued from Page 3)

The effects of these investment patterns can be seen in the capacity utilization figures. Most businesses can operate normally and comfortably up to 85 percent to 90 percent of their reported capacity; cost increases and shortages result when an industry stays above 90 percent utilization of reported capacity for any length of time. For manufacturing as a whole, capacity utilization was at a "safe" 83 percent for the first nine months of 1973; but for the basic materials industries, capacity utilization had reached 94 percent early in 1973, and climbed to an unprecedented 96 percent by the third quarter of the year (the latest period for which figures are available).

The lack of profits to invest in capacity expansion has been compounded, in some industries, by demands for environmental protection. These demands, accepted by Congress in 1970 in the passage of the Clean Air Act and the National Environmental Protection Act, have forced some industries to divert substantial investment into pollution control. In 1969, before the enactment of these laws, about 5 percent of all manufacturing investment went into pollution control; in the paper industry, one of the places where pollution control is most expensive, it still accounted for only 9 percent of 1969 investment. Today, according to recent surveys, pollution control is absorbing 43 percent of new investment in the paper industry, 22 percent in metal industries (excluding iron and steel), and 10 percent in petroleum. (Metals and petroleum were both at or below the 5 percent average in 1969.) This limits even

further the investment available for capacity expansion. Not surprisingly, such expenses make some parts of the business community furious at the environmentalist movement. The *Wall Street Journal*, for example, runs frequent articles attacking "environmental extremism" and lecturing the "extremists" on the virtues of compromise.

PRICE CONTROLS, SHORTAGES, AND INSTABILITY

All the forces discussed so far—the export boom, the rise in domestic demand, the slow capacity expansion, and the high costs of pollution control—have contributed to high prices. Why doesn't the government do something about it? Indeed, the government has tried, but its efforts have generally made things worse.

With traditional fiscal policies, the government engineered a recession in 1970-71, but it failed to slow down inflation. In August 1971 the government turned to wage-price controls. This new form of intervention in the

economy appeared successful at first—prices went up less than 4 percent in 1972. For 1973, government advisors predicted another success, only 3 percent inflation; instead prices went up by 8.8 percent. (A congressman recently compared Nixon's economic "team" to another bunch of classic losers, the 1962 New York Mets, and recalled Casey Stengel's question: "Can't anybody here play this game?")

Price controls, then, have not stopped inflation. But they have made shortages worse, because price controls are an important element behind both the export boom and the capacity shortage described above.

With regard to exports the phenomenon is simple: if domestic prices are controlled while foreign prices are going up, U. S. companies will prefer to sell all they can to foreigners. That's what happened during the 1973 export boom—price controls stimulated sales of U. S. products abroad, leading to shortages at home.

In the case of capacity expansion, the problem was not only price controls but also the uncertainty that has

surrounded the frequent changes in government policy—Phase I, II, III, IV. . . and what next? Unsure as to whether the government will allow them to raise prices sufficiently to make expansion profitable, businesses are more reluctant to expand than they would be in the absence of controls. Moreover, frequent policy changes encourage a wait-and-see attitude.

WHAT NEXT?

In other words, partly because of and partly in spite of the new government policies, the shortages, instability, and inflation will all continue. The situation has become one of continuing crises.

As these various crises unfold, a major effort is underway to develop a new ideology of self-sacrifice and patriotism. Government and business propaganda hammer away at the idea that we must all tighten our belts and lower our thermostats, to pull through the crisis. Even George Meany supports the effort as long as everyone shares the sacrificing. The threat of rationing is used to intimidate people into voluntary self-policing. If successful, this campaign will provide the basis for a new profitable wave of business expansion, based on the American people changing their "wastrel ways" toward a lower standard of living.

It is essential to counter the absurdity of the "self-sacrifice" solution to shortages. As long as the military is still guzzling gas, as long as businesses can keep their electric advertising blazing at night, there is no reason to blame energy shortages on personal consumption habits. Similar issues will arise with other shortages. The answer to shortages is, not individual thriftiness, but public, democratic decision-making about resource use, and ultimately about production as well.

HELP!

THIS PAPER IS IN a financial crisis. Along with the New American Movement as a whole, we are growing and expanding our activities. But we have not been getting in much more money and costs are going up fast. We cannot survive on our income from subs and sales by our chapters and other friends. We need your help.

We now print 8,200 copies of NEW AMERICAN MOVEMENT and distribute them to forty-odd chapters and another forty distributors (groups or individuals). It costs us almost a thousand dollars a month to print and mail the paper, pay our rent, and occasionally pay someone for working part time. Last year we got money for each issue from the National Office. This year the NO is also in financial trouble and we have to try to raise the money ourselves.

PLEASE send us a contribution of \$5, \$10, \$25, or more. Send a check today or you will forget.

Fox River

(Continued from Page 8)

destruction of the Fox River Valley environment. Another, a mass of twenty-thousand industrial workers and homeworkers, would explode at any more tax increases.

The initial plan was to form a coalition of groups against the shopping center. We quickly discovered that a coalition in our particular circumstances was impossible. We contacted the Illinois Education Association, the League of Women Voters, a large chapter of the National Organization of Women in Elgin, Illinois (population 60,000), various local environmental groups, and the Socialist Party. None of the groups could join a coalition. Some did not understand the idea; others felt the issue was out of their "domain," some were inactive in our area, and others were cynical about stopping a major corporation.

At this point our contact with Chicago NAM people put us in touch with researchers and NAM members who had done work for Citizens Action Program (CAP). These people gave us valuable aid in researching tax benefits and structures as well as the Illinois state agency working with the shopping center developers.

The next step in the struggle was the formation of the Ad Hoc Committee Against the Shopping Center by NAM members and a few friends. Because of our small numbers and newness as a chapter, and later because our work was mainly researching and attending long, boring public meetings to gather more information, we lost several young workers from our chapter. The main motive for their leaving seemed to be personal reasons tied to the advanced decay of capitalist culture.

The chapter settled into a core group as public meetings multiplied. We managed to get out a press release with

limited radio and tv coverage which heated up the struggle somewhat. However, we were still mainly NAM people and friends rather than people who were new and had joined as a result of the struggle. As we became known more people came to our committee meetings. More releases filtered into the press and phone calls came in from friendly people all over the area. It looked like we were on the verge of a lot of growth as another release came out. That night a reporter called up a number of NAM members for more "information."

ATTACKED BY THE PRESS

All hell broke loose the next day. The biggest daily newspaper in the area (from Elgin) chopped up our press release and added "information" gathered the night before twisting it into a story that made the Citizens Committee Against the Shopping Center (with the Ad Hoc now legitimately dropped) and NAM seem like one organization. We got a huge article, some 25 column inches long, that systematically distorted everything we had done. We were painted as a manipulative and secretive organization when we had, in fact, publicly presented our opinions at numerous meetings and in numerous press releases.

The attack backfired. Working people reacted favorably to a NAM member's statement: "We have certain ideas of people running the country. . . For instance, instead of the rich people running the factories, the people would," and to further comments that NAM was a democratic-socialist organization. Overnight the committee became a real community organization rather than a paper group. The committee's membership went from 8 to 10 to 20 to 30 people. People from all sectors of the class came forward with ideas, money, energy, an office, and a determination to stop the shopping center. Press policy from that point on has been to stick to our releases, the democratic election of spokespeople (two men and two women), and a "no comment" to fishing expedi-

tions by reporters.

At this stage of the struggle, chapter members began to reassess NAM as an organization. We had not had an official chapter meeting during that month filled with skirmishes and hard work. Before then we had had meetings once a week. We were all affected by the lack of direction and felt overworked. We sensed it was time to pull together. We rotated work loads, analyzed the struggle and its history, analyzed our research and membership roles, and pointed out that separate men's and women's meetings, in addition to regular chapter meetings would be a start toward preventing New Left types of leadership from emerging.

We went to the next Citizens Committee meeting with a strong sense of strategy, tactics, and solidarity. At a large meeting of nearly thirty people we would explain NAM's socialist politics and our relationship to the Citizens Committee we had founded. Our forthright honesty and democratic politics seemed to win over everyone.

TOWARDS THE CITIZENS COUNCIL

If we succeed here in building such a rudimentary class-wide alliance, we feel there is an open road toward building a council, a citizens (or peoples) council that would assert itself in a position of dual power with township, village, and county government. Hopefully, such a council would stimulate other class struggles (it would provide impetus and be a model in some respects for the formation of factory committees and workers councils) as well as escalate other class struggles.

The creation of mass instruments of working class struggle is a difficult task—especially when attempting to unite diverse sectors of the class. However, we have found a generally positive response from people in the Citizens Committee toward a continuation of the committee to work on other issues once the shopping issue is decided.

At the present time, we feel that the Citizens Committee is overloaded with upper strata membership of the working class and even a number of classically defined (owning their own business) petit bourgeois. We are now working on a campaign to bridge community-workplace gaps involving more industrial workers and their families with a tax leaflet. We are circulating a petition throughout the area and are amazed at the democratic tradition felt by people when exercising their rights and fighting the big corporations. We are continuing the fight in the press and looking for groups to speak at PTA's, Jaycees, church, and labor groups. The Citizens Committee recently drew nearly 200 people to one townboard meeting.

We are looking toward linking up with another Citizens Committee composed of around 100 small farmers that spontaneously emerged in a nearby township. They are fighting against an amusement park some large developers want to put in. In addition, we are trying to make our struggle pay off with an increased NAM membership that we desperately need. Five people have come very close to NAM as a result of the struggle so far. Finally, we are looking toward a strategic moment when we can get out an independent NAM leaflet on taxes, corporations, and socialism.

OTHER WORK

Once our membership increases we hope to continue our work with the UFW, to begin work on building campus NAM chapters at two junior colleges in our area through impeachment work or possibly socialist study groups), and to reinstate our poster campaign in multi-racial working class and factory districts in Elgin, Illinois.

We have done some strike support work with workers in the IBEW who are striking a large electrical plant over a multi-year contract, wage increases, and a decreased profit-sharing plan.

Dear Editors,

At the last meeting, it was suggested that Austin NAM might produce a tabloid newspaper on the "energy crisis." The energy crisis could, however, turn out to be a rather restrictive subject. Another possibility for a topic might be something like "environmental problems from a socialist perspective."

The "energy crisis" may be the most weighty subdivision of "environmental problems" to deal with at this time. However, the more general conception of the paper's subject matter would give more flexibility in specific topics (such as pesticides, heavy metal pollution, etc.) Articles on the food industry and the housing industry (the lumber shortage and poor insulation causing fuel waste) would also be appropriate in such a paper. This general conception would also make it more reasonable to include theoretical articles and book reviews on the socialist view of "man and nature" and so on. Such books as Barry Weisberg's *Beyond Repaid: The Ecology of Capitalism* have touched on this subject, but there are no popular periodicals that deal with it regularly.

Austin NAM could set out to produce such a paper. However, it seems that a number of other NAM chapters are also quite interested in the "energy crisis" as indicated by the Task Force meeting called for January and the NAM newspaper article by a Berkeley member. Another NAM chapter may have more resources to produce such a paper (such as members with scientific experience, strong local ecology organizations, etc.)

In other parts of the country, the opportunity to produce an environmental paper in coalition with other socialist organizations might even present itself. It is important that NAM move towards producing an environmental paper, but it is not crucial that Austin NAM take on this project. Some communication with other chapters seems called for here.

Progress towards getting a paper started might include producing articles for the NAM paper, the *Rag*, etc. Possible divisions of labor might be based on different fuels, such as oil, gas, coal, nuclear, solar, hydroelectric, etc. Another possible division might look at the different problems encountered in the energy crisis, such as relative amounts of pollution, fuel scarcity and allocation problems, the need for new energy sources and scientific research, the problem of nationalization of industry (problems with TVA, nationalizations in Britain, etc.) Several unions which are closely related to the energy crisis (and have seen recent opposition activity from the ranks) are the United Mine Workers, the United Auto Workers, and the Teamsters. Of great importance for Texas socialists is the Oil-Chemical and Atomic Workers. Any group which advocates "workers' self management" of energy industries must eventually gain influence with these workers.

Comradely,
Dave Moore
Austin NAM

...

Dear Friends,

The December, 1973, issue of NAM is great!

I particularly liked the review of Galbraith's new book, "Economics and the Public Purpose," and the article, "Why Socialists Should Work for Impeachment" by Eli Zaretsky.

Zaretsky's article said a number of things that need saying and emphasis. Democratic socialists must indeed participate in mass, popular, democratic movements, but we must do so critically, and use the occasion to "make explicit the latent content" of such movements, by relating the problem to capitalism as cause.

I was especially pleased to note that Zaretsky always used the term "capitalism" without the qualifying adjective "U. S." or "Amerikan." This is vital if we are to counteract "the popular understanding of socialism... a soulless, materialistic system, promising a higher standard of living, but unconcerned with democracy and individual freedom."

Keep up the good work!

Cordially,
Art Coulter
Chapel Hill, N. C.

...

Dear Newspaper Collective:

As a suggestion for a new name for the newspaper, how about *For Socialism*? In this particular context, there would be no more explicit way of identifying ourselves.

The major argument made against using the word "socialism" in our self-description is that it is "ambiguous," confusing. My feeling, however, is that the concept of socialism is already far more than "ambiguous" alone: it is distorted and debased in the popular consciousness. It is thus precisely our task to combat bourgeois mystification of the idea of socialist politics and clarify its role as the logical expression of working class needs. If we are perpetually afraid to talk about socialism, how can we possibly achieve the mass socialist consciousness necessary for a democratic revolution? In the political perspective NAM calls for a socialist revolution based on the self-conscious participation of working people. Without an explicitly socialist perspective informing all arenas of our activity, I don't see how we can contribute significantly to this process. Let's call things by their proper names! It is up to us to clarify the meaning of socialism.

I realize that this proposal to a certain extent anticipates the decision to be made about our name (NAM for Socialism?) which we tabled at DeKalb. For that reason, if people think the issue is important enough, it might be wise to place discussion of the newspaper's name on the agenda of the National Council meeting. On the other hand, if a name change is not felt to be urgent, consider this a contribution to a longer-range discussion.

Yours for socialism,
David Smith
ELF/NAM

NAM CHAPTERS & PRE-CHAPTERS

NAM chapters are numbered; pre-chapters are starred

- | | | | |
|--|---|---|--|
| 1) Amherst NAM
Box 1329, St. No. 2
Amherst, MA 01002 | 11) Pittsburgh NAM
P. O. Box 8224
Pittsburgh, PA 15217 | 22) Hocking Valley NAM
c/o Morningstar Books
44 N. Court Street
Athens, OH 45701 | 34) Austin NAM
P. O. Box 7265
University Station
Austin, TX 78712 |
| 2) Radcliffe-Harvard NAM
c/o Dan Goldstein
12 Upland Road
Cambridge, MA 02140 | 12) Philadelphia NAM
c/o Schuldenfrei
4107 Chester Avenue
Philadelphia, PA 19104 | 23) Bloomington NAM
c/o Knecht
1130 W. 6th Street
Bloomington, IN 47501 | 35) Boulder NAM
2653 Spruce Street
Boulder, CO 80302 |
| 3) Middlesex NAM
Box 443
Somerville, MA 02144 | 13) Bread and Roses NAM
1734 20th Street NW
Washington, DC 10009 | 24) Iowa City NAM
509 Davenport
Iowa City, IA 52240 | 36) Los Angeles NAM
P. O. Box 24521
Los Angeles, CA 90024 |
| 4) Boston Area NAM
Rm. 308, Heller School
Brandeis University
Waltham, MA 02154 | 14) C. P. Gilman NAM
920 Dacian Ave., Apt. 7
Durham, NC 27701 | 25) Minneapolis NAM
2421 E. Franklin Avenue
Minneapolis, MN 55406 | 37) San Francisco NAM
388 Sanchez Street
San Francisco, CA 94114 |
| 5) New York NAM No. 1
c/o Blau
306 W. 93rd Street
New York, NY 10024 | 15) Margaret Sanger NAM
c/o Rose
Rt. 2, Box 491
Durham, NC 27705 | 26) Nicollet Avenue NAM
Rm. 4, 1502 Nicollet Ave.
Minneapolis, MN | 38) Berkeley NAM
2022 Blake Street
Berkeley, CA 94704 |
| 6) New York NAM No. 2
42 West 65th Street
New York, NY 10023 | 16) Asheville NAM
P. O. Box 8486
Asheville, NC 28804 | 27) DeKalb NAM
839 N. 11th Street
DeKalb, IL 60115 | 39) ELF NAM
305 Eschleman Hall
University of California
Berkeley, CA 94720 |
| 7) Queens College NAM &
NAM Women's Chapter
c/o Welch
674 W. 161st Street, No. 4C
New York, NY 10032 | 17) Knoxville NAM
310 16th Street
Knoxville, TN 37916 | 28) Fox River Valley NAM
506 Barrington
Dundee, IL 60118 | 40) Chico NAM
c/o Reed
716 Oaklawn
Chico, CA 95926 |
| 8) Interboro NAM
c/o Freeman
142-24 38th Ave., Apt. 511
Flushing, NY 11354 | 18) Morehead NAM
c/o Lewis
433 Water Avenue
Morehead, KY 40351 | 29) Chicago NAM No. 1
c/o Tulley
1908 So. Halsted
Chicago, IL 60608 | 41) Reed NAM
c/o Ratliff
Box 867, Reed College
Portland, OR 97202 |
| 9) Queens NAM
Box 117
Kew Gardens, NY 11415 | 19) Lexington NAM
1625 Nicholasville Rd.
Lexington, KY 40503 | 30) Macomb NAM
c/o Gladys
Newman Center
314 N. Ward
Macomb, IL 61455 | * Germantown NAM
5108 Newhall Street
Philadelphia, PA 19144 |
| 10) Binghamton NAM
c/o Sklar
159 Oak Street
Binghamton, NY 13905 | 20) Cleveland NAM
1816 Chapman Avenue
East Cleveland, OH 44112 | 31) Lawrence NAM
c/o Kershenbaum
1304-1/2 Tennessee
Lawrence, KA 66044 | * Normal NAM
c/o Palmer
Bellermin Building
502 So. Main St.
Normal, IL 67761 |
| | 21) Mad River NAM
810 Ferndale
Dayton, OH 45406 | 32) New Orleans NAM
P. O. Box 2647
New Orleans, LA 70176 | * Chicago NAM No. 2
c/o Upton
659 W. Armitage
Chicago, IL 60614 |
| | | 33) Norman NAM
Box 2370
Norman, OK. 73069 | |



Oil

(Continued from Page 1)

the American Dream into a shambles. At one time, the major oil companies were content to let service station owners eke out a living in over 200,000 retail gas stations. It was never much of a living, though--during the sixties between 37 and 40 percent of all gas stations changed owners each year. The average annual profit for gas stations in the mid-sixties was something like \$3,000 a year, though most owners would work a sixty or seventy-hour week.

The oil companies kept the profit margin for retailers at a rock bottom level. Because there were always people desperate to be free of the direct supervision of a boss, they had no trouble getting men to do their dirty work. No wonder a lot of these guys turn cynical and try to overcharge for car repairs.

Now gas station owners face even more difficulties. While their profit margin per gallon is the same or even much less, they are allocated less gasoline than in previous years. Independent stations have often been unable to get any gasoline and "voluntary" Sunday closings have cut into total sales. The results are predictable--gas stations have been going out of business at a rapid rate--five percent (10,000) closed during 1973. An estimated 40,000 to 60,000 more will be forced to shut down in the next two years according to market specialists. Things have gotten so bad that there is nobody willing to buy up unprofitable stations.

All of this fits with the game plan of the oil companies who would like to see half the total number of gas stations. Harry Bade, Jr., Marketing Vice-President for Mobil, has said that "if every other station were eliminated, the remaining stations would benefit. This would mean cutting all of the independent stations and decreasing competition among the major firms."

Already there are indications of market sharing arrangements to regulate competition. The executive secretary of the Oregon Gasoline Dealers Assn. reports that, "Any company that fails to obtain a five or six-percent share of local gas sales must pull out and return to its home territory." Gulf Oil has just closed 3,500 stations in the upper Midwest and Pacific Northwest; Amoco has pulled out of Oregon; Sun Oil has left Chicago, while ARCO has moved out of the Southwest.

The next step--underway in some places--is for the big companies to take direct control over the more profitable independent stations. This is the wave of the future. Once competition at the retail level has been reduced drastically, they will let the profit margin at the retail station move up while taking over more stations for direct company management.

All of this makes the service station owner an endangered species and the owners have been struggling hard to protect their livelihoods. In September, when the Supreme Court upheld a ruling maintaining retail prices at January 1973 levels, the dealers organized gas station shutdowns around the country. The Nixon Administration has been forced to make concessions to the dealers--allowing them to pass some of the wholesale price increases on to the consumers. But victories won only at the expense of consumers are likely to be temporary. The public's hostility is often focused on the dealer, playing into the divide and rule strategy of the oil companies. But the growing realization among dealers that the big companies have been systematically exploiting them might open the way for alliances

between them and other sections of the public against the oil companies.

MILITANT TRUCKERS

One logical ally of the service station dealers are the independent truckers. Like the dealers, they have been struggling to survive in an industry that is increasingly dominated by giant firms. Concentration in the trucking industry has created powerful firms while many non-trucking firms have created huge private fleets to move their own goods. Competing against these giants and against a lot of other independents isn't easy and the failure rate is very high. But, as with gas station dealerships, there has in the past always been someone else willing to buy the rig and try to make a go of it.

But now things are changing with higher diesel prices and lower speed limits cutting into the independent trucker's already thin profit margin. The cost of trucking rigs has been going up (\$26,000 for a tractor, \$5 to \$10 thousand for a trailer), and outrageously high interest rates are making it harder to keep up the payments. As with the gas station dealers, government price controls put much more of a squeeze on the independent driver than on the big trucking firms. The independents are prohibited by government controls from passing most of their increased costs on to their customers. But even when they can increase their freight sales, they risk losing business to the big firms that have the information and sales networks to move large quantities of goods over large areas.

Because higher fuel prices and lower speed limits have directly attacked an already precarious livelihood, the independent truckers have responded to the energy crisis with extraordinary militancy. They have used highway blockades, marches on Washington, and general work stoppages to protest escalating fuel prices and to force the government to

Mid East

(Continued from Page 1)

Party coalition headed by Golda Meir. Labor promised the voter nothing, but relied on the implication that the main opposition--the right-wing Likud coalition--was set on a course which would isolate Israel internationally. Golda Meir campaigned with pictures of herself and Richard Nixon, while charging Likud with a policy of adventurism which would endanger this alliance.

When the votes were in, Labor polled only about 40 percent of the popular vote and earned 51 of 120 parliamentary seats under the terms of Israel's complex system of proportional representation. The right increased its share of the popular vote by only one or two percent, but gained six more seats in parliament for a total of 38. Half the remaining seats are held by religious parties, and the rest are scattered among several very small parties.

Thus, the results suggest a definite rightward shift without a full-scale repudiation of the party which is most closely linked to the U. S. Although there was much general alarm in the Israel population about the government's defense policies, strong support for the right in the election came from two groups in particular, the 200,000 mobilized reserve soldiers and the 100,000 Soviet Jews who have emigrated to Israel since the last election.

Likud dominated the municipal elections in Tel Aviv, and for the first time in its history, the city's mayor is from the right rather than Labor. Traditionally moderate Israeli Arab voters in Nazareth likewise dumped the pro-government Arab list and elected a communist mayor from the anti-Zionist, pro-Soviet Rakah party.

THE GENEVA CONFERENCE

The big question for 1974 is whether Golda Meir will be able to hold

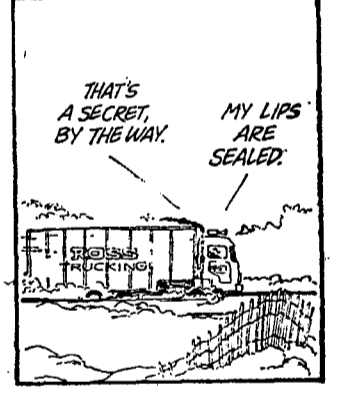
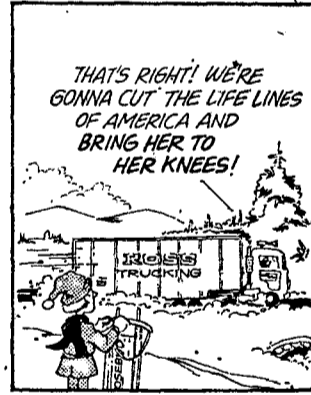
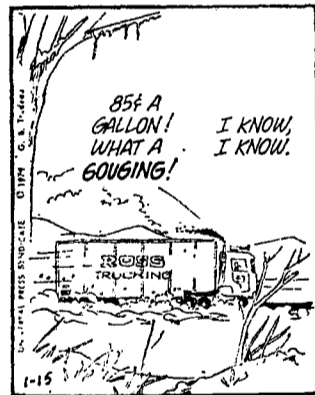
together a coalition government through the Geneva peace talks where the super-powers hope to effect a compromise acceptable to their Mideast allies. The right wing will be outside the ruling coalition, but in a strong parliamentary position to oppose any return of Arab territories conquered by Israel. Neither the secular nor religious elements in the coalition with Labor are expected to balk at concessions to Egypt. Moscow and Washington perhaps also have closest agreement on this front--provided a reopened Suez Canal will allow equal access for Israeli shipping. The issue which could end the Geneva talks and break the governing coalition in Tel Aviv concerns territorial concessions on the west bank of the Jordan River.

A great deal has changed since Israel conquered this area from Jordan in 1967. Neither Jordan nor Israel could survive without massive American support, and, not surprisingly, Jordan's King Hussein came closest of any Arab head of state to recognizing Israel in the last seven years. But the National Religious Party--a key element in past, present, and future coalition governments in Israel--has always lobbied strongly for colonization of the West Bank in order to expand the Jewish state to their reading of biblical borders. The party now holds eleven seats, and it has vowed to quit any government which agreed to concessions on the West Bank. If the National Religious Party formed an alliance with the right wing, the two parties would have only two less parliamentary seats than Labor.

Finally, there is now some question as to whether Israel could return the West Bank to Jordan, since the Arab summit conference recognized the Palestine Liberation Organization as the sole legitimate representative of the majority of the inhabitants of that region. If this issue brings an impasse at Geneva, the impasse would in turn probably topple Golda Meir's government back in Israel, and in those circumstances a further electoral drift rightward would be almost inevitable.

DOONESBURY

By TRUDEAU



prevent them from being victimized. Another major work stoppage was planned for the end of January. Some independents have threatened to park their trucks permanently if there is no relief soon.

The independent truckers have had a complicated relationship with unionized truckers in the past. At times, employers have used the independents to avoid unionization of their drivers--similar to the big oil companies using independent dealers to prevent the unionization of gas station employees. But now the independent truckers' militancy is sending shock waves through the Teamsters Union. The Teamsters top leadership, particularly Frank Fitzsimmons--has been closely tied to the Nixon Administration. So closely, in fact, that Fitzsimmons seems to fear that he might go to jail if Nixon is forced out of the Presidency. He has been careful to give Nixon as much support as possible and to keep others from rocking the boat.

When independent drivers began their highway blockades, Fitzsimmons denied any unionized drivers were involved. But union drivers were involved because the energy crisis was hurting them as well, and the independents were doing something about it--

unlike the Teamsters Union. When Jimmy Hoffa--Fitzsimmons' rival for control of the Teamsters--supported the independent drivers' militant actions, Fitzsimmons began to worry about his own re-election as union president. His first move was to beg his friends in the Nixon Administration for relief, but then he was forced to call for a reopening of the Teamsters contract. Since the start of wage and price controls, many unions, including the teamsters, have included provisions in their contracts that give them the right to reopen contracts "if any government administrative policy or order affects negotiated contract terms." The Teamsters were the first to invoke this clause--because of the impact of lower speed limits--but other unions might now follow suit. 1974, which was supposed to be a year of relative labor peace, may now be transformed into a year when many major contracts are renegotiated as unions are forced to defend their members from the combined effects of inflation and the energy crisis. Some 5.2 million workers are covered by contracts which expire in 1974 or which have contract reopening clauses.

The militancy of the independent truck drivers has clearly contributed to

the reopening of the Teamsters' and possibly other union contracts. It is possible that the militancy of gas station dealers and of independent truck drivers--groups on the edge of the working class--will inspire a revival of militancy among workers against efforts by the government and corporations to impose economic austerity, under the cover of a manipulated energy crisis.

NEWSPAPER COLLECTIVE

Laurie Gitlin
Dan Marschall
Jean Nute
James Weinstein

****We encourage chapters and individuals to send articles (500 to 1,000 words), reviews, and letters. The deadline for each issue is the 15th of the month.**

Any suggestions for a new name for the paper?