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Unified Left Tries for French Presidency

by Andrew Feenberg

THE LARGEST socialist electoral coalition in the world has gone to the polls in France. The first round of balloting on May 5 gave Francois Mitterrand of the United Left 43% of the total vote, over 10 points ahead of his nearest conservative rival. The latest opinion poll (May 10) gives Mitterrand 51% of the vote, 2 points ahead of Giscard D'Estaing. Whatever the outcome of the May 19 runoff election, the alliance of communists and socialists which backs Mitterrand will now enter the social and economic arena with tremendous self-confidence and aggressiveness. In the next legislative elections, the coalition will compete from a new position of strength.

What would a left government do in France? The "Common Program" of the French left presents many of the ideas that would guide a socialist regime.

The Common Program of Government of the Communist and Socialist Parties defines a transitional regime for France. Its provisions (see box) are starting points, not goals in the struggle for socialism. Both communists and socialists hope that from such beginnings an egalitarian and democratic society based on common ownership can eventually grow.

The Common Program is the king pin in a strategy of "anti-monopoly alliance." Its authors believe that monopoly capitalism is losing the ability to organize the votes of the petty bourgeoisie, the peasantry, and middle level employees. These



groups can now form a block with the working class to elect socialist leaders for the nation. The Common Program courts all those voters whose "hearts" are on the left even if their pocketbooks are on the right. The left partners believe that a moderate stance can bring them to power and place them in a position to move the whole country gradually toward socialism.

The new left-wing offensive in France is a response to the volatile mood of the country every since the May Events of 1968. The Events provoked a crisis of the Gaullist regime from which it never recovered. The defeat of the Gaullist candidate, Chaban Delmas, in the recent elections is only the latest in a long line of difficulties and defeats over the last six years.

Scandals have discredited the ruling party again and again since 1968. Increasingly aggressive strikes by workers, culminating in the strike at the Lip watch factory, have challenged its authority. The middle strata—teachers, government employees, even business executives—have become more and more radical. A recent strike by bank employees surprised the nation by its militancy. The student agitation begun in 1968 has continued in various forms, reaching a peak in high school demonstrations against the draft. The Common program is supposed to capture and represent all these various discontents and join them to traditional working class demands.

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Portuguese Coup Shakes Europe, Africa

by Jim Mellen

WHEN THE FASCIST government of Europe's oldest colonial power fell in late April, it sent out shock waves that will be felt on two continents for some time to come. The sudden coup of young, disgruntled military men, committed to a restoration of democracy will undoubtedly alter the social fabric of Portugal itself and its fascist neighbor Spain. The effects will be felt equally strongly in Africa.

The new ruling junta has abolished press censorship, extended civil liberties, and freed hundreds of political prisoners in Portugal and the three Portuguese African colonies—Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, and Angola. The Socialist and Communist Parties of Portugal have returned from exile and underground.

General Antonio de Spínola, who leads the junta, did not himself lead the coup. Spínola, who had criticized Portugal's military opposition to revolutionary forces in the colonies in his book, *Portugal and the Future*, agreed to head the government only after a conspiracy of 60-70 young officers succeeded in overthrowing the old government. These lesser officers issued the initial pronouncements granting the new freedoms. The immediate cause of the coup was the subject of Spínola's book—the draining military commitment to the prolonged wars in the colonies. The junta's and Spínola's basic program is to seek a political solution, rather than a military one in Africa. It is for this reason that the news of the coup received bigger headlines in South Africa than did the South African parliamentary elections, held on the same day. The future of all Southern Africa will be much influenced by the turn of events in Lisbon.

A political settlement with the revolutionary forces could totally isolate the white supremacist, minority governments of Rhodesia and South Africa. Should a more sympathetic government be established in neighboring Mozambique, African insurgents in those white-dominated countries, who were formerly limited to operations from distant Tanzania and Zambia, would be able to strike directly into the Transvaal of South Africa where the greatest concentration of wealth and industry in Africa is located.

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Labor & Politics: Dick's Last Trick

by Nick Rabkin
Berkeley NAM

WITH THE PUBLICATION of the edited transcripts of his Watergate-related conversations, Richard Nixon's power has reached an all time low. The last few weeks have seen the steady defection of ranking members of the Republican Party, once stalwart defenders of Nixon's "integrity" and the sanctity of the presidential office.

But the Watergate controversy and Nixon's new economic and political strategies has also led to the defection of big labor—a defection far more damaging to the Republican Party in the long run.

The greatest achievement of Nixon's 1972 election campaign strategy was its success at peeling away the support of organized labor from the Democratic Party. It was a success that endeared him to the ranks of the GOP, especially since his first administration had begun an attack on the labor movement, primarily through wage controls.

Nixon employed three tactics in his effort to divide organized labor from its

"old friend." First, he stirred fears among white, male workers that the protest movements of the '60s—civil rights, women's liberation, and anti-war—were out to steal their meager privileges. Second, Nixon granted special favors to the most conservative unions, the Teamsters and the Building Trades. And third, through a program of spying and sabotage, he ensured the nomination of the Democratic candidate least favored by big labor, George McGovern. The Democrat most supported by organized labor, Ed Muskie, was defeated with the same tactics.

His strategy was a success. George Meany and the AFL-CIO refused to support McGovern in the 1972 campaign. For the first time since Roosevelt, the labor movement failed to oppose the presidential candidacy of the Republican nominee.

"BIG MISTAKE"

The AFL-CIO now refers to the 1972 campaign as its "big mistake." Nixon's global strategy for reconstituting

America's commanding position in the world political economy is being paid for by American workers today. The AFL-CIO's Council on Political Education (COPE) has pointed to Nixon's vetoes of bills to create jobs, raise the minimum wage, and for vital social services. Labor mounted a vigorous campaign to make sure that wage and price controls would not be renewed when they expired on April 30th.

They are particularly concerned with the developing trends in employment. Auto Workers President, Leonard Woodcock, warned that potentially "catastrophic" unemployment may be ahead. Job loss in some areas of the auto industry, he said, is "worse now than it has been at any time since the depression." The AFL-CIO computes the net loss of jobs from 1966 to 1971 at 260,000.

Labor's response to the situation has been to begin a process of repoliticization on a scale not seen since the 1930s.

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Israeli Politics: Splitting Coalitions

by Fred Lowe and Susanne Roff Lowe

(This is the second of a series of articles by the Lowes designed to offer a comprehensive socialist analysis of the complicated situation in the Mid-East.)

THE RESIGNATION of Prime Minister Golda Meir and the rise of Yitzhak Rabin has been characterized by the American media as a victory of Israeli "doves" over "hawks." To fully understand the significance of the recent events in Israel, though, we must cut through the facile talk of hawks and doves to the real basis of the changes: the national struggle between Israel and the Arabs and the class struggle in Israel itself.

returning the rest to Egypt. They encourage Jewish settlement of the occupied territories—a process which, of course, has already begun under Defense Minister Dayan—and the complete political, social, and economic domination of Arabs there.

Menachem Begin, the present Likud leader, is the man who was responsible for the Deir Yassin massacre of 1948 in his capacity as chief of the Irgun. Today Begin still can't see Palestinians except as second-class residents of the Jewish state. He recently attacked Golda Meir for mentioning the word "Palestinian." "No wonder," he claimed, "the whole world now believes there is a Palestinian nation." (For her part Meir is not much better. She once asked, "The Palestinians? Who are they?")



RABIN

trate the economic blockade against them by opening enterprises, small and medium, in the large cities. HERUT attracts them by arguing for an end to the tyranny of Israel's "socialist bureaucratic despots."

The other faction of the Likud is the Liberal Party, which draws its support from Israel's haute bourgeoisie: the class of new millionaires.

SPLITS IN LABOR

The ruling labor coalition of Meir, Dayan, Sapir, and Rabin, its new leader, is deeply split over the best approach to the occupied territories. The so-called "doves," led by Finance Minister Sapir, see a deep threat to the "Jewishness" of the Israeli state in the occupied territories. To Sapir, the "demographic nightmare," the potential of an Arab majority within Israeli borders, is the main problem. Ex-labor chief Ben Aharon has expressed a similar concern: "The flood of Palestinian Arab workers will submerge the special historical role of the Jewish proletariat in Israel."

His feelings date back to the early years of Jewish settlement in Palestine, when only exclusionist hiring policies could insure jobs for the flow of Jewish immigrants. It was these Jewish workers who laid the foundation of the Israeli state and who today are the backbone of the labor coalition. They share a philosophy of racist exclusivism once expressed by Levi Eshkol: "The dowry is gorgeous, but the bride is so homely."

The labor movement and its political expression, then, are best understood to be the party of privilege in Israel. Labor leadership and Israel's socialist parties within the last decade have preferred to develop the profit margins of "public" industries within the market economy—and themselves as a labor aristocracy—rather than work for the "industrial democracy and planning that were supposed to serve as a base for a more classless society and more distributed social benefits."

The "socialist dove," Finance Minister Sapir, recent kingmaker in the Rabin selection as Prime Minister, has played "sugar daddy" to both private and public corporations. He has painstakingly cultivated Israel's big bourgeoisie and particularly Jewish investors from abroad.

Rabin's path will not deviate from bringing Israel deep into the world of international capitalism. Indeed, Rabin, who is not of the founding generation, does not share the prejudices that Meir's early socialist formation had against capitalism.

ALLON PLAN

On the question of the occupied territories, Rabin prefers a compromise between strict exclusionism and the territorialism of Dayan, who many speculate may leave the coalition to join forces with the Likud. He backs the Allon plan, which the *Jewish Chronicle* says offers "an ideal way out of the dilemma of retaining strategic advantages without embracing the possibility of an Arab majority within the next twenty years."

The Allon plan proposes that the June, 1967, ceasefire line be maintained as Israel's eastern border—a concession to the territorialists. Behind this line and a 15-kilometer-wide Israeli corridor, an Arab enclave would be established on the West Bank. The Arab enclave, so defined, would receive the refugees living in the regions to be annexed by Israel—a concession to the advocates of a demographic majority. This plan would make the enclave one of the most densely populated areas in the world with a population of 800,000 people within little more than 1,000 square miles (half of the present West Bank.)

U. S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger favors a modification of the Allon plan which he would introduce a Palestinian "mini-state." Such a state would remain linked to Israel for its economic survival. It is highly unlikely that it could ever become a Palestinian Hanoi since Israel could police it adequately and seal its borders from every side. On the diplomatic front Kissinger could then hail it as the creation of a Palestinian national entity which fulfills the national rights of the Palestinian people to statehood.

A case can be built that Rabin, who cannot rule without the support of both Dayan's faction and the Sapir faction of labor, will eventually head in the direction of proposing some Palestinian entity along the lines of the Allon plan.

Thus, it appears that Rabin's nomination, within this unstable context, is not part of a struggle between "hawks" and "doves" but rather one between "vultures" and "hawks." That the heroic kibbutzim and Borochovists of the early 20th century have reached such a sad state of affairs is the inevitable outcome of the colonial-settler reality of Israeli society, and its inevitable relationship with imperialism. A genuine left cannot emerge in Israel without overcoming the national chauvinism of the Israeli state and integrating the struggle of the Palestinians into its program. ■



"Well, we got the fighting stopped on the FRONT... however..."

TWO COALITIONS

In the last election two main blocks emerged: the labor alignment (MAPAI, MAPAM, and RAFI), and the Likud (HERUT, the Liberal Party). The labor alignment won 51 seats to the Likud's 39. Though it remained a minority coalition, the Likud picked up enough new seats to make the formation of a stable labor government impossible without the establishment of a new coalition. It is the Likud that has been characterized as the "hawks" by the American press.

The Likud favors what has been referred to as the "territorialist" approach with regard to Arabs and Arab lands. They are in basic accord with the Dayan faction (RAFI) of the labor coalition on this question. As expressed in the "Galili Document," the territorialists favor a plan for containing the Palestinians in occupied territories through military and police means.

The Likud stands firmly against the return of the West Bank, Gaza, and the part of the Golan that was occupied during the 1967 war. In regard to the Sinai, they favor keeping half of it and

Domestically, Likud favors capitalist relations in the economy and the disintegration of the power of labor institutions. They seek to free a huge Arab labor force for capitalist exploitation. Already some 80,000 Arab workers from the West Bank and Gaza work in Israel. They are concentrated in the most menial and poorly paid jobs, earning only about 40% of the wages of the average Israeli worker.

The HERUT faction of the Likud dates back to the pre-independence days, when they were organized as the Irgun, one of the main underground anti-British terrorist groups. Ideologically the HERUT has stood for the continuous vilification of Labor Zionism. HERUT's social and economic theory has repudiated working class solidarity. ("Jewish nationalism cannot afford the luxury of class struggle.") Its populist tendencies—an advocacy of petit bourgeois egalitarianism, and suspicion of big capital—have led to its support by Sephardic (Asian and African) Jews who have been discriminated against by the European-controlled labor movement. These Sephardic Jews have tried to pene-



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.

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The Roots of the Energy Crisis

by Patty Lee Parmalee
Los Angeles NAM

THE OIL COMPANIES have justified the near doubling of prices to consumers with the standard argument of supply and demand. There's too little oil reserves and people are using too much. And, of course, the companies have to leave the price up so they can make the profits necessary to invest in increasing the supply.

Within the U. S., there are 20 to 40 years' worth of *proved reserves*—oil that won't cost any new investment to get out of the ground. There is enough *oil in*

place (tapped but not yet in production) for twice that. Figures for foreign oil are double the domestic figures and vast deposits are being discovered all the time.

There were no oil shortages for the oil companies this winter, only for the consumer. What real dip in reserves the companies may point to resulted not from the Arab embargo, but from deliberate policies by the oil companies. Exploratory drilling in the U. S. fell steadily from 208 million feet in 1956 to 36 million feet in 1972. Domestic crude production peaked in 1970 and has been falling ever since. The Texas

Railroad Commission has restricted output to maintain high prices. Government tax programs have encouraged export of U. S. oil capital. Oil companies have deliberately cut back building of new refineries and underutilized existing refinery capacity.

As for demand, it is true that it has approximately doubled in the U. S. in the last 20 years. However, that isn't very large and it is leveling off. The real demand increase comes from other industrialized countries: in that time, Japan's demand has risen by 25, W. Germany's by 15, and even Italy's by 10. While oil companies urge saving gas in the U. S., they are advertising abroad to increase consumption. They sell twice as much abroad as they do at home, simply because prices are higher there. Another big purchaser is the Department of Defense which sends nearly a million gallons of gasoline per day to South Vietnam and Cambodia.

Until recently, U. S. oil companies were content with the profits from extracting Mideast oil and selling it in Europe, and selling U. S. oil here under controlled prices (recently semi-controlled), but protected by the import quotas (recently abolished). The major oil companies, especially the children of Rockefeller's old Standard Oil Trust (Exxon, Mobil, and the Standards), in a sense ruled the world; they certainly ruled Congress and many small countries. Why did they decide to demand even higher profits

and even greater tax breaks at the risk of even greater public resentment?

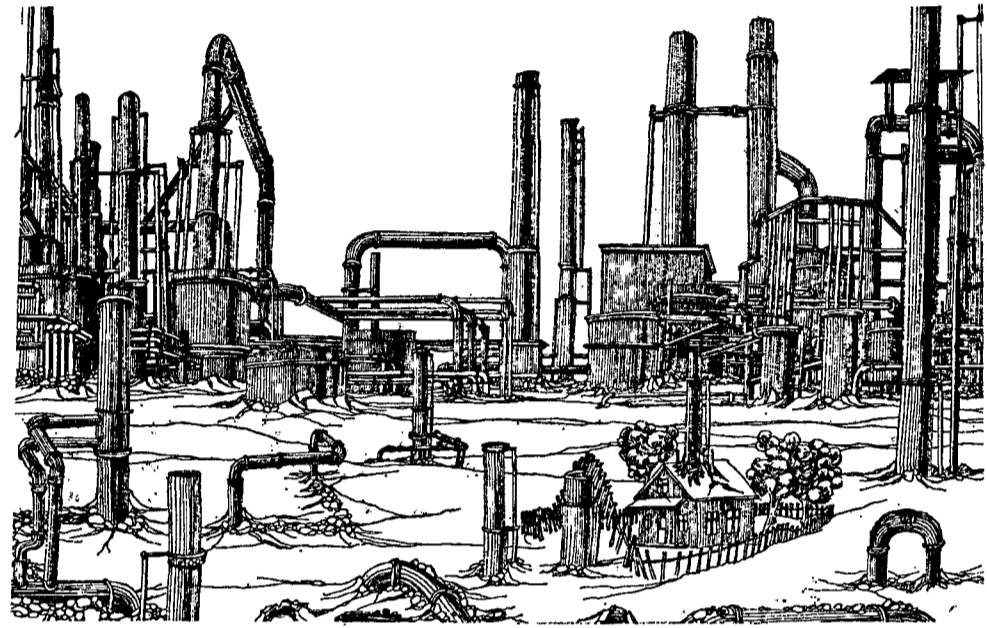
MONOPOLY POWER IN OIL

Their problem was not high demand and low supply, but low prices and high costs. The "crisis" for the oil companies consists of growing competition between capitalists and the retaliation of exploited countries. These factors have combined to reduce the superprofits formerly gained by U. S. companies in the Mideast, a development which they have apparently anticipated for several years. Their solution is: 1) simply to push larger profits "downstream" by raising gasoline prices to consumers and squeezing out independent distributors, and 2) to reduce their dependence on the sources of crude oil rapidly being nationalized by producer countries, while using their political clout and their enormous profits to open new sources of oil and other energy at home.

To understand how competition works in the monopolized oil industry we need to look at its structure. The world market is dominated by the "seven sisters" or "majors": Exxon, Texaco, Gulf, Mobil, Standard of California, British Petroleum (all British), Royal Dutch Shell (British and Dutch), plus a state-owned French Company, CFP. Their power is due to their involvement

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The 'Blackening' of Urban America

by Ed Greer
Amherst NAM

WHEN THE FIRST Black mayors were elected several years ago, there was much discussion about the import of the coming epoch of "Black power." As each new group enters office, a brief flurry of interest revives. But in the absence of earthshaking consequences to this transition, political attention rapidly fades.

A close examination, however, enables us to say with assurance that an irreversible and historic shift is under way in urban America: the blackening of municipal power.

My own estimate is that within a decade a full third of American Blacks will live in cities with Black administrations. As a result, these administrations will tend to become the focal point for the entire Black liberation movement.

Black administrations will head the majority of the country's ten largest cities; by any measure this represents substantial political power. And if cities like New York and Houston follow the lead of Los Angeles and choose Black mayors when Blacks form a minority of the population, the power base of urban Black power will be even greater.

Urban economic problems are most severe among the older industrial cities in which Blacks are now gaining prominence. Since the end of the Korean war these cities have experienced a massive loss of manufacturing jobs, and more recently commercial employment as well. For instance, between 1960 and 1970 Detroit lost a full quarter of all its jobs. Along with this loss of employment has come a decline in the overall physical infrastructure of the city; the decline has been most marked in aging, deteriorating housing.

PERMANENT FISCAL CRISIS

These developments—along with suburbanization of the upper-income strata of the population—have led to a permanent *fiscal crisis*. Thus, even so affluent a city as Detroit (with the best paid Black community in the country) depends upon aid from the state and federal governments for a full third of its revenues.

The consequences are twofold: the inability of any central city government to provide the massive resources necessary for abolishing its "dark ghettos," and the ultimate subordination of even the most militant insurgents to the federal government and multinational corporations which provide major local sources of jobs and taxes.

In addition to these structural obstacles, the new Black mayors face a set of distinctive political problems. One of these problems is the intransigence of the retiring administrations, which takes different forms. Among these are the withdrawal of trained personnel necessary to maintain public services, sabotage by the career bureaucracy of new programs instituted by the reforming mayors, and police backlash.

My experience in Gary, Indiana, suggests that the incidence of killings of Black ghetto dwellers actually increases as the police attempt to preserve their public authority in the face of what they perceive as a severe threat to their autonomy from "Black power." On the other hand, civil service regulations originating in the state legislature fatally compromise any efforts by the Black mayors to bring the police to heel.

The other main problem any new Black mayor faces is the threat of economic retaliation—a dire one in the face of the urban fiscal crisis—by the federal authorities and giant corporations. The former, simply by "bureaucratically" delaying grant applications, can effectively punish any mayor who steps too

far out of line. And the latter, by shifting production to factories in other locations (a relatively inexpensive maneuver) can similarly punish an administration which becomes too zealous in its efforts to more equitably reapportion local property taxes.

In the face of these obstacles the accomplishments of the handful of Black mayors have been small so far. Radical rhetoric has helped disguise the meagerness of their achievements, as has the redistribution of the traditional "spoils of office" so that the Black middle class obtains a substantial economic gain.

The mass of the Black population is not particularly helped. And a Black administration of this character soon becomes subject to corruption much as its white predecessors. Finally, such a politics does nothing to overcome the deep division between whites and Blacks: the white citizenry comes to see urban Black power as simply a redistribution of municipal benefits (such as garbage pickups and patronage jobs) away from them on the basis of race.

POSSIBLE NEW STRATEGY

A continuation of this course of politics spells the irrevocable disintegration



MAYOR COLEMAN YOUNG

of our central cities. But, as the numbers and political weight of Black administrations expand, so too does the possibility of an alternative Black urban strategy. Struggles for a fundamental reform of the police, mass rehabilitation of housing, and the local tax system become far more realistic when engaged in by a coalition of major cities. And as the Black Congressional Caucus indicates, nationally unified Black political action is quite feasible.

Such efforts, of course, cannot reach success simply as a result of city hall activities. Major urban social change requires independent grass-roots political activity. For instance, to force local banks to change their patterns of mortgage lending so as to make neighborhood rehabilitation practical requires the combined efforts of the majority of depositors: it cannot be done by administrative fiat. Nor can a poor neighborhood become a safe and decent place to live without the active participation of its inhabitants.

CHALLENGE OF THE CITIES

A DETERMINED Black mayor can serve as the catalyst and organizer of precisely such extra-parliamentary activities. Such a policy would be an advance over the civil rights movements of the fifties and sixties. Indeed, it is hardly an exaggeration to argue that this transformation of Black mayors from "neo-colonial administrators" into "tribunes of the people" is the historic challenge which faces them.

The prospect for a genuine interracial alliance is good, given the classwide character of urban issues (e.g., abolition of the property tax, pollution control, mass transit, etc.).

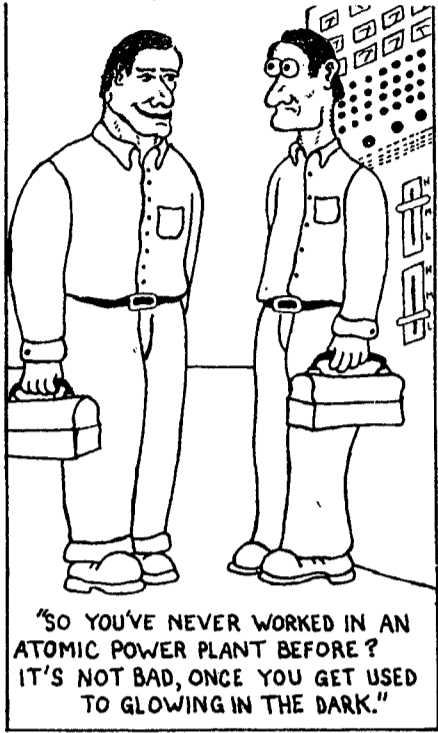
I would argue that a political development of this character would do more to revitalize American democracy and open the path to an overall structural transformation of society than anything else on the horizon. In this respect, the recent election of Mayor Coleman Young of Detroit—a man with a lifetime of experience in progressive interracial trade union struggles augurs well. In short, the "Blackening" of our central cities deserves our ardent support.

Alternative Energy Sources

Who Owns the Sun?

by Tim Nesbitt

AT A RECENT meeting on the energy crisis, the discussion turned to alternative sources of power. Should nuclear power be banned? Most of those



present said "No"—not when it offers the possibility of fusion and, of course, energy as limitless as oceans. What about the solar power? No vote was needed. Who could be against the sun?

FUSION OR FISSION?

Yet these choices are really not simple. Nuclear power, for instance, is a frightening alternative. Even if today's 43 reactors are a lot cleaner than the early "leakers," and even if they survive the AEC's numbers game on the possibility of catastrophe (one chance in every billion reactor-years), they are still disgorging tons of radioactive waste that must be kept from the environment for hundreds of thousands of years. Confronted with this problem, the AEC says, in effect: "Don't worry; we'll take care of it." Bureaucrats speak in terms of eons.

Still, many who dislike this nuclear mess see a light at the end of the tunnel. It's the flash of a hydrogen bomb, called fusion. Their reasons: 1) Once controlled, the fusion reaction will be cleaner, safer, and will produce far less radioactive waste than fission; and 2) since the reaction could work with isotopes of elements found abundantly in sea water, it promises the energy-limitless-as-oceans

we dream of. This is the hope. As for the reality, controlled power from fusion is theoretically possible. The rest remains to be proven.

Fission splits atoms. Fusion brings them together. Just to start a fusion reaction requires a big heat of some 72 million degrees Fahrenheit. In a hydrogen bomb this is achieved by first detonating one or more fission devices. A better method will obviously be needed for a controlled production of power.

The fusion reactor program confronts the basic problem of energy-in versus energy-out. Enough of a reaction must be sustained to produce more power than was first used to start it. And it must be controlled. At such high temperatures the fuel elements are in a "fourth state of matter" called plasma. So the problem is: how to keep the fuel from touching any liquid, gas, or solid (which causes a loss in heat), and at the same time keep it contained. Various government and university laboratories are working on the problem. (Even the General Atomic Corp., now jointly owned by Gulf Oil and Royal Dutch Shell, has a piece of the research action.)

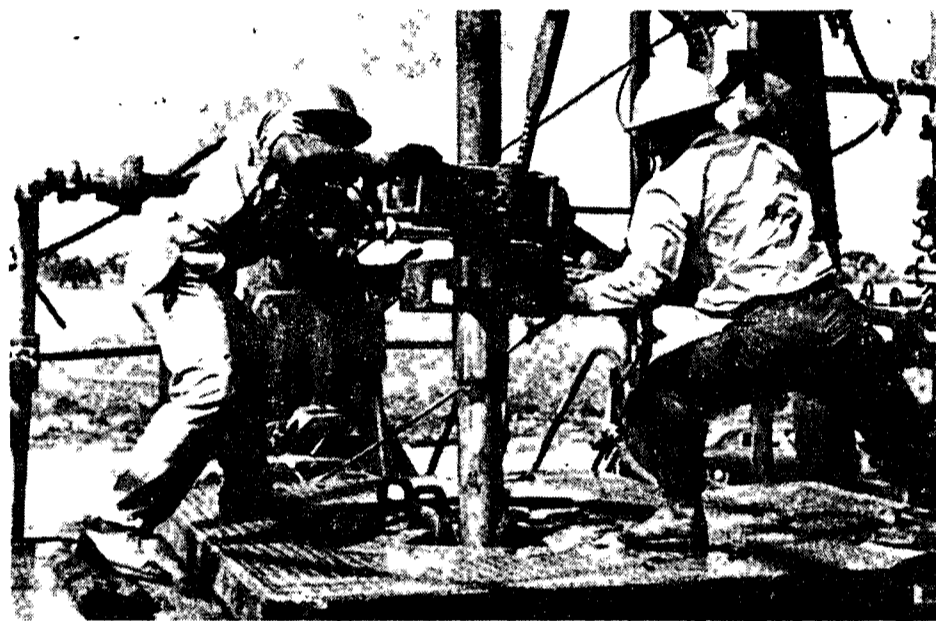
But so far none has been able to sustain a reaction beyond the break-even point.

The most likely fuel cycle in the first fusion reactor will be a combination of deuterium and tritium, which ignites at the lowest possible temperature. However, according to geologist M. King Hubbert, the world supply of recoverable tritium will last not eons but about 300 years. Furthermore, the tritium cycle will have to be hooked up to an old fashioned steam turbine and will produce some radioactive waste.

Federal expenditures for fusion research and development have quadrupled in the last five years. In fiscal 1976 \$168 million will be spent. However, it will be at least 1980 before the proof is in on fusion technology. A demonstration reactor would not be possible before the 1990's. And power from fusion will not light any lamps until sometime in the 21st century.

As Robert Engler wrote in *The Politics of Oil*: "Increased mastery over things... carries the potential of the increased control of the few over the

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Drilling for oil in Lake Maracaibo, Venezuela

The Roots of the Energy Crisis

(Continued from Page 3)

in all levels of the oil trade; they are "vertically integrated," while smaller companies are not.

Oil production is divided into five phases, some controlled by near-monopolies and some still highly competitive. A) Development and drilling are contracted out to many small companies. B) Production is monopolized: the eight majors pump 80% of all oil. C) Transporting has two phases: pipelines to port or refinery are owned by the monopolies, while shipping is competitive (though Exxon owns the most ships). D) Refining is a monopoly of the eight majors, who own 61% of refineries while most others are state-owned. E) Marketing is highly competitive but one effect of the energy scare has been to squeeze out a lot of the competition.

These eight companies do not compete. They form consortiums together, engage in many joint ventures, share equipment, bargain together with governments, lobby together, divide up markets internationally and domestically (a recently accelerating process), agree on prices, and among them control an incredible amount of wealth. A large proportion of this wealth came from Mideast production, which only cost an average of 10 cents a barrel to produce.

In the period of monopoly capital, competition between capitals actually increases in the form of mobility of capital. In the last eight years, some smaller companies have compiled the capital to buy into the world market. Now these international minors, especially Occidental, are wreaking havoc with the cartel-like agreements between the majors.

THE MIDEAST CHALLENGE

The first challenge to the oil companies' monopoly came from within the capitalist camp. In 1954 the Italian state-owned company ENI had requested permission to buy into 1% of the Anglo-Iranian oil consortium. Its members made a momentous mistake in rejecting the

request, for in 1957 ENI entered into a joint venture with the National Iranian Oil Company. This move gave Iran not only the standard 50% royalty, but also 50% ownership in all phases of produc-

tion. Other companies (including American ones) followed suit with other countries even though they were able to get only 25% of the profits. International oil has not been the same since. A third-world country gained a degree of control over its own resources and began to compete with its exploiters.

The "majors" second mistake was to unilaterally reduce the posted price of oil, and hence the royalties to producer countries. This was done because the world market price was falling due to overproduction (the far more frequent problem in oil than shortages) and to the resulting U. S. import controls of 1959. Later that year Venezuela, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Iraq, and Iran formed the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries which now has 12 members. During the sixties, OPEC kept the posted price at \$1.80 while the selling price dropped and forced oil companies to negotiate. By the seventies, OPEC was able to act as a true cooperative.

A third event that affected the balance of oil power was the 1969 coup in Libya that installed the nationalist government of Colonel Qaddafi. Independents like Occidental had become rich in vast discoveries in Libya; now Libya tried to raise their taxes. When they refused, Libya used a new weapon—restricting production. Occidental bowed to the pressure because it was largely dependent on Libya for its profits. Others who failed to show solidarity with Occidental were forced to agree to Libya's terms. The upshot was the Teheran agreements of 1971 when the official posted price was raised. Prices to Europe and Japan were raised even more and profits rose 25%.

Now more countries are nationalizing their oil, and others are demanding both individually and through OPEC 25% and sometimes 51% ownership in the consortiums that extract their oil. As a result, the "seven sisters" are forced to buy oil from countries who can compete over price. Some consuming countries have bargained to build refineries in the oil-producing countries in exchange for crude oil or extraction rights.

The ability to begin competition with major producers by resource-owning, exploited countries is of great significance for imperialism as well as for its victims. Already copper and bauxite-producing

countries are discussing the formation of producers' cooperatives; and Henry Kissinger recently addressed the U. S. Special Conference on World Resources to warn the Third World against trying to go it alone.

THE DOMESTIC FRONT

But the oil companies are well prepared for what might seem to be a disaster. First, higher prices paid for Mideast oil go partially to them, the extractors and sellers. Secondly, all royalties paid to foreign governments are considered taxed and subtracted in toto from taxes paid here. Third, the companies have used the Arab embargo (and Jack Anderson received some evidence that this was precisely the plan between Arab governments and U. S. oil companies) to convince the U. S. government and citizens that there was a worldwide shortage of oil—to raise prices, to cut demand, and raise profit incentive, to extract shale, offshore, and Alaska oil, and to diversify into nuclear and coal energy. They have lobbied against funds for energy research. They are rapidly becoming energy conglomerates. Estimates are that oil companies own or control two-thirds of coal in the U. S., 40% of nuclear capacity, vertically integrated, 72% of natural gas, and 60% of electric energy.

There is legislation under consideration now to limit oil company profits; apparently the depletion allowance will go. But whatever measures slow down oil profits, they certainly won't be retroactive, and the capital they are raking in right now will be quickly invested in expanding their stranglehold on all forms of profit-making energy, and in developing domestic oil to protect against further OPEC takeovers. Likely we will return to protectionist legislation, as the trend to de-regulation of domestic oil prices continues and foreign oil becomes

cheaper through competition.

A trend the energy companies in general are not yet anticipating, however, is an increasing demand problem at home. The population has slowed to near-zero growth contrary to industry's predictions, and American industry is way overinvested in relation to the long-term demand it should expect. This is especially true of energy companies: already New York State has had to bail out Consolidated Edison's expansion projects in the face of declining demand for power.

The new Kissinger-Nixon Mideast policy of buying friendship with Arab governments and building up Iran as an arsenal against revolutionary movements on the Persian Gulf must be seen in the light of plans for cooperation with the owners of oil, hoping to convince them not to make deals with our imperialist rivals, let alone allow their countries to be taken over by true nationalist revolutionaries.

On the domestic political scene, the oil panic has enabled Nixon to build a Federal Energy Office which is the prototype of the way he would like to run government. Nixon has been quietly installing men favorable to big business in every significant area of the executive, and now Nixon's energy PR man Simon is moving to the Treasury. Nixon had wanted to build superagencies that would completely reshuffle the cabinet and centralize decisions about resource use and the economy, on the model of an expanded Energy Office.

The energy crisis and the Nixon Administration's response has been, perhaps, the most naked exercise of corporate control of the capitalist State. The open manipulations of the energy industry has created an unprecedented popular awareness of the relationship between capitalism and government. In the end, this new awareness can only work against the continuation of this pattern.

Wounded Knee Trials

On the Offensive

by Martin Bunzl

ALTHOUGH over one hundred and twenty people have already been indicted in South Dakota, in what William Kunstler has called an attempt by the government to destroy a social movement for justice, AIM is on the offensive.

Two trials are in progress in South Dakota in addition to the St. Paul trials of men the government has designated as "leaders."

Lorelei DeCora Means, Tony Ackerman, and Madonna Gilbert are charged with burglary and larceny arising out of the role that they played in the so-called occupation of Wounded Knee last year. (They are accused of burglarizing the store of a white trader who had long been exploiting Indians in the hamlet of Wounded Knee.)

In a surprising move, Judge Warren Urbom, who is trying the case in Sioux Falls, ordered that the defense be given *direct* access to all FBI files in the case. In other Wounded Knee cases the defenses had only been given the right to see materials *after* the FBI and prosecution have decided that they are relevant to the defenses' case.

Urbom's decision followed on the heels of Judge Fred Nichol's finding of government misconduct and FBI wire-tapping in the Means-Banks case that is to be tried in St. Paul. (Means and Banks are considered in the leadership and have each been charged in a ten-felony

count indictment.) After a five-week special hearing on a defense motion to dismiss the case because of illegal wire-tapping, evidence tampering, and government suppression of evidence, Nichol agreed with most of the defense's contentions but refused to dismiss the case. "Accused individuals must be brought to trial or our institutions for the maintenance of societal order will collapse," said Nichol.

Meanwhile explosive events were taking place in the court of Judge Joseph Bottum, a man who is, in the words of David Hill "an egotistical maniac."

Bottum is trying the so-called Custer cases, 22 persons who have been charged with riot and arson for their roles in a protest in Custer, South Dakota, last year. The protesters demanded that the charge against a white man accused of murdering an Indian be changed from second degree manslaughter to first degree murder. Of those 22 persons, 5 are on trial in Bottum's court. They are Delila Bean, Sarah Bad Heart Bull, Robert High Eagle, Kenneth Dahl, and David Hill.

Judge Bottum called in the South Dakota tactical squad to remove spectators from his courtroom after they had refused to rise when he entered. (Spectators were refusing to rise in protest of Bottum's jailing the only Indian attorney in the case for contempt of court. Although Bottum held the other two (white) attorneys in contempt, he merely suspended them.)



Left to right: Russell Means, Dennis Banks, attorney William Kunstler

As the tactical squad entered the courtroom they began assaulting David Hill, a defendant in the case. Hill suffered severe head and internal injuries. As other AIM members leaped to his aid a melee began. When a window was broken in the courtroom, AIM supporters outside the courtroom became aware of what was going on and attempted to get into the building to assist their comrades.

Following the police action five Indians were charged with "injuring a public building."

As hundreds of people rallied and marched in support of the defendants in Sioux Falls, the trial was suspended to let things cool off. (Bottum's police body guards would not let him go on his 3-mile daily run for fear of his safety and a

motel owner evicted the prosecution team because of fears about the safety of his building.)

But any hope of things "cooling off" was dissipated after Bottum announced that he would refuse to disqualify himself from the case and that he would continue to require that spectators rise as he entered the courtroom.

Meanwhile AIM declared South Dakota to be a "zone of war," condemning the rampant racism of its judicial system. AIM called for a national boycott of tourism in the state until further notice and declared that any out-of-state automobiles operating on Indian land without Indian permits would be impounded. ■

Indian Treaty Rights

A Gigantic Power Dynamo

by Paula Giese
Minneapolis NAM

AT WOUNDED KNEE, and in the events developing from it, the reservation Indians are directly challenging the power and profits of a dominant sector of the American ruling class.

Last March, while Wounded Knee was under siege, the Interior Department's chief attorney, Kent Frizell, who was in charge of the negotiations, flew to the Northern Cheyenne reservation in Montana to meet with the "democratically elected" tribal council there.

Tribal Indians of the Northern Cheyenne Landowners Association had brought suit, charging the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) with 36 law violations when approving a huge corporate move-in with coal lease rights on their land. The courts threw out the suit, ruling that mineral rights were "owned by the tribe, not by individual landowners," and that, under the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934, the Tribal Council has power to dispose of them and the BIA to approve.

Frizell ordered the Cheyenne council to pass Resolution 132(73) calling for the BIA to cancel the leases they themselves had made. He told the people that "this is to avoid a Wounded Knee here." The BIA, agent for the leases, then refused to act, and Frizell went back to Wounded Knee, saying "America needs the Indians' coal." This was the "compromise" he said Nixon had told him to work out.

In March of this year, their legal avenues closed, the Northern Cheyenne asked AIM for help in stopping the strip-mining which is due to start on their reservation this summer. AIM has agreed to do so.

Research on the western coal rush has turned up details of a plan by the corporate energy monopolies, to turn the four-state area into a gigantic power dynamo, feeding electrical power from 42 mine-mouth generating plants into long-distance grids supplying power to St. Louis, the Twin Cities, and points in between. This is to be completed by 1980.

During and after this period, the area will be invaded—especially in the Dakotas—by 30 or more plants which convert coal into natural gas and gasoline, fed by strip-mining the lignite fields of the Dakotas and Eastern Montana.

Some 60% of the nation's strippable coal is located in this area. Generators and gasification plants there will use all the area's available water, with an enormous canal-and-pipeline rerouting the watercourses. This will have devastating effects on fertile lands hundreds of miles from the mines. Pollution, especially from the gasification complexes, is incalculable.

STRIP-MINING INDIAN LANDS

The main area where most of the mines and generating plants will be—the Powder River Basin in Wyoming, and its northern watershed in southeastern Montana—is located on land reserved to Indians in the 1868 Fort Laramie Treaty. The defense in the trials has attempted to make this treaty central, but the courts and media have brushed it aside.

Article 2 of the treaty sets aside "for the absolute and undisturbed use and occupation of the Indians" all South Dakota west of the Missouri River. Article 16 defines an area which "shall be



unceded Indian territory. . . no white person or persons shall be permitted to settle or occupy any portion of the same; or without consent of the Indians. . . to pass through same." This territory, "north of the North Platte River and east of the Big Horn Mountains" encompasses 90% of the strippable western bituminous coal. The Northern Cheyenne and Crow reservations were both carved out of this territory, as were several others. The Powder River Basin lies wholly within it.

Since his first term, Nixon has implemented the energy policies which so endeared him to Big Oil. (Big Oil controls about half the coal industry and 2/3 of the coal mining rights, almost all the natural gas and pipeline industries, and about half of the nuclear energy industry.)

Coal is very abundant in this country—about 30% of all the world's coal is here. Perhaps 500 billion tons of U. S. coal are surface-strippable. Today, coal supplies about 55% of the electrical power used here; as power demand rises, it will supply more. Coal-electricity can also free up other fuels for profitable export, and coal itself can be converted to natural gas and petroleum in huge "cooking" plants (the first of which is being built in Rapid City, S. D., for El Paso Natural Gas—as an "experimental pilot plant" much of its \$450 million cost is coming out of the federal energy Research and Development budget).

U. S. HELPS BIG CORPORATE PLANS

In early 1970, Assistant Secretary of the Interior James R. Smith met with top executives of major midwest and southwest electrical power companies. Later, meetings were held with top management of most major oil companies. These executives were asked to form a government-backed group (the North Central Power Study), which divided up the area's coalfields, and planned development of the generating plants.

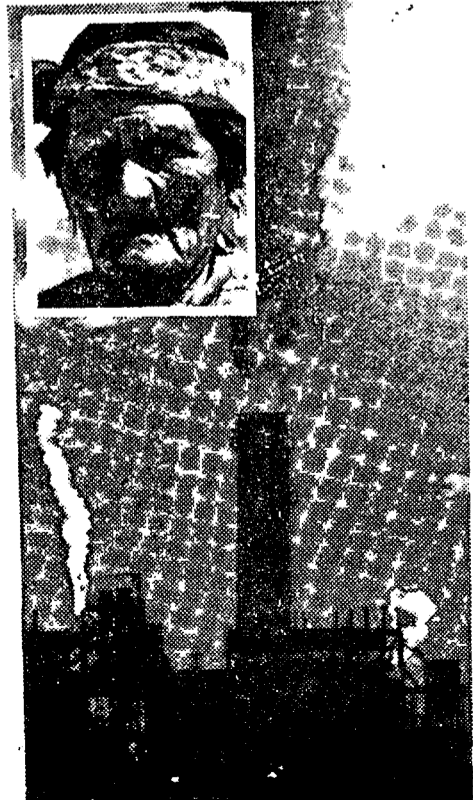
Western coalfields are low in sulphur. A switchover to this coal will enable industry to meet the 1970 Clean Air Act quality standards (to go into effect in 1975) avoiding installation of costly new technology to process high-sulphur eastern coal.

Coal operators who move to the Northern Plains will also decrease the influence of the now-militant United Mine Workers (UMW). Strip-mining is capital-intensive, rather than labor-intensive. Decker Coal, for instance, operates a six million-ton-a-year mine in Montana, employing 90 men—in contrast to over 1,000 UMW members who would be employed to produce this amount from a deep mine. And machines don't ask for sick leave or black lung disease benefits (as UMW's miners will when contracts expire in November).

The richest beds for stripping bituminous coal are in Southeastern Montana, right around and on the Crow and Cheyenne reservations (which have been shrunk considerably since they were set up within 1868 Sioux treaty land). The Montana Indian coal is especially valuable to the energy companies because the Department of Interior built—at public expense—Yellowtail Hydroelectric Dam and reservoir on the Crow reservation. Mine-mouth power plants take a lot of water.

The Department's Bureau of Reclamation determines who gets this water. Corporations are paying \$9 to \$11 per acre-foot yearly (on 50-year leases). If they paid full development costs for the water, their costs would be at least \$125 annually per acre-foot. BuRec has allocated to industry about 80% of Yellowtail's water. Water leases are held by major oil companies and several coal companies.

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False Promises Unions and Workers

by Steve Early

False Promises: The Shaping of American Class Consciousness, Stanley Aronowitz. McGraw-Hill. 466 pp. \$10.

False Promises, Stanley Aronowitz's new book, is a massive addition to the current discussion of working class problems and an important break with the traditional leftist view of American working class consciousness.

Aronowitz's ideas do not lend themselves easily to summary as they represent, in part, the distillation of an enormous body of work in the area of labor history, Marxist theory, radical sociology, philosophy and cultural anthropology. However, in addition to interpreting and

REACTIONARY UNIONISM

What distinguishes *False Promises* from the usual attempts at labor history and reportage is its radical thesis on the development and role of contemporary American trade unionism. Because of its implications for the work of socialists involved in labor struggles, the book's discussion of organized labor will be the focus of this review.

Implicit in the activity of most radicals in the labor movement has been the idea that trade unions have generally played a progressive role in U. S. social struggles and that workers can never develop revolutionary "class consciousness" until



applying Lukacs, Reich, Marcuse, and others, the book is filled with insights based on day-to-day experience—the "practice" of a former auto, steel, and electrical worker who spent much of the 1960's as a union organizer and official.

they have learned how to fight for the short-range goals of their unions. Aronowitz's own work for the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and the Oil, Chemical, and Atomic Workers was based on the similar assumption that building unions—

even conservative ones—was necessary and important because they remain "the elementary organizations for the defense of workers' immediate economic interests against employers."

But, as the author notes, his analysis in *False Promises* represents a departure from these views and, indeed, "from the way I have spent most of my adult life." It is designed to show "that unions have become a reactionary force in American society and that workers have come to regard them as another form of social insurance, but less and less as an instrument of their own struggle."

This is not because of the personal conservatism of "leaders" like George Meany or the corruption and gangsterism so characteristic of unions like the Teamsters or any of the other sins usually attributed to "Big Labor." What Aronowitz is talking about is the institutional role that unions play within the larger framework of American society. "Even where the trade union remains an elementary organ of struggle," he argues, "it is chiefly a force for integrating workers into the corporate capitalist system."

THE CONTRACT

At the heart of what he calls the "class collaboration" of trade unions and corporations is the modern labor agreement, the product of a collective bargaining process which provides a "rigid institutional frame-

work for the conduct of the class struggle." The contract is enforced "not merely by law, but by the joint efforts of corporate and trade union bureaucracies." In return for higher wages (usually not high enough), workers give up the right to strike at any time, the right to resolve grievances as they arise on the shop floor, and, of course, the right to control the workplace itself.

Thus, even "the most enlightened trade union leader cannot fail to play his part as an element in the mechanisms of domination over

the worker's right to spontaneously struggle against speed-up or *de facto* wage cuts."

As the foregoing quote might indicate, Aronowitz is not very optimistic about the prospects of traditional style union reform movements. "In nearly all cases of rank-and-file revolts aimed at replacing union leadership, the new group of leaders has reproduced the conditions of the old regime." Even those unions with a tradition of independence, militance, and internal democracy have often been unable to function much differently than the rest of organized labor—an insight the author gained from a rank-and-file UE member in New Jersey who referred to his local as "a red company union" (meaning that its politics were friendly to the Communist Party, but its stance on day-to-day shop floor issues was "weak and compromising").

For agents of real change, Aronowitz looks beyond the progressive unions and radical political parties to the workers themselves and the upsurge of rank-and-file militancy that has characterized labor struggles of the last few years. He sees in wildcat strikes, the formation of caucuses, the spontaneous rebellion of young black and white workers, "tentative movements toward a different kind of working class consciousness." While organized labor (representing only one-fourth of all workers) will remain "benefits oriented," fighting incessantly "to improve the economic condition of its own membership in relation to other sections of the workforce rather than relative to employers," Aronowitz predicts that the idea of "workers' control over working conditions, investment decisions, and the objects of labor" will spread.

WORKERS COUNCILS

Ultimately he foresees the rise of new instruments of workers' struggle—workers' councils and committees on the European model—that will "reject the institutionalization of the class struggle represented by the legally sanctioned labor agreement administered by trade union bureaucracies."

What role is there for the left in these developments? Aronowitz cautions against the "vanguard" approach advocated by many Marxist-Leninist groups and suggests that the job of radicals is not "to reproduce authoritarian social relations in the workers' movement." Rather, it is to help create a broad democratic movement that "pre-figures a non-authoritarian society"—one that embodies in embryo form the participatory structures of the socialism the left wishes to create. Otherwise, he concludes:

There is no reason for workers to choose an alternative political and personal perspective if it promises nothing but more sacrifice, boring meetings, and internecine warfare, on the one hand, or such sterile political goals as much radical propaganda is likely to furnish, on the other. Unless the new radicals are purveyors of enlightenment, of a new way of looking at the world, of a libertarian alternative which promises deliverance from powerlessness and bureaucracy and the poverty of daily life for most people, then workers are justified in staying where they are.

This is one of the most important arguments that Aronowitz makes in his book and one that ought to be

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Power and Privacy

The Conversation

Reviewed by Michael Rosenthal

HARRY CAUL IS the best "audio surveillance expert"—bug and wiretap man—in the business. He is held in awe by his colleagues and very few associates for such achievements as taping a corrupt union president and his deputy, who only discussed business while fishing in a rowboat in the middle of a lake (the bug was in the baitbucket). The unionist, reasonably assuming he had been betrayed, ordered the massacre of the deputy and his family. But this, Harry insists, is not his concern or his responsibility.

Harry feels no loyalty or commitment to the government, large corporations, or private parties who hire his services, and needless to say, he can allow himself no involvement with his "targets" as they are known in the trade. When his assistant tries to humanize the tedious work of preparing a clean tape by chattering about the content, what the people are saying, Harry responds with irritation and contempt. Curiosity makes the work sloppy. Despite his long experience in penetrating the intimate lives of other people, Harry prides himself on understanding nothing about human nature. Insensitivity is crucial to his professional stature; the sharing of privacy and the invasion of privacy are opposite poles.

NOT WATERGATE

Francis Ford Coppola began working on the script of *The Conversation* five years ago, and while the timeliness the theme of bugging and taping has since acquired may be a boon to those who are running the ad campaign, it can also work against the film. Viewers who expect new and penetrating insights about Watergate are bound to feel cheated.

The film has nothing of interest to say about the abuse of technology in high places, the rights of citizens as opposed to governmental prying, or the psychology of those who employ the technology as an instrument of control. The story is presented from the standpoint of the employee, the instrument of control rather than its perpetrator, for whom there is no exact equivalent among the figures publicly associated with Watergate; even McCord felt a certain stake in the goals of his employers that differentiates him from Harry.

POWER AND PRIVACY

What the movie explores is the relations (I would call them political) of power and privacy inherent in the technology itself, regardless of the use to which it is put.

MOVIES

I can express these relations more clearly by alluding to photography, with which I have personal experience, and which is structurally similar to taping in its interpersonal aspects. If I photograph people without their knowledge or participation, I am lifting their images outside of the context of their lives, and create for myself or others the power to put those images to a use which is outside their control. Even if I consider myself the subject's ally and have high political motives, if I wish, for example, to expose abject poverty or brutal exploitation, I am still setting up a one-way power relation that is basically oppressive.

My subject may not wish to be seen as abject or pitiable; she may rightly consider herself to be strong and loving. I have determined for her what she will represent to others. Her personal image, once captured on film (or tape) is no longer hers to direct. The situation would, of course, be different if I collaborated with the subject on the final product and she, rather than I, supplied the creativity and direction. But while I am cruising the street with a camera I am a tourist in other people's lives, mechanically insulated from any relationship that would permit real understanding.

Harry represents the creator that I

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BOOKS

Rank and File

by Al Richmond

Rank and File: Personal Histories by Working-Class Organizers. Edited by Alice and Staughton Lynd. Beacon Press. Boston. \$12.95.

A STRING OF "personal histories," most of them oral, tends to be fragmentary. This tendency is accentuated in the slender volume (296 pages), compiled by the Lynds, because of the time span—from the 1930's to the present—and the number of narrators or commentators—more than a score.

Still a loss in focused depth is compensated for by range, and significant composites may be discerned, which highlight distinctive characteristics of two periods in American working class experience, the 1930's and the post-World War II years, especially from 1950 on. There is also an underlying, unifying theme: the continuity of rank-and-file struggle, which, in its desperate extremes, remains a matter of life and death.

Thus, for three representatives of Miners for Democracy the catalytic agents were the slow death of Black Lung and the swift death of Jock Yablonski, his wife, and daughter. For the black rank-and-file leader in the United Auto Workers a climactic episode came when a black co-worker, suspended from his job by a foreman, returned to Chrysler's Eldon plant with an M-1 carbine to kill the offending foreman and two others. A man from FASH (Fraternal Association of Steel Haulers) first seriously confronted the meaning of commitment as he looked at the bombed out home of the organization's founder. The last "wildcat" strike led by adherents of RAFT (Rank and File Team) at a Youngstown Sheet & Tube mill was triggered when a fellow worker was killed in the open hearth.

NEW MOTIVES

The grim catalogue illustrates a critical difference between recent years and the '30's. Yablonski's murder was decreed by United Mine Workers bureaucrats to crush a rank-and-file revolt. The FASH narrator was convinced that Teamsters Union officials were responsible for the bombing. The Youngstown wildcat quickly produced and soon settled 30 demands, bypassing the institutionalized grievance procedure. That the Chrysler worker reached for his gun, instead of the union, also said something about the relation between the UAW structure and black workers. In these violent episodes bureaucratic unionism appeared either as enemy (mining and trucking), hostile "neutral" (steel), or irrelevant appendage (auto).



In the narratives of the '30's the class confrontation is not so blurred by the shadow of institutionalized, bureaucratic unionism; it is more elemental, more clearcut. In the Lynds' chosen locales, Midwestern steel, auto, and meatpacking plants, the CIO represented a vast democratic revolt against corporate totalitarianism. The men and women, white and

black, who actively participated in that upheaval, recreate the excitement and the hope of it, the release of enormous working class energy and initiative, the several conquests over deep-rooted prejudices, racist and sexist, the sense of solidarity—and liberating power. In the more recent personal histories frustration competes with hope, and even the latter is more dogged than exhilarant. A conspicuous exception is afforded by representatives of Miners for Democracy—they are flushed with the vivifying feeling of rank-and-file achievement.

MORE THAN MOOD

Distinctions between protagonists of the earlier time and of the later are more than a matter of mood. To someone acquainted with the scene they are not new, but in the matrix of personal experience they acquire vivid, intimate reality. To cite a few:

—Of the ten activists of the '30's six (perhaps seven) were Communists or close associates. They do not dwell much on this connection and maybe that's a pity because more detailed treatment of

the period. In contrast, the post-World War II activists reflect an absence of political cohesion—or, in spots, coherence.

—In the earlier group immigrant parents and immigrant cultures (Croatian, Italian, Polish, Ukrainian) are significant sources of radicalism and elementary class consciousness. Of the ten narrators, four offer explicit testimony on this point. Since two of the ten are black, this means that half of the whites were influenced by old country radical tradition. Such influence is missing in the later group.

—The two black militants of the '30's and the one from the post-'50's reveal different attitudes toward black-white class solidarity. For the former this is immediate and integral in what they're doing; for the latter the emphasis is on blacks first getting themselves together and later exploring forms of alliance.

In a puzzling lapse, the Lynds do not present even one woman activist of the recent decades, whereas the narratives of three from the '30's are among the most informative and compelling.

CRITICAL EVIDENCE

The regret, expressed above, at the lack of more detail on the relation between radical politics and on-the-job struggle should be qualified. Partly so because more detail might have induced devotion of excessive space to in-fighting on the Left. In this respect the volume is fairly clean, the major exception being the reflections of a former member of the Workers Party, one of the major Trotskyist organizations of the '30's and '40's.

He relates his activities as organizer for the Sailors Union of the Pacific (SUP), a union which excluded blacks. It was involved in an intense jurisdictional dispute with the black-white National Maritime Union (NMU).

"I hadn't thought about the racial issue," he recalls, "but I could see that I couldn't give uncritical support to either (the SUP or NMU)." This show of neutrality is bogus because in practice he

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out of the closets!

The People's Party and Socialism

by Dan Luria
Middlesex NAM
Greater Boston People's Party

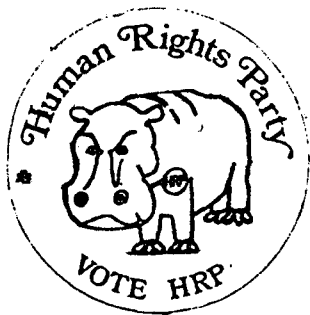
RECENT DISCUSSIONS around the issue of the merger and/or affiliation of American democratic left organizations make it imperative that members of these organizations be acquainted intimately with the politics and activities of the other groups. This article is primarily about the People's Parties and, as such, is intended to provide NAM members with the kind of information on the PP which Debbie Hertz's article (*Grass Roots*, 1/74) provided PP members on NAM. Secondly, though, this article is conceived as a part of the continuing dialogue on the building of the new democratic socialist party.

It would be well to start with a statement of my own involvement in all of this. I am a member of Middlesex NAM and, along with four other NAM members, also part of the nascent Greater Boston People's Party. My involvement with NAM dates from May, 1973; my membership in the PP from March, 1971, when I began working with the Ann Arbor Human Rights Party (HRP).

My dual membership in NAM and the PP has its roots in the tension between the parliamentary and non-parliamentary strategies for building a socialist mass base in America. At the time of my first involvement with NAM, that group maintained what I would characterize as an ambivalent agnosticism to the parlia-

mentary strategy, while most of the People's Parties were engaged in an uncritical reliance on electoral activity. Unfortunately, few members of either NAM or the PP saw this tension for what it is: a strategic difference on how to build a transitional organization capable of expanding the democratic left's base to a point at which socialism would become believable enough to counteract the widespread cynicism so prevalent today. I would suggest that our lack of perspective had its roots in

It now appears that this tension between open and closet socialism can be resolved. Recent developments in some PP organizations (see below) and in a number of NAM chapters (notably San Francisco and Minneapolis) suggest that NAM and PP could merge on the principles of open socialism and the maintenance of socialist parliamentary units. (It seems clear that these potential grounds for cooperation reflect tremendous political education within both groups. Many see the possibility of



our own failure to believe in the possibility of a successful socialist movement in this country. In most of the People's Parties this cynicism took the form of an implicit refusal to make socialism itself the issue in anti-capitalist electoral activity. In most of NAM, it assumed the form of rejecting those tactics which, while affording the opportunity of reaching large numbers of people in the potential base, did so at the risk of less-than-socialist political control of the electoral organization.

building the kind of base that the Socialist Party achieved, but as part of an organization committed from the start to the kind of militance which can safeguard against the complacency which has plagued many parliamentary parties in the past.)

WHAT IS THE PEOPLE'S PARTY?

The PP grew out of the Peace and Freedom Party (PFP) which first achieved national visibility in Eldridge

Cleaver's 1968 presidential campaign. From its start, the PP-PFP embodied the principles it stands for to this day, namely, that (1) neither the Republican nor the Democratic Parties, by reason of their integration into the capitalist political economy, holds any hope as an organization which might fight to abolish the capitalist system; that (2) the development of the productive forces in the U.S. has proceeded to the point where the imperative of economic growth no longer applies as a "justification" for top-down Leninist party structure; and that (3) the principle of democracy can best be maintained by the choice of a parliamentary strategy in the expansion of the anti-capitalist movement. (This last point merits special attention. Part of the choice of parliamentarism as at least a large part of left strategy owes to the lack of viable alternatives. It seems clear that pure syndicalism does not lead necessarily to labor political action; the non-parliamentary mass socialist organization strategy lacks historical precedent in developed countries.)

Each of these three PP general principles poses a problem for many NAM members. First, the issue of the two major capitalist parties was raised (and left hanging) in NAM's ambivalent position on McGovern in the 1972 presidential campaign. Second, despite its democratic politics and structure, NAM is critical of a bottom-up strategy which contains no assurance that socialists will be dominant in its organizations. Third, and most important, NAM's correct assessment of the potential pitfalls of exclusively parliamentary activity causes it to overreact to the suggestion that the base-building transitional strategy might have to rely heavily on parliamentary

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The Politics and Culture of Consumerism

by Eli Zaretsky
San Francisco NAM

HISTORICALLY, the main problem with consumption was that there were not enough goods to go around. When Samuel Gompers was asked to describe the underlying philosophy of the labor movement he said there were three basic principles: more, more, and more.

Consuming was understood as an inevitable and natural part of life, closely linked to labor. The marketplace was a center of new ideas, social intercourse, and political discussion.

Until fairly recently the mass of people have been terribly impoverished. One of the innovations of capitalist society when it emerged in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, was the idea that it was positively good to live well and enjoy the fruits of one's labor. In part through the promise of this "higher standard of living," the mass of people came to accept and support the capitalist organization of society.

In the past twenty years this basic acceptance of consumption has been challenged by a series of social movements, almost exclusively American. First, in the nineteen fifties, certain intellectuals began to condemn consumerism as part of the "mass society." Americans were portrayed as a species of bland, interchangeable organization men and tired housewives whose only personal passions were buying a new car or a bedroom set. The beatniks symbolized the revolt against this way of life.

In the early nineteen sixties, Herbert Marcuse published *One-Dimensional Man* which argued that the working class in America had been "bought off" or stupefied by the endless goods produced by industry. For this reason Marcuse held out little hope for any kind of revolution in America. The New Left of the 1960s, along with the hippies, continued this tendency. Consumerism was viewed as a symp-

* This is an abridged version of a speech delivered at a symposium on "The Politics and Culture of Consuming" at Boise State College, Idaho, February 28, 1974. Several of its arguments and examples are drawn from Andre Gorz, *Strategy for Labor* (Boston, 1968), ch. 4.

Buying goods and consuming them, the least important thing we do each day, from a social point of view, becomes the most important from a personal point of view.



tom of the sickness that pervaded "straight" society. Many students rejected the career goals of their parents and dropped out. The more political identified with the poorest elements in society—Mississippi Blacks or Kentucky miners.

With the ecology movement the critique of consumerism acquired a new dimension and a special urgency. The very balance of life on this planet was threatened by our unrestrained hunger for a "higher standard of living." We were all guilty for driving big cars and for not worrying about what happens to our garbage. It is this conviction that has led some people to welcome the energy crisis since, supposedly, it will force a simpler, less extravagant way of life.

The problem with this critique of consumerism is that it holds individuals responsible for problems that can only

be solved socially. In the absence of adequate public transportation, I must drive my car; garbage collection is organized by the state or by a corporation. In fact, our patterns of consuming have always been determined elsewhere—within the sphere of production. What we call consumerism or mass consumption is in fact a direct result of the way in which capitalist production has come to be organized in the 20th century. To see this, consider the difference between 19th and 20th century American capitalism.

THE RISE OF MASS CONSUMPTION *

In 19th century America both production and consumption referred simply to the basic necessities of life: food, clothing, shelter, transportation, etc. The great industries that arose in the 19th century were agricultural machinery, textiles, railroads, construction, mining, food processing, etc. Consumption simply referred to the reproduction of human life; people did not speak of "consumerism." Because of the intensely competitive organization of production, there was constant pressure on capitalists to hold wages down. If a businessman raised wages without raising prices his profits fell. But if he did raise his prices he would most likely be driven out of business by his competitors. In other words, businessmen had a structural interest in restricting the consumption of the working class.

This resulted in constant warfare between capitalists and workers in America in the last part of the nineteenth century. Workers struggled continually, and often violently, for shorter hours and higher wages—in other words, for increased consumption—and businessmen fought back bitterly in defense of private profit. By restricting workers' consumption, businessmen were able to greatly expand production by continually plowing their profits back into industrial and technical growth.

In the early twentieth century, this dynamic tended to give way to another, at least in the more highly organized branches of industry. Machines and technology rather than raw labor power became the basic industrial force. Hence there was no longer as much pressure on the capitalist to force a longer workday and a longer workweek on the worker. The introduction of mass production methods also went along with the growth of monopoly, or cooperation between a few giant companies.

The decline of competition, at least of price competition, made it possible for businessmen to raise wages and recognize unions since any wage increase could now be passed on as a price increase. Finally, the vastly increased productivity of modern industry required equally vast new markets. The traditional markets for basic necessities such as food, clothing, and housing tended to be exhausted and America suffered a series of depressions caused by "overproduction" in the years between the Civil War and World War II.

The solution, which really emerged in the 1920s, was mass consumption. Wages were raised and hours shortened. Endless

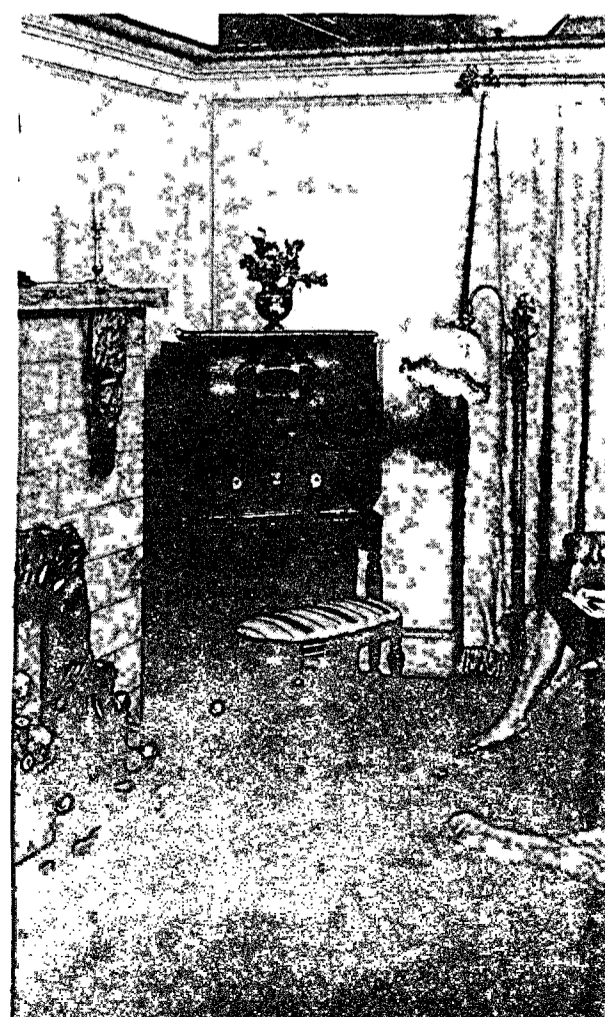
new products were devised and advertising enormously increased to convince people of their expanding, insatiable needs, and that these needs could only be satisfied in the marketplace. The invention of the radio spread the new ethic of consumerism into every home. Aristocratic luxuries, such as the automobile, now became necessities for the working class.

THE PARADOX OF MODERN CAPITALISM

The rise of mass consumption was in many ways a great advance. Human beings are not animals who simply consume in order to survive and reproduce the species; it was right for human needs to expand. But mass consumption developed under the constraints of the private property system and this gave it a profoundly negative character as well. For the expansion of consumption under capitalism has meant that the individual's standard of living, as expressed in monetary terms, has risen while at the same time fundamental individual and social needs have scarcely been defined, much less adequately met.

Why has this been so? First, in a capitalist society basic decisions over the use of natural resources or the development of material production are made privately and, by necessity, according to the overriding criterion of profit. Under capitalism, there is no attempt to actually gauge what people's needs are and then to develop a system of production to meet these needs. Instead, the connection between the profit system (which determines the priorities of production) and human needs (the sphere of consumption) is accidental and fortuitous.

Historically, defenders of capitalism have claimed that the relation between these two realms is determined by the marketplace: those firms will prosper which best serve the public; others will go under. But this explanation, which has some validity in the nineteenth century, no longer holds. With the rise of the modern corporation, the scope of competition has been severely restricted. For the most part modern firms do not compete through technical advances or by lowering prices but rather through packaging and other differences in advertising and design. Hence, mar-



ket pressures are unlikely to force corporations to improve their products, or to make them more widely available.

The idea that capitalist production would "automatically" satisfy human needs through the functioning of the marketplace had validity only as long as these needs were simple, direct, and essentially biological: food, textiles, housing, etc. But the productive potential of 20th century industry poses a more complicated series of choices. Should this potential be applied to the expansion of such industries as advertising, cosmetics, and military production, or of such industries as education, health, and recreation? Should the kind of energy resources generated in the 20th century be put at the service of a public transportation network, or shall

capitalism we will be able to redistribute the profits and the personal income of the capitalist class to the population as a whole. This would have little significance. Rather it is a question of the orientation of the whole system of production and of regaining control of the direction of society as a whole.

SOCIAL NEEDS VS PRIVATE PROFIT

Let us look at this from a slightly different angle. When a capitalist enterprise decides to invest in a particular project it does not ask itself what new social needs its decision will engender. It does not ask what social costs its decision will entail, what long-term public investments it will make necessary later on, or what alternatives its private decision will render impos-

sible. Rather, the decision to invest will be based on questions directly bearing on profitability: what is the existing market demand, what are the available facilities, what is the proximity of the market and of raw materials? And there are enormous social costs entailed every time such private decisions are made.

machine; this is no less true of clerical and administrative work than of factory work.

By contrast, when we go home we feel like free individuals, truly ourselves. The family is our refuge from the cold, anonymous world outside. When we take our paycheck and go to the store we feel most autonomous and self-determining. Buying goods, and consuming them, the least important thing we do each day, from a social point of view, becomes the most important from a personal point of view since this is the major way in which we get to express ourselves personally.

The desire for freedom, which in the past was absolutely inseparable from the struggle for a certain kind of government and society, is today associated with the concept of lifestyle—the right to pursue one's private life without any regard for or interference from society. This mystique of individual freedom and personal expression makes it very difficult to challenge the emphasis on consumption as an individual process.

Why? Because the housewife remains isolated—in fact more isolated than she used to be.

What the housewife needs are collective services such as public transportation, laundries and cleaners, community restaurants and canteens, day care centers and nursery schools. A mass of passive consumers, separated by place and lifestyle, incapable of getting together and communicating directly, will remain incapable of defining together their specific needs, their pre-occupations, their outlook on society and the world.

WHAT WE CALL consumerism is the result of a specific development of capitalist society: the unleashing of tremendous forces of productivity which are nevertheless constrained by the overriding need to preserve private profit. Once we understand this we can see the limitations of the critiques of consumerism which I discussed earlier: such as the ecology movement or the New Left. Is it better

The desire for freedom, which in the past was inseparable from the struggle for a certain kind of government and society, is today associated with the concept of life style.

we make it necessary for everyone to own a car?

These questions reflect the overall direction taken by American society in the twentieth century. They were never decided by the impact of consumers on the marketplace and, of course, they were never decided through public political discussion because the resources necessary to implement any decision were in private hands. Rather, these questions were decided almost exclusively according to the criterion of profitability. This fundamental disjuncture between the imperatives governing production, and the changing needs of the population explains the great paradoxes of modern capitalist society: on one hand incredible abundance, on the other persistent and seemingly ineradicable poverty. On one hand, gigantic waste, on the other, large numbers of basically unsatisfied fundamental needs: housing, medicine; education, care of the aged, etc.

Thus, the problem of capitalism is central to every problem in this society. And it is not because by getting rid of

People's struggle for a better standard of living has traditionally taken the form of a struggle for a higher wage. But, in fact, much of what we need can only be won and utilized collectively, not individually, and often these needs cannot be expressed in monetary terms. Housing,

to eat red meat and white bread, to drive a car, and to dress in synthetic fibers, or is it better to eat dark bread and white cheese, ride a bicycle and wear wool or linen? The question is more or less meaningless. It presupposes that in a given society the same individual has a choice



If we wish to transform the system of consumption, we must simultaneously transform the system of production which determines it. This can never be done individual by individual: collective needs can only be determined collectively.

The development of the modern economy has created enormous new collective needs but it allows them to be satisfied only individually—through the purchase of commodities. As consumers we are an atomized and isolated mass and it does little good to get together as pressure groups, boycotts, or what have you. Such activities tend to have minor impact precisely because consumption is itself of so little substance.

The really decisive thing we do each day is work. Every day, in fact, we transform our society through productive labor. In this activity, which has the greatest social consequence, and in which we operate most collectively, we tend to be most passive. We take orders from others and perform a predetermined and fragmented task. Unless we have special skills we tend to function as extensions of a

city planning, the reintegration of work space and living space, a landscape and environment which furthers the development of human faculties rather than debasing them, collective cultural, athletic and health facilities, active forms of social life and of group leisure—these cannot be won by a higher wage.

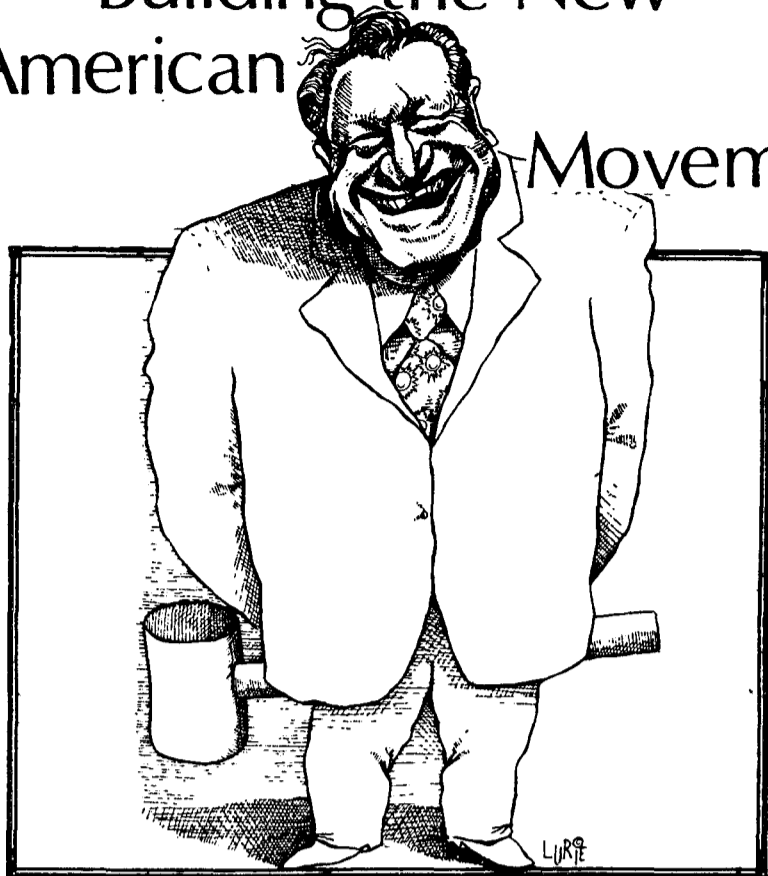
The inadequacies of a "higher standard of living," as long as it is restricted to an individual standard of living, can be seen most clearly in the case of housewives. For housewives, the process of consumption is their daily labor. It is within the family and for the family that most consumption takes place. Technological advance and higher wages (for the husband) have greatly improved the situation of the housewife. Yet in a profound way the condition of the housewife remains oppressive—in many ways more oppressive than it used to be.

between two different lifestyles. Practically speaking, this is not the case.

Our lifestyle is more or less determined by the work we do, the class we belong to, the place we live, etc. If we wish to transform the system of consumption we must simultaneously transform the system of production which determines it. This can never be done individual by individual: collective needs can only be determined collectively. This means politics. And it can never be done as long as the basic wealth and resources of the society are at the disposition of the profit system. Some other principles of control and development must replace the essentially unending quest for profits as the basis for the economic system. This means, in some form or other, socialism. ■



Building the New American Movement



Austin Demonstration

Rocky Charts Our Futures

by Mick Baylor
Austin NAM

NELSON ROCKEFELLER and his new "Commission on Critical Choices for Americans" descended on the University of Texas at Austin on April 1 and 2. He was confronted by the newly-formed "People's Commission" (a coalition of Austin left organizations, including Austin NAM) and a noisy demonstration of more than 300 participants.

The Commission merits a careful examination and its existence does not bode well for either the 1976 presidential campaign or for the long-term future of the American people.

ROCKY'S NEWEST COMMISSION

Rockefeller resigned as Governor of New York last December. His statement of resignation didn't mention that he had been called to testify the next day about improprieties in awarding a huge contract to H. Ross Perot, the Texas multi-millionaire who tried to buy American war prisoners out of captivity. Rather, Rocky announced he was resigning to head up a Commission (at President Nixon's request) whose purpose was "to address itself systematically to the nature and direction of events, seek a new perspective on the emerging problems and forces at work in the world, develop new concepts within which we can cope with them, and thus help to chart the future for America."

The scenario was ominous: the nation's most scandal-ridden president was asking the head of the nation's richest family to plot the country's future as it entered its third century.

Rockefeller himself is no stranger to such grandiose commission work. In 1958 he headed another one called "Prospects for America." It was funded by the Rockefeller Foundation and directed by the brilliant young Harvard professor, Henry Kissinger. It predicted, among other things, that one prospect for America was a shortage of fossil fuels by the 1970's.

In 1969 came the "Rockefeller Report on the Americas," another commission job for Nixon. Rocky made a fact-finding tour of Latin America and got a variety of colorful greetings: Dominican Republic—oil refinery blown up; Honduras—rioting, one killed; Ecuador—ten people killed by police in demonstrations, Rocky's car nearly overturned; Brazil—thousands of "potential

demonstrators" jailed; Argentina—nine Rockefeller-owned supermarkets burned, nationwide general strike, one demonstrator killed; and so on. Afterward, the Commission's report recommended stepping up military and police aid to Latin America, overlooking the undemocratic and repressive nature of a government when it is the U. S. "pragmatic interest" to do so, and improving access for U. S. private investment in Latin America.

ITS MEMBERSHIP AND PROCEDURES

Rockefeller's newest future-charting Commission on Critical Choices for Americans modestly describes its composition as "a nationally representative, bipartisan group of prominent Americans." Just how representative is doubtful: it is overwhelmingly white (of the 40 Commission members, there are 3 Blacks, no Chicanos, American Indians, Puerto Ricans, or any other oppressed minority group), male (there are only six women), and Northeastern (8 out of 40 are from New York business and government alone, the majority of the others are from the Northeast).

It is even clearer that the Commission members—all directly appointed by Rockefeller—are "prominent." They are prominent in big business (like Robert Anderson, chairman of Atlantic-Richfield, and William Paley, chairman of Rockefeller-dominated CBS); prominent in government bureaucracy (like Daniel Moynihan, Nixon's former advisor on urban affairs, and John Knowles, president of the Rockefeller Foundation); and prominent in academia (like Martin Anderson, director of research for the Hoover Institute at Stanford).

Rockefeller has tried to give his Commission a bipartisan look; if there's anyone he doesn't want, it's the "ideologue." But most commission members are ideologues of the worst sort: apologists for an entrenched monopoly capitalism who believe that its problems can be solved by adjusting variables while the whole is left intact. And, as implied, many of them have connections, open or covert, with the Rockefeller financial empire.

The self-serving nature of Rockefeller's new commission is also revealed in its procedures. There is no opportunity for public input or debate. Rather, private "discussions" take place between commission members and invited guests during "panels" on various topics; the panels

are made up of other commission members or invited experts who give individual "presentations."

While in Austin, for example, the commission staged a discussion on the fluid topic "Energy, Ecology, Economics, and World Stability." Among the presentations were papers by Edward Teller, cold-war physicist, who gave us the H-bomb; Herman Kahn, the think-tank con man who tried to teach us to love it; and Rockefeller's own John G. Winger, a vice-president of the Chase Manhattan Bank. After each presentation there was discussion between panel and commission. When Austin media people asked Rocky about the lack of public participation, he talked about his generosity in allowing it to be broadcast on radio and closed-circuit TV.

ROCKY FOR PRESIDENT?

The Commission was chiefly conceived as a vehicle for Rockefeller's bid for the presidency in 1976. His closest aides have admitted his ambitions (*New York Times*, December 7, 1973); the Commission is scheduled to release its results early in 1976, in time for the primaries as well as the bicentennial celebrations. Several of Rocky's top political aides are working for the Commission, including James Cannon, his top advisor Joseph Persico, his top speechwriter, and Hugh Morrow, communications director and speechwriter. They are being paid out of Rocky's own pocket rather than Commission funds to avoid the charge that the Commission is a "political vehicle"—or in the hope of avoiding it.

The Commission also enables Rockefeller to skirt the new campaign contribution laws that limit individual contributions to \$50,000, a paltry sum by Rockefeller standards. Thus, Nelson and brother Lawrence have already kicked in a million each to the Commission, which

(Continued on Page 14)

Socialism On One Campus?

by Jim Pope, Radcliffe-Harvard NAM,
and David Smith, ELF/NAM

NEW YORK—April 6-7. Where is the student movement going, and what path will it follow? Since the outpouring of student wrath subsequent to the mining of Haiphong Harbor two years ago, the media has made much of the quiescence and apparent apathy of the new wave of students. Is this quiescence permanent, as the ruling class fervently hopes, or is it representative of a transitional period of disorientation and disarray, but not defeat? What can revolutionary socialists do to rekindle the smoldering fires of student activism? What lessons have we learned from our experience, and where can we go from here? Can we build a nationwide student movement?

These were some of the questions twenty of us had in mind when we assembled at Columbia University for the weekend of April 6-7 as the representatives of NAM chapters involved in student organizing.

We had begun to address ourselves to these problems in a serious way almost a year earlier, at the campus organizing workshop of the National Convention in DeKalb. One of the most fruitful results of these initial discussions had been the creation of a campus communications network. Since then, the network had made slow but steady steps forward. In February of this year, student representatives to the National Council in Yellow Springs reaffirmed their commitment to the development of the network and began planning for the April conference.

Our primary goal in this conference was to prepare a comprehensive statement to our perspective on the student movement, to serve as the basis for the formation of future campus chapters. Our plan was (and remains) to begin circulating this manifesto among student leftists on many campuses in the fall, hopefully leading to the creation of new chapters and embryonic regional structures.

In accordance with this plan of action, on Saturday, the first day of the conference, we broke down into three workshops: (1) "the role of higher education in capitalist society," (2) "a class analysis of students and their revolutionary potential," and (3) "a program for the socialist student movement." From the start, it was clear that there was a consensus on several major, interrelated points. In summary, these are the following:

A viable socialist student movement can only be built on the foundation of a careful analysis of students as students. Socialist political work on campus must not be limited to mobilizing students for off-campus work, but must be focused on our class role as apprentice white-collar workers, thereby entailing a critique of the everyday life experience of students. Above all else, we must learn to make our public advocacy of socialism meaningful and concrete. For as workers in the making, many students will have an integral role to play in the revolutionary process, a role they can fulfill only if they achieve sufficient class and socialist consciousness.

On the other hand, we also must recognize that students will not "lead the revolution." There is no such thing as socialism on one campus, nor are students a uniquely revolutionary sector of society. In order to be effective, the socialist student movement now in embryo must become part of the broader working class revolutionary movement. Only then will it achieve true social resonance.

Our discussions in the three workshops were both productive and largely enjoyable, as we became aware of the numerous parallels linking our chapter experiences. The vast majority of our hopes and ideas dovetailed smoothly, leading us to anticipate the future emergence of close working relations among our various chapters.

By Sunday afternoon, after the draft statement had been worked out, we agreed to a plan of activity for the next several months. As a first step, we established a mechanism for the circulation and criticism of early drafts of our pamphlet. By May 12, the Radcliffe-Harvard chapter will complete a typed, revised first edition of the statement for circulation among the chapters. By June 1, formal criticisms of the draft statement should be in the mail to ELF/NAM in Berkeley for distribution through the campus network. The process will finally culminate July 9-10 with a pre-convention student conference in Lexington, Kentucky. At that time, we will formally modify and rewrite the draft statement on the basis of the criticisms circulated. If all goes smoothly, ratification will follow, and copies of the completed statement should be available at the Convention itself. We will then be ready for further action. ■

NEWSPAPER COLLECTIVE

Laurie Gitlin
Del Griffin
Dan Marschall
Jean Nute
Nick Rabkin
Jain Simmons and Malik
James Weinstein

Women's Liberation: For a Political Approach

by Toby Silvey
Berkeley NAM

IN THE MAY Opinion Column (*Socialism or Feminism?*) Barbara Easton questions the relation of feminism to socialism. Easton traces NAM's lack of programmatic direction for ending women's oppression to our uncritical acceptance of feminism, which she sees as separatism. Out of deference we have abdicated leadership of women's struggles to the independent women's movement.

Easton sees socialism and feminism as incompatible, pointing to feminism's inability to unite the class and highlighting socialism's totalizing potential.

The problem of no program in NAM is real enough, and the tension between socialism and feminism is real enough, but in neither case is the correct solution to eliminate feminism or socialist-feminism as approaches to women's liberation.

We have let "support" for the autonomous women's movement replace socialist program within NAM. But before we attribute that error to the "limits of autonomy" or "feminism," we should remember that our position of support was developed in response to the tremendous strength and militancy of the women's liberation movement when NAM began in 1971. NAM saw the collapse of SDS and NUC as connected to their refusal to incorporate the demands of the women's liberation movement and was determined to avoid this mistake. NAM acknowledged the revolutionary importance of feminism to the socialist movement. In our Political Perspective of 1972, we offered both support for the autonomous women's movement and our approach to ending women's oppression which we called socialist-feminism.

However, our "support" position has relegated women's issues to the women's movement. NAM perpetuated the traditional division of political work along sex lines, only this time shrouded it in support for autonomy. Not only women's demands for independence,

but also men's refusal to work politically on the issues raised by women's liberation has prevented the development of socialist program.

WEAKNESSES

Many of the weaknesses of the women's movement that Easton cites are duplicated in NAM itself. Both NAM and the autonomous women's movement continue to suffer from confusion about how to attack male supremacy.

Another weakness of socialist-feminist or women's organizations according to Easton's article is that they "foster or do not challenge" interest-group politics. I have always found the charge of interest-group politics a peculiar one to level at a movement representing an oppressed majority. How can a massive insistence that political movements incorporate the concerns and perspective of more than half the human race be considered in any way "interest-group politics?" Easton confuses self-interest and inter-



macy. Both have no overall strategy or program, and rely on popular struggles to "happen" which we can then "get into." Both are reluctant to build an organization to take power. These similarities are directly traceable to our shared New Left roots, and have nothing to do with feminism.

est-group politics. She fails to see that it was a major political accomplishment of women in the late '60's to legitimize the right to organize in their own self-interest. This has posed a profound challenge to the ideology of women as servers of men and men as caretakers of women. It became a basic premise

(Editor's Note: The third national convention of the New American Movement (NAM) will be held in Lexington, Kentucky, beginning July 11. The opinion page is set aside for NAM chapters and individuals to express their views on strategic and political questions crucial to building a mass socialist movement in the United States. We invite our readers to respond to these columns. Three major topics of discussion at this upcoming convention are: workplace organizing and socialist strategy, the relation between feminism and socialism, and the need for a new socialist party.)

of feminism that gains for women would be won by women organized in their own self-interest; they cannot be won by a socialist movement which doesn't reflect this in theory, organization, and practice.

Sometimes the interest of the class and the broad interest of women as a whole come in conflict. I am thinking of such things as affirmative action programs which seek to increase the number of jobs for women without demanding job restructuring or expansion of the job market. But who is challenging these politics? It is socialist women, NAM women, socialist-feminists, working openly within mass organizations of women.

The one limitation of socialist-feminist organizations is that they cannot become or substitute for a party. But I don't think it is part of anyone's vision or strategy that they become this; this is an abstract rather than real limitation. In practical terms the limits of autonomy have not begun to be reached. Especially when there is no party and no organization that represents the entire class, an attempt to build unity with women's organizations is the most positive approach for NAM to take.

STRUCTURAL INTEGRATION OF SEXISM

I see no way around the tension between socialism and feminism other than accepting and working with a dual proposition: one, that sexism is structurally integrated into capitalism, and two, that sexism has a life of its own (predates capitalism, outlives socialism, etc.).

The first part of the proposition (the "socialist" part), calls for a mixed party, joint political work, emphasizes the economic base of women's oppression, and understands that a socialist revolution is necessary for women's liberation.

The second part (the "feminist" part) calls for women's organizations, primarily addresses sexism, emphasizes aspects of human experiences not considered political in the past, and understands that because men receive real benefits from the continuation of sexism they cannot be counted on to make the struggle against it their political priority. This is the understanding behind NAM's women's caucuses and the theoretical basis for autonomy in socialist-feminist organizations.

NAM's approach must reflect the two parts of this theory. Because of the structural integration of sexism, the task of developing program and carrying it out is the responsibility of NAM as a whole—men and women. On this point Easton and I agree. Women do not want sole responsibility for all the concerns called "women's issues." These concerns aren't considered political because men don't work on them. Therefore, "women's issues" is not a designation we seek to preserve. NAM must encourage men's contribution to the theory of sexism, the role of the family, men's relation to reproduction and child-rearing, the uses of male supremacy as a supporting ideology of capitalism, and so on. Women's insistence on giving leadership in these areas should not become an

(Continued on page 12)

Against Reformism

Mark Cohen
Pittsburgh NAM

Bill Burr's comments in "Socialism or Syndicalism" help clarify some historical problems of syndicalism. Unfortunately, though, Bill has left many loopholes in the contours of his alternative.

My impression from reading the article is that Bill feels that electing people to office is somehow the conquest of state power. If this is so, then Bill (apparently absorbing Lenin's analysis of syndicalism) has failed to appreciate Lenin's point that the Revolution must destroy the existing state machinery rather than simply take it over and wield it for socialist purposes (e.g., Chile).

Bill argues: "Those who argue that political leaders—representatives of the working class as a whole—are a 'socialist elite' in embryo are in effect avoiding the question of revolution itself." While there is a great deal of truth to this statement, it glosses over the question of reformism as if it didn't exist in the world of politics. The sad truth is that "socialist political leaders" are primarily of the 2nd International "socialist" variety or their partners in Western CP's.

Bill states: "Abstaining from elections will give the liberals all the room they need to make the political and social adjustments (reforms) required to preserve capital's hegemony." If this were simply stated in terms of the importance at particular times of contesting capital in the electoral arena in order to popularize our ideas and advance the strength of the working class I would have no qualms with it.

But it says much more. It implies that Capitalism can be reformed because liberals will do it so. This is Keynesian (neocapitalist) economics, not Marxism. In the long run, Capitalism can not be adjusted because it is an antagonistically contradictory system. This is not meant to argue that the only crisis is economic and we should simply wait for the "crash" to usher in socialism. May '68 in France proves this ludicrous. What we do will be decisive.

A final quote may help place in perspective the problem of syndicalism, trade unionism, or economism as it is variously referred to, and the role of workplace activity. "...the fundamental political tendency of economism—let the workers carry on the economic struggle (it would be more correct to say the trade-unionist struggle, because the latter also embraces specifically working-class politics) and let the Marxist intelligentsia merge with the liberals for the political 'struggle.'"—Lenin



JOE REID

Treaty Rights

(Continued from page 5)

On the somewhat larger Crow reservation, Peabody Coal, Gulf Oil, American Metal Climax, Westmoreland Coal, and Shell Oil hold coal rights on 236,704 of the reservation's approximately 700,000 acres.

On the Northern Cheyenne reservation, some 346,100 of the reservation's 400,000 acres are under option to Peabody Coal, NRG Energy Co., Northern States Power of Minnesota, Amax, Chevron Oil, and Consolidation Coal (the nation's number one coal producer—it's a subsidiary of Continental Oil).

Just south of the Cheyenne reservation's present gerrymandered boundary is an area named "Decker-Birney Resource Study Area," by the Department of Interior's Bureau of Mines. Once part of Cheyenne, its coal rights are now held by the U. S. government as a "public trust." This land will be part of the big power development; it is rich in strippable deposits and close to the Indians' water.

The corporations apparently plan to rob the Indians first. A bewildering array of environmental, land-use, reclamation, and mining regulation bills exist locally and nationally. Most protective legislation contains "exceptions" for operations

on Indian land, requiring for "protection" merely BIA approval of plans.

Some 60% of the western strippable coal rights are held by the U. S. government in "public trust." Once the power complex is underway in Indian country, the corporations can publicly argue that since they have invested so much, the government must give them the federal trust rights, with no inconvenient reclamation or antipollution hitches.

In December, 1973, seven task forces were set up under the Atomic Energy Commission's Major General Edward Giller to "explore incentives" for synthetic fuel production (from coal and shale). They recommended: low-interest loans to industry; guaranteed loans with taxpayers taking any losses corporations might claim in synthetic fuel ventures; accelerated tax write-offs; high tariffs on imports, raising prices to where synthetics are competitive; government purchase contracts which would put a price-and-profits "floor" under synthetics; easing patent restrictions; and special dispensation from environmental laws.

THE CENTRAL STRUGGLE

The Indians are getting 17½ cents a ton for their stripped-off coal, about the worst price in the world; they are losing most of their land and all their water. Yet almost everyone thinks the treaty

rights struggle, central to Wounded Knee, is unreal: "To speak now of honoring the treaties of the past and to suggest that Indian sovereignties be recognized is to traffic in fictions. It is to deal in dreams impossible of fulfillment," says a St. Paul Dispatch editorialist.

Cursory examination of the treaty-reserved lands shows that if rights were honored, Indians would control 2/3 of America's energy resources. To bring this and other facts to the attention of people already conscious of energy rip-offs, AIM representatives have helped plan a Minneapolis "people's control of energy" conference which the local NAM and other groups are organizing for mid-May. AIM has also been developing contacts with OCAW and UMW. (UMW is quite sensitive to the fact that most of its miners will be laid off for good if the eastern mines are closed in the rush to strip western coal.)

There are many possibilities for non-Indian support and working alliances around the AIM Three-Point Program as it relates to the energy grab. For Point 1—treaty rights—the relationship is obvious. Point 2 is repeal of the 1934 Indian Reorganization Act. This act denies tribes land rights protection by giving over rights disposal to tribal councils (which corporations can easily influence or by-pass). The Department of Interior's role in this and other mineral-energy

exploitations has been sketched above; there is simply no way Indians can control a BIA which is part of Interior, or make it serve them instead of the mineral-mining-petrochemical interests. Point 3, therefore, is removal of the BIA from Interior.

As the Wounded Knee trials grind on—in St. Paul, Sioux Falls, and soon, for 120 Indians, in Lincoln, Nebraska—non-Indian people may begin to see how the Indian challenge to corporate power, framed in terms of treaty rights, relates to other struggles in the U. S. and in Third World nations, long exploited for their natural resources.

If events this summer do turn the spotlight on Montana, people can best assist by educating themselves now, so that the facts and issues sketched above will not be lost in a welter of "spot-action" news, liberal sympathy, and pseudo-revolutionary romanticism, as has thus far been true for Wounded Knee and its courtroom aftermath.

NOTE: The AIM "Three-Point Program Position Paper" is available (25/\$1.00) from the AIM National Office, 553 Aurora, St. Paul 55103. An energy and Indian rights position paper may be available soon. Address requests to the NAM National Office, 2421 E. Franklin Ave., Minneapolis, MN 55406.

Soc-Fem

(Continued from page 11)

excuse for men to ignore them.

But because women continue to experience sexism even in the fight against it, the Women's Caucus will have to attack sexism internally. The Caucus must identify the obstacles to our full participation in NAM, and then make specific demands in structural, procedural, and more broadly political terms. Women must organize for power. We have been too hesitant about this, for which I take some responsibility.

MALE SUPREMACY ON THE LEFT

We should recall that some of the earliest and most convincing indictments of male chauvinism came from women who were furious at men in the left and civil rights movements for their refusal to take women's liberation seriously. This is the *real* source of tension between socialism and feminism as we've seen it in our time. Socialists insist on the unifying potential of their analysis and theory, but ignore the criticisms of feminists and fail to demonstrate any real advances for women.

If NAM is to avoid repeating these mistakes, we have to do several things. First, we must stop speaking of the women's movement as if it were a monolith. At least three distinct tendencies influenced the development of socialist-feminism and are still represented throughout the women's movement.

One is the struggle against male supremacy, originally led by the radical feminists such as the Redstockings. It emphasizes women's culture, life-style transformation, the psychological dimensions of oppressions, sexual politics, and identifies men as the enemy.

The second is the struggle against capitalism, led by women from the old left, the new left, and the civil rights movement. It emphasizes the class struggle, imperialism (linking women's liberation to the anti-war movement, for instance), racism, the need for strategy, and identifies capitalism—not men—as the enemy.

The third is the struggle for concrete reforms, economic equality, and civil rights, led by groups such as NOW and Union W.A.G.E. It emphasizes organization, electoral and legislative approaches, affirmative action, and winning. Rather than the enemy, this tendency (by far the largest) concentrates on identifying its allies.

The theoretical strength of socialist-

feminism is its ability to combine the revolutionary aspects of these three tendencies. The practical strength remains to be demonstrated.

Secondly, we should not equate feminism with separatism. Feminism means simply a commitment to the full liberation of women. Not all feminists are separatists. However, our understanding of socialist-feminism should include an appreciation of the uses of tactical separatism—the one form of separatism which is based on a political approach to power for women and thus necessary for, not in contradiction to, socialist unity. Our shared goal of unity within the movement does not preclude—it *requires* groups organized within it for specific purposes. Pleas for unity, logical arguments pointing to the necessity of a mixed party, analysis of the family which suggests the withering away of "patriarchy:" none of these will unify the socialist movement or substitute for *political* approaches to divisions within it.

Third, and I would hope our attention could soon begin to turn to this task, NAM should begin working on a socialist program for the United States. It must address both production and reproduction. It must understand the centrality of both for the destruction of capitalism and the liberation of women. And it must be feminist in the sense that it addresses the immediate needs and long-range concerns of women, including our aspirations for full participation in political and public life.

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CORRECTION

We apologize for not acknowledging the author of the AFT article in the May issue. It was written by Larry Kahn of Berkeley NAM.

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June 3
(Convention!)
August 5
September 2
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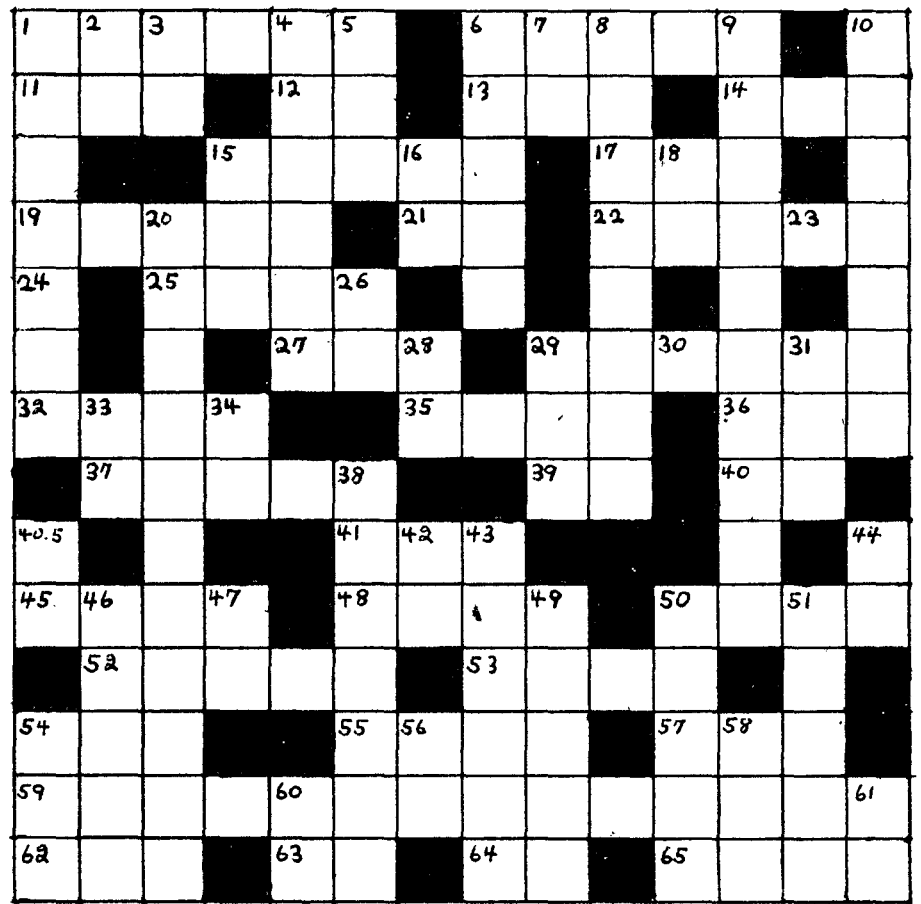
ACROSS

1. Viva La
6. Program critiqued by Marx and Engels in 1875 and 1891.
11. Common conjunctive.
12. North American settler state.
13. To regret.
14. Famous American adventurist-terrorist organization modeled after the Tupamaros.
15. Left-wing Russian periodical edited by Lenin and other Bolsheviks.
17. Immature head louse picked at during intense political debate.
19. Author of *Sex-Pol*.
21. Gilman, a feminist.
22. A type of architecture.
24. Twenty-three down.
25. What movement people do too often.
27. Primitive method of propelling a boat.
29. The United Fruit Company is now called United
32. Not us.
35. A solid fossil fuel of increasing political importance.
36. Bauxite is one.
37. Lousy wine, made by scabs.
39. City noted for its heroin addicts. (abbr.)
40. First person possessive (neither Adam nor Eve).
41. Our highest body (excluding astronauts and athletes).
45. The Williams-Stieger Occupational Safety and Health Act.
48. A snare set for the unwary in hunting or politics.
50. Nanny pushes one.
52. The symbol of Resistance.
53. Finished.
54. A brew.
55. A module of film or tape.
57. The color of the workers' flag.
59. Originally a word for Cortez and company; now for American companies.
62. Gallic existence.
63. Box.

64. A petty-bourgeois party founded in 1901-1902.
65. A vintage Rambler.

DOWN

1. Tubman.
2. Either a clear "cola" or an international organization.
3. Television's only talking horse; also the learning process.
4. A very productive oil well.
5. To inquire.
6. Boycotted fruit.
7. Freebie; ou
8. An excellent way to love.
9. Professional star-gazer.
10. Author of "Negations" and teacher to Angela Davis.
15. Hydrogen Hydroxide crystallized.
16. A cola.
18. Input-Output.
20. It seems likelier every day.
23. Myself.
26. Common preposition.
28. Bathroom (abbr.)
29. What we ought to do with nuclear weapons.
30. Small modifier.
31. Without moisture.
33. Winged deity; also a toxic liquid.
34. A thousandth of a litre, or .00010567 quarts.
38. Region of Canada.
- 40.5. Conscientious Objector.
42. Longer than red, it is used in surveillance.
43. The Constitutional-Democrats who opposed the Bolsheviks.
44. .03937 inches, metric.
46. Individual attempt (pl.).
47. Atomic Energy (abbr.).
49. A kind of bear.
50. South American dictator who recently made a comeback.
51. Mountain chain where Che died.
54. An excellent sleeve lining.
56. Is (Span.).
58. Equal Rights Amendment.
61. Quiet.



LETTERS

Dear NAM Newspaper People,

I am afraid that I have to correct the impression left by the editing of my review of *The Exorcist* which appeared in the last NAM paper. In general I don't think of reviews as having the political weight to justify fussing over shades of meaning. However, in this case a paragraph was cut in a way that completely reversed its meaning, leaving a bad impression not only of me personally, but also of the kind of politics NAM could admit into its pages.

I am referring to the paragraph which describes Father Karras' visit to his mother in an old-age ward and which, as printed, ends with the sentence "Nobody likes the idea of being slobbered over by a bunch of senile wrecks."

In the original I went on to explain that the director takes advantage of the crude and unfeeling attitude towards old people that is promoted by this society, so that he can use them as near-monsters to make his horror effects come off. As it now stands, it looks as though I agree that old people are disgusting, and am criticizing Blatty for affronting our eyes with the sight of them. If I were an old person reading that, I certainly would not feel that NAM had much of a commitment to respecting my human dignity.

Thanks for the opportunity to clear this up.

Michael Rosenthal

Dear NAM paper:

A note on the NAM paper, which I think is generally good. I'm getting a lot of feedback lately that the "parliamentarism" of the newspaper represents a non-dominant perspective in NAM. I think that is true, and perfectly OK. What worries me is that this feedback will develop into an anti-parliamentary position among those who remember Bernstein and Berger rather than Luxemburg and Debs. Particularly worrisome to me is the potential for some to advocate left involvement in Democratic primaries. This might have made some sense in NYC in the 30's; today, though, it is simply bad press for the left parliamentary strategy, both because it is wrong from the standpoint of clarifying class antagonisms and because it serves to alienate the most active parliamentary socialists in the American movement. . .

For socialism,
Dan Luria
Middlesex NAM

energy

(Continued from Page 4)

many." He could have been writing of fusion. Larger and larger concentrations of capital and technology will be needed. Increased government control will be necessary. And, even then, fusion will not become something unique to "Space-ship Earth." It already fires the sun and lights the stars. It is the very center of the universe. So the obvious question remains: Why bother, when we have the sun?

SOLAR ENERGY

Obviously there is tremendous potential in solar power. Just one day of sunlight on Lake Erie (never a certainty) equals all the coal-firing, gas-igniting, and oil-burning that takes place in the U. S. in a year. The problem is collecting it.

Solar energy is diffuse. Archimedes used mirrors in 214 B. C. to incinerate some Roman ships. Today, a French plant uses the same technique to melt metals. An easier method is to let something sit in the sun and gather heat on its own. This procedure, along with the greenhouse effect produced by a glass enclosure, makes a very simple device for heating water. And the same technique can be extended to an efficient system for heating homes with the addition of some rudimentary plumbing to a slanting roof or some sliding panels over a flat, roof reservoir.

But taking heat from the sun is one thing; changing it to electricity is another. The technology for this development emerged as a by-product of the space program, which devised photovoltaic cells to power satellites. Such cells use materials that produce electrical current

directly on contact with sunlight. Their cost per watt is still 100 times that of more conventional equipment, but Textron, Inc. recently stated it hopes to reduce its price by as much as 75 per cent in another year.

Solar cells are now being tested for residential use in at least two buildings in the U. S. Delaware University's "Solar One," a spacious four-bedroom model home, sports a rooftop lined with thin, metallic cells that produce as much as 20 kilowatt hours on a sunny day (18 kwh are the residential average). Its designer says the house could be mass-produced for \$40-\$45,000.

Do-it-yourselfers fiddling on rooftops is the minor league of solar power. In the big league (where the money is) the vision extends from land to sea to sky and offers all the large and challenging problems for engineers that nuclear power offers for physicists.

Thus, a research team at the University of Arizona has proposed a futuristic "solar farm" encompassing 5,000 square miles of desert in the southwest. Other big thinkers envision tapping the reservoir of solar heat that exists in the ocean waters by submerging power plants in the Gulf Stream. There they could recycle the warm water above with the cool water below and in the process produce electricity.

The most ambitious of the solar technologists is Peter Glaser of Arthur D. Little, Inc., a recent recipient of \$197,000 from NASA. He proposes sending mile-wide solar satellites into orbit around the earth. Equipped with solar cells, they would transform sunlight to electricity and beam it to earth in the form of microwaves.

Such are the big ideas that trigger imaginations and command the money in the field of solar technology. Some are at least reasonable alternatives in the future. For example, solar farms would

require much less land than will ultimately be devoured in the coming search for coal. And all have this in their favor: large-scale solar generating systems may be the only alternative to the coming chain-reaction of nuclear power.

POWER AND PROFITS

Of course, these big proposals threaten to turn what is a free and inexhaustible resource into just another conglomeration of power. This is the final problem. Ralph Nader has said that if the oil companies owned a piece of the sun, we would have solar power now. His criticism misses the point. The technology needed to tap this source of energy on a scale large enough to supply even today's power needs will require huge inputs of capital and collections of machinery. Centers of technology this large will buy and sell something as ethereal as sunlight just as easily as the oil companies now sell oil. And there will be no need for the oil companies or the energy industries or even any government corporation to own the sun if they build and own all its collectors.

So it goes. Geothermal power is already largely in the hands of the oil companies. Union Oil sells steam from the Geysers to Pacific Gas & Electric at rates tied to the price of fossil fuels. Windmills now power some farms and hilltop houses, but the big thinkers want 15,000 of them (one per square mile) across the Great Plains. That's not practical, but if it were, wind too would be bought and sold. Because tidal and hydropower projects can work in only a limited number of suitable locations they're ignored. No amount of dam building could keep up with today's growing demand for electricity anyway.

No matter what the potential of these virtually free and inexhaustible sources

of natural energy, their development may be no different from that of oil and coal. Technology marches on. The profit motive demands. And the forces of production that have come to depend on larger and more concentrated sources of energy will automatically favor the huge, centralized solar station over a thousand rooftop collectors.

Alternative sources of energy will not necessarily be alternatives to power. But a new and persuasive argument gives life to the politics of decentralization and popular control. Only local solutions designed for local needs will be able to resist this inexorable movement toward big answers, big money, and big power. And only some form of popular decision-making in overall energy policy will alert people to the trade-offs inherent in every flick of a switch.

Yet no one is asking our opinion. No vote is being taken. And discussions, when they do occur, end casually and haphazardly with the feeling that, well, there's always the sun.

Promises Conversation

(Continued from page 6)

considered by socialists engaged in labor work. It is based on a recognition that material deprivation alone—though suffered by many—will not be the only reason that people in the world's most advanced capitalist nation embrace socialism. As Aronowitz and others have pointed out, it is the *subjective* conditions of life and work under capitalism that have turned women, white and blue collar workers, students, and even some professionals against the system. It is the absence of real democracy, the pervasive sense of powerlessness and alienation fostered by the dominant institutions of American society, which, in the end, will make personal problems political and the once-isolated struggles of many individuals the basis for a cohesive social movement.

To argue, as some leftists have, that what the left and the American people need is a secret, democratic-centralist party (based primarily in the industrial proletariat) is to seriously misunderstand the roots of current discontent and all the radical stirrings of the last decade. A Leninist "vanguard" party may well have been appropriate to the conditions of pre-revolutionary Russia, China, or other Third World countries. It is not, however, a suitable form for the revolutionary movement in this country.

Those radicals who are attempting to develop a more rigorous theoretical basis for their political work, would do well to heed Aronowitz's urging that the left "courageously re-examine every article of faith and be prepared to abandon it."

Unless the essence of our socialist vision becomes democratic control of the means of production by all working people, not centralized state power, and organizations of the left always reflect the commitment to direct popular democracy inherent in that vision, we may end up simply repeating the mistakes of the past in our present painful isolation.

(Continued from page 6)

become behind my viewfinder; what is an incident in my life is the sum of his. He is a freak, totally insulated in one-way power relationships and compulsively anonymous.

Since in his job privacy is a property to be stolen and sold, he guards his own privacy to the point of having no personality at all. He is aware of his targets as victims, and in order to preserve his autonomy he is determined to expose nothing of himself.

Harry's awareness leaves him harried by guilt. (This, incidentally, is not well motivated in the film; you more or less have to take it on faith.) The core of the film is his attempt to break the pattern of his life, and intervene to warn a young couple whose conversation he has taped.

BETTER THAN BLOW-UP

It is difficult to avoid a comparison with *Blow-Up* since the two films follow many of the same plot-twists. However, *Blow-Up* was not really concerned with the social character of photography, beyond a simple-minded connection between taking pictures and sexual aggression. Basically, the photographer-hero of that picture was used as a metaphor of the Artist and his Quest for Truth, a completely mystified set of self-congratulatory abstractions. The limits of his knowledge were treated as though they were the riddle of existence, with the arty solemnity of the *Tibetan Book of the Dead*.

In *The Conversation*, Harry's dilemma is coherently rooted in his social position. The limits of his knowledge are the limits of his power. He can gather information, but he cannot know what it means, because he doesn't know how it is going to be used. His position is that of a high-level functionary. Like most white-collar managers, he has prestige and the illusion of power, but the area over which he can exert that power is tightly circumscribed. When he tries to use it responsibly, he discovers that expertise with the appara-

(Continued from page 10)

is funded through an independent Third Century Corporation, a "not profit" firm that for tax purposes is classified as a "charity."

The Commission will give Rockefeller broad and continuous publicity on major national problems, establishing his reputation as the wise and unselfish statesman. He plans to hold sessions in many major cities in various parts of the country. It promises to become a two-year road show that may rival that of his great, great grandfather, "Doctor" William Rockefeller, who began the family fortune by hawking a snake-oil cancer cure.

THE PEOPLE'S COMMISSION that confronted Rockefeller, focused on the imperialistic and repressive system that he represents and serves. The work of the People's Commission was divided into four areas of research: 1) analyzing and exposing the Rockefeller Commission itself, 2) Rockefeller's role at Attica and

tus is not the same thing as ultimate control.

While *The Conversation* avoids the stifling artiness of *Blow-Up*, it shares with that film a tendency to be cute, about ideas, to tie up every twist and turn of plot into a neat bundle of meaning. This makes it more trivial as it goes along, until it ends up in a string of "what really happened" games. Because Harry is a freak, an exceptional case, his story gives no sense of the options open to the more typical member of his class. I have the feeling that Coppola didn't know where to take the ideas he was playing with and finally arranged them into a neat psychological thriller. Even so, there are many worse things a film could be, and *The Conversation* is consistently exciting and entertaining even where it isn't enlightening.

prison/police brutality in general, 3) his place in U. S. imperialism, and 4) his exploitative position in the domestic economy (the energy "shortage" and welfare cutbacks).

In the week before the Commission's arrival, the People's Commission mass-produced a lengthy pamphlet, arranged screenings of an Attica film, and sponsored an open forum on Rockefeller and his Commission.

The demonstration itself was held the evening the Commission arrived in town. While Commission members were being honored at a reception and banquet at the LBJ Library, demonstrators gathered along both sides of a walkway through which Commission members and guests passed. Signs and banners bore such slogans as "The rich live high while poor people die" and "No critical choices by Rocky's Standard."

As Commission members and their locally prominent friends arrived, the protesters greeted them with robust jeering. Rockefeller and his closest associates arrived by chartered bus, and after a weak attempt at pseudo-friendliness, hurried into the library through a gauntlet of catcalls. When all those willing to risk the crowd were inside, Haywood Burns, an Attica Brothers Defense lawyer, spoke to the demonstrators about the meaning of Attica.

Many hope that the coalition of left groups that came together to form the People's Commission can survive. A viable organizational framework and political program still need to be worked out. It might be worth the effort: one indication of the effectiveness of the demonstration and of the educational work came from Bess Meyerson, who was reported to have said that the new Rockefeller Commission "couldn't possibly have gotten off to a worse start."

Note: Austin NAM will be happy to make available material on the Commission to people in other cities the Commission visits.

People's Party

(Continued from page 7)

struggles. Happily, the growth and development of NAM should allow a reassessment of its relationship to these PP principles. Happily, too, such a reassessment within NAM should be matched by a similar process within the People's Parties, with the result that the differences will come to be seen more as tactical and less as long-run strategic or ideological.

WHO ARE THE PEOPLE'S PARTIES; WHAT IS THE STATE OF THEIR PROGRAMMATIC POLITICAL ACTIVITY?

Ideologically, the PP is the sum of three distinct political perspectives. First is the left populist perspective, dominant in the politics and activity of most of the affiliated parties, including the Liberty Union, Good Neighbors Union, and the New Party. Second is the transitional perspective of the California Peace and Freedom Party. Traditionally strong in legislative reforms aimed at safeguarding third parties, the most recent PFP convention for the first time nominated avowedly revolutionary socialists to run on an explicitly socialist platform. Third is the socialist electoral perspective of the Michigan Human Rights Party (HRP), the first third party to survive on that state's ballot. Particularly solid on feminism and gay rights, HRP is the most successful of the People's parties, as well as the most ideologically advanced.

It is interesting to note that the open socialism of the HRP is an *outgrowth* of

party development itself. The NAM notion that socialism *must* be made the issue from the start is defied by HRP experience: the party was founded by socialists, joined by non-yet-socialist radicals, and became socialist some two years after its founding. This suggests that solid political work *creates* socialists, and that commitment to socialism may be an unrealistic criterion for initial membership in political organizations.

Besides electoral activity, many of the People's Parties have been able to tap the pool of young and middle-aged people previously influenced by primarily cultural-radical politics. One example is the San Francisco Socialist Coalition's Food Conspiracy, which combines political education with cheap food, and which rejects unpaid voluntarism in its operation. Another has been the successful strike-support of HRP. That party provided daily pickets and office work for two major Michigan strikes, and was instrumental in the recent victory of a union shop for University of Michigan teaching assistants.

ON THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY

Key in the activity of all the People's Parties is the demonstration of the bankruptcy of the Democratic Party. Because, unlike NAM, the PP has seen the need, for the last three years at least, for a national party, the task of separating people from the Democrats is not simply a tactic for getting votes, but an important task of longer-run political education. It is a distressing sight indeed to see programmatic left political work suspended every four years in a futile attempt to rehabilitate an incorrigibly pro-capitalist party.

The proof that the Democratic Party is no friend of the left is no abstraction to the People's Parties. In many cities and states, Democrats have outdone Republicans in attempts to keep the PP off the ballot. In Ann Arbor, the Democrats refused to support a preferential voting scheme which would have hurt only the Republicans. They also got the Republicans to run no candidate in HRP's strongest ward, so as to shut out HRP in a head-on Dem-HRP race. (Kathy Kozashenko, a gay activist tied to HRP's platform, still beat the Democrat handily.)

In conclusion, the solid grass roots work of the People's Parties, coupled with the continuing ideological strength of HRP and the shift to open socialism in the PFP, make the PP an important and valuable part of the American democratic left. The Parties appear strongest on just those points on which NAM has shown signs of weakness, namely, on the class nature of the Democratic Party and on the central position of parliamentary activity in the struggle to develop the mass base necessary for a viable socialist movement. A new socialist party can ill afford to ignore or exclude either the principles or the people of the PP.

I would invite NAM members, whether or not they are sympathetic to PP strategy and tactics, to study the People's Parties, so that when the issue of merger or affiliation comes up, they will have the basis for an informed *political* decision. People should write Chuck Avery, People's Party National Office, 1065 31st Street, NW, Georgetown, Columbia 20007, for further information.

Rank and File

(Continued from page 7)

supported the SUP, which based much of its campaign on the appeal to racist prejudice. "...unions that were in any way Communist-line," he later elaborates, "utilized blacks as political footballs. . .but. . .no member of the Sailors Union could tell that to a black man. . . because blacks were totally barred from the Sailors Union" (thus, presumably, being spared the indignity of being political footballs). He concludes: "To this day I believe the bar against American blacks is more political, in the small 'p' sense of the word, than it is racial. Confrontation with guilt is feared."

This is a semantic evasion of the issue. The nature of politics is determined, not by the size of the "p" but by their content; they can be anti-racist or racist. This was no small distinction between "Communist-line" unions and such unions as the SUP. On this score the Lynds' volume offers much relevant evidence.

Undoubtedly, some readers will quarrel with other personal historians, for it is the communication of experience, not ideology, that binds the book into a whole. By now, contemptuous attitudes toward such experience, and toward the working class, especially industrial workers, are not as fashionable as they once were on the Left. Therefore, the Lynds' volume is more apt to be appreciated for what it offers: a fairly representative compilation of working class experience at the crucial local union and "point of production" levels.

(Continued from Page 1)

COPE's campaign for a "veto-proof" congress is the most ambitious it has launched in some years. For organized labor "veto-proof" means two-thirds Democratic. Thus, it is reverting to its pre-1972 game plan. But they may soon see that the new game plan is outdated today.

NEW CONDITIONS

The new global economic conditions that have prompted Nixon's development of new strategies will not go away with the election of a Democratic congress or president. Leading Democrats generally supported Nixon's attempts to deal with the increasing competitiveness of Europe and Japan through foreign and fiscal policy. They too are looking for strategies to avoid the possibility of trade war, depression and war, or revolution in the age of the multi-national corporation.

It will require a political perspective that is divorced from the imperatives of modern imperialism to meet the demands for job security and economic stability that the labor movement is raising now. Certainly the Democrats can't provide this. They have utterly failed to propose measures in Congress that would fundamentally challenge the prevalent economic trends. The one exception to this rule is the Burke-Hartke trade bill, which is supported by labor, but not by most Democrats.*

NIXON STANDS ALONE

At this point the social forces that brought Nixon to power have totally fragmented. Even the stalwarts of his own party are turning on him. Hugh Scott—who has been Nixon's main man in the Senate—described the transcripts' disclosures as a "deplorable, shabby, disgusting, and immoral performance."

The transcripts have proven conclusively that the President participated in coverup strategy discussions with Haldeman, Erlichmann, and Dean. They prove that he knew of the participation

of his closets associates in spying activities; that Nixon, through Deputy Attorney General Petersen, tried to keep the lid on the Justice Department investigation of Watergate; that he was well aware of hush money that was being paid to Watergate defendants; that the White House authorized what *Newsweek* politely called "highly irregular 'national security' bugging and tapping;" that he acted to "obstruct justice" by publicly



saying that "no major figure should be given immunity," while privately confiding that this was a threat to shut up John Dean; and, clearly, that Nixon lied about his activities with regard to Watergate on national TV. All this comes from the Richard Nixon edition of the Watergate tapes. Few people have any doubt any longer about what Nixon was

Folks,

Some of the members of the Yellow Springs chapter wrote these words to the tune of Red River Valley. I thought it might be worthy of the paper..

WE HEAR YOU'RE LEAVING

From this office we say you are leaving.
When the people, they say you are through.
All your rent you will have to start paying.
Richard Nixon, we bid you adieu.

Well, our homes and our kids are all freezing;
And our wages you froze solid too.
But the prices are always increasing;
Richard Nixon it's time to dump you.

Illegal bombs to the east you sent falling;
In a battle you kept from our view.
For an end to the war we were calling.
Now we call for an end to you too.

Well, your staff and your cab'net are crumbling,
For the crimes that we should pin on you.
But despite all those tapes you're erasing,
At Watergate you have met your Waterloo.

Good luck,

Ellis Jacobs
Mad River NAM

trying to cover up.

But even with his dirty linen flapping in the wind and with no visible means of support, Richard Nixon's continued objective is the maintenance of his personal power. In spite of the enormous and growing pressure for resignation, Nixon clings to the presidency and appears to be inviting his impeachment.

ILLEGAL TRICKS



Now that his direct appeals to the people—his personal efforts in the losing campaign of a Republican congressional candidate in Michigan, and his attempt to go over the heads of the Judiciary Committee by arguing his innocence on national TV as he turned over the transcripts—have failed, Nixon has moved from dirty tricks to legal tricks. The main weapon in his limited arsenal now seems to be the legal ambiguity of what constitutes an impeachable offense. We

can now look forward to interminable legal debate on this question as Nixon's attorney, James St. Clair, tries to buy time for his condemned client.

Of course, the definition of an impeachable offense is a political issue and not a legal question. It will ultimately be decided by Republicans and Democrats in ways that they view as most advantageous to their parties. But in the minds of most Americans Richard Nixon is guilty and should be removed from office. It is an important sign for socialists that even big labor, conservative as it is, knows that impeachment is not enough. ■

* For more information on this, see "Labor and Politics in the '70s," NAM Discussion Bulletin No. 7, available from NAM National Office, 2421 E. Franklin Ave. So, Minneapolis, MN 55406. The cost is \$1.25.

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Portuguese Coup

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MOZAMBIQUE: A POLITICAL SOLUTION?

General Spinoza has said that a political solution does not mean independence. He apparently hopes for a larger degree of autonomy and self-government within a greater Portuguese federation. FRELIMO, the front for the liberation of Mozambique, the main guerrilla force, has announced that it intends to continue fighting. While formerly limited to the far northern reaches of the colony, FRELIMO has struck deeper and deeper in the last year, finally attacking and disrupting the railway and economic activity of the major port city of Beira, halfway down the coast, and heading for the other major railroad to Lourenco Marques in the far south. A major shift in tactics by FRELIMO from the building of popular base areas with extensive social services—now established in many areas—to direct military attacks on railways, communications and white farms has not been successfully resisted by the 60,000-strong Portuguese army, composed mainly of black mercenaries and young draftees.

Apparently, the main hope of General Spinoza is the Group for the Union of Mozambique (GUM), a new mixed race political formation, of white settlers and assimilated Africans—plus a few defectors from the guerrilla groups. He will probably attempt to place enough black faces in a GUM-lead quasi-autonomous government to dissuade the guerrillas from continuing the war. Whether FRELIMO will consent to this without more fighting and whether the army and the new junta will wish to continue fighting an avowedly lost cause remains to be seen.

PORTUGAL: A RESURGENT LEFT

Whether the Portuguese army will continue the fight will be determined in Portugal itself. Achieving a political solu-



Mozambique guerrillas

tion involving a compromise by the guerrillas without a heavy military effort will require great stability and power in Lisbon. In order to achieve that power, the junta is making great efforts at popular domestic reform. It has fairly systematically dismantled the manifestations of right wing power in Portugal. PIDE, the political police, has been abolished and hundreds of its agents are in jail—replacing former political prisoners with hardly time to change the sheets. The reactionary holdouts in the army have been defeated or isolated. The government political party has been abolished, while the workers themselves in the government-owned post office, railways, electricity, airlines, and telephone services have dismissed their managements because of connections with the old regime.

These are precisely the programs of the long illegal forces of the left which

are now flourishing. With a renewal of political freedom, underground and exiled leaders are appearing before large enthusiastic crowds, while newly legal political parties and trade unions are quickly signing up members. All this while large crowds are parading in the streets with flowers (carnations have become the symbol of the new freedom), expressing the pent-up demands accrued during a half-century of repression.

The Communist Party, in particular, has benefited from the new freedoms. During the entire period of fascism the Communists kept a clandestine structure alive, with thousands of activists in factories, offices, and schools. In the military, Communists helped to build the movement that initiated the coup and now call on that movement to continue. They are generally credited with being the most legitimate anti-fascist organization.

For this reason Spinoza is obliged to work with the Communists. He has already begun a series of talks with them and other leftist organizations. The strategy that has emerged from the talks seems to be to satisfy the left by granting them a measure of power in the military-civilian government that will soon be appointed to rule the country until scheduled elections next year, and accepting their domestic programs. He is not prepared, however, to withdraw from the colonies. He is against an immediate ceasefire and negotiations, and claims that self-determination for the colonies will require a long period of preparation.

The left's response to Spinoza's strategy is still developing. The major left parties favor a ceasefire and self-determination, but are biding their time in attacking Spinoza. They like the carrot he is offering and remember the stick of fascism too vividly to test their strength yet. In spite of this fear, though, hundreds of activists recently swarmed over the military air base near Lisbon temporarily preventing the departure of fresh troops for Africa. Within a few days of the coup, General Spinoza found it necessary to threaten the use of force to maintain order.

TWO MAIN QUESTIONS remain to be answered: Can a political solution be worked out between the guerrilla movements for independence and the new government which wants to retain control over the political and economic activity of the African colonies? And if not, are the young officers in power willing to use force on the Portuguese people in order to continue the use of force on the African peoples? With the right in shambles and the left resurgent, the whole equation balances on the officers, whose politics are as yet unformed and naive. If these officers continue the current atmosphere of freedom and are not prematurely provoked into a repression of the left, the Portuguese people may yet play a role in freeing their African colonial subjects, to say nothing of themselves. ■

France

(Continued from Page 1)

DIVISIONS IN THE SOCIALIST MOVEMENT

In spite of the overwhelming support for the Common Program among leftists, there are still serious and deep divisions in the socialist movement. These divisions may well be as important as the new unity in determining future developments. Not only did May 1968 set the stage for the present electoral offensive of the left, it produced a radical critique of all electoralist strategies. There has been a great upsurge of radical groups which reject the hegemony of the parties and emphasize new issues such as ecology, women's liberation, the plight of prisoners and migrant workers. The Trotskyists have also developed two fairly strong organizations which have a little working class support and much more support among students.

At least as effective as these groups have been those radicals who joined or emerged in the small Unified Socialist Party and the CFDT union federation. These radicals have consistently fought for a broadening of the struggle to new social concerns and for a more aggressive strategy. It was the CFDT, for example, which led the famous strike at Lip.

Radical forces reject an emphasis on elections and the consequent flattery of middle class voters. They demand a



FRANCOIS MITTERAND

socialism built from the bottom up and based on self-management. If they supported the electoral bid of Francois Mitterand, it was mainly to win themselves a more favorable terrain for extra-parliamentary struggle.

So far the radical left has been able to maintain a high level of agitation and struggle, in some cases even against the will of the dominant left organizations. There is every reason to believe that the results of the elections will increase the ability of the radicals to mobilize for militant action. Then and perhaps only then can the provisions of the Common Program become the basis for an irresistible drive toward socialism. ■

SOME MAIN POINTS FROM THE "COMMON PROGRAM"

- EXISTING DEMOCRATIC rights are to be protected and extended: "If the nation withdrew its confidence from the parties of the majority, these latter would renounce their power to return to the struggle in the opposition."
- Special police forces and the French "CIA" will be abolished. Rights of prisoners and independence of lawyers are guaranteed. Censorship of news programs on the state-controlled radio and television will cease.
- Nationalizations will hit all banks, savings and loan associations, and insurance companies, all mineral resources, the armament, aeronautic, nuclear and pharmaceutical industries, most electronic and chemical companies. Partial nationalization of steel, oil, air and sea transport, water, telecommunications, and privately-owned highways.
- (The French government already owns railroads, the telephone, television and radio, gas and electricity, and part of the automobile industry.)
- Further nationalizations may be initiated by the workers in the company concerned.
- Economic democracy will be assured in the public sector: each nationalized industry will be run by an administrative council elected in its majority by the workers in that industry and the consumers served by it, with the state appointing a minority of the council members; administrative councils will participate in establishing the economic plan for the nation and will choose their own policies, budgets, and markets in the execution of the plan.
- There will be full employment, a rising standard of living, an end to wage and job discrimination based on age, sex, and nationality, a minimum wage which increases more rapidly than higher salaries. New laws will govern work pace, limit, night shifts, restrict the time a worker can be assigned to the hardest and most dangerous work. Work time will be reduced for those in the worst jobs so they can be trained for better ones. New technologies will be developed to provide more interesting work for all.
- Abortion will be legalized. One thousand new daycare centers will be opened.
- The tax structure will be reformed to shift the burden to the rich and to make corporations pay a large share of the costs of building and operating public transport and of restoring the environment.
- Small farmers and shopkeepers will be favored by tax laws, with the government encouraging the formation of production and distribution cooperatives and the utilization of the best available technologies. There will be restrictions on the implantation of department stores and supermarkets by monopolies and government help for the formation of cooperative distribution centers.
- The nuclear strike force will be abolished, arms sales to colonialist regimes halted, the right to self-determination of the last French colonies recognized. The government will stay in the Common Market and NATO but work for the simultaneous dissolution of both NATO and the Warsaw Pact.