

# A Political Exorcism: Dick's Last Goodbye

by Nick Rabkin  
Oakland NAM

WE DON'T HAVE Richard Nixon to kick around any more. And politicians from both parties are falling all over themselves to congratulate the Constitution and the two-party system for demonstrating once again the resilience of American democracy.

Much of the pious phrasemongering is undoubtedly as insincere as Nixon's own pathetic defenses.

Nixon's resignation is no victory for democracy. If anything, it demonstrates the same thing that the Watergate break-in itself did—that the two parties must parade a facade of democracy to rule in a time when American capitalism and the parties that serve it foist more of their worldwide problems on the American people.

While the dramatic events of the last months are not the death agony of either capitalist party, like

Andrew Johnson's impeachment, they will be decisive for the course of American politics in the years immediately ahead. Unlike the Johnson impeachment, however, the nature of the political dislocations that forced the resignation are not clear, nor is it easy to tell where the dust will settle once this storm has blown over. But political dislocations run deep if they are powerful enough to dethrone a president.

## JOHNSON'S IMPEACHMENT

When Andrew Johnson was impeached the political issue that motivated his opposition was clear: Johnson, from Tennessee, would not accept a radical reconstruction of the South after the Civil War. He had built a political career as a Republican in a border state that was traditionally Democratic. His Republicanism was tempered by the political compromises required to make him a popular figure in Andrew Jackson's home state.

More radical Republicans, representing the interests of northern capitalists, saw reconstruction as an opportunity to turn the South's military defeat into permanent political and economic subservience to the industrial North. Johnson stood in the way of this and they used impeachment to paralyze him and impose reconstruction. The program that followed established a coalition of northern industry, reformists, and southern Blacks that was the power base of the Republican Party until at least 1877.

No such clash of political interests, and no new alliances of interests in American society were behind the upheaval that led to Nixon's resignation. The senators who opened the Nixonian Pandora Box last year and the Congresspeople who recommended impeachment to the House did not have interests that differed substantially from Nixon's. Most of them were enthusiastic about his policies. They applauded detente with the Soviets and China; they supported his wage/price controls; they approved of his disengagement from Indochina; they were enthusiastic about the U.S. role in the mideast. Some had differences with Nixon over domestic policies, but Congresses and Presidents have disagreed before without resorting to the kind of political exorcism that we have witnessed.

The Watergate break-in and the coverup were in essence attempts by the Nixon administration to rule a country that was falling apart at the seams without dropping the appearance of democratic institutions that legitimize rule in this society. Nixon was faced with a restive population at home, fed up with the war in Vietnam and the deteriorating quality of life in the country. And he was faced with a serious ero

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# NEW AMERICAN MOVEMENT

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## Wounded Knee Trials

# A Policy of Harassment

by Diane Wiley  
Minneapolis NAM

Wounded Knee Information Service

*The Wounded Knee prosecutions represent the most open case of government agencies in recent years to repress a movement for social change.*

—Ken Tilsen, Defense Attorney

On July 24, after 98 court days and the testimony of 79 witnesses, the government rested its case against Dennis Banks and Russell Means for their roles in last year's 71-day siege of Wounded Knee. An analysis of the evidence reveals no legal reason to believe that either Banks or Means are criminally responsible for any of the 10 felony counts against them. The testimony has, however, demonstrated a systematic governmental policy of harassment of members and supporters of the American Indian Movement (AIM).

The initial claim of the prosecution was that this is "just another criminal trial." However, at the conclusion of the government's case, prosecutor R. D. Hurd told a local radio announcer, "There is a fundamental question as to whether or not the violation of laws is to be permitted in our society in order to bring about change."

Justic Dept. memos which have surfaced during the trial catalogue a strategy of surveillance, infiltration, and harassment. Deputy Atty.-Gen. Ralph Ericson cited AIM in a November 1972 memo as the object of an intensified intelligence-gathering effort by the FBI to "develop detailed advance information concerning planned demonstrations and disorders." In March 1973, then U.S. Atty.-Gen. Richard Kleindienst stated that the South Dakota Grand Jury's power to indict would be used as a bargaining tool at Wounded Knee. "We have some sealed indictments to use in negotiations," he told the Phoenix Federal Bar Association.

A motion to dismiss the charges has been filed by the defense claiming that the prosecution failed to produce substantive evidence linking Banks and Means to any criminal acts; that the prosecutions violate the Sioux Treaty of 1868; and that no crimes were committed against federal agents since the

agents constituted an illegal assembly in presence. Judge Nichol has indicated he will dismiss some of the counts.

Whether the U.S. will rectify its past policy and honor its treaty obligations to Indian people is the real issue of the trial. Quoting Senator Sam Ervin, that treaties are "on a par with the U.S. Constitution," Means considers the trial a vehicle to get the treaty issue before the American public. Although the prosecution has sought to keep all testimony relating to the treaty away from the jury, the defense

## Northern Ireland

# Strike Points to Class Unity

by Margaret Fay

IN THE MAY issue of the *Spectator* (the journal of the British Conservative Party), Lord Cecil King was prompted by the threat of the Ulster General Strike to issue the following ominous warning to his readership:

The landed gentry and industrialists (who controlled the Orange Order and the politics of the 6 counties) have lost, and power lies with the Protestant working class. This has a particular significance as it means that there is now no class difference between the politically dominant Protestants and the Catholics.

The clear implication of Lord King's warning was the struggle in Northern Ireland is entering a new phase of class alliance and conflict.

But Lord King devalued his insight when he went on to identify the spokesman of the emergent working-class movement in Ulster as the Reverent Ian Paisley and William Craig. Paisley is a religious bigot and a mouthpiece of fanatical Protestantism. Billy Craig is a hardened professional politician, both a manipulator and a puppet of the Orange Order. His political ambitions are to turn the clock back to pre-1969 days of Unionist domination in Ulster, when the Protestant community in Ulster was united in its political support of the Unionist Party (that stood for the continued Union of Ulster with the British).

In those days of Protestant unity, the Unionist Party was secure in its monopoly of the government of Northern Ireland (backed by the forces of British law and order). They knew that whatever happened in elections, the Unionist Party would always be re-



Militant Protestant workers jeer strikebreakers at Belfast shipyard

turned with a 2/3 majority. Up until the workers' general strike in May, Craig and Paisley were able to whip up a following by their fanatical rhetoric. But in the general strike, the workers tried and tested their own organizational strength, for the first time using their own weapon (instead of relying on the Word of God): industrial action in the service of a political goal—the successful sabotage of the British-imposed political settlement known as the Sunningdale Agreement.

In the pre-strike planning days of April and early May, the Ulster Workers' Council (UWC) was determined to be aligned with none of the existing political parties. After the strike, they held a 3-day conference to discuss political strategy following the collapse of the British settlement. Neither Paisley

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BULK RATE  
U.S. Postage

## Independence for Puerto Rico

# Solidarity Comm. Builds Garden Rally

by John Frampton, Middlesex NAM

THE RECENTLY-FORMED Puerto Rican Solidarity Committee has initiated a major campaign in support of Puerto Rican independence. The first big step in this campaign will be a massive rally at the 20,000-seat Madison Square Garden in New York City on October 27. The rally is being organized around the slogans: "Independence for Puerto Rico!" and "A Bi-Centennial Without Colonies!" The committee has so far gathered widespread support for the Solidarity Day rally, with dozens of nationally-based organizations committing themselves to working towards the mobilization. The rally could thus be an important step towards the unification of the Left in the U.S.

The New American Movement voted unanimously at its National Convention in July to "do everything possible to encourage East Coast chapters to put a major effort into building the Madison Square Garden action" and "to encourage chapters in other parts of the country to work in or help organize Puerto Rican Solidarity Day Committees."

Aside from the obvious centrality of Puerto Rico in anti-imperialist work in this country, the broad base represented by the National Board of the Puerto Rican Solidarity Committee opens up exciting possibilities that the rally will usher in a movement away from the fragmentation that has characterized the Left in this country for many years.

The National Board includes: Ramon Arbona (Puerto Rican Socialist Party), Ella Baker (a southern Black activist), Fran Beal (Third World Women's Alliance), Clyde Bellecourt (American Indian Movement), Father Phillip Berrigan, Ben Chavis (National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression), Noam Chomsky, Burt Corona (CASA, Hermanidad General de Trabajadores), David Dellinger (*Liberation* magazine), James Forman (Black activist), David Garcia (Reverend, St. Marks Church, NY), Corky Gonzalez (Crusade for Justice), Arthur Kinoy (National Lawyers' Guild), Mary Kochiyama (Asian Americans for Action), Antonio Rodriguez (National Committee to free Los Tres), Irwin Silber (*Guardian*), and Cora Weiss (Women's Strike for Peace).

The main objective of the rally is to begin exposing the true colonial position of Puerto Rico and refute the lie that Puerto Rico's designation as a "Commonwealth" somehow endows it with an "autonomy" which magically makes it no longer a colony. The United Nations, in an historic decision on Puerto Rico, voted last December to request the U.S. "to refrain from taking any measures which might obstruct the full and free exercise by the people of their inalienable right of self-determination and independence, as well as of their economic, social, and other rights, and in particular to prevent any violation of these rights [referring almost explicitly to the proposed construction of an oil superport and refineries] by corporate bodies under its jurisdiction."

Only the United States, the United Kingdom, Portugal, South Africa, and France voted against the resolution. It was also decided to prepare a complete report to be considered this year. At that time it appears the issue of Puerto Rico will receive a full discus-

*We, residents of the United States, declare our support for the independence of Puerto Rico... & demand a Bi-Centennial Without Colonies!*

sion in the United Nations shortly after the rally, further increasing the importance of the event.

The unity of anti-imperialism and the struggle for socialism in the U.S. is particularly clear when the colonial situation of Puerto Rico is examined. The same energy companies that we face are planning a superport and enormous refineries in Puerto Rico. Mineral companies are hoping to strip-mine the beautiful central mountains of the island, totally devastating them and polluting most of Puerto Rico's water supply in the process. We are seeing a new phenomenon—the export of pollution and ecological destruction. If these projects are carried out, not only will Puerto Rico be ravaged, but the day of reckoning for American capitalism will be put off. (See story in January 1974 *NAM Newspaper*.)

The low wages in Puerto Rico (approximately one-third that of U.S. workers in a country integrated in the U.S. economy and forced to shop in the U.S. market) are a direct source of big profits for U.S. companies with plants there. They are also a weapon used against U.S. workers. Many workers' struggles in this country have been defeated by the threat to relocate a plant in Puerto Rico (or its actual relocation). The migration of Puerto Ricans to the U.S. (about 40% live in the U.S.) has coincided with times of high employment in this country, reducing the pressure for wage demands. These same workers are the first to be fired when the employment pressure slackens.

The program for the rally is nearing completion. The tentative list of speakers includes Clyde Bellecourt, Burt Corona, Angela Davis, Dave Dellinger, Corky Gonzalez, Irwin Silber, and Helen Sobel. Juan Mari Bras (Secretary General of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party) will give the main address. Revolutionary culture will not be neglected. Dany Rivera (an extremely popular singer in Puerto Rico who has been excluded from radio and TV there), Ray Barreto's all-star band (assembled for the rally), Rita Morena, Phil Ochs, Ossie Davis, Holly Near, and others are tentatively slated to appear. Twenty thousand people—white and Afro-Americans, Haitians, Chicanos, Native Americans, Dominicans, Asians, and others—will join with Puerto Ricans: It will be an historic event in internationalism.

The list of organizations which have pledged their support is impressive. It includes: American Indian Movement, Centro de Accion Social Autonomo (CASA), Cruzada por la Justicia, *Guardian*, Interim Committee for a

Mass Party of the People, Irish Republican Clubs, *Liberation* Magazine, *Monthly Review*, National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression, National Lawyers' Guild, National Committee to Free Los Tres del Barrio, North American Congress on

Latin America, New American Movement, October League, People's Party, Puerto Rican Socialist Party, Revolutionary Students Brigade, Revolutionary Union, Socialist Workers Party, Southern Conference Education Fund, Third World Women's Alliance, War Resisters League, *Workers World*, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Women's Strike for Peace, Workers World Party, and the Young Socialist Alliance.

Plans are underway for a supporting rally in Los Angeles and a simultaneous or videotape TV presentation in Puerto Rico is being considered. Local Solidarity Committees are already functioning in Boston, Chicago, Detroit, Hartford and New Haven (Conn.), Northern New Jersey, New York City, and Los Angeles.

For more information contact the NAM National Office or Puerto Rican Solidarity Day Committee  
P.O. Box 319, Cooper Station  
New York, NY 10003  
(212) 673-0540

## China solidifies gains of upheaval

by Judy MacLean  
Pittsburgh NAM

THE CURRENT movement to criticize Lin Biao and Confucius in the People's Republic of China has been likened in the western press to the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution of the late sixties. When I was there in May of this year the movement was in full swing, emblazoned by big-character posters on the walls in several cities. But the mood of China was far more relaxed than during the Cultural Revolution. The schools were all open and in general there was much less upheaval.

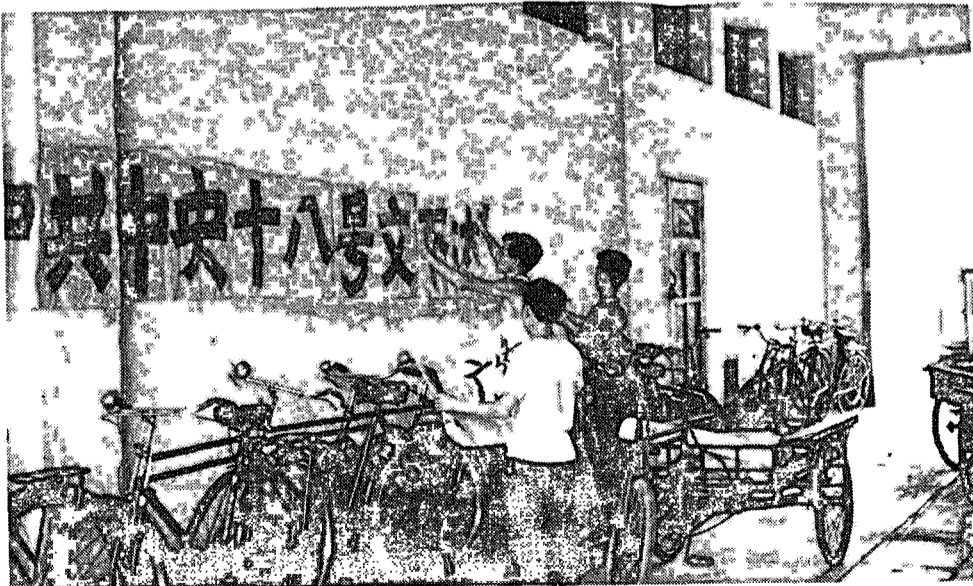
The movement, initiated by the Communist Party, has been picked up everywhere—in neighborhoods and schools, factories, and communes. Everyone discussed it with us. Kindergartners even sang songs about it. In every institution, hundreds of articles and posters on the movement were written and discussed. In many ways, this movement is an affirmation and consolidation of the values established during the Cultural Revolution. But it

also is a reaction against some aspects of the Cultural Revolution, notably the policies of Lin Biao. (Lin was head of the People's Liberation Army and died in a plane crash in 1971. He had been attempting to flee China after an unsuccessful coup.)

The reactions against the Cultural Revolution were most evident in the following areas:

*The Little Red Book* and the Cult of Mao—A former U.S. citizen who has resided in Peking for 25 years told us that the Lin Biao-edited *Little Red Book of Quotations from Mao Tse Tung* is now considered to have been condescending to workers and peasants because it implied that they could only understand quotations and not whole essays by Mao. I saw *Little Red Books* only in the stores for foreign tourists. Mao badges are out of style, too. I saw only one elderly man wearing one, though there were collections on display in two homes I visited. The Movement of Workers, Peasants, and Soldiers to Study Philosophy has been quietly going on for

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Workers pasting up big character posters on a factory wall. This is an important avenue of free speech in China where authorities are not permitted to intervene.

Photo by Judy MacLean

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.

### NATIONAL OFFICE:

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

### NEWSPAPER:

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

## CWA Leads Unstrike

# Working Conditions Fester

by Neal Goldberg  
Los Angeles NAM # 2

Unions representing 750,000 telephone workers reached tentative agreement with the Bell system and American Telephone and Telegraph (AT&T), averting the biggest nationwide telephone strike in history. The new pact came less than two hours before a planned walkout that workers had authorized earlier by a seven to one vote.

The agreement covers 500,000 members of the Communications Workers of America (CWA), and 300,000 additional workers in the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers and the Independent Bargaining Council employed at the Bell operating companies and Western Electric, AT&T's manufacturing arm.

This marked the first time CWA had successfully coordinated its national bargaining with other unions in negotiations with AT&T.

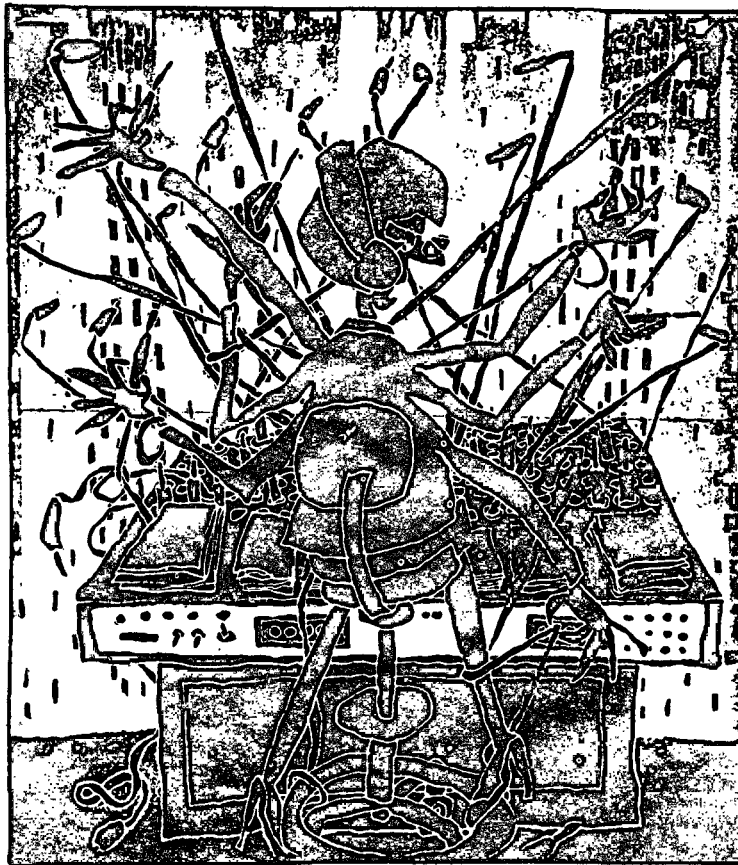
The unions were demanding wage and fringe benefit increases of about 14% annually, and an "agency shop" clause requiring workers to join a union or pay an equivalent in union dues. The new settlement will come to more than 35.8% over three years, with "substantial improvement" on the agency shop issue.

### UNDERLYING PROBLEMS

Yet even if the strike had taken place, two key problems would have weakened its effectiveness.

The first is automation. In 1946, the first nationwide phone strike was settled in two weeks because it quickly brought most phone operations to a halt. Today, almost total automation makes it extremely difficult for walkouts to seriously disrupt any level of the system, whether local or long distance calling. With the highest ratio of workers to supervisors of any company in the world, AT&T can now easily use replacement personnel to fill in the gaps at the switchboard. Maintenance and installation would eventually suffer, but not for several weeks. Only at Western Electric, where telephone equipment is manufactured in a factory setting, can a traditional strike really hurt, but again, only after a long period.

A second problem is the history of conflict and disunity between men and women telephone workers. Traditionally, the telephone industry has been a women's domain, with them making up the bulk of the work force. In the past, they have mainly been employed as operators, service representatives, and clerks while taking their orders from male supervisors. Male workers, on the other hand, have gotten the jobs as installers, splicers, and technicians, in the so-called plant department. Even the recent Supreme Court decision to open up these previously all male trades will probably have little effect on this sexual division of labor.



Moreover, these differences in pay scales, working conditions, and job roles have kept both groups apart, while the deep-rooted sexism of the company, the unions, and male workers have weakened the potential for unity. In addition, many women often work for the phone company en route to another career, as an interlude before marriage and the home, or as a means to consumerism—all of which has helped to limit their militancy. For its part, the company has developed an elaborate reward system to foster the illusion that these women are not workers at all, but "middle class."

### THE CHANGING WORKPLACE

But in the past decade, new conditions have begun to emerge. Throughout the Bell system workers have started to rebel against the low wages, sexism, and oppressive working conditions that they have stood for so long.

The first underlying cause of this revolt is the impact of 25 years of inflation. This has put telephone workers in a worse relative position vis-a-vis other workers than in 1947. In 1939, Bell employees were the seventh best paid sector of the work force in the country. By 1968 their rank had fallen to 47th.

The second cause is increasing technological unemployment that has hit women especially hard. Whereas in 1944 752 of all telephone employees were women, today that figure is probably not more than one half. Automatic dialing, long-distance dialing, and automatic message accounting have resulted in a long-term decline in the number of operators' jobs. At the same time, the jobs of male plant workers

have been increasing in both absolute and relative terms. Overall, this new threat to the job security of women has been a factor in the rising militancy of all phone workers.

Third is the emergence of new attitudes toward the job. A government report in 1946 described the job of operator running a variety of switchboards as "somewhat similar to operating different machines in a factory." The work is "exacting" and a "fagged-out feeling and tense nerves at the end of the day are common. . . ." Plus, the constant harassment of management: supervisors "patrol the board—assisting, listening in, coaching, and making proficiency analyses of the operator's performance"—leave further scars by the end of each shift. Yet, despite this regimentation, the phone company before had little trouble finding workers to fill its ranks.

By 1969, however, a drastic change had taken place. This was not a change in the conditions of the job, which had remained surprisingly the same, but in the willingness of young women to put up with it. By the end of 1969, 27% of all operators had less than 6 months experience. Bell's national operator turnover had skyrocketed to 62% annually, including veteran as well as rookie operators. In the area of new operators alone, in 1969 Bell interviewed one million, hired 125,000, but at the end of the year were left with a net gain of only 15,000.

The company's response was twofold. First they have changed the qualifications for new hires. Before World War II an operator had to be a high school graduate, at least 18, but not much older, and living either at

home or with relatives. Most of all, she had to be white. Recently, however, a New York Bell executive bemoaned the fact that no longer did the innocent graduate rush, diploma in hand, to the telephone company employment office. Instead he was forced to hire blacks, Puerto Ricans, and Chicanos for every job category—skilled and unskilled, male and female. By 1970 in New York City, for example 25% of Bell's employees were Black. No doubt equal hiring practices have contributed to this trend. But despite these new openings, third world workers have been getting the lowest paying, dead-end jobs.

The second response of the company has been job enrichment and reorganization. In one instance, at Indiana Bell, a new way was developed to compile directories. Before the change, the process had been broken down into 21 steps, each done by a different person in an assembly line procedure. With the change, each worker was allowed to put the entire book together him/herself. As one clerk said, "it's a book of my own." As a result, errors and turnover dropped dramatically.

In the second case, a regular office divided up into large groups of service reps, typists, and clerks was reorganized. Jobs were combined into smaller, more organic units. People were allowed to face each other across their desks, discuss problems without needless paperwork, and even chat casually when work was slow. With six months, orders on time jumped from 27% to 100%, even with a 21% increase in work load. Turnover among typists for job reasons ceased. The women involved even began to share their jobs, and give each other support, now that they had a chance to act like human beings instead of robots.

### RECENT MILITANCY

But these job experiments have been limited to a handful of workers, and have not stemmed the general tide of revolt. In 1967, for example, Philadelphia workers struck over suspension of an employee for a relatively trivial incident. In August, 1967 the New York area was hit by several wildcat walkouts. In 1968 New Jersey Bell was struck for over six weeks because of a contract dispute. In the same year workers at Illinois Bell stayed out for 21 weeks over wages and fringes, a Bell system record. Over three hundred acts of vandalism and sabotage were reported during this strike alone. In 1968 a nationwide strike was forced on the reluctant leadership of the CWA, only the second in 86 years. This was followed by another in 1971 with several New York locals refusing to return to work after the national strike was ended.

Indeed, the conditions that lay underneath this militancy continue to fester. The new contract settlement, whatever its final terms, will not challenge these conditions. In the future they are likely to create a new situation to which the company and the union with both have to respond.

## Freedom for Guinea-Bissau!



DEMONSTRATING FOR INDEPENDENCE OF AFRICAN TERRITORIES

by Jim Mellen

GENERAL ANTONIO de Spinola, President of Portugal, has agreed to the independence of Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, and Angola. In an announcement July 27, General Spinola, who had formerly resisted outright independence, favoring a federation of Portuguese territories, acknowledged that Guinea-Bissau would soon be free, with Mozambique and Angola to follow.

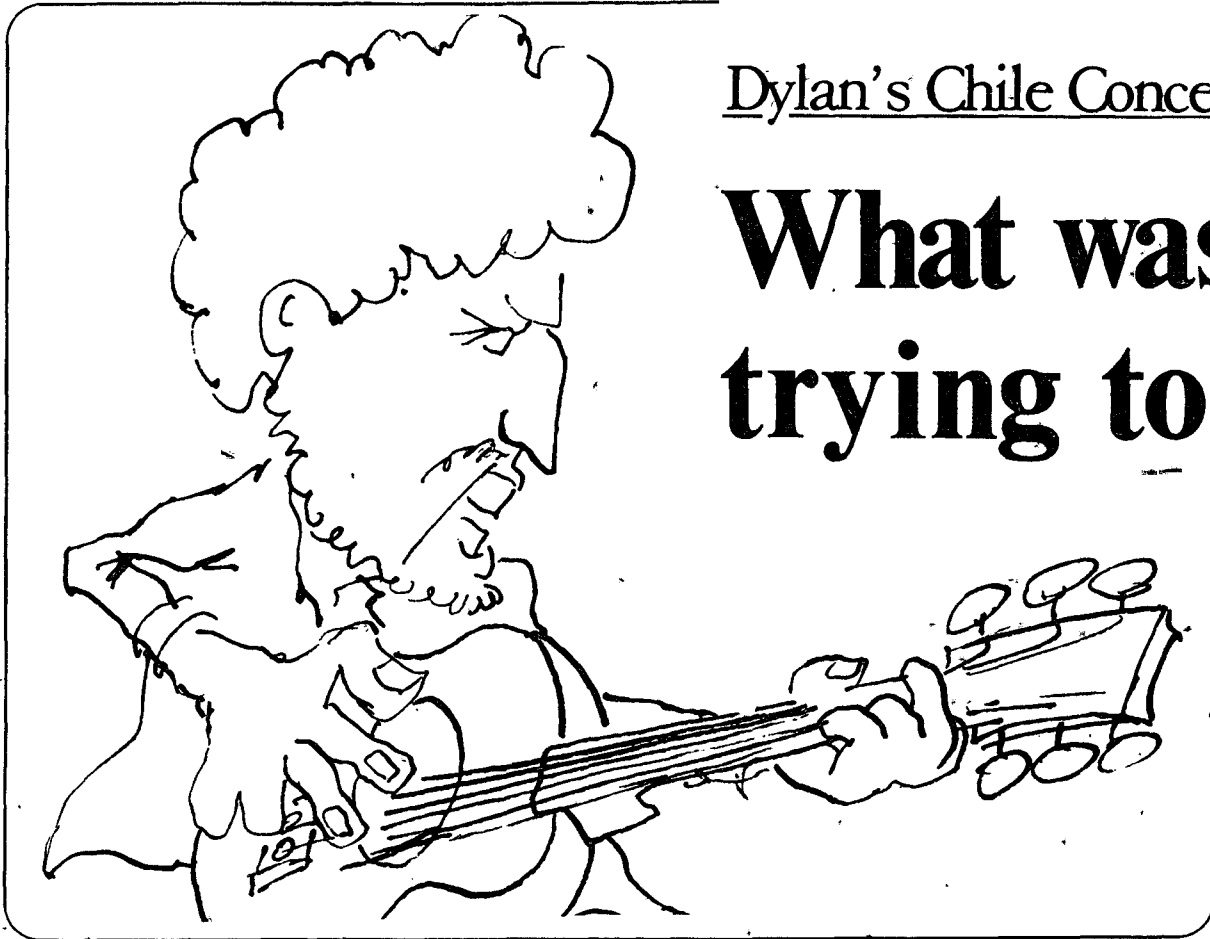
Spinola's statement concerning Guinea was more a recognition of a fact than a negotiated settlement. The PAIGC (African Party for Independence of Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands) controls the vast majority of the countryside and population, and has been recognized as the government of the area by more than 90 United Nations members since its formal declaration last fall. After the coup in Lisbon, April 25, Portuguese troops in Guinea have shown great reluctance to carry on the fight and large-scale fraternization between combatants has occurred.

The major outstanding issue in Guinea is the fate of the off-shore Cape Verde Islands claimed as an integral part of the territory by the PAIGC. The islands have strategic value for NATO. The armed struggle on the islands has been held back by the isolation and other geographical factors. Portugal seems intent to retain possession.

### CAPTAINS REASSERT POWER, C.P. PUSHES LABOR PEACE

Spinola's concession on independence July 27 seems to be the result of a struggle among the political groups in power in Lisbon since the April coup which ended nearly 50 years of fascist rule. The coup was actually planned and executed by a group of 50-60 captains and majors in the Portuguese Army, called the Armed Forces Movement, disgruntled with 15 years of colonial warfare and the resulting deterioration of Army standards and of Portuguese life generally. These young officers, after seizing power, asked General Spinola and the six other high

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by Louis Menashe

## Dylan's Chile Concert

# What was he really trying to tell us?

TO THOSE WHO THOUGHT that Bob Dylan's "Wedding Song" from his "Planet Waves" album contained a plain determination to keep politics and political causes off his back, the announcement that he would appear at the Friends of Chile "Concert and Evening," last May at New York's Felt Forum, came as a surprise.

In the haunting, Anglo-American ballad idiom reminiscent of Early Dylan, he sings:

It's not been my duty to  
Remake the world at large  
Nor is it my intention  
To sound the battle charge.

Dylan's often expressed refusal to take open political stands on the issues animating his generation is one of the great enigmas of contemporary American popular culture. Many who felt that Dylan expressed their deepest feelings about love, loneliness, and liberation thought it natural that Dylan would stand with them on Vietnam, Cuba, socialism, and revolution. But Dylan repeatedly turned aside the proddings of politically minded followers, interviewers, and fellow musicians; he didn't show up at rallies, sign petitions, or sponsor demonstrations, much less write political music. Dylan refused to be for the New Left what Pete Seeger was for the Old Left, a political troubadour who consciously shaped his art to peoples' struggles.

Dylan's esthetic has been pointedly personal, mocking ("Don't follow leaders, watch the parking meters"), even cynical. And when his music stopped showing what a tough kid he was, it was only to embrace a slightly arch lyricism and an unsentimental sentimentalism—of the sort that has marked every album since "Nashville Skyline."

Yet his heart has always been in the right place, hasn't it? "Blowin' in the Wind," "Masters of War," "With God on Our Side," and "The Lonesome Death of Hattie Carroll" couldn't have been just flukes. They couldn't have been just fleeting tokens of the folk music-cum-politics worlds of Madison, Wisconsin, and Greenwich Village that he once inhabited. It couldn't be that all Dylan was interested in all along was to bust loose from such peripheries of the mainstream culture and make it big in Show Biz, way up there in stardom high above the political sects and their causes. Remember his ballad-memorial to George Jackson when the brother was cut down in the yard at San Quentin?

Well, there he was at the Chile benefit. He certainly wasn't about to sound the battle charge. He came on as an ordinary foot soldier, introducing himself just like everyone else, at the start of the evening. And that was the last we saw of him for hours.

"CHILE, SI... BRING ON DYLAN!"

In between Dylan's first and second appearances was a unique panorama of present-day cultural and political styles in the U.S.A., with all of its kooky contradictions. Where else could cries of "Chile, Si! Junta, No!" alternate with angry shouts of "Bring on Dylan!"? Where else could an expression of anti-imperialist solidarity include a reading of a poem by... Rudyard Kipling? (Dennis Hopper, honoring the memory of Salvador Allende with "If.") Where else could Daniel Ellsberg play—dramatically, intensely

—Daniel Ellsberg? Where else could the following exchange be overheard at a Chile Benefit? "What's the capital of Chile, anyway?" "San Juan?"

Where else could a triangle of such political ironies come together—Harald Edelstam, the former Swedish ambassador to Chile who courageously intervened to protect the lives of scores of individuals fleeing the clutches of the junta; Ramsey Clark, former Attorney General, who served an administration that escalated the Vietnam war and invaded the Dominican Republic (Clark said a few words about how come the U.S. supports tyranny everywhere); and the Cuban ambassador to the United Nations, who, probably for reasons of protocol, was confined to his seat in the audience.

And where else, finally, could an authentic North American Superstar, Culture Hero, musical Zeitgeist of His Time, and the Person You've All Been Waiting For, Folks, appear on stage at a political gathering: DRUNK?



VICTOR JARA

The main contradiction of the evening was located in the audience, roughly divided between those who came for the music—and Dylan, especially—and those who came out of a sense of support for a noble experiment in parliamentary socialism, and to raise funds for the refugees of that shattered experiment. Phil Ochs, the main organizer of the benefit, must have known that this tension was inherent in any attempt to unite, as he put it, "esthetics and politics." His opening words to the audience were an admonition that there would be "no star-fucking tonight. . . You aren't here to see Bob Dylan." But as it turned out, the decision (Ochs'? Dylan's?) to save Dylan for last only aggravated the contradiction.

One apparently unintended result was that the media, their deadlines to keep, almost completely snubbed the event. It was Dylan they were interested in, Not Chile. Both Dylan and Ochs were reportedly puzzled by the media snub, as compared to the wide coverage of the Bangladesh benefit. They assumed, naively, that the media would hail the gathering as the biggest cultural event of the 1970s, forgetting that where political issues are involved, ideological self-censorship begins to operate. Support to alleviate starvation in Bangladesh is politically safe and acceptable; support for a dead socialist who expropriated U.S. property is not.

Holding Dylan off appeared to be a cheap way to keep a large section of the audience on hand all night. Or was it a sincere effort to humble and demystify Dylan before the larger categories of Chilean socialism and reverence for Allende? If it was, then it was a humility turned inside out because Waiting for Dylan became a main theme of the evening.

### MEMORIES OF VICTOR JARA

Fortunately, there were several other themes tying the evening together. Aside from the dead Allende, whose image and voice appeared several times on a movie screen set up on stage, there was the painful memory of the dead Chilean singer, Victor Jara. Victor Jara, the popular musical voice of Chilean socialism, was arrested by the junta and thrown into a sports stadium in Santiago with thousands of other political prisoners. There he did what he had done all his life: sing to the people and try to lift their spirits. The soldiers in charge found this intolerable. They first mutilated his hands and then silenced him altogether.

Victor Jara's widow was at the benefit and translated the words to one of his songs over his own recorded rendition. Pete Seeger, Dave Van Ronk, and Arlo Guthrie each honored Jara. Van Ronk wailed a magnificent blues, "He Was a Friend of Mine" (it could also have been meant for Allende) and Arlo improvised, with his own piano accompaniment, a song based on a poem about Jara.

Then there was Dylan.

Now, when I say he was drunk, I mean he was drunk, blind. The other unusual thing about his appearance is that he wasn't alone. The whole gang accompanied him—Arlo, Ochs, Van Ronk, Melanie, Melvin Van Peebles, Hopper, and someone identified by the *Village Voice* as Larry Estridge, "one of the movement's perennial performers and the victim of an acute Dylan Complex. . . the guy who nearly drowned out Dylan until Ochs removed his microphone." Yep, that's what it was like.

The last, Dylan, set resembled nothing so much as a scene in your living room in the waning hours of a party when someone finds a guitar and tries to rally a few songs. Everyone is out of key and no one remembers anything beyond the chorus. After much milling around and passing a wine jug from mouth to mouth, Dylan and gang picked Woody Guthrie's "Deportees," forgetting that Arlo had done it a couple of hours earlier.

Then Dylan did what, under drier circumstances, could have been the high point of the evening: a more-or-less solo version of his "North Country Blues," an early song about the iron miners of his native Minnesota ("And it's much cheaper down in South American towns, where the miners work almost for nothin'"). Next followed some pathetic attempts at "Spanish is the Loving Tongue" and "Blowin' in the Wind."

SO ENDED AN EVENING for political refugees, Salvador Allende, Victor Jara, and Chilean socialism. In Greenwich Village, on the upper West Side of Manhattan, and in Park Slope in Brooklyn, people who were at the benefit will continue debating what Dylan was Trying To Tell Us. Was it a case of all too much, as some of my friends argue? That Dylan was overwhelmed by the novelty of this, his first overt political act in years and that he couldn't handle it? Or was Dylan purposely scandalizing his followers, those who weren't concerned about Chile and hung about only because of him? Or was this his freaky way of telling us he's plain folks?—

I'm just average common too  
I'm just like him, the same as you  
I'm everybody's brother and son  
I ain't different than anyone  
It ain't no use to talk to me  
That's just the same as talking to you.

or

With the enormous, insouciant ego of the North American superstar, he just got drunk. May the Chileans forgive him.■

# AIM Drafts Plan for Independence

by Paula Giese

The First International Treaty Conference, organized by the American Indian Movement (AIM), has drafted a "Declaration of Continuing Independence" that appears likely to become a historic document for the Indian movement. It will now be used to seek national status from the U.S. and other nations through an International Indian Treaty Council.

The Declaration asserts that a land base for Native Nations is "clearly defined by sacred treaties entered into between Native Nations and the government of the United States of America." It rejects all executive orders, legislative acts, and judicial decisions since 1871, when the U.S. unilaterally suspended treaty-making relations with the Native Nations.

About 3,000 registered participants from 97 tribes, representing all 50 states and both Americas, gathered for the conference at a Standing Rock resort near Mobridge, S.D., June 8-16. International observer-participants from eight European countries and legal advisors from the World Court, the International Commission of Jurists, and Amnesty International also attended.

## COUNCIL WILL PETITION UN

Indian people from a wide variety of backgrounds, with older traditionalists from the reservations predominating, drafted the Declaration after an analysis brought forth by a Conference working group called the International Affairs Council. The International Indian Treaty Council was then charged with implementing the document. This Council, with offices in New York and Washington, will:

- 1) petition the UN for seating of Indian national representatives;
- 2) seek diplomatic recognition from the U.S. State Department; and
- 3) attempt to re-open treaty negotiations.

No one who witnessed the work of the people assembled for the conference could doubt their commitment, dedication, caution, and intelligence. But the chance of success for an "internal revolution" carried out by a geographically-scattered minority of a million people cannot be considered high.

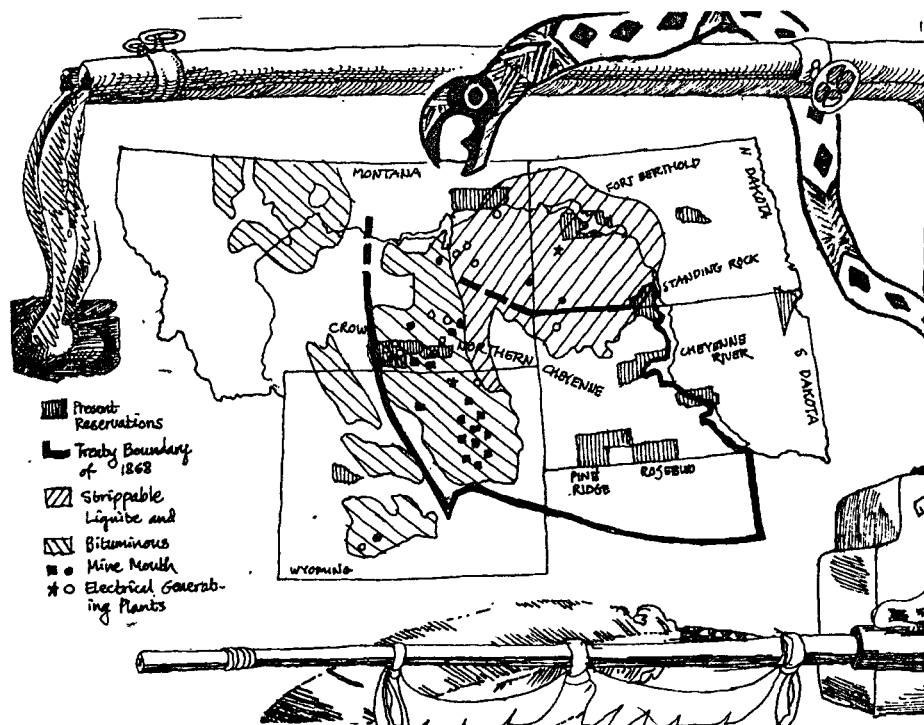
For the stakes in the matter are large. If Indian people were to gain control of their treaty-determined reservation land alone, they would control about two-thirds of continental U.S. energy materials and large quantities of strategic metals and minerals as well.

Yet the Preamble to the Declaration asserts:

Might does not make right. Sovereign people of varying cultures have the absolute right to live in harmony with Mother Earth so long as they do not infringe upon this same right of other peoples. . . In the course of these human events, we call upon the people of the world to support this struggle for our sovereign rights and our treaty rights.

The Declaration notes that historically the independence of peoples has always required sovereignty over land. The Treaty Council is mandated to "deal with U. S. violations of treaties," and violations of the rights of treatyless Native Nations—a particularly important point, since the invaders of South America made no treaties with the native populations they dispossessed.

The Declaration states a "wish to avoid violence," but observes that "the United States has always used force and violence to deny Native Nations basic human and treaty rights." It ends with a pledge to "offer our lives for our International Treaty Rights."



The above map shows underground coalfields in relation to 1868 Treaty land and present reservations.

## Conference Passes Resolution Vs. Coal

From the final session of the Treaty Conference which proclaimed the Declaration of Continuing Independence came another resolution of less obvious importance: To oppose coal strip-mining and the building of coal-fired electrical generating plants and coal gasification plants on Indian land.

Introduced by Marie Sanchez, a descendant of Chief Little Wolf who led the Northern Cheyenne Indians from confinement in Oklahoma to what is now their much-diminished reservation in eastern Montana, the resolution passed with a standing ovation. If implemented, it will mean nothing less than revolutionary resistance to the growth of American capitalism.

A 1971 Interior Department study calls for 42 power plants in Wyoming and Eastern Montana to be fueled by strip-mined coal. The largest development is slated for the Cheyenne reservation, with a "Technology City" of 50,000 whites to tend what will be one

vast land, air, and water-destroying dynamo to power eastern markets.

The Northern Cheyenne Landowners Association has fought this development virtually unaided. In moves of doubtful legality, the BIA has given away more than three-fourths of their reservation in coal leases and permits. On the second day of the Conference, radio news carried the announcement from Interior Secretary Rogers Morton that the Cheyenne leases were voided.

Sanchez felt this was a new trick, intended to still the opposition, she has helped to organize. "Their plans are too big to stop now," she said. "And they must move fast. In 1976, the mineral rights, now held 'in trust' for us by the BIA, will revert to the Indian landowners who will never allow it."

The Cheyenne reservation, and almost all the strippable bituminous coal in the area where the oil majors have started "the western coal rush," are located on lands covered by Article 16 of the 1868 Fort Laramie Treaty. This treaty was a major issue in the occupation of Wounded Knee, and the defense has been seeking to make it central at the trials in St. Paul, Minn., and Sioux Falls, S.D.

Article 16 reserves land in northwest Nebraska, eastern Wyoming, and Montana as "unceded Indian territory" which "no white person shall be permitted to settle or occupy" or even cross without Indian permission. These lands contain about 90% of the low-sulphur surface-strippable "western bituminous" coal, which can be used to fire generating plants.

In Montana and North Dakota, around the Fort Peck, Fort Berthold, and Standing Rock reservations, is the world's greatest concentration of surface-strippable lignite which is best suited for conversion to oil and gas. Indian lands also contain large reserves of gold, copper, and uranium.

At the end of April, a BIA spokesman said that energy and raw materials "shortages" are "certain" to result in what he called "development of more of these resources on Indian lands." The BIA should know. Its main business has always been coordinating the theft of whatever the Indians may have, working with other sub-parts of the Department of Interior. This is the reason underlying AIM's demand (from the "AIM Three-Point Program") to remove the BIA from Interior, making it an independent agency, controlled by Indian people.

## Treaty Rights Become Test at Trial

(Continued from front page)

has succeeded in presenting it in relation to the boundaries of the Pine Ridge reservation, on the illegal operations of the trading post, and in regards to tribal government.

Because of the prosecution's failure to establish Banks or Means as principals in any of the counts of larceny, burglary, or interfering with federal officers, the government's case rests on the aiding and abetting section of these charges and, primarily, on the conspiracy count. Defense Attorney Ken Tilsen tied the conspiracy charges to the political nature of the trial and summarized the government's position as totally dependent on the conspiracy count.

"While conspiracy is only one count, it is the whole case because they have no proof to specifically connect anybody with anything," Tilsen said.

The defense was on the offensive throughout the entire presentation of the prosecution's case. The result was that many of the grievances which caused the protest were aired. A minister from Huron, S.D., who gave some of the strongest testimony establishing Banks and Means as leaders of the siege, ironically gave strong testimony justifying their presence as well.

He described the invitation extended to AIM by the traditional leaders of the Oglala people as one of "desperation" in protest against conditions of the Pine Ridge reservation. "That system of



Wounded Knee defendant Dennis Banks addresses rally.

government was not working for the people," the Rev. Hunter said. Poor housing, inadequate facilities for health care and education, lack of jobs, and the fascism of the Wilson government's good squad—all were brought out on cross-examination.

The prosecution climaxed its case with film footage from CBS and ABC. The films were almost not shown when the government insisted they be edited and the soundtracks deleted. But Judge Nichol agreed with the defense that this would be altering their content.

Although the films clearly established Banks and Means as having leadership roles in the protest, they also demonstrated the historical significance of the Wounded Knee site where

the U.S. Seventh Cavalry massacred 300 of the bands of Big Foot and Sitting Bull in 1890. It was also shown that the Oglala Sioux Civil Rights Organization has asked for AIM's help after exhausting all legal channels in their struggles against the corruption of the Wilson government and the genocidal policies of the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

All in all, the defense felt that the films were beneficial to their case. Tilsen felt it put the protest in the proper historical perspective by demonstrating that the issue was one of treaty rights and self-determination: "All they proved is that the people of Pine Ridge reservation invited AIM to come to Wounded Knee where they were surrounded by the FBI and the U.S. Marshal service."

# Strike crescendo rises across country: behind the new militance

by Anne Lawrence  
Philadelphia Area NAM

LAST WINTER, in the midst of a monetary crisis, galloping worldwide inflation, and a serious energy shortage, liberal analysts for the business weeklies could at least be pious and reassuring about the state of labor. During the first nine months of 1973, idleness due to strikes was down to 1.3 working days per thousand, the lowest since 1963. It was, everyone agreed, a year of "labor tranquility."

It looked, for the first couple of months of 1974, as if this year, too, would be a quiet one for the working class. In January and February, strikes hovered around a moderate two to three hundred a month. But in March, the amount of strike activity increased abruptly. That month, no less than 480 strikes broke out, the largest number for March since 1937, the year of the great sit-down strikes in auto and the unionization of steel.

## NOT PEAKED YET

But the peak had not yet been hit. On May 16, the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service (FMCS) released figures indicating that 494 strikes were then in progress, up 68% from the year before. In early June, the number passed the 500 mark, and the most recent figures, released by the Department of Labor August 2, indicate that a record breaking 506 strikes are now under way.

Startled observers are now likening the current strike wave to the one after World War II, when veterans returned to their jobs and pushed for gains denied the labor movement during long years of war.

To many familiar with the labor scene, the situation seems completely unparalleled. "I can't recall having a flurry of strikes like this in the twenty years I've been here," Robert Donnahoo, Regional Director of the FMCS Philadelphia office said recently.

## CAUSES OF THE STRIKE WAVE

The major cause of the current strike wave appears to be workers' desire to make up for last year's loss of real wages. In 1973, hourly wages for production workers in the private, non-farm economy were up a substantial 6.6%, even with the limits of wage control. But with the consumer price index charging along at 8.8% workers experienced their pay hikes as a drop in real purchasing power of close to 3% after taxes.

The major issue in most recent strikes has thus been the demand for a cost-of-living escalator to keep up with inflation. At the start of this year, only about 4.5 million workers were covered by such clauses, and these were concentrated in a handful of big unions—the UAW, Steelworkers, Teamsters, Communications Workers, Postal Workers, and Machinists.

Recent Department of Labor figures indicate, however, that in the first half of 1974 no less than 51 new union contracts negotiated included escalator clauses, covering close to half a million workers. Clearly, many smaller unions this year have pushed hard to share inflation protection previously enjoyed only by workers in major national industries.

## WHO IS STRIKING?

Significantly, however, those industries in which workers are covered by national contracts have in many cases been better able to avoid strikes than have those with local contracts. In these cases, big union heads have been invaluable to the companies in helping stem this year's tide of labor militancy. In steel, Steelworkers' President I.W. Abel's no-strike deal, negotiation prior to the expiration of the industry's

contract this year, forestalled labor-management conflict in an industry riddled by long-term foreign competition.

More recently, on August 4, the Communications Workers managed to come up with an agreement with Bell Telephone hours before the start of a threatened national strike, which would have been the first in the company's history.

The short strike of the clothing workers in early June, the only apparent exception to this rule, was in fact largely a symbolic action called by union leaders to forestall a rebellion in the ranks. Three years ago, militant workers in Philadelphia and Baltimore walked out and forced a series of union reforms, and union heads feared a resurgence of such rank-and-file independence in the absence of a strike to "let off steam."

In many cases, however, strikeless national settlements have been followed by a rash of illegal local walkouts by rank and file dissatisfied with negotiated provisions. Such job actions kept Abel's agents in the field busy for some time after the steel negotiations. And in the wake of the expiration of the recent telephone contract, workers wildcatted in several cities, most prominently in Detroit.



Among the most publicized of the recent strikes have been those by government workers. Under the terms of the 1947 Taft-Hartley Act public strikes are still illegal. Spurred by government worker militance in recent years, a growing movement is underway to rewrite the law and set up a new agency to assist collective bargaining in the public sector.

Until this happens, maybe in next year's congressional session, striking public workers face court injunctions and other roadblocks which don't hinder other workers. Cities are in a state of fiscal crisis, and local politicians are hesitant to put their jobs on the line with tax hikes to meet wage demands.

In spite of these obstacles, government worker strikes have been pacesetters in certain areas. In San Francisco and Los Angeles, walkouts by public employees spearheaded city-wide strike activity. For fifteen days, Baltimore, Maryland, was on the verge of a city-wide shutdown as 4,000 workers, including 700 policemen joined 700 wildcatting sanitation workers. Workers eventually won many of their wage demands, but now face massive layoffs—allegedly to pay for the increases—large fines, and the suspension of the police union's bargaining rights. Other major public strikes have shaken Ohio.

By far the bulk of the present strikes have occurred in small firms. Often, these strikes are initiated by the rank and file and represent a desperate attempt on the part of the workers never

before covered by an escalator clause to keep up with the staggering rate of inflation.

Most of the strikes up to now have been small ones, pointed out Al Zack, Director of Public Relations for the AFL-CIO, in a recent interview with the *New York Times*. "Small employers have been very reluctant to grant large wage increases and sign cost-of-living clauses in the contracts. . . (The workers) . . . are catching up."

Take, for example, two recent developments in the Philadelphia area labor movement, most of which have received little national or local publicity:

A few miles outside the city, in Pottstown, young, militant bakery workers are leading a strike for a cost-of-living clause in their contract. It is the longest strike in the company's 51-year history, and it is clearly in the control of the rank and file. Young workers have voiced their determination to stay out as long as necessary to win contract protection on a par with that enjoyed by big unions.

In Jeanette, a steel-producing town in western Pennsylvania, the small Elliot Company recently tried to pass off its economic burdens to its workers by offering a wage package well below

strike could develop into the major political confrontation between labor and business this year. The industry would seek to turn other workers against the miners. An injunction slapped on the union and perhaps even a government seizure of the mines are not out of the question.

## RULING CLASS RESPONSE

It is not yet clear how the ruling class will respond to the strike wave of 1974. One possibility is that the capitalists will choose to grant some wage concessions to the better organized workers, and then try to make up their losses from the less well organized sectors of the class through inflation.

Already, however, the concessions to workers are getting out of hand, as some businessmen see it. Results of the strike wave's first round indicate that workers have been winning wage gains substantially higher than those of last year. The average wage increase in contracts negotiated in the second quarter of this year (April-June) was 10%, up from 7.6% in the first quarter and 6.4% in the second quarter of 1973, according to the most recent Department of Labor figures.

These gains are still considerably below the rate of inflation, which was clocked at an annual rate of 13.2% in May. However, they are well above the 7-8% guidelines that the government and many businessmen have hoped for.

There does not yet appear to be majority sentiment among capitalist policy-makers for resorting to drastic measures to keep labor in check. Certain minority tendencies, however, have already pushed for a re-imposition of ~~stringent wage and price (read wage) controls~~ on the August 1971 model. Powerful Wilbur Mills, Chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, came out in mid-June for such a solution, and Ted Kennedy and the *New York Times* have also made overtures in this direction.

However, as the people in high places know, instituting wage and price controls to keep labor's gains in check would be a very tricky business. As a recent *Wall Street Journal* editorial pointed out, the return of controls would "almost certainly inspire both labor and management to try to get higher wages and prices before the net comes down again," sending the inflationary spiral to new heights and "defeating the whole idea" even before it was begun.

In the last analysis, government and business will probably settle for the "old time religion" of fiscal and monetary policy to control inflation. Labor probably faces more of the familiar social service cutbacks, loss of public employment jobs, and general unemployment, and "jawboning" to keep wage settlements down. For the present, the more extreme options of controls and/or cost-of-living clauses for the bosses will probably stay on the drawing boards.

IT IS TOO EARLY yet to tell exactly how the current strike wave will play itself out. But it is clear that before it does, it will have several episodes more militant, more national, and more political than anything we've yet seen. And, especially if the nation's economic woes don't get better by fall, some in business and government circles may begin to reconsider more extreme means of checking the working class offensive.

Whether or not such a movement gains momentum, the struggle of the coal miners and those they can assemble in their support this fall will be the key event to watch to see which class interests will emerge strengthened from the massive strike wave of 1974.

Portions of this article appeared originally in *Critical Times*, the publication of the Philadelphia Area NAM chapter.

big steel standards. The angry rank and file rejected the pact by a vote of 7 to 1—claiming their need for a cost-of-living clause—and then voted to impeach their union leaders!

Contract rejections seem to be up around the country. The FMCS reported in May that rejections as a proportion of offers were running around 12.3%, up from 9.6% the same time last year, and the highest rate since 1969. The incidence of illegal job actions and wildcats also appears to have risen, although no conclusive statistics are available.

## COMING CLASHES

This strike wave, despite its monumental proportions in terms of the number of workers involved, has so far failed to provoke a single national confrontation between management and labor of major political significance. Most major contracts have been settled without a strike by powerful unions acting in concert with management above the heads of the workers, and the overwhelming majority of strikes have simply dissipated workers' energy into a myriad of localized conflicts lacking in national political focus.

Coming clashes, however, may be of greater political significance. Particularly important will be the near-certain strike of the nation's 125,000 coal miners whose contract expires November 12. (See centerfold story.)

Such developments, coming in the midst of an already well advanced energy crisis, could mean the coal

by Larry Hirschhorn

DEPRESSION TALK fills the boardrooms of the large corporations and the offices of White House executives. The new strike wave has dashed all hope that the present inflation would wind itself down. Only old-time austerity and a substantial rise in unemployment can quash the new labor militance unleashed by the end of wage and price controls.

Alan Greenspan, the newly appointed head of the Council of Economic Advisors, admits "that many will be hurt," yet no alternative is on the horizon. But the elites are not sure they can push austerity down the throats of the American people. In their uncertainty and their plaintive mutterings, they expose the same degree of paralysis, the same atmosphere of stalemate, that has permeated the Watergate-ridden Nixon presidency.

#### INFLATION'S ROOTS

Today's inflation has many roots. But we suspect that its unifying thread is the increasingly turbulent and unpredictable international economic environment. Never before has every key domestic economic problem been rooted in immediate international economic conditions.

wages.

But the policy did not meet with immediate success. The import deficit on the trade account tripled in the next year. It took another 10% devaluation of the U.S. dollar and a series of tortuous international monetary negotiations before the trade account was again positive. Nixon was thus able to strengthen the international position of the American economy, though at an unexpected and destabilizing cost.

#### A DEVALUED DOLLAR

The devaluations of the dollar came at a time when a world-wide economic boom was taking hold. Because American products were 15% cheaper, the world-wide demand for these products, particularly foodstuffs and commodities, increased tremendously. Agricultural exports which had declined in the late sixties, rose to some 11 billion by 1973. As a consequence a new inflation took hold in the U.S.: as Americans found themselves competing with foreigners for a wide range of American products.

The inflationary impact of the Soviet wheat deal should not be underestimated. The Soviets bought fully one-quarter of the '72 wheat crop. But while the motivations for the deal were primarily political, it was nevertheless part of the general pattern—the

#### A SHATTERED STOCK MARKET

AS these international factors were pushing the American economy toward double-digit inflation, the stock market at home had entered a long-term slump. Once again we can trace the roots of this stock market depression to the Vietnam war. The falling profit rate in American industry, induced by the distortions of war in a peace economy, led by 1969 to a massive flow of capital funds into speculative mergers, stock market manipulation, and generally unproductive uses of capital of all sorts.

In the first six months of 1969, more corporate mergers occurred than for all the 1940s, or for any other three years between 1956 and 1965. These mergers, however, were hardly based on considerations of potential profitability of the merged companies. Rather, they were based on clever stock manipulations. For example, the bidding up or down of stock prices of various corporations prior to merger tenders, in which the newly merged corporation was in turn "looted" for its excess cash to further finance new speculations and new mergers.

For a few years the non-institutional investors (the mass of upper middle class and upper class executives and professionals who invested through the brokerage houses) were caught up in this speculative fever and willingly contributed their funds to the merger binge. But such speculative binges are always self-limiting. It soon became clear that shady accounting practices were being used to inflate stated earnings of the new go-go conglomerates.

The result was a wave of scandals that began surfacing with the Penn Central disaster in 1970 and simultaneous collapse of several brokerage houses. By 1973 confidence in the stock market was shattered and there was a massive outflow of non-institutional funds from stocks into bonds and commodities futures.

#### STOCKS AND THE "LIQUIDITY CRISIS"

A stock market slump is a serious affair in capitalism. It is through the stock market that corporations can finance a significant part of their capacity for expanding investments. Usually in a "healthy" economy, investors buy new stock issues but demand no dividend return because they expect the stock price to rise as the profitability of the corporation itself grows. They accept "capital gains" in place of dividend flows. The corporations can thus get investment financing for "free."

But when money flows from stocks to bonds and other instruments, corporations are forced to sell bonds to finance their investments. Bonds, unlike stocks, incur an immediate interest cost. The result has been a rapid rise in interest rate payments for a large number of corporations (particularly the large utilities) and so a decline in their profit rates.

This is the background for the much talked about "liquidity crisis," i.e., the absence of cash in corporate coffers. In an attempt to protect their liquidity positions corporations raise their prices. There is then a vicious feedback effect as rising prices lead money lenders to raise the interest rate they demand (since they will be getting back deflated dollars) and these rising rates push stock market prices even further down as investors still in stocks seek the higher return now available in bonds.

#### SPECULATION

Finally, the absence of the traditional speculative outlet in the stock market has led many investors to look for hunting grounds elsewhere. In the process they have bid up the cost of land (increasing housing costs) and the price of commodities and foodstuffs—decreasing our standard of living.

Is there any "best" perspective with which to examine these multi-faceted developments in the political economy? First, we must see them in the context of an increasingly turbulent world economy. The Vietnam war, the food, fuel, and devaluation crises, and in an indirect way the stock market slump, are all in one way or another connected to the international arena, and, more specifically, to a growing demand by the rest of the world for a fair share of global resources, capital flows, and technical expertise.

The present crisis can then be seen as the inability of the capitalist world (indeed, even the semi-developed socialist world) to organize global production on a rational basis. They have yet to insure a coordinated increase in the productive capacities and potential of the entire world economy.

The issue before the socialist movement is global development. It cannot pretend that the present inflation is just a "domestic problem." The productive capacities of the U.S. economy must be used in a constructive fashion to raise standards of living world wide.

## Inflation's International Roots



But the search for first causes leads back to the Vietnam War. Because of the complex political situation it faced, the Johnson administration tried to run three economies at one—a consumer economy, a welfare economy, and a war economy. But just as these policies underestimated the resistance of the Vietnamese to American military technology, so did they overestimate the technological potential of the American economy. The result was a growing inflationary dynamic as multiple demands on the economic structure exceeded supply capacities. As a consequence, the real wages of certain groups of industrial workers fell, productivity growth decelerated, and industries' profit margins and rates of return declined. The war had fundamentally distorted the American economy.

By 1971 the inflation showed no sign of slowing. This resulted in a growing deficit in the overall balance of payments and a deficit in the balance of trade itself: the import of goods and services exceeded the export of goods and services for the first time since 1899.

Our European allies were becoming nervous. The deficit meant that we were exporting our inflation, adding it to their own, and giving them paper dollars for their goods. The time was long past when, as broken post-war economies, they were ready to take all the dollars they could get. Instead there was talk of a "run on the dollar," of a possible massive exchange of dollars held abroad for U.S.-held gold.

Since it was well known that the U.S. could not possibly supply all the gold demanded, Nixon took three very bold steps in August 1971. He suspended the convertibility of dollars into gold, thus staving off the immediate threat posed by the foreign central banks. He also forced our political allies (our economic competitors at the same time) to revalue their currencies upward, thus cheapening the price of American exports. And finally he instituted wage and price controls to break the back of the strike wave that was workers' response to their loss of real

attempt to improve the trade balance by shifting the production and sale of basic commodities and foodstuffs from the domestic to the foreign market.

Economic policy makers probably did expect some inflation to result from this policy. But they hoped, and this was Secretary of Agriculture Earl Butz's position, that the productive capacities of the U.S. economy could satisfy all demands, foreign and domestic. As was demonstrated in the farm sector itself, Butz ignored one basic factor: when prices in a market economy are run up very fast, all sorts of speculative activity ensues. Thus cattlemen held back on cattle delivery, some of the larger grain dealers held back on grain deliveries, and hustling capitalists with excess cash began speculating in the futures markets—further bidding up basic food prices. The result was that prices rose far above their "natural" levels based on supply and demand considerations. Americans were forced to pay for the anarchy of capitalist production and distribution. Their response was to resist—consumers went on strike, driving down the price of meat.

As a consequence, cattlemen are now left with huge stocks of cattle which they can sell only at a considerable loss, and there is a serious possibility of a shortage of funds in the cattle-growing sector of the industry. This could lead to a genuine meat shortage in the next few years.

Finally, the hike in oil prices by OPEC after the October War contributed significantly to the rise in domestic prices. A rise in crude oil prices does not affect the transport sector alone. In a modern economy, petrochemicals are used in the production of synthetic fibres, plastics, and food fertilizers. Rising oil prices can thus lead to a rise in food prices. This has been particularly devastating for developing countries such as India which placed their bets on the "green revolution" (i.e., the use of modern fertilizer) to expand food production, only to find now that they lack the fertilizer to feed their populations.

## Australian Union Revitalizes Struggle for Worker Control

SIDNEY—Jack Munday sat supping his beer in the revolving restaurant atop Sydney's highest building, watching a panorama of the city slip by 47 stories below and knowing he had changed its face forever.

"It's exciting what's going on," said Munday, 42, bushy-haired and tieless in contrast to the plush trappings. "But I'm not kidding myself. Worker control's not on the agenda yet. It's still a long way off."

In the city of nearly three million persons, Munday, the Communist, ex-officio leader of the 40-000-member Builders Laborers' Federation (BLF), has exerted a power that few members in Australia can match. In the process, he has moved the labor movement into a new dimension.

He and his union, comprised largely of transient, non-English-speaking migrants, have tied up \$3.5 billion worth of construction projects by imposing 47 "green bans" for environmental reasons, delayed a proposed multi-million-dollar freeway extension, and saved half a dozen historic areas from demolition. If they consider a project to be detrimental to the people, they simply refuse to work on it.

"Some people say we've gone beyond the bounds of accepted, normal trade union activity," Munday said. "But what good is building highways in cities that are polluted, that have no parks, that are devoid of trees? What's the sense of winning a 30-hour week if we have to live someplace unliveable for 168 hours a week?"

The "green bans" raise some basic questions about the exercise of power by the trade union movement. Certainly they represent a major step from worker participation to worker control and taken to their logical conclusion they could give the unions sway over a wide range of social issues.

When a student was expelled from MacQuarie University last year after admitting he was a homosexual, BLF members were pulled off a building site on the campus. The student was reinstated. When the board at Sydney University refused to permit women to teach a course on women's philosophy, construction on a new building stopped. The board reversed itself.

"Worker control," said Munday, who was raised on a farm in Queensland and left school at 14, "is a never-ending series of encroachments on the sacred rights of employers. It is open books, financial disclosures, and productivity decisions by the workers in which goods are produced in the interest of the community at large."

To understand Jack Munday—an Australian Communist with no ties to Russia or China—is to understand, partly at least, the Australian labor movement which has become increasingly militant, political, leftist, powerful, and confident.

Unlike the United States, where the unions have moved basically in step with society, the Australian labor movement is dedicated to changing society. It is dedicated to socialism—socialism with a human face, Munday calls it—and its vehicle is confrontation. Its aims are political, not merely monetary. It is the single most powerful force in Australia—more powerful in many ways than the federal parliament itself.

The builders union now has a sociologist, an architect, and a conservationist advising which projects it should work on or eject. It has a social planner living with the people in the Sydney District of Woolloomooloo to decide what form a proposed redevelopment there should take. Its refusal to cut down three fig trees at the botanic gardens for an underground parking lot has left the nearby \$150 million Sydney opera house without any parking facilities to this day.

Some critics—and Munday has many—claim that he latched onto the green bans solely as a means of achieving ultimate goals through a socially acceptable vehicle. Indeed, he has become a sort of folk hero to much of the nation's middle and upper class who now view him as a conservationist, not a Communist. Munday contends that his concerns are not suspect and that it is the broad social-economic support he has received that have made the bans possible.

Last week the BLF was deregistered nationally by the Australian Industrial Court in Melbourne, which said it had caused deliberate and continual industrial lawlessness and disruptions for four years. The action meant its members lost legal entitlements to federal wage awards but the union may not be greatly affected otherwise.

With the nation's inflation rate creeping toward 20% annually, the 305 unions are lodging astronomical wage claims on the assumption prices will go higher and higher. Employers raise prices—steel prices alone jumped 8.7% Tuesday—to cover increased salaries.

For himself, Munday has never been much concerned with mere money. He has the reputation of being uncorruptible and is reliably reported to have turned down flat offers and bribes which would have made him a wealthy man.

During six years as secretary of the New South Wales branch of the BLF, he drew the same salary as a laborer. In fact, a stipulation he introduced was the requirement that after six years as a union officer, a man must join the rank and file for at least a year on the construction sites.

Last week, after six years as secretary, Munday was again a \$100-a-week laborer at St. Vincent's hospital, helping build a 280-bed extension. "It's a socially beneficial project," he said.

(Reprinted from the *Los Angeles Times*)

# Energy Crisis II

by Ted Lieverman  
Middlesex NAM

AS THE NOVEMBER 12 expiration date of its present contract draws near, the United Mine-workers of America (UMW) is getting ready for a strike that could nearly paralyze the U.S. economy and become the most important American industrial strike in many years. Led by progressive officers and backed by a hard-pressed and militant rank and file, the 125,000-member union will probably demand sizable gains in wages, health and pension benefits, stricter safety provisions, and controls on strip mining.

Signs of an impending strike have become clear in the last two months. A front-page story in the *Wall Street Journal* in mid-July voiced corporate predictions that a strike would occur. Coal companies are attempting to increase production while utilities and coal-burning industries are stockpiling coal for the winter. Coal imports are increasing: New England Power has joined the Southern Company and has begun importing South African coal with 22,000 tons in March and 34,000 tons in April.

## U.S. COAL



What the Middle East is to Oil, the West is to Coal: there's UMW must now confront the energy industry's big move W

# History of UE Inspires, but Fails to Te

*Them and Us*, by James J. Matles and James Higgins, Prentice Hall, Inc. 1974. 311 pp. \$2.95.

by Steve Early

WHEN THE UEs Jim Matles spoke recently to a May Day gathering in Washington, D.C., he observed that there are two kinds of labor organizations—business unions and rank-and-file unions.

He described how the first type developed under the pressure of business domination of all aspects of American society and how such unions now resemble the corporations they bargain with, often treating their members just like the boss does. Then he recounted the long, proud history of the United electrical, Radio and Machine Workers—the em-



Jim Matles, UE's Secretary-Treasurer and one of the union's founders.

bodiment of the second kind of union—which has struggled to be different and paid a heavy price for it.

*Them and Us* is the story of that struggle as told by Matles, a founder and now Secretary-Treasurer of the UE, and journalist James Higgins.

Matles began his trade union career when he left his job in a Brooklyn machine shop in the early 1930s to help organize mass production workers into a union which was a forerunner of the UE. He was one of several younger labor leaders who emerged when a number of unions led by John L. Lewis of the United Mine Workers broke away from the conservative craft-dominated American Federation of Labor to form the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO). The reason for the split was the AFL's reluctance to organize workers on an industrial basis at a time when depression conditions had created a great upsurge of labor unrest, including general strikes in three American cities.

The UE, along with the United Auto Workers and the Steel Workers Organizing Committee, went on to recruit hundreds of thousands of new members in auto, steel, electrical equipment, and other industries. Aided by the 1935 Wagner Act, they were able to overcome company spies, red-baiting, police attacks, and various other tactics, legal and illegal, to win contracts with some of the largest corporations in the country.

The outbreak of World War II led to a period of largely self-imposed "labor peace," but the war's end was marked by a massive strike wave involving some five million workers. While these strikes resulted in a CIO victory, the major corporations—including the UEs long-time antagonist, General Electric—regrouped to put a halt to the labor movement's pre-war advance.

The UE, alone among labor organizations, recognized that the development of the Cold War under the Truman administration and the first calls for a domestic anti-communist crusade were linked to big-business expansion abroad and plans to under-

mine the Wagner Act. Accordingly, UE leaders opposed the CIO's endorsement of Truman in 1948 (which CIO President Philip Murray had attempted to make binding on all affiliates) and urged other union officials to refuse to sign the non-communist affidavits required by the Taft-Hartley Act of 1947.

While the UE continued to resist the Taft-Hartley affidavit requirement—thereby losing the right to participate in NLRB representation elections—the rest of the CIO leadership caved in and sometimes even contributed to the growing anti-red hysteria. To make matters worse, some unions seized upon the UE legal disability and began to raid its membership. This led to a final CIO-UE split at the CIO's 1949 convention where the UE and ten other "communist-dominated" unions with a combined membership of one million (1/5 of the CIO's total) were expelled.

The UEs "dark decade" had just begun, though. Due to the combined efforts of employers, the government, and the IUE (a "dual union" chartered by the CIO to replace the UE), its membership was reduced from a World War II peak of 600,000 to approximately 90,000 in 1955. Its officers, local leaders, and members were hauled before a variety of witch-hunting committees and federal agencies, and many rank and filers were black-listed and fired. For a time, it appeared the UE would be destroyed.

Nevertheless, it survived, and recently has begun to grow again. Throughout its long persecution and years of isolation, the union maintained a position of staunch independence. It continued to organize and represent workers regardless of their "craft, age, sex, nationality, creed, or political belief." It also exhibited an unusual degree of internal democracy, emphasizing rank-and-file control over all union affairs including contract talks. Officials at every level are still elected each year, and top-ranking officers or staffers are paid no more than the highest paid workers in UE shops (to insure that they "feel like UE members" and do not simply "feel for them").

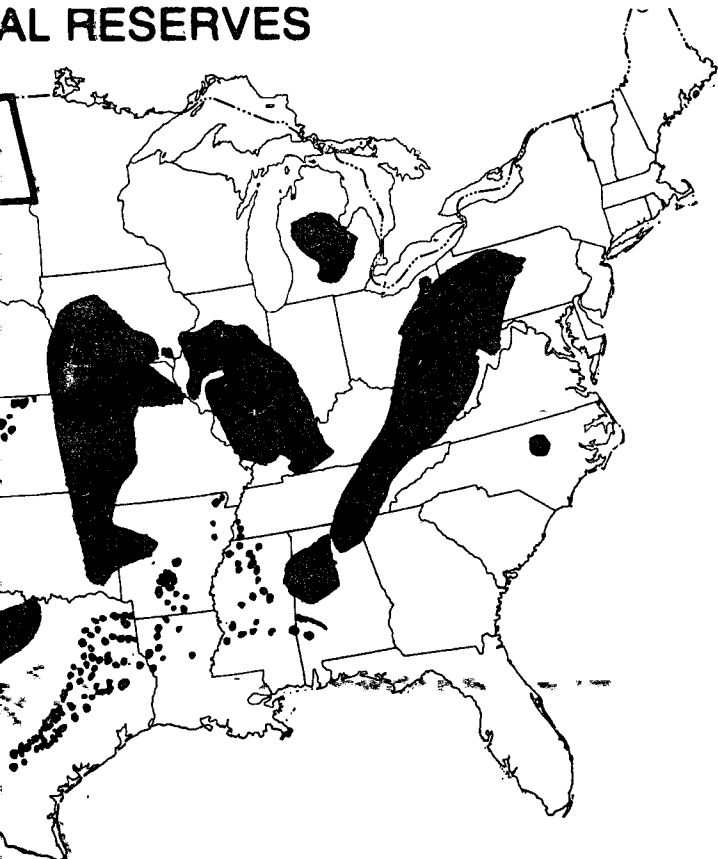


# Coal Strike Will Test UMW & Economy

For its part, the union has started a "Prepare for November 12" campaign through the *UMW JOURNAL*. Full-page announcements on the *Journal's* back cover urge miners to plant vegetable gardens and save their money. In July, union president Arnold Miller announced a ten-day memorial period to mourn all miners killed in accidents and to protest the continued violence directed against union organizing projects by the coal companies. Under the 1971 contract, the union can call up to ten days of memorial time during which no coal may be produced. Miller has, in effect, called for a ten-day industry-wide strike to weaken stockpiling efforts as well as to generate strike fervor among the membership.

The union and the companies have good reason to be concerned about the upcoming negotiations—but they're not the only ones. A coal strike will quickly be felt throughout the economy, causing layoffs in auto and steel and putting a severe squeeze on utilities. (About 54% of the country's electricity is produced through coal-burning plants.) The *Wall Street Journal* quotes the chairman of U.S. Steel as predicting "the economy will go to hell in a hand-basket real quick" if the strike happens.

## RESERVES



Source: Bureau of Mines Bulletin IC 8531, 1971

There's a lot of it there and it's close to the surface. The West.

## ell Whole Story

But there is more to the UE story than meets the eye in Matles' book. One of the more important reasons for the union's relatively egalitarian principles and its long-standing commitment to progressive political causes is never actually mentioned. The UE is and always has been a left-led union, in which members of the Communist Party have had a considerable influence and positions of responsibility. The major flaw of *Them and Us* is its failure to deal frankly and openly with the role of party members in the union and UE's relationship to the party itself.

Instead, Communists appear in the book simply as members of another outside organization—no difference from the Trots, Wobblies, Democrats, Republicans, and various right-wingers who also happened to belong to UE at one time or another. The only significant reference to the CPs stand on a labor issue which affected the union is Matles' mention of the fact that party members applauded the mid-1950s merger of the AFL and CIO and urged UE to find its way back into the "mainstream of American labor." Matles and other UE leaders wisely rejected this advice. But at other points in the union's history—for example, between 1941 and 1945 when UE vigorously supported the wartime "no strike" pledge and broke with the CIO's policy against "incentive pay" arrangements—it may have been more influenced by the CP "line."

Readers of *Them and Us* will learn little of radical labor history, and this is too bad. Matles clearly hopes that this book, like UE's earlier volume *Labor's Untold Story*, will help working people—especially younger union members—discover their own historical roots and tradition of labor struggles. But learning from the experiences of the past requires first knowing what those experiences were. If labor and the Left in this country are every to become one and the same—and Matles hopes they will—new leftists will have to know more about the strategies and tactics of old leftists who helped build the labor movement which awaits transformation today.

More important, the strike will be the first major working-class challenge to the post-Nixon economy, a bewildering jungle of recession, inflation, and high unemployment that even direct government intervention could not control. A falling domestic economy, coupled with a shrinking empire abroad and increased economic conflict with other capitalist powers, means that high U.S. profits can only be maintained at greater expense to American workers.

Since 23% of all American coal is produced by companies owned by oil and gas corporations, the strike will also directly challenge the superprofits which the energy industry is reaping from the "energy crisis." Oil industry profits rose 55% last year, compared with an average rise in U.S. workers' wages of 6.7%.

The companies face a union with a reform leadership, the product of a successful rank-and-file insurgency that deposed the corrupt and autocratic rule of Tony Boyle. Under new provisions, any contract negotiated by the officers must be ratified by a full vote of the rank and file. Known for their militancy and tenacity on strike, UMW members may force the leadership to stick to hard positions on crucial issues—or face a rejection of their contract.

When the union comes to the bargaining table, economic issues will be a high priority. Since 1945, annual wages in mining have risen slower than average earnings in other industries like auto and steel. The UMW will seek a fat wage increase, plus a cost-of-living escalator to protect members from the rampant inflation. In terms of fringe benefits, the miners lag far behind auto and steel and will thus demand, among other things, a possible tripling of royalties paid into the union's Welfare and Retirement Fund by the companies for each ton of coal mined. (Companies currently pay a royalty of 80 cents per ton.)

The issues that will give the strike its significance, however, are non-economic. Reflecting a strong concern over safety issues, the union wants to maintain and extend its right to strike over unsafe working conditions. The present contract has a "no-strike" clause in it, but allows workers to leave a mine in situations of "imminent danger." Company interpretation of the clause, however, backed by the Supreme Court's *Gateway* decision (1973), has all but vitiated this right.

### DIVISION OVER STRIP-MINING

Probably the major non-economic issue beyond safety is the protection of the UMW's power and the extension of union authority into presently non-union mines. To the union, strip mining means not only a threat to the environment but the steady move of the coal industry out West, throwing Appalachian deep miners permanently out of work. The coal companies favor Western stripping because fat seams of low sulfur coal lie tantalizingly close to the surface. The coal, although inferior to Appalachian bituminous, can be recovered faster, more safely, more cheaply, and with one-third of the workers required in deep mines. Moreover, most western strip miners belong to the Teamsters, the AFLs Operating Engineers, or company unions—none of which fights as hard on safety issues as the UMW or requires the royalty per ton for the welfare fund.

A total ban on strip mining would protect the union and insure that the coal industry would continue to boom in Appalachia. Yet UMW leadership has for a long time been divided on the issue and



Arnold Miller, UMW President, must now prove he can deliver for the rank and file.

only recently endorsed the strict controls—but no ban—on stripping embodied in House bill HR 11500. Union members who work at strip mines want their jobs protected also, and the union has learned to appreciate the effect faster strip operations has on its welfare fund. Right now strip miners account for 20% of UMW membership, yet they are responsible for 50% of the fund's royalties.

In addition, the union wants the prerogative to organize in the western mines and insure its authority throughout the industry. Some observers think that if the coal companies offer such assurances during the negotiations, but the union leadership will give up most of its other non-economic demands.

The ability of the union to win on these non-economic issues is clouded by certain internal problems. The present officers have never negotiated a contract before, although they have been receiving intensive aid from the UAW and will face a company bargaining team similarly inexperienced. The union leadership is divided on certain issues, like strip mining, and unsure as to which trade-offs on the contract make the best sense. One theory holds that the UMW will trade all of its economic issues away in exchange for a fat wage boost and benefit enlargement, perhaps in the context of a brief symbolic strike. Another theory holds that the leadership will insist only on union rights among western strip miners in addition to wage increases. The fate of several issues may rest on the degree to which rank-and-file opposition crystallizes to influence the negotiating team.

During its December convention, Miller told delegates at a closed session that a six-month strike may be on the way; the delegates supported him. Ultimately, the ability of the miners to hold out during an intense winter siege will determine its outcome. Other unions will be watching closely, especially the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union, which will be demanding large wage increases when its contracts expire January 7. Given the short and long-term prospects for the American economy, a UMW strike might well be the first step into a new period of open and acknowledged class conflict in the United States.

## UFW Intensifies Boycott

by Joanna Williams

Everywhere you look the United Farmworkers' boycott is taking hold and beginning to hurt the scab growers of California.

In New England, 60% of A&P stores no longer carry non-UFW grapes and lettuce. In Detroit, the United Auto Workers dispatches members to participate in the boycott picketing. Nationwide, sales of Gallo wines are off 17%.

Now, in the agricultural valleys of California, the UFW has begun to organize in other crops as well. The first strawberry field contracts in U.S. history were signed in June. At present, the tomato fields around Stockton have been struck in a fight for higher piece rates. At the height of the strike, over 1,000 workers picketed, and many more were arrested.

But the road ahead for the UFW is still uncertain. Last year, 40,000 laborers in the table grape industry lost the protection of Farmworkers' contracts and must now work under Teamster sweetheart agreements. Lettuce workers in Salinas have labored under Teamster contracts for the past four years.

Furthermore, although the boycott is the only alternative for the UFW and the farmworkers short of surrender, it is a risky tactic. Some of the union's most talented organizers, like Dolores Huerta and

Eliseo Medina, have been sent east to New York and Cleveland. Yet, despite the real danger of losing contact with the workers, events like the Stockton strike and the mass rally of 3,000 workers in Salinas in July indicate that the union's gamble is paying off.

The boycott's success is essential. Without it, the Farmworkers must stand alone against the huge agribusiness corporations such as Tenneco and Bank of America that control most of California agriculture.

Strikes are now being broken by workers from Mexico. Because of pressure on the union, the executive board has taken the unfortunate position that workers without documents—"the illegals"—should be cleared from the fields by a corrupt and violent Border Patrol. With rising unemployment, it will also become easier for the Teamsters to recruit scab workers from the cities.

To prevent racism (the tension between Chicanos and Blacks is greater than many people realize), and to push the union back to its former position on liberalizing immigration laws, it is all the more important for people to work seriously for the boycott in their local areas. The boycott is beginning to work. We must not let the momentum subside.

# NAM's 3rd Convention

## Growth and optimism vs. left's isolation

by Roberta Lynch and Judy MacLean  
Pittsburgh NAM

THE THIRD ANNUAL convention of the New American Movement took place in Lexington, Kentucky, July 11-14. 312 delegates from 33 chapters and 182 observers from over 30 local and national organizations attended. The number of delegates and observers was a sign both of NAM's continued growth over the past year (membership has doubled) and of its increasing importance as a Left organization.

On the other hand, NAM's growth and our increasing leadership over a segment of the Left has to be seen in the context of continued stagnation of the American Left. Dorothy Healey in a speech at the convention characterized the American Left as a "vanguard without a rearguard." We live in times of unparalleled disillusionment with the government and the economy, but with little mass activity directed toward challenging American capitalism.

This situation made its mark on the convention: growing optimism and enthusiasm for NAM and its prospects, but private bewilderment about the Left. This bewilderment was reflected in a lack of political or practical focus in many of the panel discussions; a distance between the subjects of the panels and the major issues of the world; and a near absence of discussion about prospects for organizing nationally.

### WORKPLACE ORGANIZING

In the opening panel, Sharon Stricker (L.A. NAM) stressed that NAM's strategy for organizing should include challenges to hierarchy that will strengthen workers' control of their work situation. This, she argued, will make the socialist vision of the working class running society a more believable goal. Jim Livingston (DeKalb NAM) presented the view that power in the workplace originates outside it in the broad policies of multi-national corporations and the state. Livingston argued that real gains in the workplace require complementary struggles in the political arena. Paul Roos (Philadelphia Area NAM) defended the view that organizing industrial workers should be our priority, because they are the most highly socialized sector of the working class.

In the debate from the floor, several speakers reasserted against Roos the view that workplace struggles in all sectors, as well as community struggles, are equally important. Several speakers also questioned the extent to which Livingston's political path for workplace organizing would involve alliances with the existing labor leadership.

The second workplace plenary focused on direct

experiences in workplace organizing. Jim Haughton of Fight Back (a NYC-based rank-and-file construction workers group) and the National Interim Committee for a Mass Party of the People, suggested that racism is the major divisive force among workers in the U.S. He argued that no strategy for workplace organizing can sidestep this fundamental issue. Renate Jaeger (Pittsburgh NAM) discussed the formation of the Coalition of Labor Union Women and urged that NAM play an active role in building CLUW as a militant, democratic organization of working women. Other speakers on the panel were John Welch (Queens NAM and Taxi Rank and File), John Bass (New Orleans NAM) and Dennis Peskin (District 31 Right to Strike Committee).

Several resolutions were passed that commit NAM to supporting workplace struggles: support was pledged for the UFW boycott and for the UMW and OCAW should either union strike in the fall; support was also enlisted for helping build a rank-and-file steelworker organization. The workshop on CLUW decided to publish a newsletter that would develop rank-and-file communication within CLUW. And another workshop decided to publish a bulletin of workplace organizing experiences within NAM.

### THE PARTY

The idea of a new socialist party generated some of the most enthusiastic discussion at the convention. The presence of observers from a number of major Left organizations—American Indian Movement, Puerto Rican Socialist Party, People's Party, Chicago Women's Liberation Union, Wisconsin Alliance, National Interim Committee of the Mass Party of the People, October League, and numerous others—indicated that NAM's non-sectarian approach and continued development can enable it to play a major role in encouraging dialogue and cooperation among Left groups. Resolutions were passed to establish liaisons and maintain ongoing contact with both the NIC/MPP and the People's Party. And a resolution was passed setting the basic principles that NAM will adhere to in working to build a party.

In a panel, Miles Mogulescu advocated a socialist "activist" party that would draw on the positive aspects of both "mass" and "cadre" party models. Saying that in a certain sense he would describe himself as a Marxist-Leninist, he argued that we need to re-examine this tradition to determine what is relevant to the conditions of contemporary U.S.



Photo by Tom Simmons

Healey countered the contrast Mogulescu had made between a party and NAM. She cited the Cuban revolution as an example of a "movement" that made a revolution. She warned against making the question of the party an excuse for evading the nitty-gritty problems of building NAM: how to create a strong and accountable leadership, how to create a multi-national organization, how to develop struggles that will challenge capitalism on every front.

### BUILDING A MULTI-NATIONAL MOVEMENT

NAM has not clearly faced the question of building a multi-national movement. To what extent should NAM itself try to become a multi-racial organization, as opposed to developing alliances with autonomous black and other Third World groups. Is it possible to do both? Panel members Mike Downing (L.A. NAM), Sally Avery (Durham NAM), Alfredo Lopez (Puerto Rican Socialist Party), and Jerry Roy (American Indian Movement) all stressed the compelling need for NAM to overcome its past hesitancy and move more aggressively to confront these issues.

In discussing the situation of the Black worker, Downing showed the interrelation between national and class oppression. Lopez stressed the importance of anti-imperialism and a Leninist form of organizing in building a united movement capable of making a revolution.

NAM adopted a new version of the racism section of the political perspective (see box). Also passed was a resolution committing NAM chapters to work on building the rally in Madison Square Garden on October 27 for Puerto Rican Solidarity Day. And chapters agreed to undertake actions that would publicize the trials and treaty rights struggles around Wounded Knee.

### FEMINISM AND SOCIALISM

NAM's continuing efforts to understand the relationship between feminism and socialism and to integrate this understanding into its structure and its activity has been one of its major strengths. An article by Barbara Easton (Berkeley NAM) in the April NAM newspaper revived debate about the relation of feminism to socialism. In a presentation to the convention, Easton said that she did not necessarily view them as incompatible, but she warned against feminism in the form of a separatist strategy for women's liberation. Such a strategy has led to opportunism, moralism, and utopianism. She stressed the importance of insuring that "socialist-feminist" concerns are not left to women, but are made the concerns of the entire organization.

Sara Evans (C.P. Gilman NAM) argued that the Left is strengthened by an autonomous women's movement. Evans urged that NAM pay greater attention to gay liberation and the challenge that it poses to traditional structures. We will, she asserted, require a cultural revolution as part of the process of making a socialist revolution. She concluded by calling for the formation of a caucus to act as a political force for socialist-feminism within the organization.

Women's and men's caucuses met during the weekend. The women's caucus initiated plans for a nationwide socialist/feminist conference to be held in the spring of 1975.

### PROGRAM

Two resolutions were introduced to foster the development of national program. John Judis (Oakland NAM) and Harry Boyte (Chapel Hill NAM) both stressed developing a more coherent national approach to program in NAM. The Boyte proposal, which was adopted, called for NAM to define its approach to various areas such as culture, anti-imperialism, etc. (see box) Judis' proposal, which was not



Speakers on one panel on Workplace Organizing. (l.-r.): John Bass (New Orleans NAM), John Welch (N.Y.C. NAM, Taxi Rank and File), Mardi Kleus (Minneapolis), Dennis Peskin (Steelworkers Right to Strike Committee), Jim Houghton (Fight Back), and Renate Jaeger (Pittsburgh NAM, CLUW).

adopted, would have mandated NAM to develop over the next several years programs on major national issues (e.g., housing, health, etc.). Neither proposal sparked much discussion. This reflected both the uncertainty with which NAM members continue to view national program, and the uncertainty with which its proponents suggested it.

#### STRUCTURE

A significant structural change was made at the convention. Regional NAM organizations were created in the West Midwest, Industrial Heartland, New England, and the South. Twice a year these regional organizations will send representatives to a meeting with NIC members. These meetings will take the place of the National Council, the annual meeting of chapter representatives. The regional structure was created to provide greater communication between local and national NAM and to encourage regional traveling and programs. The delegates also elected a new national leadership and passed several proposals to strengthen the distribution of the newspaper.

#### RESOLUTIONS

The energy program approved by the delegates emphasized municipalizing local utilities, fighting rate hikes, environmental struggles, and activity around mass transit. Coordinated national effort would take place around strikes by UMW and OCAW workers should they occur in the fall. Public ownership and democratic control will continue to be a focus of agitation, but an immediate emphasis on a campaign for nationalization of energy was not included in the program.

The final plenary approved several other resolutions. It agreed that next year's convention will devote more time to discussing revolutionary culture and the role of culture in people's lives. The convention also passed statements of support for statehood for Columbia (Washington, D.C.), and for a protest demonstration against the junta regime in Chile. In its last official act, the convention adopted a resolution to send an expression of solidarity to the People's Republic of China and to apply to the Chinese for a NAM-sponsored trip to the P.R.C.

#### CRITICISM/SELF-CRITICISM

Criticism/self-criticism sessions took place throughout the weekend. The most frequently-voiced criticism was disappointment in the lack of clear political discussion. Most speakers attributed this weakness to the failure of the NIC to plan presentations which sharpened political questions. Panels were, by and large, a series of informational presentations which touched on a number of significant issues but did not clarify sources of disagreement or stimulate much debate. Several delegates stressed that in the future there should be fewer panels and that each one should focus on a specific

## NAM committed to building new party

The New American Movement commits itself in the coming period to help lay the basis for a new socialist party. . . Only the process of building such a party can determine its exact configurations, but it is possible to lay our some fundamental definitions NAM adheres to.

1. Such a party must be unambiguously socialist in its vision and its political program.
2. It must be in the most fundamental sense a working class party. But it should also recognize the increasing proletarianization of ever-widening sectors of the population.
3. A party must institute the kind of democratic life that will allow it to arrive at an effective level of unity to carry out its political work with strength and coherence. It should encourage fullest discussion and widest participation on all levels.
4. The party should be a mass-based party of active members.

5. A new party will at times employ elections as a tactic—at those time when it advances the strength and confidence of the working class. But it be first and foremost an activist party.

6. A new party must, at the outset, by a multi-national party in which Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, Native Americans, and Asians play an active role in its founding and initial leadership.

7. A new party must, at the outset, include a strong and active role by women in its founding and initial leadership.

8. A new party should unequivocally support freedom of sexual orientation and the struggle of gay people for complete freedom to define themselves.

9. A new party is not likely to be formed simply by NAM growing until it reaches party proportions. It will be formed through consolidation and unification of various fragments of the organized Left.

10. While objective conditions would allow a new party, once formed, to grow rapidly, it is not likely, at the moment of its founding, to be a genuine mass party.

11. In the coming period, on a national, regional, and local level, NAM should begin taking concrete leadership in a process of party-building.

political question. Correspondingly, they emphasized the need for more small groups so as to allow greater discussion among all the delegates of the ideas presented. Many delegates said they got more out of the workshops and regional meetings than the larger plenaries.

Inherent in these criticisms was a view that recurred throughout the convention—a growing consensus within NAM that the NIC must provide more political direction, i.e., it must stimulate discussion on major issues throughout the organization. This was coupled with a renewed emphasis on the need for a national political education program.

But there was a more basic problem underlying the call for more political discussion: the convention seemed oddly distant from the political realities of contemporary U.S. or the practical problems of creating a national organization. The most exciting discussions—for instance, those on the party—had this remoteness. The discussions on programs reflected the problems of an organization situated on the fringes of American political life struggling to discover methods by which it can enter national politics.

NAM shares these problems with the American Left. In many respects, the convention showed that for all NAM's faults it is the most advanced organized embodiment of a politics that will find a larger audience in the coming years. But the mandate for future conventions, and for the American Left, will be to face the problems more squarely and resolutely. ■



Miles Mogulescu (Minneapolis NAM) and Dorothy Healey (L.A. NAM), speakers on the Party Building Panel.

## Racism, national oppression, and the socialist movement

Racism has been an essential part of American capitalism from the first enslavement of Afro-Americans in the early 1600s to the continued use of Afro-American and Latin labor in the most dangerous and low-paying jobs in the 1970's. The labor of slaves was an important source of the accumulated capital which fueled America's economic takeoff in the first half of the 19th century. Seizures of land from Native Americans and Mexicans provided for the territorial expansion necessary to maintain a dynamic capitalist economy. Belief in the superiority of the white race developed in large part as a justification for these acts: when American economic expansion moved beyond continental limits, this too was done in the name of white America's "mission" to civilize and control "inferior" peoples in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. The experience of Afro-Americans, Mexican-Americans, and Puerto Ricans is that of colonized nationalities. Their histories have been shaped according to the needs of white American capitalists. They have responded to national oppression by forging their own cultural and social identities and by asserting their legitimate demands for self-determination and complete equality.

At the same time these oppressed nationalities have, over the last 150 years, become integrated into the working class in this country. The expansion of the economy since World War I and the increased demand for labor has forced a shared experience on people of all racial and ethnic origins, thus creating a multiracial proletariat. Within this work force Afro-Americans and other groups have continued to be oppressed as nationalities and as

workers. They have responded to their oppression as workers by joining with other workers in multi-racial organizations such as unions and asserting their legitimate demands for the fruits of their labor.

The ruling class responds in various ways to the demands of these peoples: by concealed or overt appeals to white feelings of racial superiority; by inadequate social welfare programs designed and administered by white capitalists or their agents; and by promises of support for "Black capitalism." This last promise at best allows a few Blacks the opportunity to "own" low-profit, economically precarious businesses, whose actual control remains in the hands of the corporate capitalists that created them. All these responses have two things in common: they utterly fail to meet legitimate demands for self-determination and full equality, and they increase hostility and suspicion among working people.

The New American Movement commits itself to the creation of a class-conscious socialist movement whose perspective on the liberation of oppressed nationalities is based on its understanding of two major forms which this struggle is already taking: 1) a multi-racial movement, i.e., one which is comprised of peoples of various racial and ethnic origins, belonging to the same organization, and 2) a multi-national movement, i.e., one which is comprised of alliances between autonomous movements of oppressed nationalities and a broader multi-racial revolutionary organization. Consistent with this commitment, we must demonstrate to white working men and women that our nation can never

be free if it continues to oppress other nationalities, whether they happen to be in Asia or the inner cities of this country. As long as white workers regard the Afro-American and other subject peoples as an enemy and not an ally, they necessarily strengthen the hegemony of the bourgeoisie over themselves and non-white peoples. The perpetuation of these antagonisms has proven to be of great service to the capitalists in prolonging their social power. White American workers must see that, for them, the national emancipation of subject peoples within the U.S. is "no question of abstract justice or humanitarian sentiment, but a condition of their own social emancipation."

The New American Movement seeks to take part in establishing socialist democracy in the U.S. and throughout the world. Our goal is a society in which men and women of all races and ethnic origins live together in harmony and mutual respect, each with a full share in the control and enjoyment of society's wealth. We commit ourselves to combating white racism in all its forms, whether cultural, economic, or political, and to achieving full equality for all peoples in the U.S. At the same time we recognize, and will honor, the right of Afro-Americans, Native Americans, and other oppressed nationalities to self-determination in such form as each may determine for itself, guaranteed and made effective through the control by each nationality of a definite proportion of the national wealth. We commit ourselves to building a multi-racial organization. At the same time, consistent with our understanding of the national dimensions of racial oppression, and recognizing that non-white nationalism is not necessarily inconsistent with a revolutionary socialist strategy, we look to alliances with proletarian and socialist movements among the oppressed nationalities as another promising basis for a revolutionary socialist movement uniting peoples of all racial and ethnic origins.

# NYers fight d'care cuts

by Stephen Suffet, Queens NAM

WHILE CAMPAIGNING for the mayoralty election in New York last year, Abraham Beame assured voters that he would oppose any day care eligibility standards that would penalize the working poor. Beame won the election easily, with large majorities among low-income as well as middle-income voters. Now, amid scandals that over \$5 million in negotiable securities is missing from the city treasury (Beame was Comptroller before he became mayor), his administration has broken the campaign promise. Beginning September 1, a new fee schedule will be in effect at municipally-funded day care

centers. This may force the parents of 5,000 children out of their jobs and onto welfare.

The problem began several months ago when New York State informed the City that as of July it would no longer subsidize the day care costs of families making above a certain income. The City already had a schedule for computing a child's eligibility for day care, but the State's scale is much stricter. Both the City and the State scales are based upon so-called "net" family income, but each has a different definition. In computing net income, the State allows the family to deduct only three items from gross earnings: (1) income taxes, but not social security tax, (2) health insurance, and (3) court-ordered child-support payments. The City method of computation allows a family to deduct other items: social security, voluntary support payments, medical costs above health insurance, rent, utilities, and a food allowance. Using the State's formula, a family of four with a net income above \$9,400 would be ineligible. The City's own cutoff point for a family of four is currently \$13,000.

Faced with a loss of some of its State funding (which along with federal money accounts for less than half the day care budget), the Beame administration had two choices: it could find the needed money or it could adopt the State income limits as the standard of eligibility. It has chosen to do the latter. City-funded day care centers are already refusing to accept new children whose family income exceeds the State guidelines. Families of children who are already enrolled, but who have incomes greater than the new limits, will be re-

quired to shell out more money than they have been, for the whole sliding fee scale is being revised upward.

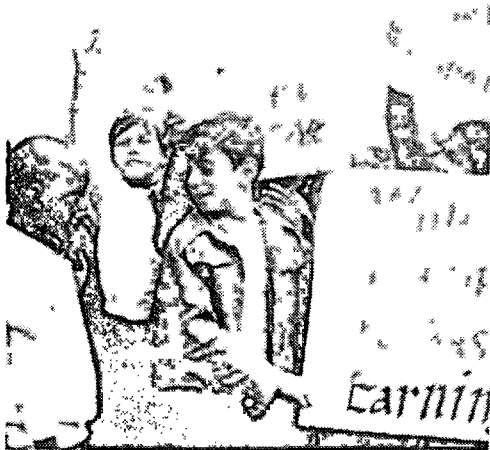
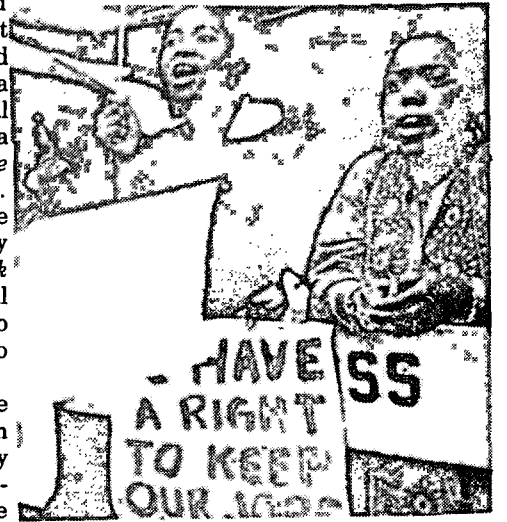
Let's take a look at what all of this will mean in practice. A single woman with a child in day care (the so-called family of two) will have to pay full cost for that child if her State-determined net income is greater than \$7,025 a year. Her real take-home pay (social security deducted) is only about \$120 a week. At least half of this would have to go for keeping her child in day care. Many such women will have little choice but to quit their jobs and apply for welfare. Already the *New York Post* has run a story about a clerical worker in a hospital who may have to refuse a raise in order to keep her two children in day care.

Fortunately, the people who will be affected by the cutbacks have not been silent. On July 24th, despite heavy rain, 2,000 persons demonstrated outside City Hall to protest against the new eligibility standards. Many demonstrators carried signs demanding free day care services for all children.

What was notable about the demonstration is that it was organized by the parents and day care staffs themselves, not by any large organizations or "poverty bureaucrats." Many day care center children were at the demonstration, and it was obvious that they helped make some of the signs. There were no speeches or other formalities, just a group of people angry about being shafted by the same man many of them voted for. Shouts of "Where's Beame?" and "Where's our money?" were heard every few seconds. One woman carried a sign which read, "Beame loses it. Nixon steals it. All I want to do is work for

it."

Not surprisingly, at least three-quarters of the adult demonstrators were women. Most were Puerto Rican



or Black, although there were also identifiable groups of Cubans, Chinese, and Italians present.

Of course, His Honor was too cowardly to come out and face the demonstrators. However, they must have had some effect on him. The next day Beame announced he would try to persuade the State to be more lenient and would try to find a way to push back the cutback date a couple of months.

## Mid-east series (IV) Sadat's 'victory' stabilizes area for US

by Fred and Susanne Lowe

IT WAS QUITE a baffling sight to watch on the news: Millions of Egyptians lining the street of Cairo to greet Richard Nixon, of all people. What made it so baffling was that the man they were greeting had long been the symbol of U.S. imperialism. Richard Nixon gave Israel in five years 80 times as much military aid as did his predecessors in 20 years. From 1969 to 1973 Israel received nearly half the overall U.S. foreign aid budget. It was Richard Nixon who came to Israel's rescue during the October war and supplied it with the sophisticated weaponry that enabled Israel's tanks to get past the Sam-6 defenses along the Suez Canal and rob the Egyptians of the fruits of their earlier victories.

The Egyptians were lining the streets of Cairo because their president, Anwar Sadat, announced that the U.S. was humbled into sending its president to meet with the victors of the October war. The hundreds of thousands of peasants that had been hauled in trucks from their villages in upper and lower Egypt were having a victory celebration in the big city at the government's expense and, unknowingly, for the benefit of the American media.

For Nixon the Cairo reception was a godsend he personally needed (and probably requested from Sadat) in order to make up for his lack of public appeal in the U.S. The question that remains to be answered is what this whole diplomatic serenade in the geographical and political capital of the Arab world is going to mean to Egypt and the future of the mid-East?

### THE BACKGROUND

In 1952, a group of army officers under the leadership of Gamal Nasser, overthrew Egypt's corrupt King Farouk. The officers were angered over Farouk's treacheries during the first Arab-Israeli war of 1948, they were fiercely nationalistic and anti-colonial-

ist, and domestically they favored the strengthening of a bourgeoisie that could advance Egyptian capitalism and help develop the country's productive resources.

In 1955 Israel launched a series of raids against Egyptian settlements in the Sinai. Nasser asked the West for arms but they turned him down. He turned to the eastern block and concluded an arms deal with Czechoslovakia.



Nixon and Sadat parade through Cairo streets.

The State Department applied formidable pressures on Nasser to bring him back to the fold by joining CENTO (an off-shoot of NATO). Nasser refused: he was determined to remain non-aligned and nationally independent. In 1956 Egypt's request for funding a high dam on the Nile was turned down by the World Bank (a decision Foster Dulles later bitterly regretted). Nasser

responded by nationalizing the Suez Canal (which was in the hands of an Anglo-French firm) in order to raise necessary capital from its revenues.

In 1956 France, Britain, and Israel attacked Egypt, and although Nasser was militarily defeated, he received the overwhelming support of the Egyptian people who until then had remained cool toward his endeavors. Overnight, Nasser became a symbol of anti-imperialism and defeat was turned into victory.

The political prestige gained by Nasser's victory against the imperialists enabled him to strengthen the domestic position of his class, the petit-bourgeoisie. Armed with popular support, Nasser confiscated the property of Egypt's rich aristocratic landlords and

became apparent that the so-called national bourgeoisie was too entangled in its connections with foreign interests and the old aristocracy to make any real headway in national development.

In 1962 Nasser nationalized the banks and later the heavy and medium industries. In doing this he tried to enlist the support of workers by improving working conditions and enforcing a law of worker participation in industrial administration. The real power, however, was shifted into the hands of the petit-bourgeoisie who were in the process of becoming a state-bourgeoisie.

By 1966 the new bourgeoisie (or state bourgeoisie) was hot in pursuit of personal gain through corruption at all levels of the state bureaucratic apparatus and the exploitation of workers and peasants. Among the new bourgeoisie a right-wing sector was developing that favored the liberalizing of Egypt's "socialist" laws and the return to pre-1962 conditions. Another sector that still benefitted from the socialist laws and was for maintaining the status quo came to be known as the Nasserist Left. Nasser himself wavered between the two folds.

### SIX-DAY WAR

In 1967 a stagnating Egyptian leadership was caught unprepared in a war with Israel, and Egypt suffered a staggering defeat in the Six-Day War. Following the war, it looked like Nasser would be removed from power and a leader from the right, Zakaria Mo-hieddine, would step up to the presidency to make peace with Israel and return Egypt to the U.S. fold.

But the masses flooded the streets of Egypt and huge demonstrations were held to bring Nasser back to power. They demanded that Nasser, their anti-imperialist leader, lead them in a people's war against Zionism and imperialism.

Nasser returned to power, but instead of opting for a people's war in which he would rely on the creative energies of the armed masses, he decided to consolidate the army and put the new bourgeoisie back on its feet. In 1968, 1969, and 1970, massive student and worker demonstrations were held against the new bourgeoisie demanding that Nasser lead the nation in a people's war.

Nasser died in 1970. Sadat, who became his successor, was one of the

(cont. on next page)

# Working against NY's road gang

by John Farley  
New York NAM #1

HIGHWAY PLANNERS have proposed rebuilding Manhattan's West Side Highway as an Interstate, twelve lanes wide. Construction would cost up to \$1.3 billion, take ten years to complete, wipe out Riverside Park, bring in additional truck and car traffic, and cause increased air and noise pollution. A major community battle is shaping up to stop it.

Every schoolchild knows by now that what we need is public transportation, not highways. The notion of building an interstate highway in Manhattan, a densely populated area with a huge bus and subway system, is especially illogical. Who is pushing for this asphalt bungle? You've probably guessed: the downtown business interests and the construction industry, hard-pressed recently for jobs. In addition, the city and state political machines are hankering for interstate designation which will give them 90% federal financing, with the accompanying patronage and payoffs.

Opposing this boondoggle are community groups, block associations, and a number of politicians. Howard Samuels, the Democratic hopeful for governor, has publicly stated his opposition. Rocky is out and the Dems have a crack at the governorship for the first time in ages. Rocky was for the interstate during his seemingly endless reign as governor, and we must presume his protege Wilson is also. Despite his fondness for concrete, the Rock was defeated in his attempt to build the Rye-Oyster Bay Bridge, so these highway battles are winnable. Mayor Beame has said nothing officially but seems to be pro-interstate.

This spring, the highway broke down in the West 70s and at 14th Street, forcing traffic to be diverted onto local streets. At the same time, the Westside Highway Project (the pro-highway planners) issued their Environmental Impact Statement, a gigantic 400-page book with multicolor maps and charts. The study, and the statement, are required by federal law, supposedly to insure that new highway construction complies with Environmental Protection Agency air and noise pollution standards. Considering the source, it is hardly surprising that the Statement is a piece of propaganda, brazenly proclaiming that a new highway will actually reduce air pollution. The claim is that an enlarged highway would take traffic off the local streets. This is patently false, since an interstate is a limited-access road and hence useless to local traffic.

Public agitation on the issue has been slow in developing. The most vocal and persistent opposition has come from the West 70s where diversion of traffic from the broken-down highway onto local streets has caused enormous congestion, noise pollution, and a dangerous rise in lead levels in the air. An ad hoc group called WARN Westside Action for Repair Now) held a series of demonstrations, blocking traffic in the morning rush hour to demand that the existing highway be reopened immediately and that no interstate be built. The Beame administration would rather keep the present highway broken down to strengthen the argument—and pressure on the community—for a new highway.

After five WARN demonstrations, the City revised its earlier "estimate" that it would take 18 months to reopen the road. The promise now is that by Labor Day two lanes will be open in the AM southbound, and in the PM northbound. But traffic experts say this concession will not solve the problem.

Just south of 125th Street, the Tiemann Neighborhood Association took to the streets July 2nd to protest the endless parade of cars that have poured through the streets since the highway broke down. About a hundred people turned out to slow down the morning rush hour traffic and demand that measures be taken to reduce the volume and speed of traffic through the neighborhood. They also deman-



Nelson Rockefeller, an early member of the New York City road gang.

ded that the existing highway be fixed now and that no interstate be built. The request now from the Westside Highway Project is to designate the stretch of highway south of 42nd Street as an Interstate, but they really want the whole stretch from the Battery to the George Washington Bridge. These are just salami tactics—taking a

## Egypt

officers who had participated in the 1952 coup against King Farouk. It soon became clear that Sadat championed the rightist elements in the Egyptian ruling class. In 1971 Sadat ousted the regime's Left, Ali Sabrk, head of the Arab Socialist Union, Sharowy Gomea, Minister of the Interior, and Muhammad Fauzi, Minister of War, when they refused to go along with the decision to renew the cease-fire with Israel. A few months later, Sadat ousted 20,000 Soviet advisors and made overtures to the U.S. He was ignored.

### THE OCTOBER WAR

Meanwhile, the pressure was increasing on the domestic front and everyone expected Sadat to be ousted. To save his skin and gain some time, Sadat declared the October War on Israel in 1973. The Egyptian army managed to cross the canal (which was quite a considerable feat), but soon after it was restrained from advancing further and ordered to take up defensive positions. It was this political decision that led to Israel's successful counter-attack and the subsequent cease-fire.

With the cease-fire came Egypt's dramatic rapprochement with the U.S.

While the masses were still celebrating their victory, Sadat, under the guise of victory negotiations, brought the Americans into Egypt and prepared for the final capitulation.

Today, Sadat has clearly placed his fortunes with King Faisal and the U.S. To please them and Egypt's new bourgeoisie, he has reversed most of Nasser's progressive labor laws, he has opened Egypt unconditionally to foreign capital, and he has returned confiscated and nationalized property to the old aristocracy.

Both Sadat and Nixon in that official mass reception had a lot in common: they both had desperately to buy time. The mid-East conflict is not going to be resolved in Geneva and Sadat knows that. Recently Rabin said he is not going to return part of the Sinai peninsula. The Palestinians are not playing along with the capitulation plan, and neither are Iraq, Algeria, Southern Yemen, or Libya. Sadat hopes to consolidate a base built on foreign investment and power as quickly as possible before the masses discovered his big con game and call for his head.

for further reading:

- Mahmoud Hussein, *Class Struggle in Egypt*, Monthly Review Press, 1973.
- Peter Johnson, "Egypt Under Nasser," Merip Reports, July 1972.

bit at a time. Community opposition has been voiced at meetings of Community Planning Boards. Crowds were hostile; shouting matches with the city traffic commissioner and the highway "experts" occurred. Most of the Community Planning Boards have now voted against interstate designation, and their advisory group of technical experts (COMBO) has rejected the Environmental Impact Statement. But the power of the boards is purely advisory.

Local NAM members have gone to the Community Planning Board meetings, planned, and participated in the demonstrations. For example, NAM members played a major role in or-

ganizing a rally at 72nd Street, attended by about 1,000 people. Buttons were sold proclaiming our position: "No Highway. No Way. NAM." The public hearings were picketed.

MORE HEARINGS are scheduled for September 5th and 12th. Right now, the place of events is set by the schedule of hearings. But this is developing into a major Westside battle. Already, the Westside Highway Project seems upset at the amount of opposition. Demands have been raised that the City "trade in" the highway for the equivalent funds in mass transit. The Citizens for Clean Air have filed a lawsuit against the Interstate proposal. The struggle continues.

## Piercy verse

# The Uses of Poems

by Elayne Rapping, Pittsburgh NAM

To Be Of Use: Poems by Marge Piercy

Art and politics. Poetry and revolution. Sometimes they go together. One thinks of Mao Tse-Tung and Ho Chi Minh. One would never think of Nixon or Gerald Ford. It is simply not an American tradition for men—or women of power to give voice to the needs, desires, and dreams which give meaning and joy to life, any more than it is an American tradition for them to pay more than lip service to such things in their speeches or legislation.

That is why Marge Piercy—artist and revolutionary—is so remarkable a woman. In the last year she has published two books, one fiction, one poetry. Both clearly come, in her words, "from the Movement/for the Movement." and both approach what the Movement at its best has attempted: to create a vision of what is and what might be in terms true enough, broad enough, and emotionally powerful enough to make us see, feel, and ultimately change our personal as well as our public lives.

Her recent novel, *Small Changes*, is the first serious and imaginative novel to come out of and reflect the significance of the women's movement. Her new volume of poetry, *To Be Of Use*, though less widely noticed or praised, is even more unique and powerful.

The poems are divided into three sections which move logically from individual awareness and anger, to individual and collective struggle toward change, to a final mythic vision of historical, revolutionary change.

The first section, "A Just Anger," dramatizes the common pain, frustration and longing in the lives of women, all kinds of women—waitresses and secretaries, mothers and daughters, "exceptional" women intellectuals and media stars—as they attempt to live and love in a male-dominated world.

It begins with the metaphor of the artificially stunted bonsai tree. Left alone, it "could have grown eighty feet tall on the side of a mountain;" instead, it has been skillfully, lovingly pruned and potted by the male gardener who "croons" to it each day of its true "nature"—"to be small and cozy domestic and weak."

The section ends with an elegy to Janis Joplin, whose life and death embodies "the great-hearted bitch fantasy" of "woman on her back to the world endlessly hopelessly raggedly/offering a brave front to be fucked," an image which still informs our idea of "femininity," of the "natural woman."

Part II moves on from this depressing catalog of cruelties and crippling to portray struggle and commitment to change, in personal as well as social and political relationships. Piercy tells of women steeling themselves to resist and refuse; of couples and collectives working at "Bridging" two worlds, "Doing it differently," struggling and often failing to "become new." And she ends with a summary of what we should have learned from this process: to be patient and tolerant of our

individual and collective weaknesses and, with hope and confidence, to continue to struggle. "Forgive yourself for being wrong," she says:

You will do it again  
for nothing living  
resembles a straight line,  
certainly not this journey  
to and fro, zigzagging

you there and me here  
making our own road onward  
as the snail does.

The last section, beautifully illustrated with woodcuts by Lucia Vernarelli, is a political rereading of the tarot cards, the ancient symbols we still "experience in dreams, in songs, in vision, in meditation." Piercy shows how these symbols still mold our perceptions of reality and so "shape our choices." "What we use we must remake," she says: "Then only we are not playing with dead dreams but seeing ourselves more clearly, and clearly becoming."

Each poem in the series fuses myth and history, trivia and profundity, the personal and political, the earthy and ideal. From "The Queen of Pentacles," an embodiment of growth and nourishment as well as the creative spirit of the poet herself, to the final, prophetic vision of the rising sun, an "Androgynous child" destined to "grow into [his] horse" so "there be/no more riders or ridden."

Piercy's style is at once deeply sensual and highly idealistic; informed equally is she by a sense of belief in history and "magic." At her best in these mythic/political visions, she reminds us—and it is easy to forget—that the dreary, often grotesque details of our daily lives, the stink of last night's garbage, the dead rhetoric of last week's factional dispute, are connected to the vision of a truly human future which lies somewhere in the consciousness of those of us who have come to believe in and work for revolution. She has been to our meetings, understands and respects our concern for ideology and organization, but is at pains to remind us of the personal and spiritual values without which they make no sense. She risks being called idealistic or romantic for renewing and rekindling the revolutionary capacity for "magic" and "miracle" in each of us. "Every soul must become a magician," she says in the final pages. For

..... the magician is in touch.  
The magician connects. The  
magician helps each thing  
to open into what it truly wants to  
utter.

The saying is not the magic: we  
have drunk words and eaten  
manifestoes and grown bloated on  
resolutions  
and farted winds of sour words  
that left us weak  
It is in the acting with the  
strength we cannot  
really have till we have won.

This morning we must make each  
other strong.  
Change is qualitative: we are  
each other's miracle.

# CHINA

(cont. from p. 2)

the past year and the Chinese people are proud that they are mastering philosophical thought. Study groups in workplaces and neighborhoods meet four hours per week. Workers in the

## Letters

Dear members of NAM,

Having seen the priorities set for the third NAM conference, it seems that for the third year in a row NAM has chosen to avoid two critical questions for any organization that perceives itself as socialist. Those questions are 1. what is NAM's program (and I don't just mean tenets of belief) and 2. what is NAM's strategy to fight racism?

As one of the original founders of NAM (along with Mike Lerner and Chip Marshall) I saw the issue of whether or not NAM would adopt national programs shunted to the hinterlands until "we got ourselves together." I know Rome wasn't built in a day, but it has been three years now and still no nationwide socialist programs have emerged, let alone a socialist presence of any form. I see some rather good theory coming out of NAM, but theory is useless in an organization without serious practice. I think the notion that programs would emerge spontaneously from chapters has been proven wrong and that it is time now for people to devote their attention to program development on a national level. Such a program would give a focus around which newer chapters could cohere and make all local organizing more effective by the fact that what's happening locally will no longer be an isolated event, but be part of a larger, national whole. After all, capitalism is not a local event nor is the idea of "liberated territories" a viable one.

NAM will never broaden its constituency beyond the old New Lefters unless it has programs that reach out to people who are not presently in contact with radical people.

On the question of racism, NAM consistently avoids dealing with this issue organizationally and strategically. Is NAM's membership multi-racial? I would never know. It seems that you have quite a bit of discussion about how to deal with questions of sexism internally and theoretically, and, for a third year in a row the "relation between socialism and feminism" is a major topic at your convention. How long will it be before NAM makes the same priority of racism?

Perhaps NAM is still caught up in the old New Left's "separate, but equal" solution that emerged from the sixties, i.e., "third world people will have their organizations and whites will have theirs and occasionally we'll meet on the picket lines or at demonstrations." If that is the unspoken, but prevailing dynamic with NAM, then it is a tragedy. The truly unique feature about radical American politics has been, and should again be, a strong, united, multi-racial organizational form. Anything less will never be adequate to build socialism in this country.

I sincerely hope that, someday, NAM will take up these questions, for until it does NAM will not be a serious contender for radical support nor a means with which to attain any large scale socialist gains.

Till then. . . . .

Theirrie Cook  
a founder of NAM  
Boston, Mass.

Dear Friends,

I recently read your July issue and was very favourably impressed by the quality of the analysis and the debate I found therein, although some of the pieces were too short to cover the subject (I am thinking particularly of the two articles by Harry Boyte, which were good but too limited). I am also very interested in the on-going debates with in the New American Movement, for I find in the terms in which the debate is carried out a welcome advance over the polemicism which plagues the Left in North America; even when the debate is general it appears to maintain its roots in North American experience, and often seems to grow out of the actual practice of the NAM rather than simply disputing theoretical formulae.

In summary, then, I found your newspaper very stimulating and thoughtful, and I wish to subscribe to it.

In comradeship,

Rick McKown  
Petersburg, VA

Shanghai docks told us that since January they had read *Critique of the Gotha Program, Imperialism: the Highest State of Capitalism, and On the Correct Handling of Contradictions among the People*. Although participation is voluntary, a large majority of China's 800 million citizens are involved in these study groups. Lin Piao said, "Follow Mao Tse Tung when you understand him, follow Mao Tse Tung when you don't understand him." The Chinese are very critical of this statement now, and the emphasis is on each Chinese citizen understanding Mao and applying Mao's principles creatively, not following blindly. Study of Mao's thought is a tool whereby every person can solve problems and so have input into decisions at factories, schools, or communes.

Standards of Living—Lin Piao is quoted as saying that the masses are only interested in "oil, rice, soy sauce, and salt." Here he was following Confucian thinking—Confucius said ordinary people were only interested in material things. In criticizing Confucius along with Lin Piao, the Chinese people feel they are proving that ordinary people are interested in thought and culture, not just a rising standard of living. Confucius' thought was the ideological underpinning of the old feudal, pre-liberation society. Although many customs from this old society have been under attack in the past 25 years, for the first time now the entire population is reviewing the codes of the old system and criticizing them.

Perhaps one of the reasons this movement appeared relatively quiet to us on the surface is that it is primarily ideological—the people are gaining greater control over the superstructure, that is, the cultural relationships outside of the production of goods. But the movement is also being felt more concretely in schools, factories, and even personal life. Many of these struggles are a consolidation of trends firmly implanted during the Cultural Revolution.

In Industry—Shanghai dockworkers told us there had been some backsliding since the "Cultural Revolution." Cadres (administrators of the docks) were shirking manual labor. Material incentives, abolished during the Cultural Revolution, had reappeared in a disguised form. And team leaders were encouraging workers to finish the daily quota quickly (no matter how) and knock off early.

A big-character poster making these criticisms appeared. A meeting of all dockworkers and administrators was held. After many more posters and discussions the problems were corrected. This example was typical of struggles in industry where workers affirmed that they wanted to be responsible not just for doing their particular task, but for the entire operation and the revolution as well. This is workers' control in a big way.

In Schools—A young man who spent four years after high school working on a commune was selected by his fellow workers to attend agronomy college because he had worked tirelessly and selflessly during his commune stint. However, he was turned down due to his low exam marks. He wrote to the university and the newspaper criticizing the decision, saying hard struggle in agriculture, and not high exam marks, should be the basis for university selection. The decision was overturned and he is now a college student planning to return to his commune on graduation.

This movement is also having an effect on curriculum. At Peking University philosophy students spent more than a year retranslating Confucius' analects with Marxist annotations and criticism, dropping the old curriculum.

In Personal Life—There is a lot of criticism of Confucius' attitudes toward women and the relationship of manual and mental laborers. In general the current movement is toward egalitarianism between the sexes and between workers and intellectuals. We spoke to a woman who was the lead ballet dancer in a city company who had married a truck driver. Her comrades told us many people had said they wouldn't get on, but they did and

# IRELAND

(Continued from back page)

One major development, however, is the changing attitude of each community on the question of where to place the blame for the violence. No longer does each hold the other responsible for the activities of these militant extremists. Instead, there is a growing awareness on both sides that the fault lies with the British government's continued support and exploitation of the institution of internment without trial. The British rationale for internment without trial is its alleged effectiveness in containing the violence by putting all suspects, all potential "terrorists," both Protestant and Catholic, behind bars. In fact this policy has the reverse effect. Every imprisonment of a new suspect is an outrage to his relatives and friends, and as long as this policy is practised by the British government, all the paramilitary forces in Ulster are assured of a constant stream of new recruits.

The British, while continuing to utter pious platitudes that the Ulster community must find its own solution through open dialogue, have added a new vindictive twist to their internment policy. Having promised to release a number of internees, against whom

they may have been unable to substantiate any charges, the British government suddenly cancelled their release. On the 27th of July, in retaliation to a wave of bombing by the Provisional IRA on the night of the 26th. To Protestants and Catholics alike, it was now blatantly obvious that the British government was willing to reat Ulster citizens as bargain counters in a bankrupt war of nerves. Most groups in Belfast have now incorporated into their political programs a demand for the end of internment, as a precondition for the holding of elections for the proposed 78-man convention.

The date of the elections for the Ulster Convention has not yet been set. Before that it is reasonable to anticipate that Protestants and Catholics in the Ulster community will participate in a joint struggle against the British policy of internment. This is a struggle in which the Ulster community as a whole will find allies among the Irish working class south of the border. It is to be hoped that out of this practical struggle will come a growing recognition of a collective identity as an oppressed minority within the British nation, that will displace the present religious affiliations. ■

their marriage was proof of the breakdown of these traditions. She told us the most important thing was that both had wanted to devote their lives to the revolution.

Against Revisionism—The current movement is seen as one front in the battle against revisionism. Revisionism is not an abstract political or philosophical concept to the ordinary working people we talked to. They relate it to the dangers of following the capitalist road in their immediate lives, and usually can give examples of how the capitalist road was followed at one time in the places where they work or live and what the bad results were.

THE MOVEMENT may generate more criticism in future months. The city government in Nanking was criticized in the town square, and other

local governments have since been reported to be under verbal fire from the people. If the coverage of this movement is like that of the Cultural Revolution in the U.S. press, reports of violence are probably greatly exaggerated. The struggle so far is mostly in articles, big-character posters, and meetings—the main media for free speech for the Chinese people. As far as we could tell, the movement is not aimed at deposing Chou-En-Lai or at changing foreign policy, as the U.S. press has widely speculated. ■

*This article is the first of a series on China by Judy MacLean and Saralee Hamilton who visited the People's Republic recently. Future stories will deal with women in China and Chinese foreign policy.*

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(cont. from page 3)

military personalities to form a Junta and a governmental cabinet. The young officers, in firm command of the continental armed forces, remained in the background from April through July.

The spinola government, unsure of its power and operating in a rapidly shifting political situation, opened negotiations with the liberation movements of the three African colonies in May and June. The result was a stand-off and, in Mozambique, a renewed guerrilla offensive. Spinola's representatives wanted to negotiate a cease-fire

with a promise of general elections on the question of independence in a year. The liberation groups were prepared only to negotiate a withdrawal of Portuguese troops.

In Portugal, Spinola faced a rash of strikes and demands by the Portuguese for rapid increases in living standards and an end to the wars. Spinola appointed a Communist Party member Minister of Labor who tried to control the striking workers. A strike of postal workers in late June was broken when Communist Party demonstrators labeled the strikers "agents of fascism."

The Communist Party continued to support the government even after a new press law was promulgated, partially restoring press censorship. The CP slogan has been to "strengthen the

alliance between the working class and the armed forces," which has meant in practice an alliance between the CP and the Junta with very little room for popular participation.

Spinola and his Prime Minister Adelino da Palma Carlos advocated, early in July, a change in the original Armed Forces Movement program calling for general elections and a new constitution in one year. Spinola suggested presidential elections this fall, which presumably would put him in a DeGaulle-like position of overseeing the subsequent constitution writing and general elections in the spring of 1975 from the vaulted position of popularly elected President of the Republic. Spinola had begun traveling throughout Portugal making personal appearances and speeches attempting to promote his personality.

When Spinola's plans were thwarted in the State Council where the young officers' movement still maintained power, Prime Minister Palma Carlos and other ministers supporting Spinola resigned from the cabinet (July 9). Spinola apparently was expecting demands that his men be reinstated. Lisbon newspapers carried stories that Spinola wanted as Palma Carlos' successor a Colonel Firmino Miguel who had been Defense Minister in the resigned cabinet.

Instead, at the last moment, on July 13, the young officers of the Armed Forces Movement apparently decided to take matters in their own hands and retain their original program. On that day it was suddenly announced that the AFM leader, Colonel Vasco dos Santos-Goncalves, would be the new Prime Minister. Further, the cabinet members would in the future be chosen and responsible to the Prime Minister and not the President. This development, a severe setback for Spinola, seems to make the President somewhat of a figurehead. The announcement concerning independence for the African territories followed in a few days and seemed to be a recognition of the new power relations. The young officers who made the coup in April are now in power. Observers in Portugal expect that the new Prime Minister will himself reinstate some measure of cen-

sorship and call upon the Communist Party to control strikes. The AFM officers seem more and more Nasserist in their mildly authoritarian but progressive program.

## SOUTHERN AFRICA

Even if Lisbon does turn political power over to the PAIGC in Bissau in the near future, the struggles in Mozambique and Angola are more problematic.

In Mozambique the new offensive in Zambezia province and other areas gives FRELIMO broad influence and control in half the country. In other areas, especially around the ports of Beira and Laurenço Marques where most of the Portuguese settlers live, FRELIMO has not yet made itself felt militarily. Other groups, including some who are anxious to stand in as puppets in a neo-colonial regime, compete with FRELIMO for political influence. Heavy pressure will be on FRELIMO to accept a coalition with such groups or see a partition of the country into a settler-dominated southern region containing most of the economic resources of the country and a FRELIMO-dominated northern region which would likely remain poor.

Angola presents the liberation movements with even greater problems. Sparsely populated by Africans and containing far more Portuguese settlers than either Guinea or Mozambique, Angola is also the richest in resources and the location of more imperialist investment (such as Gulf Oil) than the other colonies. The liberation movement is center around two somewhat contradictory groups—the MPLA (Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola), which is multi-tribal and has a socialist perspective, and FNLA (National Front for Liberation of Angola) dominated by traditional Bakongo leaders and influenced by the neo-colonial ideology of neighboring Zaire. Recently, the two groups have made yet another effort at unity, but the political differences offer Portuguese neo-colonial plans some opportunity.

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# Dick's Goodbye

(Continued from front page)

sion of American power in the world political economy precipitated by war and expenditures and the international monetary crisis. His administration presided over that war for four years and engineered foreign and domestic economic policies designed to make American working people pay for the international problems of American capitalism.

Winning the 1972 election under such circumstances virtually demanded a fix, and Watergate, and the sabotaged campaigns of leading Democratic candidates were just two aspects of this

attempt. While Nixon is clearly the paradigm of the crooked politician, any administration faithful to the needs of American capitalism would have been forced to implement similar policies. And any administration would have been under real pressure in a reelection campaign.

This situation is no less true in 1974 than it was in 1972. Indeed, Gerald Ford, the man who said he would rather be a professional football player than President, must now deal with the rotten fruits of Nixon's policies—runaway inflation, a reinvigorated labor movement, and a Republican Party that is badly divided and weakened by the Nixon ordeal.

## INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS

The international economic position of the United States is somewhat better today than it was two or three years ago, but the circumstances that make

this so are rapidly changing for the worse again. Inflation continues to soar, and American reliance on agricultural exports has been seriously undermined this summer by the worst drought in the grain belt since dust bowl days.

Neither political party has offered a single proposal that approaches these problems in meaningful ways. The Republicans are tied more than ever to classical conservatism, the conservatives coming out of the Watergate affair looking clean and incensed by Nixon's betrayal of conservative principles. They plan a strong fight for control of the party.

But the power of cold war and free enterprise myths that lie behind the conservatist ideology has waned for most Americans. Rep. Charles Sandman (R.-N.J.), the Neanderthal of the House Judiciary Committee and as rock-ribbed as they come, lost the last election for governor of traditionally

Republican New Jersey to a moderate Democrat by more than two to one, after beating the incumbent moderate Republican in the primary. Similar patterns abound in the other states.

The liberal-moderate wing of the Republican Party has been hurt worst by the Nixon episode. They have been losing Republican primaries to conservatives all around the country and there are some threatened defections from the ranks—notably Gov. Tom McCall of Oregon and John Gardiner of Common Cause.

The possibility that Nelson Rockefeller (in the event that Ford names him Vice President) could pull the Republicans together is slim. Rockefeller represents critical sectors of the corporate ruling class—energy and finance—but he will be hamstrung by the disunity of the party in his efforts to establish policies in their interests.

## EASY UNITY, DEEP DIVISIONS

The Democrats, on the other hand, have found an easy point of unity and success—tying the Republicans to Watergate and Nixon. Confident that Watergate alone will be the undoing of the Republicans, the center of the party has re-established its control after losing its grip two years ago.

But the Democrats are badly divided over policy issues as well. Henry Jackson, the leading contender for the Party's 1976 presidential nomination, has already made so many enemies in the party because of his opposition to detente with the Soviets that a powerful group of Democrats has organized a pro-detente group to combat his views. These Democrats include A. W. Clausen, President of the Bank of America, Thomas Watson, President of IBM, John Kenneth Galbraith, and Eugene McCarthy.

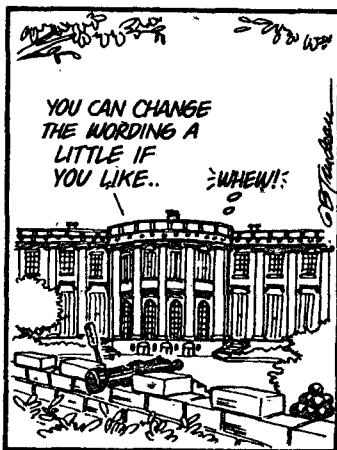
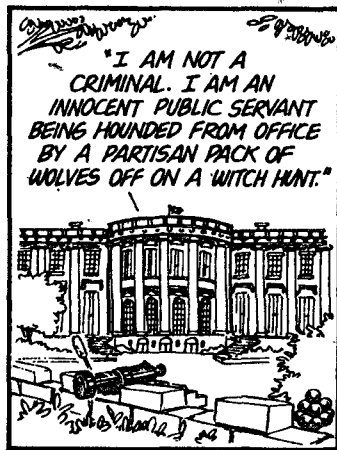
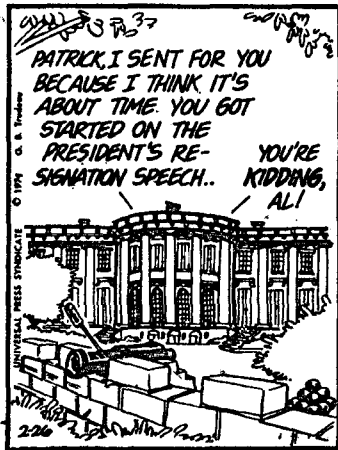
The Democrats are more unified organizationally, however, than the Republicans. Papering over their differences with self-assurance has helped the old machines to reassert their authority in the party. The more outspoken left-liberals in the party have been isolated and others have fallen in line behind the bosses. In New York State, for instance, the bosses are backing a conservative Democrat, the current mayor of Syracuse, for the party's senate nomination. His opposition has included Allard Lowenstein, the engineer of the "Dump Johnson" drive in 1964. Lowenstein left the race when he was offered organization support if he settled for a congressional seat. Ramsey Clark, the former attorney general, remains in the race but is given little chance.

Such organizational unity is insufficient for building a genuine popular base because it sidesteps the critical issues of the times—inflation, unemployment, recession. It will probably meet great success in the elections this fall, but the Democrats will not be able to sustain popular support without a genuine program for the country's problems.

The closest the Democrats have come to suggesting that program was in a speech by Senator Lloyd Benston in late July. Senator Benston outlined a six-point plan in response to President Nixon's suggestion that the solution to inflation was greater belt-tightening by working Americans.

Benston spoke for a repeal of tax laws that encourage foreign capital investments by Americans, the repeal of tax shelters for "unproductive investments," and a lending policy that would encourage investment in critical sectors. From a conservative Texan these are startling proposals. But it is clear that they are little more than proposals. They were calculated to earn favor with the labor movement. In a period when the primary concern of American business is developing strategies to lower labor costs, they should not be seriously considered when proposed by a millionaire businessman.

So, the country is left with two parties without a program to meet its needs even in the most immediate sense. Though we can expect major Democratic victories in the fall, we can also expect low voter turnout and no change in the cynicism that most Americans feel toward two-party politics.



# Northern Ireland

(Continued from front page)

nor Craig was invited to this conference. Some of the Protestant workers attending the conference expressed their adamant determination that the UWC must move toward including Catholic groups, but the conference was unable to endorse this because of the strong opposition from the Ulster Defence Association (UDA—the largest Protestant para-military force in Ulster, and at that time a member of the UWC) to any proposals that would possibly lead to a united Ireland.

Immediately after the conference, the leader of the Ulster Workers' Council, Harry Murray, attended a conference in Oxford where politicians and community organizers from Ulster met with scholars from both Britain and Ireland to discuss the Northern Ireland problem. He made the following statement there: "these people from the South—people whom I would not normally have met—have no tails or horns. They are just, fair, honest, open people with big hearts." *Belfast Telegraph*, July 13, 1974)

The Protestant bigot, Rev. Ian Paisley, and the professional Unionist politician, William Craig, denounced Murray's statement and whipped up such agitation in Belfast that Murray was forced to resign his leadership position in the Ulster Workers' Council.

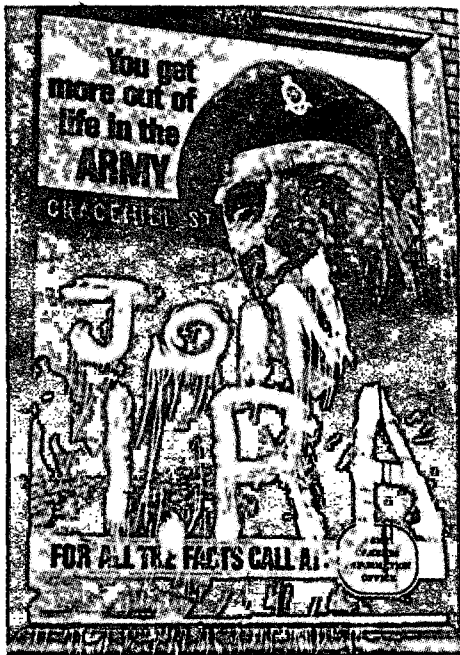
## PROTESTANT DIVISION

But Paisley and Craig were themselves unable to take over the leadership of the UWC. Instead, there has developed within the ranks of the Protestant working class a vicious split between the UDA and the Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF). The latter has insisted on taking a strong socialist position on most issues. After a series of increasingly bitter accusations and counter-accusations, the UDA finally resigned from the UWC at the end of July. Since then shooting has been exchanged on the streets of Belfast between the UVF and the UDA, and there have been fistfights between the imprisoned members of these two forces in the Long Kesh Internment Camp.

Thus Lord Cecil King's blithe statement that "Dr. Paisley now has the leadership of the Protestant masses"—

a view that is unfortunately still shared by many observers of the Ulster struggle on the American Left—is simply not true. No one has the leadership of the Protestant masses now because the Protestants are no longer an undivided mass.

Meanwhile, on the Catholic side, the rift between the Provisional IRA (the Provos) and the Official IRA (the Officials) has again been brought into the open by the anti-imperialist conference organized by the Officials' political wing (the Sinn Fein party) during the latter half of July. At this conference in Dublin, the recent tactics of the Provos were condemned as mindless bombings and as unnecessary terrorist attacks on civilian lives.



British recruiting poster in Belfast

Both branches of the IRA are publicly opposed by the Social and Democrat Labour Party (SDLP), the only Catholic-based party in the Ulster Community that has received official recognition from the British government (and it is anxious to retain this privilege).

Thus the old alliances based on religious and nationalist affiliations are now breaking down. Ulster Protestants are no longer united in their traditional allegiance to the British Crown, and the common ideal of a united Ireland is no longer sufficient to hold together the Ulster Catholics for the purposes of a unified political movement.

## CLASS-WIDE ALLIANCE?

The latest move on the part of the British government has forced upon the Ulster community the need to regroup

across religious lines. Under pressure from its own tax-paying public (who are exhausted by the drain of British resources in the Ulster conflict), the British government is washing its hands of the Northern Ireland problem. Their recent white paper proposes to set up a 78-man Convention, elected by the Ulster electorate on the basis of proportional representation, with a life of 6 to 9 months, during which it is expected to come up with a constitution that guarantees a sharing of power between the two religious communities.

Anyone who takes the trouble to vote in the elections for the conventions will therefore implicitly be accepting the principle of power-sharing, and the political parties are well aware that their support from the voters will depend on the extent to which they can demonstrate their party's capacity to embrace the power-sharing principle, and form a coalition across the religious divide.

The realignment of political forces in Ulster is producing a comedy of strange bedfellows. The UDA, after resigning from the UWC, sought to prop up its lost support among the Protestant working class by putting out tentative feelers to the leaders of the Provos. It also invited the Catholic-based SDLP to sit down to talks. What was surprising (given the SDLP's opposition to both branches of the IRA, as well as its official socialist program which gives it a greater ideological affinity with the UVF) was that the SDLP accepted the invitation. What was not surprising was that these talks collapsed in a fiasco.

The UVF, on the other hand, has been able to set up and sustain a series of meetings with the Official IRA, and to agree on a joint strategy for the goals of expelling the British army from Ulster and for putting an end to the internment of political prisoners without trial. It is too early to forecast whether any of these efforts to develop a joint Catholic-Protestant program will result in a permanent coalition. The UVF, like most of the Ulster Protestant community is still terrified of entering an all-Ireland nation. Also it has not yet shaken off its mistrust that the secret ambition of every Ulster Catholic is to prepare the way for the absorption of Ulster into Ireland. The continued campaign of arbitrary violence carried out by the Provos adds fuel to these fears, and is provoking a backlash of Protestant terrorism and sectarian murders for which the Youth Wing of the UVF is believed to be responsible.

(cont. on p. 14)

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