

# NEW AMERICAN MOVEMENT

BULK RATE  
U.S. POSTAGE PAID  
BOSTON, MASS.  
PERMIT NO. 57429

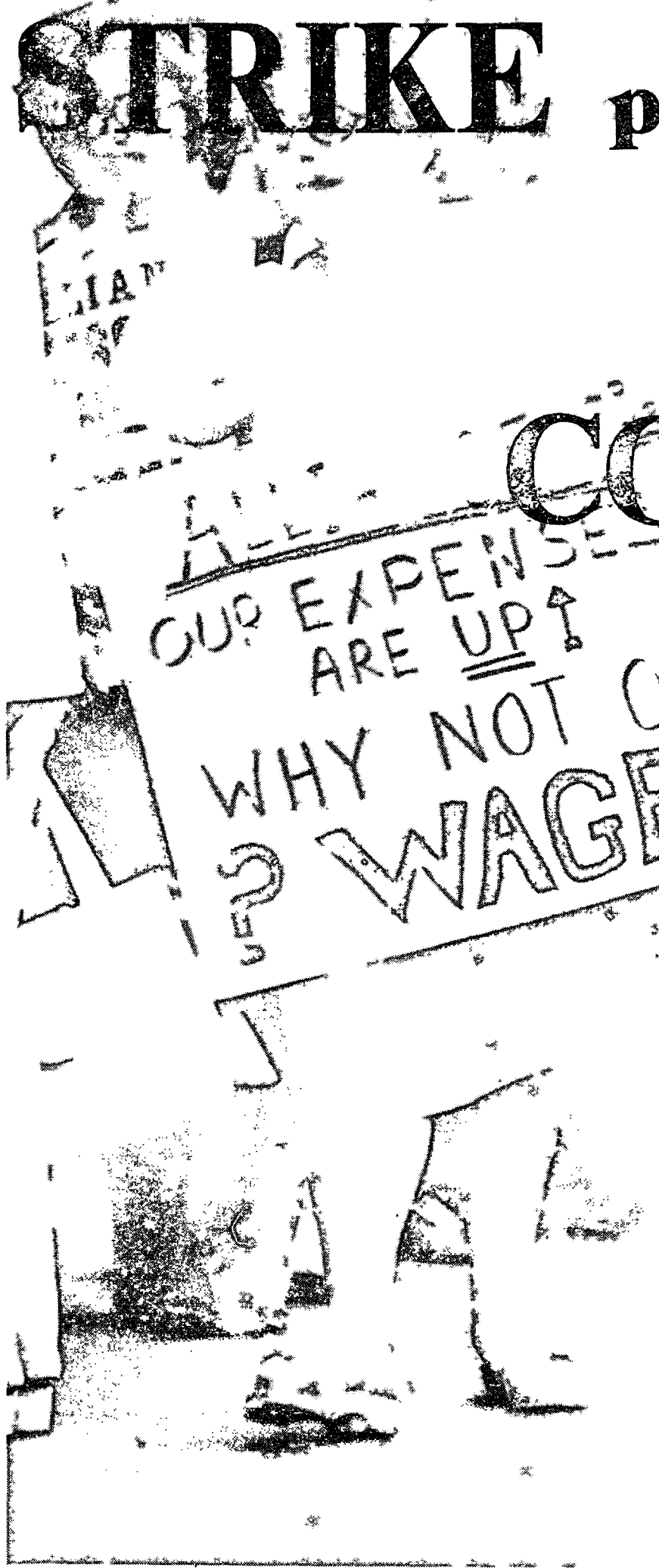
VOLUME VI

NUMBER 1

22

Septem

## MASS. WORKERS STRIKE picture essay



### NAM

### CONVENTION

### ITALY,

### ELECTIONS

### SOCIALIST

### FEMINISM

### and more...



editorial

# Peanuts for President?

Now that the Olympics are over, there's nothing but the baseball season to distract the country from the Presidential campaign. And while the Olympics at least reminded sports fans that some countries took their political differences seriously, the Presidential race promises to look almost as bland as American baseball.

The mass media have declared this an election of images, not issues; and judging the images they have created, they have all but inaugurated Jimmy Carter as our next president. Gerald Ford, easily the most forgettable president since Calvin Coolidge (hundreds of cases of insomnia, one suspects, are cured every time he speaks to the nation), came within a hair's breadth of doing the impossible, losing the Republican nomination to a crackpot right wing movie star. Carter, meanwhile, is a brand new image, enjoying the first flush of charisma.

The Carter image is anti-bureaucratic and anti-Washington, yet conciliatory to all the various interest groups that normally vote Democratic. Carter would like us to see him as a fatherly village minister, evoking a long-lost time of togetherness, the established mythology of the comfortable small-town American past. The never-ending media descriptions of Carter's home town of Plains, Georgia, seem to come straight from a Norman Rockwell painting. Carter's success as a capitalist farmer has been converted into a joke about peanuts. His experience as a shrewd, calculating politician who did get elected state governor has been downplayed.

The one positive accomplishment of this image-mongering is Carter's total defeat of George Wallace as a national political force. Carter shared Wallace's southern regional appeal and anti-Washington-bureaucracy tone; he differed in presenting an image of fuzzy racial moderation in place of Wallace's overt racism. Given this choice, it is encouraging to note that the vast majority of Wallace supporters were willing to switch to Carter.

## Conservative Force

Beyond the defeat of Wallace, though, Carter's image politics must be considered a conservative force, continuing the well-advanced trend toward taking issues out of national election campaigns. There are issues in this election: the usual narrow range of issues on which Democrats and Republicans disagree. The Democrats would rather co-opt protest, while the Republicans would rather ignore or repress it. And the Democrats are more worried about unemployment, while the Republicans are more worried about inflation.

For all Carter's studied "newness," he continues the old mainstream Democratic politics of Kennedy, Johnson, and Humphrey. The liberal business interests that support them favor the New Deal coalition strategy -- they prefer to rule with the support of unions, minorities, and reformers rather than defying these groups in the classic Republican style. In Detroit, Jimmy Carter, grinning from ear to ear, received endorsements from Henry Ford and other auto executives, the UAW leadership, and black liberal Mayor Coleman Young.

To keep this coalition together in favor of policies that preserve and strengthen U.S. capitalism, the Democrats have to make frequent concessions to the interest groups that back them. Despite rhetoric against "big government" an expansion of 1960's-style social spending is the most likely form of such concessions. Some modest trimming of the military budget to finance this new spending seems to have won broad support among Democrats. However, this will not amount to a major reversal of federal budget priorities; at most it will resemble a revival of the "War on Poverty."

A new War on Poverty would provide some jobs and needed services for a while, just as the first one did. But the value of such programs should not be exaggerated. The 1960's anti-

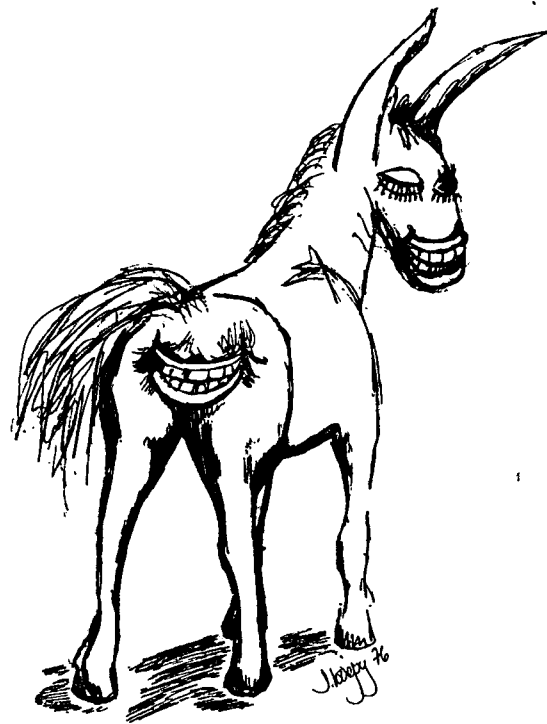
poverty programs produced no lasting structural changes or permanent reduction in poverty. The income gains made by blacks in the late 1960's, for example, owed more to Vietnam War related full employment than to anti-poverty efforts. The recessions of the 1970's have rolled back those gains, and once again widened the gap between average black and white incomes.

## Unemployment

The Democrats are also more disturbed by unemployment than the Republicans are. Yet here the contradictions between the needs of capitalism and the Democrats' mass base emerges clearly. Prolonged full employment is impossible under capitalism: when the unemployment lines shrink, the bargaining power of workers increases, since it is easier to change jobs, to win strikes, etc. This means that workers can win higher wages, cutting into profits. When this happens, as in the late 1960's, businesses stop investing, and the government cuts back spending to fight "inflation" (meaning wage increases), leading to a recession and higher unemployment again.

Capitalism, in other words, needs continual unemployment, and occasional severe recessions, to keep the workers in line. Though the Democrats accept this logic less gleefully than the Republicans, they are equally unable to escape it. In fact, in the last thirty years the reported unemployment rate has dipped below 4% only in the peak years of Korean and Vietnam War spending (1951-53 and 1965-69). Neither party has been able to bring us within 4% of peacetime full employment; neither party's economic advisors think they can do so in the next four years, any more than in the last thirty years. Peacetime full employment (or even 96% employment) will come to the United States only when there is a massive working class movement strong enough to fight for it and win.

There's not much that can be done to build that movement by voting this November. The National Black Assembly will be running a presidential candidate in several states, and plans to use that campaign to help strengthen local people's movements. Their effort deserves our support. In some other states, the People's Party and other socialist groups are on the ballot, providing opportunities for left protest votes. (Do not, however, vote for the "U.S. Labor Party," a right wing terrorist group apparently financed by the police, which sometimes pretends to be socialist.) The left presidential candidates are less impor-



tant, though, than the referendum questions and progressive local candidates running in many areas. If you want to work around this year's elections, your efforts may be more valuable in a local, rather than a presidential, campaign.

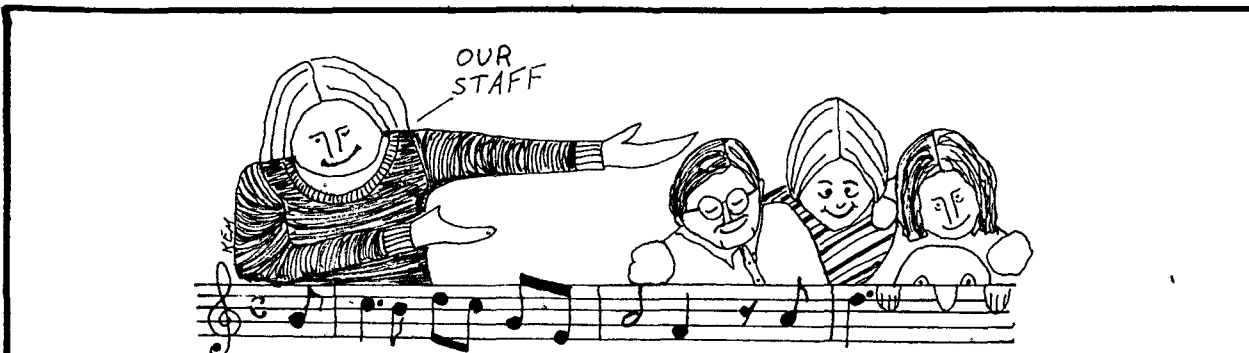
## "Lesser Evil"?

What about the arguments that we should vote for Carter as the "lesser evil"? The differences between the major parties are marginal, not fundamental: both parties are pursuing strategies for preserving the capitalist system, which we are fundamentally opposed to. We will win support in part through the clarity of our opposition to the existing system; and the damage to that clarity that would result from endorsing Jimmy Carter far outweighs the slightly greater chance of a slightly worse president that results from our rejection of him.

Limited as the issues of the campaign may be, there is something more basic about the discontents of American life touched on by the Carter media image. Ironically, in evoking his small-town preacher style, Carter is skillfully manipulating the mass media to play on nostalgia for an era before things like mass media manipulation existed, a distant, almost pre-capitalist world of community and solidarity.

The form in which the Carter image conveys that community -- religion and small-town life -- are increasingly impossible answers: twentieth century urban life just can't be rolled back into Plains, Georgia, or any other Norman Rockwell painting of the past. Only a mass movement for socialism, and the creation of a socialist society, will allow viable modern forms of community to emerge.

And that's not what Jimmy Carter is about -- even though we can thank him for reminding us of the deeply felt need for it today.



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

published monthly  
subscription ..... \$4.00  
sustaining subscription ..... \$25.00

Unless otherwise indicated, signed articles represent the opinion of their authors. Unsigned articles represent the opinion of the Newspaper Collective.

NAM Newspaper, 16 Union Sq., Somerville, MA 02143

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.



Photos by Robert Schaeffer.

## What Next for Tom Hayden?

by John Judis, San Francisco NAM

"It is good not to recognize the concept of defeat," Tom Hayden said, as he talked to a group of local campaign workers ten days after John Tunney had won the June 8 Senate primary race. "As we try to achieve our goals, blows will strike us along the way, and we have to keep going."

Hayden is travelling around the state laying the groundwork for a new California political organization. "I made a pledge from the beginning," he said, "that win or lose we are going to build an ongoing political movement."

Hayden looked much better than when I'd interviewed him in April. He had seemed weary and punchdrunk then. The polls were predicting a crushing defeat, and much of our conversation had been devoted to explaining the lack of enthusiasm the public seemed to have for candidates like himself and Fred Harris.

But in the last month of the campaign Hayden had nearly overtaken Tunney, and the final results, with Hayden getting 37% of the vote to Tunney's 54%, were beyond most people's wildest expectations.

Hayden seemed reinvigorated by the results. There were no more circles under his eyes. He had shed his suit and tie for a sports shirt and sneakers. And he seemed at home as he sat with his campaign workers and discussed the lessons of the campaign and his plans for a new organization.

### Support for New Ideas

"We ran against the prevailing wisdom," Hayden said. "Everybody was saying that if you run on issues you'll get destroyed like McGovern did. But we got 1.2 million votes, more than Hayakawa or Carter."

Hayden had run on a program that blamed America's economic problems on the partnership between the federal government and private corporations; he called for making America an "economic democracy" in which workers and consumers control industry and government.

**"We found that there are a lot of people out there who don't want the future to be governed by corporations."**

He had tried to tap and deepen the widespread anti-government sentiment by linking big government to the big corporations. "We made it clear," Derek Shearer, one of Hayden's key advisors, told me the night after the primary, "that we were opposed to both big government and the big corporations and saw them working hand in hand. We cut through the false debate about big vs. small government."

The final results showed the potential for this kind of approach. "We found," Shearer said, "that there are a lot of people out there who agree with our analysis, who don't want the future governed by corporations."

**Job opening:** CCCO in Philadelphia, full-time position starting September 1, 1976: counter-recruitment, focus on schools and students. Military counseling, organizing skills helpful; public speaking, freedom to travel essential. Women and third world people encouraged. Salary \$6000 plus benefits. Contact CCCO, 2016 Walnut St., Philadelphia, PA 19103; (215)LO8-7971.

"The importance of the campaign will be felt in the future," Hayden said. "A lot of people have been staying out of politics because they thought you couldn't raise the kind of issues we did."

By the end of the campaign, Hayden explained, "We had also started to build a very strong progressive coalition around the state." Central to this was the United Farm Workers, who put over 500 organizers into the Hayden campaign during the last weeks. The coalition also included other unions, such as the California Federation of Teachers, and a surprising number of elected officials.

### Too Little Too Late

"Our overwhelming strength was with young middle class whites," Hayden said. He won easily in college communities like Santa Barbara, Santa Cruz, Davis, and Berkeley.

He also made a respectable showing in some working class districts, winning in Sacramento city and parts of San Diego and Orange County. But he did poorly among blacks and senior citizens. Here it was a case, Hayden said, of "too little, too late."

Hayden refused to blame his loss among Los Angeles blacks on Mayor Tom Bradley's vitriolic pro-Tunney commercials. "It was because I started with little name recognition and little way to get into the black community. The major black political forces were locked into neutrality or Tunney. The FBI had done its job on some of the progressive, independent ones."

**Hayden made a respectable showing in some working class districts. But he did poorly among blacks and senior citizens.**

Among senior citizens, Hayden lost as badly as five to one. In San Diego's retirement community of Leisure City, he got only 15% of the vote. Senior citizens, he speculated, were "scared by my radical image."

### A California Organization

Hayden intends to use the support he generated for a new politics to build a California political organization. Its aim, he said, "would be to take political power in California and use California as a power base to realign national politics and Democratic Party politics."

Hayden projected a series of meetings over the next six months at which organizers from around the state would get to know each other and study the political program laid out in *Make the Future Ours*. They would also work together on the UFW's farm labor initiative, which will be on the November ballot. Sometime in 1977, there will be a founding convention of the organization.

"It would not be a Hayden organization," Hayden said. "It has to be broadened. It has to have elected officials, more women's leadership; it has to have rank and file labor participation; it has to have a strong alliance with blacks, Chicanos, Latinos, Asians, and Native Americans."

Hayden outlined two principle activities for the new organization. "It would come together to

## Panther Leader Blasts Democrats

The following statement by Elaine Brown, Chairperson of the Black Panther Party and Official delegate to the Democratic Convention from California, was released to the press following the Convention. The statement makes clear that not all the delegates to the Convention, especially those who are supposed to be representing oppressed peoples, were satisfied with the outcome.

The Democratic Party has taken a clear turn to the right and has abandoned the black people, the working people and all the oppressed and disenfranchised people of this country. It is time for the black people, the working people, and all the oppressed and disenfranchised people to abandon the Democratic Party. It is time the black people, the working people, and all the oppressed and disenfranchised people build a political party of their own.

I am ashamed of the number of black people who are delegates to this Democratic Convention, led by a new brand of Uncle Toms like Andrew Young and Jesse Jackson, who have embraced the reactionary scheme of Jimmy Carter and the theme of this Convention.

At this Convention there are less blacks and less women than in 1972. There has been no discussion of any of the important issues facing the people of this country. The platform is shaky, mealy-mouthed rhetoric that does not represent anything practical. The Democratic Party and its leadership have refused to seriously address the real questions of unemployment, the problems of the urban crisis, and the most important issues facing the working people, the blacks, the Native Americans, the Puerto Rican people, the Mexican people, the Latino people, the Asian-American people, women, and gays.

The program is at its weakest in respect to U.S. relations with foreign countries, echoing Henry Kissinger and the Nixon and Ford administrations. Millions of working people and poor people in this country are misled into believing that the Democratic Party represents their interests. This Convention proves beyond any doubt that, as it is with the Republican Party, money is all that talks. I call for all poor people and all progressive people still in the Democratic Party to leave and begin to work with all the poor and working people of this country to build our own political party.



define an agenda of issues for the state," he said. Besides the farm labor initiative, he mentioned coastal conservation, energy policy, and unemployment programs.

Secondly, it would run candidates for office. In Santa Barbara, San Diego, and East Los Angeles, Hayden supporters are already planning to run candidates for local office in the fall.

The campaign workers who had come to hear Hayden were enthusiastic about the new organization. "I have been working all along for a movement and not a man," one said in the discussion afterwards. "And now this plan makes sense of that."

As for Hayden's own future plans, "For the next three or four years I plan to throw my energy into building this new organization."





# what we did Black Workers

from the University of Pennsylvania NAM Labor History Calendar

In the south the economy was built on the backs of black slaves from Western Africa. While under capitalism the white-skinned laborer was at least able to sell himself and choose his own master (not an unmixed blessing), the black slave was mastered and sold without his own consent. On the basis of slavery, black-white hostility rested and grew. The abolition of slavery merely changed the form but not the fundamental relationship. The end of slavery and the establishment of legal equality of blacks and whites as wage laborers did not produce social and political equality. The history of black workers has been one of continual struggle to throw off the double yoke of national and class oppression.

In the development of the labor movement racism has been a painful obstacle to labor unity. Class solidarity existed to a certain extent in the Knights of Labor and was reaffirmed by the Industrial Workers of the World, but as the AFL gained dominance racial exclusion became standard practice. Poverty, ghettoization, unemployment, race-stratified employment, and inferior, segregated education made the black workers' lot a hard one.

Blacks have regularly formed special organizations to press the demands of black labor. After the Civil War a number of black labor organizations emerged, although their leadership came largely from the black intelligentsia. The National Colored Labor Convention was attended by only nine delegates who were workers; the other 45 were doctors, lawyers, and preachers. Nevertheless it pursued the aims of black workers and called for unity with white labor.

## The CIO

The American Negro Labor Congress was organized by the Communist Party in the 1920's and '30's. In 1930 the League for Struggle for Negro Rights, headed by Langston Hughes, supported black workers' struggles and the fight for self-determination of black people. Black workers played an instrumental role in CIO organizing drives, with over 200,000 members in the CIO by 1940. Paralleling the organization of industrial workers, sharecroppers, tenant farmers and agricultural laborers united to form unions in the South. The Southern Tenant Farmers Union, which at one time had 35,000 black and white members, fought against economic exploitation and Ku Klux Klan terror.

After the outbreak of World War II, a black movement set out to define a race position on the national level. In January 1941, A. Philip Randolph of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, an all-black AFL union, called for a march on Washington to demand that the government grant blacks a greater share of the defense effort. The march was cancelled, but only after President Roosevelt conceded to demands that discrimination in hiring for military contracts be outlawed. This success marked a new stage of development with the establishment of the principle that "an oppressed people must accept the responsibility and take the initiative to free themselves."

Militant struggle for black liberation emerged dramatically when a black working class had developed in large cities. After the period of civil rights marches and ghetto uprisings, black workers began to assert themselves at the point of production. Black caucuses were formed in plants and national black caucuses were set up in the auto workers, steel workers, and teachers unions.

The most inspiring black rank and file developments have occurred in the auto industry. The "big three" auto companies created the largest concentration of black workers in the nation. This laid the groundwork for the organization of the Dodge Revolutionary Union Movement and the League of Revolutionary Black Workers. The growth of a movement that was both black-conscious and class-conscious, with a militant program of struggle, provides an example for all workers.

## letters

To the American people,

On the occasion of the Bicentennial of the American Revolution for which the American people had bravely struggled to liberate themselves from their colonizers and oppressors 200 years ago, we, the National Student Center of Thailand, on behalf of the people of Thailand, would like to take this opportunity to honor the noble spirit of the American people in 1776. The revolutionary spirit of 1776 has been recorded in the world history and served as a great example for the peoples of the world who are presently struggling for their national independence, sovereignty, and freedom.

The peoples of Thailand and the United States of America have long enjoyed warm friendship. However, time has proved that the U.S. government has attempted to extend its influences in Thailand and established close relations with the Thai ruling class. The U.S. government efforts have resulted in secret military agreements to establish military operational bases in Thailand for waging war against our neighboring countries.

We firmly believe that the freedom-loving people of the United States of America today would recognize the shame and disgrace your government has committed to Thailand and her people during the last 26 years; to cite some examples, the Mayaguez incident, the utilization of Thai soil as military operational bases to invade and operate atrocious wars in our neighboring countries, and the obtaining of extraterritorial rights and diplomatic status for all U.S. military and technical personnel without being legitimately recognized by the Thai people. Thus, such privileges are taken advantage of to traffic narcotics and to smuggle contraband causing great loss to Thailand's economy.

Also, other privileges are granted to American investors to encourage them to exploit Thai national resources without any regards and respect for Thai laws. In addition, the U.S. military presence has caused various social problems, for instance, Amer-Asian children, hired wives, juvenile drug addicts. These social problems have caused the deterioration of Thai culture, good morality, and the humiliation of Thai women's dignity.

The U.S. disrespect for the principle of equality, territorial integrity, national independence and sovereignty of Thailand is obviously contradictory to the determination and the spirit of your forefathers in 1776 in struggling and sacrificing their lives to liberate themselves and their beloved land from their oppressors.

At the moment, Thai people have begun to question your government's sincerity to the extent of many mass organizations rising up to oppose the U.S. government. We would like to urge the Americans to join us in our effort to stop your government interference in our internal affairs in order to fulfill the spirit of your forefathers and let us celebrate the American Bicentennial in its true sense.

In friendship and unity,  
The National Student Center  
of Thailand

Fellow workers of NAM, readers of your paper,

I recently attended the Anti-Bicentennial in Philadelphia on July 4th. I was surprised and pleased to see a history of the IWW (Industrial Workers of the World) in your paper. Reason being that so many historians, left and right, have seen fit to ignore the IWW's history. The IWW's contribution to American radical and union history cannot be ignored.

However, I was disappointed to find the article ending in the past tense, giving the impression that the IWW no longer exists. **On the contrary**, we are still around. We have a lot of our old timers still around to give advice and tell us the past (like other American left groups with old timers) and a lot of younger folks. We have chapters in the northeast, middle west, far west, and northwest. There are sections in England, Sweden, and Canada. In the Pacific there are chapters in Hawaii, Guam, New Zealand, and Australia.

We maintain friendly relations with the CGT (General Confederation of Workers, Portugal's revolutionary syndicalist union) and the CNT (National Confederation of Labor, Spain's revolutionary anarcho-syndicalist union). We have a few IWW print shops and organize all workers for better conditions now and for a society without exploitation. Granted, we are small, but we never give up. Our General Headquarters is located at 752 West Webster Ave., Chicago; IL 60614. We publish a monthly newspaper, the **Industrial Worker**.

For the Works,  
John McIntosh  
Morgantown, West Virginia  
IWW card #328629

## letter from the editors

Dear readers,

We need your help.

The **NAM Newspaper** is written for you. But without your feedback, your comments and criticisms, we don't know what to write. Do you want more labor news? More record reviews? More articles analyzing major events you hear about on the TV news? Let us know.

Above all, we need you to write articles for us. Don't hold back because you're afraid you don't have a "real news" story to write about. Some of the best articles we get are from people writing about their own experiences, from a personal point of view. Tell us about your job, your boss, your landlord, your community, your union.

And don't worry about being able to write in a polished newspaper style. If we think your article needs editing, we'll edit it (and if you want, we'll send back a copy of the edited version for your approval). If you don't want to write a full article, send us a letter to print in our "letters" column, or one or two short paragraphs for a short article or a column like "labor notes."

Send your articles, letters, suggestions, complaints, and praises to the **NAM Newspaper**, 16 Union Square, Somerville, MA 02143.

Hope to hear from you soon.

The Newspaper Collective



# Police Spy Exposed in Chicago Union

Members of the Chicago Teachers Union have charged that a prominent union official is an agent of the Chicago Police Department's Intelligence Division. Sheli Lulkin, denoted as "agent 436," used her position in the American Federation of Teachers (AFT) to spy on unions, ethnic groups, feminist caucuses in and out of the union, and a large number of other local, national, and international movements.

Lulkin has refused to answer questions or deny the charges, which appeared in *Substance*, a newspaper published by a unit of the Chicago union. The accusations are based on secret police documents which were released earlier as the result of a law suit by the Afro-American Patrolmen's League. *Substance* noted that other "Red Squad" agents sometimes spied on the same meetings, often unaware of each other's presence.

Lulkin used her friendship with a leader of the Chicago Peace Council to spy on a number of other Chicago organizations, including Chile solidarity groups. She attended the Black Labor Convention organized by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference in 1970 and reported back to the police. In 1974 she helped to politically sabotage the Vietnam Veterans Against the War, pushing for extreme left positions at the same time she was opposing anti-war measures in the teachers' union.

Lulkin's rise in the Chicago Teachers' Union has been described as "meteoric." She was a co-chairperson of the AFT Women's Rights Committee, a member of the executive board of the Chicago Coalition of Labor Union Women, and a

trustee of the Chicago Teachers' Union multi-million dollar pension fund. She was identified with the wing of the AFT which supports Albert Shanker, the present union president, and a recent union newspaper published a picture of her pinning a button on George Meany's lapel.

Lulkin was reportedly a member of the AFT delegation to last year's International Women's Year Conference in Mexico City. She made frequent trips to Europe and the Middle East, at a time when the AFT was expanding its international affairs work in cooperation with known CIA collaborators.

The information which she and other Chicago

police agents gathered was regularly shared with the FBI. Chicago newspapers have reported that it was also shared with right-wing terrorist groups.

Lulkin's infiltration of the teachers' union may be one indication of widespread involvement by the FBI and the CIA in the American labor movement. The Labor Council for Latin American Advancement and several other programs of the AFL-CIO International Affairs Department have already been linked with the CIA.

## labor notes

•The International Ladies Garment Workers Union in Festus, Missouri, doesn't think the Girl Scouts of America are living up to their oath of good citizenship. Recently Co-ed Garment Company, a manufacturer of Girl Scout and Brownie uniforms, closed its union shop in Festus and ran away to a nonunion plant in the Mississippi Delta. The uniforms, which carry the official Girl Scout designation, are now being made at substandard wages and working conditions. The union believes that the company would not have made the move without first being assured of continued support and official status from the Girl Scouts.

•Two recent Supreme Court decisions may seriously weaken public employee unions. The first upheld a school board's "right" to fire striking teachers. The teachers had maintained that they were denied due process, since the board was directly involved in the contract dispute -- hardly in a position to give the teachers an impartial hearing. The court decision could set a precedent for other government officials involved in contract negotiations to fire employees when they strike in defiance of state laws.

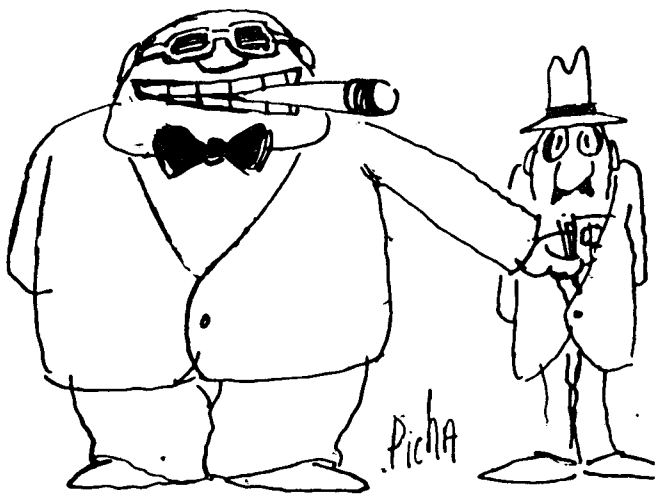
The second decision overturned a 1974 law which had extended federal minimum wage and overtime laws to government workers. The court ruled that Congress may not regulate wages of state and local employees. Many public employee unions fear that the ruling will be extended to overturn other federal regulations involving working conditions, health and safety, unemployment compensation, and union bargaining rights. The unions are now lobbying to have Congress require states to accept federal minimum wage standards as a condition for receiving any federal aid.

•The economy might not be in great shape, but at least American workers are better off than the rest of the world. Right? Well, not quite, according to the railroad union newspaper *Labor*. For the first time in recent history, factory workers in Belgium and Sweden now earn higher hourly wages than Americans, while wages in Canada and West Germany are about equal to those in the United States.

•"I honestly believed that the corporate hooliganism of the 1930's would never return," said Al Gospiron, head of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union (OCAW). He changed his mind after thirty heavily armed guards crashed through an OCAW picket line at NL Industries in Sayreville, N.J. The guards carried automatic weapons, including machine guns, and narrowly missed running over OCAW pickets. "It is an extremely dangerous situation, and one that could explode into violence at any moment," Gospiron warned.

•Women Organized for Employment (WOE) has charged 450 San Francisco area corporations with wage-fixing. "The Federated Employers is an organization of 450 major Bay Area corporations whose primary purpose is to 'stabilize' labor conditions and rates of pay -- hold down wages, in effect," WOE reports. The employers' group surveys area wages and gives out the information to its members in a secret report, allowing them to make sure they aren't paying higher wages than other area corporations. A similar employers' group was recently exposed in Boston.

•In case you're wondering why so many miners are killed on the job, here's one reason. *Workers Power* reports that when an Interior Department official tried to fine Harlan No. 4 Coal Company for safety violations, he was reprimanded by Kent Frizzell, Undersecretary of the Interior. Shortly afterward, a 24 year old miner was killed in the Harlan No. 4 mine. If the company had corrected its safety violations, he might have lived.



### WHO REGULATES THE REGULATORS?

A recent survey by Victor H. Kramer, a professor of law at Georgetown University, found that more than half of the officials appointed to nine government regulatory agencies in the last five years came to their jobs from the industries they were to regulate. (New York Times/Workers World).

# ITALY: the elections

by Jeff McCourt and Anne Hill, Pittsburgh NAM

Over the last several months the Italian political situation has been followed by great interest in the United States. Both liberal and right-wing commentators and politicians spoke fearfully of the prospect of Communist participation in Italy's government. On the Left, meanwhile, there has been serious debate over the meaning for socialists of the Italian Communist Party's efforts to form a governmental coalition with the leading bourgeois party in Italy, the Christian Democrats — efforts which were part of a strategy known as the "historic compromise". The June 20 national elections in Italy, which gave 39% of the vote to the Christian Democrats and 35% to the Communists, provide a convenient starting point for the evaluation of this strategy.

We were able to interview Betti and Diego Marconi, militants of the Partito di unita proletaria per il comunismo (Party of Proletarian Unity). Their party formed a coalition called Proletarian Democracy with other groups who consider themselves to the left of the Communist Party, to participate in the June 20 elections. While specifying that they were not official spokespersons for their party, and that they have been in the United States for the past two years, they agreed to give a preliminary evaluation of the June elections. What follows is based on their evaluation.

They described the "historic compromise" as conceived by the Communists, as a "middle term strategy" — one which will take a substantial period to implement. It is supposed to result in a coalition government of Communists, Socialists, and Christian Democrats. (The Socialist Party is social democratic, somewhat similar to the British Labor Party but more radical and willing to work with the Commun-

ists. Its roots, however, are much more to be found in the progressive bourgeoisie and among white collar workers than in the industrial working class.) According to the Communist Party, this coalition would represent both the vast majority of the Italian electorate, and the vital cultural, economic, and political forces of Italian society, including the immensely influential Catholic forces, represented by the Christian Democrats. Such a coalition, the argument goes, could address the prolonged crisis of Italian society — economic imbalance, inadequate health, housing and educational structures, and the backwardness of the South and the agricultural sector of the economy.

The idea of a "historic compromise" is based on the Italian Communist Party's political conceptions of the last thirty or more years. The current force of this idea, however, is based on the utter failure of the coalitions of Christian Democrats and Socialists, in power since the early 60's, to effectively govern the country. This failure contrasts with the relative Communist efficiency and honesty in those cities and regions already governed by the Communist Party.

Badly shaken both by the Left gains in the 1975 local elections and the 1974 referendum (which crushed a right-wing effort to once again outlaw divorce), the Christian Democrats were to all appearances damaged by the Communist Party's very moderate call for a coalition government. The Communist Party's great influence in the labor movement, Betti and Diego continued, made their proposal even more plausible, since the Christian Democrats have confronted a working class whose militancy has hardly been diminished by the world recession. Finally, the leading bourgeois party's massive corruption and inefficiency had been exposed in a series of scandals.

Given the apparent weakness of the Christian

Democrats, Communist Party chief Enrico Berlinguer felt able to press for an immediate

## Immediate Institution of the Historic Compromise

Given the apparent weakness of the Christian Democrats, Communist Party chief Enrico Berlinguer felt able to press for an immediate institution of the historic compromise. But both this demand and a more recent call for a coalition of all parties except the fascists, were refused by the Christian Democrats. The Christian Democrats were neither willing nor able to reject their roots in the backward social strata — top state bureaucrats, financial speculators, tax evaders, gangsters and groups who benefit from the patronage system and the disadvantaged condition of the South — which would be hardest hit by left-wing reforms. What the elections of June have shown, moreover, is that the Christian Democrats have been able to retain sufficient strength, at least for a time, to avoid a compromise with the Communist Party at the governmental level.

One reason for this, the Marconis explained, is that sections of the Italian right which previously had been in the other right-wing or moderate parties, abandoned these parties and mobilized under the anti-red banner of Christian Democracy. Another reason was that the Communist Party's willingness to share power with the Christian Democrats left in power the very people responsible for Italy's crisis. According to Diego, "They (the Communist Party) weren't proposing an alternative of power. They were simply proposing joining — with their own force, their own social base, with their capacity to represent the working class — the forces that had governed, managed, or mismanaged Italy before." In other words, the Communist Party failed to force people to choose between having reform and staying with the Christian Democrats. Given the Communist Party's willingness to compromise with the Christian Democrats, people who were afraid of communism ("the red threat"), but still wanted reforms, could vote Christian Democratic with an easy conscience.

## Italian Communist Party

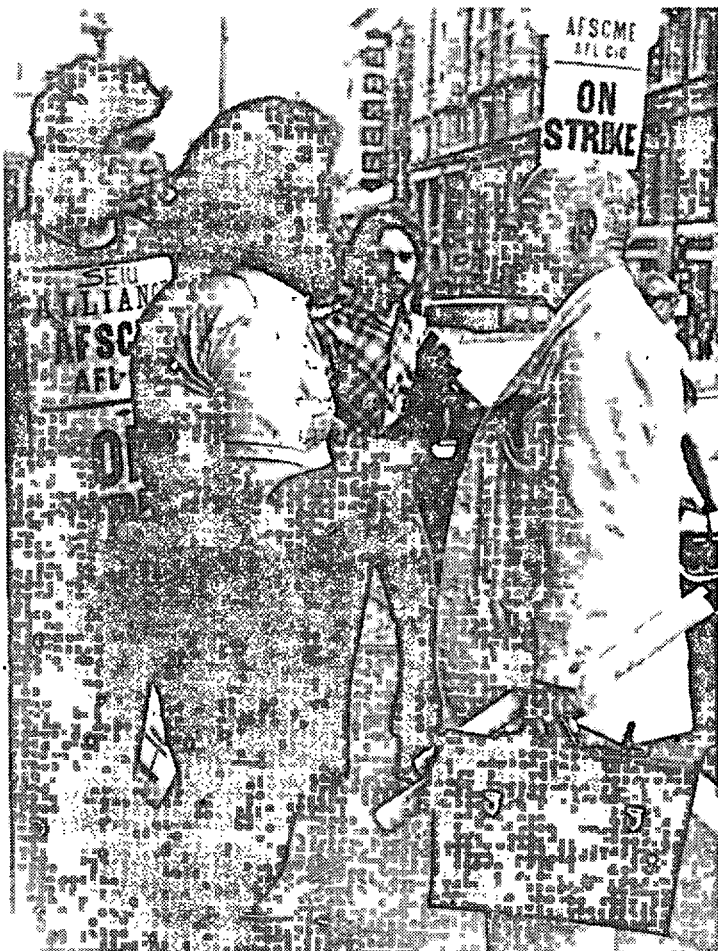
The paradox of the strategy of the "historic compromise" is here, Betti and Diego continued. The Italian Communist Party is unwilling to draw all working and popular forces out of the Christian Democratic Party, thereby making it a capitalist party pure and simple. (The Christian Democratic Party now contains many social elements, some of them neither politically reactionary, nor socially bourgeois, under the ultimate political control of the capitalists.) Since the Communist Party considers it impossible due both to the international and the national situations, to rule without the bourgeoisie, it prefers to keep the Christian Democrats a socially vague grouping. This is because, at the worst, a strictly bourgeois party might move towards fascism, and in any case, would be hard to include in coalition with Communists. That is, it is more plausible for the Communist Party to try to enter a coalition with a bourgeois party which nonetheless contains many non-bourgeois social forces.

This leaves the Communist Party in the situation of trying to lure enough votes away from the Christian Democrats to pressure them into a coalition without destroying them. But the Communist Party's strategy neglects, in Betti and Diego's opinion, the fact that in order to prevent the Christian Democrats from being forced to enter a coalition with the Communists, the whole right will probably continue to mobilize behind the Christian Democrats and this cannot fail to push the Christian Democratic leadership to the right.

The Communists still press for the historic compromise, supporting the present government as long as it does not explicitly rule out Communist Party participation. It must be said, that despite their disappointing outcome, the elections gave significantly more Parliamentary participation to the Communist Party.

The small left parties united in the Proletarian Democracy movement have criticized the Communist Party's strategy, and have tried to

continued on page 15



## mass state workers strike

Last June, Massachusetts State Workers went on strike. The court imposed heavy fines, and declared the strike "illegal". The union leadership negotiated a contract with the state, which was subsequently voted down by the union membership. Negotiations continue.







## 50,000 N.Y. Tenants Win Rent Strike

The 50,000 rent strikers in New York's Co-op City have proclaimed a victory in their thirteen month strike on June 29, after reaching an agreement with New York Governor Hugh Carey. More than 80% of the residents of the huge housing complex had withheld over \$26 million in rent increases (see NAM Newspaper, February 1976). They stood firm in spite of over a million dollars in fines on the rent strike committee's leaders, threats of jail, and finally a mortgage foreclosure order.

The settlement reached with the state gives the tenants the right to run Co-op City by themselves for a six month trial period, during which the 25% increase in maintenance charges which set off the strike will not be imposed. The residents' committee which managed the building during the strike

will continue to do so at least until 1977. All fines and jail sentences against strike leaders have been dropped.

In return, the tenants have turned over to the State Housing Finance Agency the millions of dollars in rent they had withheld for over a year. The money they turned in included only the original rent, however, and not the 25% increase. During the six months that the tenants run Co-op City, a special state task force will try to find a long-run solution for Co-op City and other state-financed housing developments.

The Co-op City tenants have won the largest rent strike in American history. Tenant leaders have warned, however, that their victory may be only temporary, since the banks which hold the Co-op City mortgage are still charging exorbitant interest rates.

## LA Celebrates Gay Pride Week

by David Hepperly, Los Angeles NAM #1

On Friday night, June 25, Los Angeles NAM members joined more than 200 lesbians, gay men, and friends assembled at Fritchman Auditorium in Los Angeles to begin a weekend celebration which culminated National Gay Pride Week. The Stonewall Rebellion of 1969, which unified lesbians and gay men against police harassment at the Stonewall Bar in New York City, inspired gay people across the nation to mark that event each year as the anniversary of the Gay Liberation Movement.

Stonewall '76 marked the seventh anniversary of the rebellion. Following an introductory speech, a film entitled '75 We Won't Keep Quiet by lesbian film maker Mina Robinson depicted the political struggle between the two major factions of the Los Angeles gay community. That struggle showed the need for a unification of all oppressed people through the points of unity as outlined by the Committee to Build Stonewall: full rights for gay people; end racism and sexism; disunity is the problem -- solidarity is the answer. Appeals for unity came from representatives of the Gay Caucus of the People's College of Law, the Lesbian Mothers Group, In Defense of Gay Workers, the Westside Women's Center, the Lavendar and Red Union, and Bay Area Gay Liberation. An original skit emphasized the oppressiveness of job situations for gay people and offered a unification of workers as the answer to disunity created by an oppressive economic system.

On Sunday, June 27, a march along Santa Monica Blvd. in West Hollywood culminating in a rally in Plummer Park completed the observance of National Gay Pride Week in Los Angeles. About 150 people joined in the march, and were encouraged by store owners and observers along the route.

## Prison and Repression

**LIVERNOIS FIVE FREED** -- On June 18, a Detroit jury found Raymond Peoples, James Henderson, and Ronald Jordan not guilty of first degree murder. Charges had previously been dropped against two juvenile defendants, George Young and Douglas Lane. After 11 months in jail without bail, after two trials that ended in hung juries, after watching a parade of prosecution witnesses lie, and after seeing the judge for all three trials work hand in hand with the prosecution, the Livernois Five are finally free.

The five young black men were accused of murdering white motorist Marion Pyszko last July. Pyszko was killed during riots in Detroit's Livernois-Fenkell area that broke out after a white bar owner murdered a black teenager (see NAM Newspaper, November 1975). The five defendants were picked up in a dragnet operation in which over 100 young blacks were arrested. Three prosecution witnesses testified that they had signed statements implicating the defendants only after they themselves were threatened with murder charges.

The prosecution's case had been based entirely on hearsay evidence. One key witness, Johnny Ward, was unable to pick defendant Jordan out of a police line-up six days after Pyszko's death, but claimed to identify him later, after he had been arrested and charged.

One juror said, "They never should have been on trial in the first place," while another charged that the prosecution was "trying to play tricks with our minds." The work of the Livernois Five Defense Committee helped create a political climate in Detroit that enabled the jury to see who the real enemies in the frameup were.

**JURY ACQUITS TWO INDIANS IN FBI KILLING** -- The foreman of a Cedar Rapids federal court jury which returned a verdict of innocent for two men on trial for murder this July said that at no time did any juror believe the government proved the defendants pulled the triggers of guns which killed two FBI agents.

Indian activists Darelle Butler and Robert Robideau were charged with shooting two FBI agents last June on Pine Ridge reservation. Each faced life imprisonment.

The jury foreman said that the jurors were, on the whole, sorry for prosecutor Evan Hultman, because "the FBI had given him such a lousy witness." "Not one single person believed one single word" of the testimony of James Harper, a key government witness, who testified in incredible detail to an alleged confession of guilt by one of the defendants.

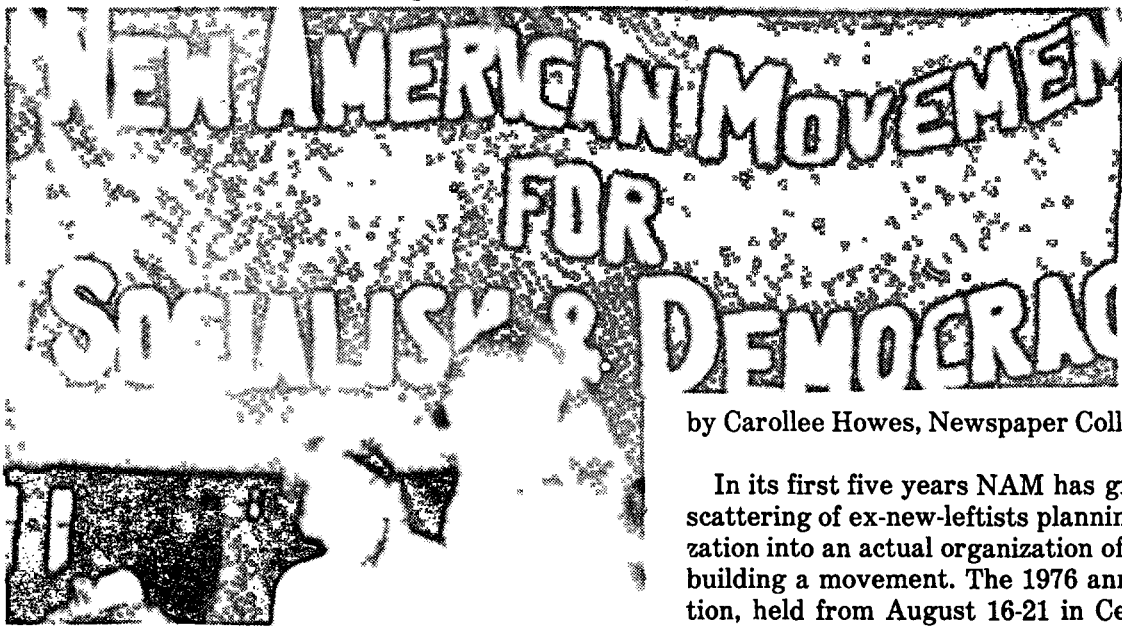
Another noteworthy witness was Clarence Kelley, Director of the FBI. Replying to a question dealing with the possibility of on-going counter-intelligence activity and provocations against the American Indian Movement, Kelley said, "It has not been revealed to me." Kelley's appearance was historic, the first time a director of the FBI was ordered to appear in court under threat of a contempt citation.

Kelley defended FBI surveillance of a peaceful pro-AIM demonstration, saying, "They were carrying signs saying 'Stop the Trial,' and it's possible that violence might have ensued." He could not explain why a communication from the FBI about the demonstration was sent to the CIA.

**WOMEN'S PRISON SUPPORT PLANNED** -- There are over 580 women in the federal prison at Alderson, West Virginia. Women sent there are a considerable distance from their families and friends, and their isolation is compounded by the fact that there is nowhere for visitors to stay in Alderson.

The Community for Creative Non-Violence will be opening a hospitality house in Alderson within walking distance of the federal prison where visitors will be welcomed without charge, and would like to get a van for transporting people from the next town where they arrive by train or bus. For more information, contact Richard Dieter or Margaret Loudon, 1335 N Street NW, Washington, DC 20005.





# CONVICTIVE FIVE BUILDING MOVEMENT

by Carollee Howes, Newspaper Collective

In its first five years NAM has grown from a scattering of ex-new-leftists planning an organization into an actual organization of 40 chapters building a movement. The 1976 annual convention, held from August 16-21 in Cedar Rapids, Iowa, was characterized by an exciting sense of expanding local activity. The organization found itself stronger and more solid than a year before and, after the convention, newly committed to another year of consolidation and growth.

Highlight the convention were a series of occupational plenaries for teachers, health workers, social service and other public employees, and industrial workers. The teachers' and health workers' caucuses formed last year were strengthened as members compared experiences. Moving from a base in teachers' and health workers' unions, these NAM activists discussed their own involvement in the trade union movement and how it could be used to make ties with other sectors of the working class. The high point of the industrial workers plenary was a presentation by Pete Kelley, organizer for the United National Caucus of the United Auto Workers, who described rank and file activity in the UAW and other major unions. The public employees and social services plenary focused on the impact of the fiscal crisis on public service unions and possible trade union responses and discussed the case of New York City.

Workshops on organizing were well-attended and focused on the exchange and analysis of experience. Members were encouraged by the development of long-term organizing work and deepening roots in communities and workplaces.

### Programs

One of NAM's national programs in the last year has been a utilities campaign, fighting cut-offs and organizing for rate cuts and lifeline provisions. The number of NAM chapters and other groups working on the utilities program make statewide coalitions and national coordination real possibilities.

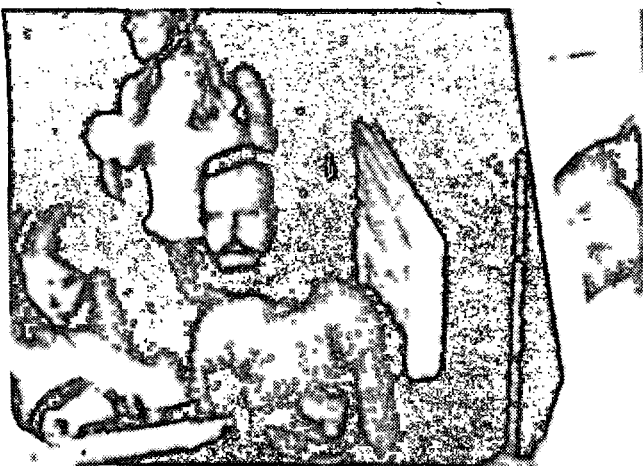
Proponents of an "urban strategy" argued that the crisis of the cities is a concentrated expression of major contradictions in American capitalism and the failure of capitalist priorities. NAM members continue to organize against overt violence directed at blacks, deportation of undocumented aliens, housing problems, unemployment, and cutbacks in social services and educational services. Central to all of these issues is the fight against racism. One tool in these struggles is the Workers' Rights Centers which NAM chapters have established in many cities.

Encouraged by the success of the Dayton chapter's clerical organizing project, the national organization has chosen clerical organizing as a national priority in 1976. Other chapters are or will be beginning clerical organizing projects.

### Consolidation

For the first time, NAM elected 3 NIC members to serve as full-time paid leadership for the organization. With the adoption of a one-year plan, this consolidation of leadership is expected to help in linking local practice through a common strategy. The national leadership is expected to coordinate the development and evaluation of programmatic work within the organization and to foster the political development of the membership, clarifying political issues and preparing political education materials for discussion and debate. Both local chapters and the national leadership are expected to put a high priority on recruitment of new members and chapters.

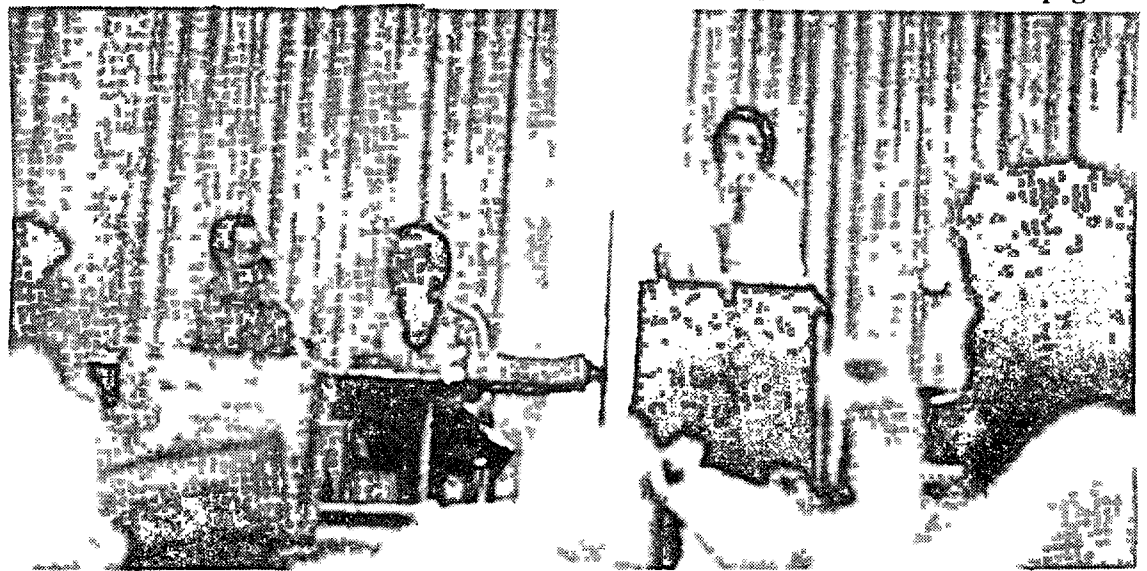
Roberta Lynch (Chicago NAM), Richard Healey (Chicago NAM), and Nick Rabkin (East Bay, California NAM) were elected to the Political Committee, the first full-time paid political leadership body in NAM's history. The election represents our growing seriousness about building NAM as an organization and our ability to develop leadership. An eight-person National Committee (the NIC) was also elected. NIC members for the coming year are Dorothy Healey (Southern California), Holly Graff (Pittsburgh), Bobby Lilly (Detroit), Sue Wells and





# ENTION

# A ENT



Glen Scott (Austin), Mark Mericle (Dayton), Bill Leumer (Buffalo), Bob Neiman (Southern California), and Alan Charney (New York).

A Unity in Action statement adopted at the convention also evidenced an increased sense of seriousness and of movement toward common strategy, making individual members and chapters formally responsible for clearly and accurately stating NAM's positions. It requires that when members disagree with NAM's positions, they should engage in full theoretical and programmatic debate within the organization and present NAM's view as well as their own when describing these debates to other people or organizations. They should also refrain from activities which oppose NAM's national programs or strategies. Finally the unity in action resolution excludes from membership people who are under the discipline of a self-defined democratic centralist organization which also has members outside of NAM.

### Continued Debate

NAM remains a multi-tendenced organization. Last year different tendencies in NAM found expression through three distinct caucuses — Marxist-Leninist, Learning and Organizing, and Majority — which had no distinct presence at this year's convention. Despite a growing sense of unity and common purpose there are still major areas of debate within the organization. At the 1976 convention, major debates occurred about class analysis, electoral politics, and racism.

A major plenary was devoted to class analysis, and underlying issue in most convention discussions. Convention participants attempted to clarify NAM's expanded working class theory. Issues raised included: what is the role of professional and managerial workers in the revolutionary struggle? What is the relationship between class background and political practice? How can NAM expand its base in different sectors of the working class?

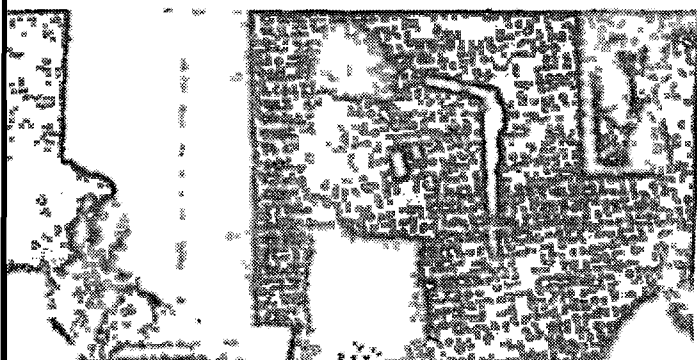
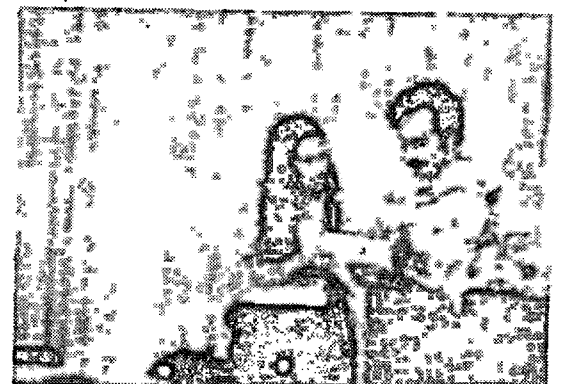
The proper role of the left in an election year was a major question in discussion of electoral politics, the focus of another plenary. Questions

raised included: Can we use the electoral process to show the bankruptcy of American democracy? Should we work to build anti-corporate elements within the Democratic party? Should we concentrate on building an independent force to exert pressure on the electoral scene? Positions on electoral participation ranged from one that only on the local level, only as a tactic in support of other organizing efforts, and only occasionally should NAM chapters and members get involved — to one seeing elections as a major arena of class struggle and an important focus for NAM's work. No resolutions on electoral participation were adopted, although the NIC was mandated to prepare an analysis of the 1976 elections.

Discussion of racism began with the selection of a paper by Marilyn Katz and John Ehrenreich to serve as the basis for convention debate about racism. This paper superseded other papers prepared by the NIC and Sojourner Truth NAM (STO). At the final plenary the convention voted to commit the Katz-Ehrenreich paper and its amendments to the organization for a formal process of education and debate to conclude in January with a resolution on anti-racist theory and practice. The major areas of debate are: Can we best fight racism through projects that confront racism directly? Should we concentrate on taking an anti-racist stand in all of our work? Should NAM direct the fight against racism towards fighting privileges of white workers? Is there or should there be a black nation within the United States? (STO was chiefly responsible for raising these last two questions in the organization.) What is the relationship between struggles against racism and women's liberation? Should NAM focus now on recruiting third-world members or on alliances with third world organizations?

Convention papers detailing decisions and proceedings will be available from the National Office, 1643 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago IL 60647.

*Convention papers detailing decisions and proceedings will be available from the National Office, 1643 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago IL 60647.*



# Success on July 4

by Ted Lieverman, Middlesex NAM

As far as the American press was concerned, it didn't happen. But for some fifty thousand participants, the July 4th Demonstration in Philadelphia was an exciting, impressive event. The very success of the demonstration, in the face of intense problems, requires that we look at its significance and the lessons it can teach the progressive movement.

First, what happened? Approximately 50,000 people from seventy cities marched through Philadelphia's black district, demanding "Jobs and a Decent Standard of Living for All," "Full Democracy and Equality," and "A Bicentennial Without Colonies — Freedom for all Oppressed Nations." While President Ford droned on downtown, thousands of black city residents lined the streets to cheer the marchers. Many joined the parade and came to the rally.

At Fairmount Park, the spirited crowd heard an impressive list of speakers support women's equality, black liberation, the struggle of Native Americans, and independence for Puerto Rico. Speakers at the rally included Juan Mari Bras, president of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party; Karen DeCrow, president of the National Organization of Women; long-time radical activist David Dellinger; Rev. Bernard Lee of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference; and Elaine Brown of the Black Panther Party.

Even a heavy downpour of rain could not dampen the effort of the parade and rally. While the Philadelphia rally was going on, smaller demonstrations sponsored by the Coalition occurred in San Francisco (7,000 people), Los Angeles (2,000), San Antonio, and Seattle.

## A Multi-National Event

The most impressive aspect of the July 4th events, besides the size of the turnout, was their multinational character. Some ten thousand Puerto Ricans and significant numbers of Blacks, Chicanos, and Native Americans marched. Their participation helped to focus attention on the economic and political repression which now particularly affects non-white communities. At the same time, it showed the potential strength of a united progressive movement that collectively focuses its energies on demands shared by all poor and working people.

For years, the left white has failed in its efforts to build lasting relationships with organizations in nonwhite communities. Credit for the multinational character of July 4th must go to the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP). It was the PSP who initiated the coalition, who

consistently argued for a broad political focus that would unify different contingencies, and who secured the active participation of dozens of local and national third world groups. No other organization on the left had the prestige and organizational capability to do this.

The success of the event also showed the correctness of the coalitions' strategy for building the event, a strategy worked out by the PSP along with several other national organizations, including NAM. The July 4 coalition appealed to the totality of the progressive movement, a movement that is united by certain broad concerns, but not by any narrower agreement on strategy, political ideology, or even commitment to revolutionary change.

Rather than present a tableau of purity in its political statement, the Coalition correctly sought to project a massive event directed against the immediate policies of repression and increased economic exploitation at home and in third world countries dominated by U.S. interests. While the sponsoring groups in the Coalition — some four hundred local and national organizations — reflected a broad diversity, the very building of the demonstration helped bridge political gaps between them, propelling the progressive movement another step or two towards greater unity and coherence in action.



Moreover, the broad demands of the Coalition were closely linked and readily understood by everyone to be so. The coalition presented not a party platform, but an agenda of reforms to meet the immediate needs of those under attack during the present crisis of American capitalism. The previous decade had shown that large numbers of Americans could be mobilized around a single issue — equal rights for black Americans, opposition to the Vietnam War. July 4 proved that we can now mobilize large numbers of people around a total view of American society that directly attacks the power and privilege of the ruling class. The July 4 demonstration was in effect a strike against capitalism and everyone, from Ford on down, recognized it.

## "Counter Bicentennial" Events

To really appreciate the coalition's wisdom, we should note the results of the two other major "counter bicentennial" events of the day. The Revolutionary Communist Party, which announced a militant confrontation at the "Rich Off Our Backs" demonstration in Philadelphia, rallied a scant 4,000 to their cause.

On the other side, the People's Bicentennial Commission, which had been working for five years, were well financed and presented a strong line of speakers, drew only 5-10,000 to their Washington DC event. While offering a broad but vague populist appeal, they failed to discuss the needs of women or third world peoples and so those political forces did not respond. The People's Bicentennial Commission also mistakenly relied on good media work, advertising, and massive leafletting. However, there is no substitute for organizers. The PBC had almost none; the July 4 Coalition had hundreds in over 60 cities.

continued on page 16



Credit/Chicago Women's Graphics

## Why Hospital Costs Soar

by Rick Kunes, Detroit NAM

Health care costs have been rising twice as fast as most other prices. Hospital administrators, hospital suppliers and medical equipment manufacturers blame this inflation on increasing labor costs. During the last ten years poorly paid hospital workers, at the bottom of the national pay scale, have organized and struggled for some improvement over their subsistence wages. But their small increases in salaries are peanuts compared to other causes of inflated health care costs. Massive salary increases have gone to already well paid physicians. Hospital-purchased (in reality public-purchased) fringe benefits for physicians often include free, fancily decorated offices, swimming pools, and secretaries. But even more money has gone for annual multi-billion dollar purchases of glamorous but unneeded medical equipment.

The medical equipment industry resembles the automotive industry. Its research and development emphasizes stylistic interests rather than real improvements. Both industries cater to the prestige associated with the purchase, rather than to patient or passenger need. And safety is only peripheral to profit.

The latest "exciting and daring" new product is the CAT-scanner, a highly sophisticated X-ray machine selling for half a million dollars. Though the capability of the CAT-scanner has not yet been determined, hospitals in Southern California alone have ordered more CAT-scanners than will be needed to serve the entire western half of the country, according to testimony before the President's Council on Wage and Price Stability.

Elsewhere, in Philadelphia 20 of 32 highly expensive high voltage X-ray therapy units cannot meet minimum-use standards. Nationwide there are 777 fully equipped open heart surgical facilities. One third of them have never been used, and an additional third are used too infrequently to be considered safe. In 1970 alone there were over 1200 deaths in hospitals from electrocution from expensive but faultily wired medical equipment.

Advances in medical computer technology are far more likely to be used for purposes of billing than healing.

In effect, major medical centers have become retail outlets for unnecessary, often unsafe equipment produced by a medical-industrial complex. Not coincidentally, the board members of major medical centers are often on the boards of directors of major medical conglomerates. These conflicts of interest and purchases of glamorous equipment conflict with good health care by inflating health care costs. Such inflation and profit priorities hinder development of and access to necessary and relevant, though more mundane, health services.

## Congressman Calls for Puerto Rican Independence

Calling support for Puerto Rican independence the test of the sincerity of the Bicentennial, Congressman Ronald Dellums introduced a resolution into Congress July 1 calling for an end to Puerto Rico's colonial status. The resolution would "transfer unconditionally to the people of Puerto Rico" "all powers and authority presently exercised by the government of the United States ... including the armed forces, over the territory of Puerto Rico."

Dellums' action was greeted by a standing ovation when it was announced three days later at the July 4th rally in Philadelphia. It has received little support in Congress, however.

Dellums described the issue of Puerto Rican independence as the "most serious test of the sincerity of our adherence as a nation to the principles of the American revolution we claim to celebrate." He cited the Declaration of Independence and the 13th Amendment to the Constitution, which abolished slavery, as the legal bases for the Congressional resolution.



## what we mean

# Socialist Feminism



*Socialist feminist theory is still in the early stages of being developed. What follows is a tentative and necessarily incomplete exploration of some major socialist-feminist themes.*

by Carolyn Magid, Middlesex NAM

Socialist feminists are socialists *and* feminists, but socialist feminism is not the simple addition of feminism to socialism. It is a new political perspective on women in capitalist society, one which offers a new slant on a broad range of human social relations.

Most feminists would agree that women have been oppressed throughout history. *Socialist* feminists emphasize that women's oppression has taken very different forms in different social conditions, and that the differences are at least as important as the similarities for understanding the position of women.

What differences are important today? According to socialist-feminists, the specific form women's oppression takes in American society has been shaped by capitalism. With the development of American capitalism, human productive activity became divided between homes, where women produce children and maintain the family, and outside workplaces, where men (and to a lesser extent women), produce goods and services.

This *sexual division of production* gives women's oppression its contemporary form. It cuts women off from men, and makes most of the world "men's sphere." Women become economically dependent on men. We are set an endless task of home and human maintenance, and must perform it in isolation, with no credit or recognition from society for what we accomplish. The different experiences of men and women help perpetuate sex role stereotypes and sexist ideology. All these factors reinforce and reshape the male domination of women which was around before the specifically capitalist sexual division of production.

The sexual division of production also has its impact on women in the wage labor force. Sex role stereotyping tracks many women into jobs that appear to be extensions of our work in the home, like social work, food service, child-care and nursing. Aided by an ideology that says that women's income is only supplemental or "pin money," bosses pay low wages for jobs done mostly by women, and feel free to hire and fire us as business prospects change. The same sexist ideology keeps us at the bottom of job hierarchies (dominated of course by men) — it denies us job benefits, and keeps us out of the (usually better-paying) traditionally male occupations. These conditions mean that even women who work for pay are encouraged to rely on men — for long-term security or a decent income — thus solidifying male domination.

The sexual division of production shapes people's personal lives and even our innermost feelings about ourselves. For example, women who stay at home isolated and unappreciated often end up losing a sense of our own worth, even our own identity.

The sexual division of production means that society is organized around the male headed-nuclear family. This makes it harder to survive and find space outside the family — for women with children and no husbands, for gays, for single women, for older women.

Socialist-feminists point out that capitalism not only shapes the oppression of women, but is sustained by it. Women's work in the home reproduces and maintains the labor force for capitalism. Women are encouraged to find ful-

fillment in buying for the home — providing an important outlet for capitalist products. Personal life (usually orchestrated by women in the home) takes the heat off bosses, by offering a substitute for the fulfillment lacking at work. (And when the fulfillment isn't forthcoming, the blame is usually placed on personal relations, and not relations at work.) Sexist ideology helps justify and maintain job hierarchies and pay differentials, drives male and female workers apart, and helps keep wages (and workers) down.



Socialist-feminism is distinguished from other forms of *feminism* in its emphasis on the role of capitalism in creating and sustaining the contemporary conditions for women's oppression. Socialist-feminism differs from some other forms of *socialism* in its recognition that sexism serves men as well as capitalism, and that it affects people's psychology and attitudes in a profound way. This means that women's oppression is sustained by more than capitalism.

Socialist-feminists analyze women's oppression in order to see how to change it. Central to our strategy for change (distinguishing us from other non-socialist feminists) is the belief that women's liberation requires the overthrow of capitalism and victory for socialism.

We need to overthrow capitalism because it so dominates all social relations that women's oppression can't be eradicated without capitalism going too. We need to overthrow capitalism because it doesn't provide (in fact struggles to prevent) the material conditions which women's liberation requires. (How can we end the oppressive sexual division of production while jobs, affordable day care, part-time options, and

the like are controlled by capitalists, their availability determined by whether they profit capitalists?)

We need socialism because it means that society is organized to satisfy the needs of all its members. Through arranging participation of all people in shaping both the institutions in which we work and the whole course of society, socialism provides a fundamental equality in social and economic institutions which is a necessary condition for genuine women's liberation.

But although socialism is necessary for women's liberation, socialist-feminists argue that it is not sufficient. Since sexist psychology and ideology are deeply engrained in men and women, and since men receive benefits from women's oppression, there are forces which could serve to deflect attention from women's concerns, or even to abandon them after victory for socialism. For this reason, socialist-feminists support organized struggle by women (in autonomous women's groups, in women's caucuses) against all manifestations of sexist ideology and male domination, both before and after the revolution.

But women's role in the revolutionary process goes much beyond the struggle against sexism and male domination. According to socialist-feminists women — both those who work for pay and those who work unpaid in the home — have a central role in the revolutionary process.

Why is this true? We think that a socialist revolution will come about in this country only when there is an organized class conscious mass movement of the working class (men and women, white, black and third-world people, those who work in the home without pay as well as those who work for wages). Since we play a crucial role in maintaining a labor force for capitalism, women in the home have special importance.

All this means that the struggle for socialism cannot be carried out without the active participation of women. And without men and women working together around common interests and goals. For this we need an active struggle against the sexism and male domination which keep men and women apart and keep women from taking active roles in the revolutionary process.

The struggle for women's liberation and the struggle for socialism are inextricably bound.

*This month's WHAT WE MEAN column is an experiment with introducing more theoretical debate into the newspaper. Please write to the newspaper collective with your comments.*







OUSTED VICE PREMIER TENG HSIAO-P'ING

# China

## -- What's Going On



DEMONSTRATORS AT PEKING'S T'IENT'AN MENS SQUARE



NEW PREMIER HUA KUO-FENG.

by Judy MacLean, Pittsburgh NAM

When Teng Hsiao Ping was relieved of his duties as premier (or was it vice premier?) of the People's Republic of China following demonstrations in the capital's Tien An Men square last May, the western press covered all the details. In the U.S., there was particular concern about what this meant for the probable "successor" of Mao Tse-Tung. The western press had assumed all along that it was Teng.

The events of May were merely the part of the struggle that the western press chose to highlight. The real struggle involved in Teng's losing his position had been going on for six months or more, and is not over yet. In a sense, the struggle has been going on for over twenty years. To understand what the events mean for the Chinese people, we have to look not at the individual, Teng Hsiao Ping, and what crimes he may or may not have committed. Rather we have to look at the policies he was identified with, what those policies meant for the life of the average Chinese, and what the criticism of those policies means in terms of changes in the lives of all the Chinese people.

The western press believes the only important thing about a struggle around a figure like Teng Hsiao Ping is the fate of that individual. They find it hard to understand the larger issue, that Teng represented a set of policies and an interest group within Chinese society and that the importance of his downfall lies in the whole society, rejecting these policies and not letting the group he represents have too much control. The Chinese also find it hard to understand when an event like Watergate occurs and it is merely Nixon, the individual, and not his policies or the part of the capitalist class he represents who lose, also.

### Not a New Issue

The struggle around Teng is not a new one in Chinese society. The issues are the same as during the Great Leap Forward, the Cultural Revolution, and the Movement to Criticize Lin Piao and Confucius. Mao is supposed to have said that China will need hundreds more cultural revolutions before the contradictions left over from "old China" can be resolved. The affair over Teng is the latest chapter in that struggle.

Basically the struggle revolves around two lines, or policies, for the industrialization of China and the creation of a socialist society. The Chinese revolution has steered a course between the two lines, sometimes veering off in one direction or the other.

Broadly speaking, one line follows the model of industrialization followed by the Soviet Union. Large state enterprises are set up, workers are trained to work in them, and industrial production goes up by big leaps as new enterprises come into being. The second line, often referred to as Mao's line (although Mao has generally advocated steering a course between the two extremes) stresses the kind of industrialization developed during the days of guerrilla warfare by the Red Army during the 1930's and '40's. The method uses local methods of small-scale production, trains the people already familiar with those methods in new industrial processes, builds small factories from repair shops and large factories from small, gradually expanding the output and improving the quality of the goods produced.

These two lines in industry go along with two policies in almost every other field. For example, in education, the Soviet-based line calls for setting up institutions of technical and higher education to train experts to run the large state enterprises. The very most qualified students must be selected, in order to get highly qualified graduates in the shortest amount of time. If these students end up to be the sons and daughters of the former ruling classes, that is a price that must be paid for efficiency, which will in the long run mean more goods for all Chinese under socialism.

On the other hand, the Maoist line stresses that "politics must be in command" of education (as well as industry). In other words, to ensure the development of socialist society, education must eradicate and guard against class privilege. The Chinese educational system should emphasize that the people who have the best understanding of what socialist revolution is about should get higher education, because they will "serve the people." This line stresses a lot more on-the-job education and promotion within fields (training

**We have to look not at individuals, but at the policies they represent, and what those policies mean for the life of the average Chinese.**

mechanics to become engineers, and nurses to become doctors, for instance). It emphasizes the



value of practical knowledge as well as scientific expertise, of ordinary workers receiving higher education and of highly educated people doing ordinary work.

In medicine, the Soviet line was to develop western medicine and train more M.D.s. Mao's line was to harmonize western and traditional Chinese medicine, taking what is good from both of them. It stressed giving short periods of training to paraprofessionals, who could then be a large pool of medical personnel who constantly upgraded their skills and could eventually produce a larger number of M.D.s. Going too far on the other side of Mao's line would be to advocate only developing Chinese medicine, and denouncing western medicine as imperialist.

The Great Leap Forward in 1958 was a time of tremendous experimentation in Mao's line. The well-publicized failures of some of the experiments tended to overshadow the real gains made in many areas. Following the Leap, the Soviet line, held sway until the Cultural Revolution broke forth on the Chinese scene. The Cultural Revolution was a time when Mao's line was put into practice everywhere, and in many places went so far in getting away from the Soviet line that the country was veering off in the other direction. Struggles since then have basically been skirmishes in this same battle.

### What About Teng?

With all this in mind, we need to look at what policies are being criticized and changed as part of the process of Teng Hsiao Ping's loss of power. Some of the changes have to do with women in leadership, women doing certain kinds of heavy industrial work, and the rights of women generally. Under Teng, there had been a drift away from the gains in all these areas. In manufacturing, policies that stress how a factory serves the whole community, its safety record for its workers, its innovativeness, are now on the upswing, rather than Teng's policies of judging factories solely on output quotas. To Teng, increased production always seemed more important than combatting social inequality. On the other hand, Mao's line argues that socialist production, unlike capitalist production, must avoid creating or strengthening class distinctions.

The important point is not what Teng personally advocated while he was in office, but rather what was happening in every village and factory during that time, and what changes are taking place now. The movement to criticize Teng seems to be sending China's revolution more on the course of popular participation in all facets of life.

But there will probably be many more twists and detours, and many more struggles, as China charts a course on its revolutionary path. Policies flowing from both lines have been necessary so far in China, and will continue to be, with struggles going on over the balance.

In a very real sense, the western press was right when they said the struggle around Teng was a question of Mao's successor. It is that question, but not in terms of a personal successor. Rather it is a struggle about how the people of China, Mao's true successors if the process of building a socialist society is successful, will be organizing themselves.

# Changing Lives of Cuban Women

Margaret Randall, a North American living in Cuba and the author of *Cuban Women Now*, was interviewed by a group of women on last year's contingent of the *Venceremos Brigade*. The following interview is reprinted from the *New York City Star*, May 15 - June 15, 1976.

Q: What kind of work are you doing now?

A: I work for the Book Institute, which publishes all the books in Cuba. For the past year and a half I've been on loan to the Women's Federation, which means I get paid through the Book Institute but do my guard duty, have my political and military life, and do my work for the Federation.

We're a collective of about 12 women who study imperialist penetration of the mass media for women in Latin America -- things like *Vanidades*, *Good Housekeeping*, *Cosmopolitan*, which are produced in the States and pumped into Latin America. *Vanidades*, for example, published 635,000 copies every two weeks, in all the countries on the continent. It's a vehicle for bourgeois morality and bourgeois values, anti-communism, emphasizing women's liberation in the narrowest and most reactionary terms, in a tremendous effort to break women away from the liberation movements on the South American continent. It tries to get them interested in liberation for themselves and not for people.

Before Cuba's revolution, women could work in the department stores if they were "beautiful and white" and young.

Q: What kind of jobs did women do before the revolution?

A: Women were only 9% of the labor force in Cuba. Seventy thousand were maids earning \$8-\$25 a month for working around the clock. A lot of women worked in the tobacco industry, both in the factories and in the fields, in Pinar del Rio. Women could work in the department stores if they were "beautiful and white" and young. And undoubtedly there were a few women who were professionals, but very, very few. In the 1920's, there were 12 professional women in the country, and two of them were foreigners.

## Prostitution

Q: In talking about the kinds of things women were involved in before the revolution -- or had to be involved in -- prostitution is also an important aspect.

A: Very important. It was never included in the 9% figure -- prostitutes are hardly considered to be people when censuses are made. But there was a tremendous amount of prostitution in Cuba. The figure has been put at 200,000, but I think it was much larger than that. There were two categories of prostitutes: the so-called "high class" prostitutes, many of whom left during the revolution with the U.S.-controlled vice rings that operated here, and the great masses of poor women who were forced into prostitution for economic reasons. I'm not saying that the "high class" prostitutes weren't forced into it for economic reasons. Obviously, they were. But their world was penetrated by more so-called U.S. protection in some way.

After the revolution, the great masses of poor women who had been prostitutes were aided by a very interesting plan to help them solve their

immediate problems, such as child support, the need to learn a trade, and illiteracy. The women from the brothels in cities like Havana, Guantánamo, and Santa Clara were moved to schools in the countryside, where they began to get an education or training so they could start working. They had their choice of staying in the city, going home, or involving themselves in one of these plans.

Those who joined the plans often continued to live in the schools for a long time, because they had no other place to live and a lot of them didn't want to go home to their families. In many cases their families didn't know they'd worked as prostitutes, but thought they'd worked as maids or something else.

A lot of former prostitutes became secretaries, or taxi drivers, or professionals -- a lot of them went on to the university -- so that now there is no way of telling who was a prostitute.

Gradually, they were all able to live in different places and lead regular lives. A lot of the women became secretaries, taxi drivers, or professionals -- a lot of women went on to the university -- so that now there is no way of telling who was a prostitute. It's just an example of a lot of things in this revolution -- helping people out of a situation that was unfair. They just wiped out prostitution.

## Attitudes Toward Sexuality

Q: That leads to another question. We were wondering what sort of changes there have been in attitudes towards sexuality since the triumph of the revolution?

A: There have been a lot of positive changes. There is now sexual education in the schools, for one thing. That is a very important step.

But it is a very slow process. Attitudes are changed based on the need for people to work, for people to get out. But it is still not easy for a lot of Cuban parents, for example, to feel good about their daughters wearing pants or going out at night unchaperoned.

Contrasting that, you've got the first years of the revolution, the literacy campaign in 1961, Fidel talking Cuban parents into allowing 100,000 kids to go for eight or ten months in the countryside to live and work with the peasants.

The education in the schools is pretty much geared to eradicating the old ways, but it is something that is going to take generations.

"What I see in young people are changed attitudes. They don't see marriage as a way of realizing themselves."

Q: Does the young generation of Cubans feel that marriage is something that is not necessary at all?



A: No. I think that most women feel that if they are going to live with a man, marriage is a desirable form for living with that man. Socialist legality is very much emphasized at this point in the revolution. What I see in young people are changed attitudes. They don't see marriage as a way of realizing themselves.

In other countries, I've talked to young women who are in junior high school or high school about their plans, and immediately they say, "When I get married..." In Cuba, you don't encounter that as much. "Well, I'm going to be an electrical engineer," is a more typical answer here.

I've had conversations with young women in which specific problems have come up, such as the boyfriend who doesn't want the girlfriend to go to her meetings of the Young Communists. So she says goodbye to the boyfriend. With no feeling that it is a big drama but that the most important thing is to work for the revolution, to work for the country and to work for your own participation on the basis of your own capabilities, and not to see yourself as an appendage to a man.

## The Last Ones

by Bob Bohm, Shay's Rebellion NAM

for friends in Worcester

Some poets  
pull diamonds out of their sleeves.  
These diamonds are then taken by handsome salesmen  
to Tiphany's, in New York,  
where the store manager, dressed in a tuxedo,  
hums old  
European ballads.

Others roll in the  
grass playfully spitting  
blood at the sun.

Then there are the ones who slam  
shut the den doors  
of their eyelids, and stay up  
all night changing  
the channels on the secret  
television sets inside their heads.

Others simply get up  
in the morning, eat  
their cereal, go  
to the factory where they work  
eight hours for a miserable pay.

These last can be caught, at  
odd times of the day,  
dreaming of power. Even  
their laughter is dangerous, an  
icepick rammed  
into the sold-out foreman's heart --

this, a strange expertise:  
The whole world waits  
for the last stanza.

# Nuclear Power?

by Frank Ackerman, Middlesex NAM

If you ever drive south from Detroit on Interstate 75, look to the left 20 to 30 miles south of the city. Two huge hourglass-shaped towers loom over the fields, the towers of Detroit Edison's Fermi reactors.

Neither of them produces electricity. One of them almost blew up Detroit before it was permanently shut down. But they can't just be torn down and carted off to the dump: they contain radioactive wastes that have to be guarded and kept away from human beings for thousands of years. So they stand over the fields of southeastern Michigan, multi-million dollar monuments to the danger, expense, and stupidity of nuclear power.

The nation's electric companies and the Ford administration claim that the risks and costs of nuclear power just have to be accepted, since there is no other answer to the energy crisis. In *The Poverty of Power* (Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1976, \$10), Barry Commoner argues persuasively against this view, in the course of a wide-ranging examination of the physics, politics, and economics of energy.

Commoner begins with a non-technical discussion of the physical properties of energy. The purpose of this excursion into physics is to outline a more rigorous method of calculating how much energy is wasted. In home heating, for example, the well-publicized heat losses due to uninsulated ceilings are probably far less than the waste involved in using inefficient heating systems.

In general, Commoner asks not just how much energy escapes during its use, but also how existing uses of energy compare with the cheapest most energy-conserving means possible for achieving the same results. He observes, for example, that "the use of nuclear radiation for the relatively mild task of boiling water violates the familiar caution against attacking a fly with a cannon. The fly is likely to be killed, but at a cost of considerable damage."

Applying this type of reasoning to existing energy sources, Commoner concludes that coal is often used fairly efficiently, in industry and in electricity generation. Petroleum and nuclear power, on the other hand, are almost always used in extremely inefficient ways. None of these is as efficient as solar power, which is not only safe, clean, and renewable, but, according to Commoner, can be quite efficiently adapted to a wide variety of uses.

## End Uses of Energy

The end uses of energy are also examined in *The Poverty of Power*. Private automobile transportation, mechanized corporate agriculture, and petroleum-based plastics production emerge as three leading areas of mushrooming, socially undesirable energy consumption. Commoner develops the outline of an overall solution to the

energy crisis: cut back on the undesirable uses of energy, stop nuclear power generation, and employ the existing reserves of coal and oil during a transition to a solar-powered economy.

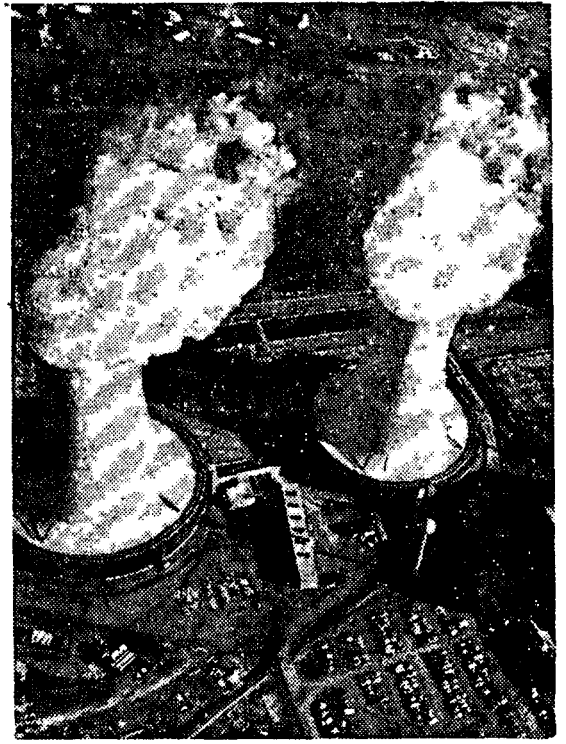
Cheap energy prices over the last few decades have allowed the development of vast energy-wasting industries and patterns of consumption (agribusiness, private cars). These are now too fundamental to capitalist profits to be eliminated. Instead, the inevitable attempts of existing industries to expand and increase their profits lead to steadily rising needs for, and waste of, energy.

Beginning with the physicists' laws of thermodynamics, Commoner ends with Marx's law of the falling rate of profit. One of the most fascinating points in the book is a passing suggestion at the end that cheap fossil fuels have played the same role in this century that the opening of the West did in the last century: a large, but limited, opportunity for American capitalism to expand, and to postpone the inevitable long-run decline in profit rates.

## Contradiction

The greatest weakness in this generally excellent book is the apparent contradiction in the chapter on petroleum. Showing an understandable desire to disprove every claim made by the oil companies, Commoner argues at length that "we are not so much running out of domestic oil as running out of the oil companies' interest in looking for it." Elsewhere in the book, however, he takes for granted that the remaining domestic oil will be available only at rapidly rising prices -- a point which is really as fundamental to his argument as to the oil companies' position. Such contradictions are rare, though, in an otherwise impressively logical work.

The overall perspectives of *The Poverty of*



*Power* are important for anyone who wants to understand the energy crisis. But the most urgent aspect for immediate political action is undoubtedly opposition to nuclear power.

Those interested in anti-nuclear organizing should read *Critical Mass*, the Nader-related monthly newspaper of the anti-nuclear power movement (\$6/year, sample copies free, box 1538, Washington, DC 20013); *Countdown to a Nuclear Moratorium*, a helpful if somewhat uneven collection of essays on each of the various threats of atomic energy (\$1.50, Environmental Action Foundation, 724 Dupont Circle Building, Washington, DC 10036); and John G. Fuller's *We Almost Lost Detroit* (Crowell, New York, 1975, \$8.95) -- the terrifying true story behind those towers that loom over southeastern Michigan.

# International News Highlights

**ANGOLAN MERCENARY NOT SO INNOCENT** -- Daniel Gearhart, the 34 year old American mercenary executed in Luanda July 10, maintained during his trial that he never fired a shot during his brief stint as a soldier of fortune in Angola. Not so, says David Bufkin, the mercenary who recruited Gearhart and fought alongside him. According to Bufkin, Gearhart "did a very good job fighting and got a commendation." He described Gearhart as a veteran mercenary who was hired "because his other activities and his background made him qualified to serve in Angola." Bufkin said he had withheld this information until now in order not to jeopardize Gearhart's defense.

Bufkin, who is now recruiting Americans to fight in Rhodesia, says he has received "calls from people all over the world who are volunteering to go fight against the MPLA." He claims he is still in contact with the defeated pro-Western factions in Angola and that he has not ruled out the possibility of returning to fight on their behalf.

A tiny separatist group, FLEC, has reportedly continued small-scale fighting in the oil-rich province of Cabinda, UNITA holdouts in south-central Angola have carried out raids against the cross-country Benguela railroad, and South African forces crossed into southern Angola and razed three villages in July. Although the attacks pose no immediate threat to the MPLA government, Prime Minister Lopo do Nascimento warned workers in a Luanda factory July 25 that "pockets of bandits" still exist in the country, and "some of us ... continue to fall. Some Cuban comrades continue to fall."

In Cuba, Premier Fidel Castro said Cuban troops were still being withdrawn from Angola, but that they would remain "as long as necessary" to train the Angolan army and defend the country from foreign attack.

**ARGENTINA GUERRILLAS VOW TO CONTINUE FIGHT** -- The brother of slain leftist guerrilla leader Mario Roberto Santucho held a press conference in Paris July 27 to state that the People's Revolutionary Army (ERP) would intensify its war against Argentina's military dictator-

ship. Julio Cesar Santucho, a member of the Revolutionary Workers Party - People's Revolutionary Army (PRT-ERP) central committee, acknowledged that the death of his brother in a shoot-out with Argentine security forces July 19 was a great loss, but denied government claims that the PRT-ERP was on the verge of annihilation. Cesar Santucho referred to the possible creation of an Organization of Argentine Liberation, which would unite the PRT-ERP with other anti-government guerrilla groups, including the larger Montoneros, a left-wing Peronist movement.

Founded in 1970, the ERP is one of the most active guerrilla movements in Latin America, with a rural brigade in Tucuman province and an urban underground in the major cities.

**MOBIL DEFIES RHODESIAN EMBARGO** -- Executives of the Mobil Oil Corporation have been involved in a ten year conspiracy to violate U.S. and United Nations sanctions against trade with Rhodesia. According to secret documents and confidential memos released by the People's Bicentennial Commission and the Center for Social Action, Mobil has worked hand in hand with the white minority government of Rhodesia to provide virtually all of its requirements for gasoline and diesel fuel, despite a world-wide economic boycott imposed on that country in 1967.

The present Rhodesian government can survive only 90 days on its available oil and gas reserves if Mobil and other major oil companies are forced to obey the boycott. Much of the regime's oil requirements include aviation fuel for the Rhodesian Air Force, which has recently attacked and bombed villages in neighboring Mozambique, where Rhodesian guerrilla fighters are based in their stepped-up armed struggle against the minority government.

"Mobil Oil is in fact largely responsible for maintaining the racist and oppressive policies of the present white ruled regime in Rhodesia," stated Jeremy Rifkin of the People's Bicentennial Commission. "Without Mobil's help, this minority government could not survive."





# Italy continued from page 6

gain its support for a "left-wing coalition government" without Christian Democrats. Their failure to do so left them with only 1.5% of the vote, far less than anyone expected. In a sense, their political efforts are partly directed at the 40% of the Communist Party rank-and-file, who, according to their calculation, would prefer this left coalition government.

## Wining "Middle Strata"

For both these small left groups and the Communist Party, a major problem is how to win over the "middle strata" of service workers, state employees and other white collar workers, farmers, small-business people — many of them of Catholic background — to working class politics. (NAM considers most of these "middle strata" workers in the United States to be part of an expanded working class.) Betti contrasted the approach of the groups considered left of the Communist Party with the Party's approach. For example, the Communist Party attempts to win over small business people with an approach that promises to defend their immediate short-term interests. In contrast, the far left attempts to win over this group by demonstrating that its enemy is the same as the proletariats'. Last winter, when the far left initiated "red markets", where food was sold cheaper than in regular markets, it attempted, with varying degrees of success, to involve small shopkeepers victimized by big distributors. (It should be pointed out that the main purpose of this campaign was to serve as a propaganda weapon to demonstrate to industrial workers and housewives that the high food prices were connected with the capitalist organization of food distribution.)

This approach attempts to create "structural" alliances between the working class and other strata against big capital. It also demands a real redistribution of wealth and power, not minor reforms. Whereas the Communist Party considers these groups largely in their role as voters, Betti says that the far left groups try to mobilize them as active agents for social change.

Whatever the validity of the particular assessments made in our interview of Betti and Diego, we consider that they raised serious

# The Ballad of Senate Bill One

Malvina Reynolds, now in her 75th year, is one song closer to having composed 500 of her own. That song, now being sung by opponents of Senate Bill One, quite accurately describes the bill that could make this newspaper illegal. People interested in learning or hearing other songs by Malvina Reynolds can write for a catalog of her recordings and publications from Schroder Music (her own company — a small operation), 2027 Parker St., Berkeley, CA 94704. And don't call her a protest singer. As she stated in a recent workshop at NAM's Eastbay Socialist School, "We're not protesting, we're kicking asses."

chorus:

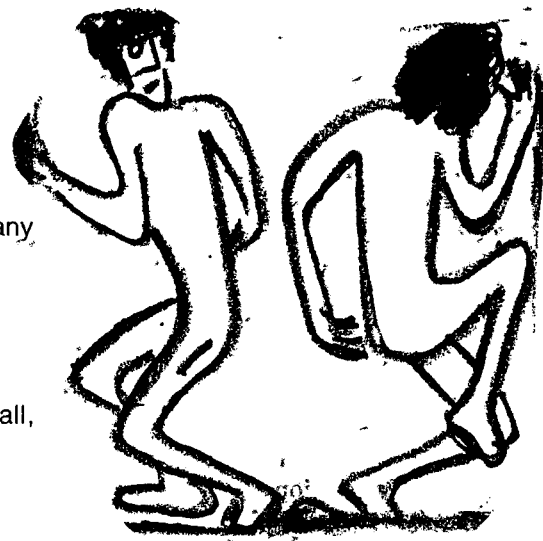
Senate Bill One, Senate Bill One,  
They'll do it to us with Senate Bill One.  
We'll wonder where liberty's gone with Senate Bill One.  
We have to stop it, and make them drop it,  
Or we'll be done, done, done.

Watergate will look like freedom time,  
Exposing dirty tricks will be a crime,  
And if you protest you'll be doing time  
With Senate Bill One.

You'll think that you're in Spain or Nazi Germany  
With gangsters in the saddle and running free  
And the jails full of people like you and me,  
With Senate Bill One.

Police and militia will carry the ball,  
Freedom of the press will be up against the wall,  
"Nixon's Revenge" is what they call  
Senate Bill One.

Better write a letter to your Senator,  
Letters to the paper and the folks next door,  
Or we'll wonder what the revolutionary war was for  
After Senate Bill One.



questions both for the Italian left and the left in the United States.

NOTE: Three members of Betti And Diego's party, The Party of Proletarian Unity (PduP) will be speaking and travelling in the U.S. this fall. In a number of cities, including New York City, Pittsburgh, and Detroit, New American Movement will be sponsoring their visits. V. Vittorio Foa teaches Labor Economics at the University of Modena, is a former Parliament member and National Secretary of the CGIL

union, and currently a member of the Central Committee of the PduP. Giagiacomio Migone is a leader in the Catholic left, leading member of the CISL, the second largest labor union confederation, and member of the PduP's Central Committee and Political Bureau. Andrea Ginzburg is a leading Marxist economist at the University of Modena.



# NAM CHAPTERS



## NATIONAL OFFICE

NAM, 1643 N. Milwaukee, Chicago, IL 60647

## NEWSPAPER OFFICE

NAM, 16 Union Square, Somerville, MA 02143

## CALIFORNIA

Chico, c/o Reed, 716 Oaklawn, Chico, CA 95926

East Bay, 6025 Shattuck, Oakland, CA 94609

Harriet Tubman, Box 8493, Los Angeles, CA 90024

L.A. Westside, Box 794, Venice, CA 90291

L.A. #4, c/o Healey, 1733 1/2 W. 84th St., Los Angeles, CA 90047

Lucha Film Collective, c/o Hollander, 840 Grant St., Santa Monica, CA 90405

Riverside, Box 2673, Riverside, CA 92506

San Diego, Box 15142, San Diego, CA 92115

Santa Barbara, c/o Davis, 6527 El Greco #204, Goleta, CA 93017

Santa Cruz, c/o Ackerman, 509 Seaside, Santa Cruz, CA 95060

San Francisco, c/o Farrar, 32 Pond St., San Francisco, CA 94114

## ILLINOIS

Chicago #1, c/o Wilbur, 1243 W. Newport, Chicago, IL 60657

Mother Jones, Box 4182, Springfield, IL 62703

Sojourner Truth, Box 8493, Chicago, IL 60680

U. of Chicago, c/o Cameron, 5738 S. Kenwood #3, Chicago, IL 60637

## IOWA

Haymarket, Box 3265, Davenport, IA 52808

## MARYLAND

Port City, Box 7213, Baltimore, MD 21218

## MASSACHUSETTS

Middlesex, Box 443, Somerville, MA 02144

Radcliffe-Harvard, c/o Burns, 61 Pemberton, Cambridge MA 02140

Shay's Rebellion, c/o Russell & Bohm, 49 S. Prospect, Amherst, MA 01002

## MICHIGAN

Detroit, Box 32376, Detroit, MI 48232

Red Cedar River, c/o Brown, 725 Westmoreland Ave., Lansing, MI 48915

## MISSOURI

St. Louis, 6254 Delmar, St. Louis, MO 63130

## NEW YORK

Brooklyn Dodgers, c/o Menashe, 575 6th St., Brooklyn, NY 11215

Buffalo, Box 517 Ellicott Station, Buffalo, NY 14205

Long Island, Box 608, Huntington, NY 11743

Metropolis, Box 682, Syosset, NY 11791

Mid-Hudson, 60 S. Randolph Ave., Poughkeepsie, NY 12601

N.Y. Westside, c/o Charney, 677 West End Ave. #13D, New York, NY 10025 (tel. 799-9190)

## NORTH CAROLINA

C.P. Gilman, c/o Stanley, 110 N. Estes Dr., Chapel Hill, NC 27514

## OHIO

Hocking Valley, c/o Wald, 55 W. Washington, Athens, OH 45701

Mad River, c/o Modern Times Bookstore, 617 Salem Dayton, OH 45406

Yellow Springs, c/o Antioch Student Mailroom, Yellow Springs, OH 45387

## OREGON

Willamette Valley, c/o Dudman, 209 E. 30th St., Eugene, OR 97405

## PENNSYLVANIA

Pittsburgh, Box 8224, Pittsburgh, PA 15217

Resistance, 3715 Baring, Philadelphia, PA 19104

## RHODE ISLAND

Providence, c/o Weisberger, 45 Larch St., Providence, RI 02906

## TEXAS

Austin, c/o McBryde, 2204 San Gabriel, Austin, TX 78705

## WISCONSIN

Madison, Box 688, Madison, WI 53701

## PRE-CHAPTERS

Akron, c/o Gibson, Box 903, Akron, OH 44309

Kent, c/o Center for Peaceful Change, Stophier Hall, Kent State University, Kent, OH 44242

Committee for Socialist Alternatives, c/o Momeyer, 210 N. Bishop, Oxford, OH 45056

# Olympics: Talking Sense about Sports

by Nan Stein

Thinking it over, I have decided to award my own gold medals for the 1976 summer Olympics. My medals will not go to Nadia, Shirley, Kornelia, or Chandra. My gold medals are to be awarded on the basis of who talks sense and teaches me something about the larger sports scene. The above and their male counterparts are not even in contention for my awards. Mine are going to Mac Wilkins (who also won a gold medal for the discus throw, 1976) and Donna deVarona (two Olympic gold medals for swimming in 1964).

Mac Wilkins gets my gold medal for cutting through the jargon of national chauvinism. He declared of his award, "I did it for myself; I worked for it. The U.S. ... had no part in winning it."

Later he elaborated on the difficulties U.S. athletes face once they are out of college, or, I might add, if they never went to college in the first place (like most of the U.S. boxing team). He emphasized that support for U.S. amateur athletes is available largely from private companies, who all want something in exchange.

The United States doesn't seem to want amateur athletes -- it wants stars. Sports facilities and coaches are available to those who can pay for them. There are two choices for U.S. athletes: you sell products, or you sell yourself into professional sports. During the TV coverage of the Olympics there were plenty of examples of what happens to once-amateur athletes: there was Bob Mathias, former decathlon winner, selling GE products; Dave Wottle, 1972 gold winner in track, and Dick Fosbury, 1968 high jump winner, selling Whoppers; and Joe Namath, who sells himself and products.

## Gossip

TV coverage perpetuates the star images of athletes by focusing on gossip which creates stars with one-dimensional labels rather than people who play sports. We hear about "cute but emotionless" Nadia Comeneci, or Olga Korbut, the 21 year old "has been," and the barely-discussed-out-loud (God forbid we discuss a "freak") 7 foot 2 inch Russian woman basketball player, Iuliyaka Semenova.

It enrages me that so much air time goes into stories with no intelligent content. I'd much rather hear about what makes a dive a 2.2 degree of difficulty as opposed to a 2.8 degree of diffi-



culty. Or what makes a performance of the balance beam rate a 9.5 rather than a perfect score of 10. The specialized language of the sports profession keeps this basic information a mystery to most of us. I'm sure I'm smart enough, like most of the audience, to understand some of the basic principles of scoring. I am left uninformed, frustrated, and mad.

Donna deVarona alleviated some of my anger. She gets my second gold medal for transferring some of this privileged information into the public domain. Of all the announcers and commentators, she gave me the most information about sports programs in the U.S. and elsewhere -- the possibilities that exist for athletes in other countries, and the obstacles and limitations that athletes face in the U.S.

She exalted the Canadian sports programs and praised the national sports clubs in the Eastern European countries, where opportunities for amateur athletes are available through nationally subsidized sports programs. She pointed out that there were many more Canadian women than U.S. women in the swimming events (in the backstroke and the breaststroke there were no American women). Canadian women have obvious advantages, in belonging to and training at national sports clubs. I find it telling that Canada used its host country privilege to introduce women's basketball into the Olympics. (This was also the first year for women's rowing.) It's clear that Canadian women enjoy amateur sports opportunities denied to their sisters south of the border.

## Coaches Leave in Doves

Donna also discussed the difficulty U.S. women have in finding and keeping a good coach. According to her, coaches in the private club system (and it takes money to get into these privileged clubs) are leaving in droves to coach men at the colleges.

So, I wondered, how do American women fare in finding a coach at the college level? Coincidentally enough, the August issue of Ms. magazine carried an article about the coach of the UCLA women's track team, one of the best, and best financed, teams in the country. (Kathy Schmidt, the U.S. Olympic javelin thrower, was a member.) Their coach was fired and they had the "choice" of remaining and training without their coach, or dropping out to follow him and losing their scholarships. Some choice.

## The United States doesn't seem to want amateur athletes -- it wants stars.

What's left for U.S. women who want to participate and train in a sport? My hunch is that an increasing number of young women amateur athletes will apply to the military academies, where they can probably get the attention of the many government-paid coaches. Swell -- to get a coach, you gotta join the army.

In any event, I'm a real sucker for the Olympic games. There was more coverage of women and their sports during those 2 1/2 weeks than there was in the last four years. (I'm not counting the traditional ladylike sports of golf and tennis.) With so much coverage, I faced a dilemma about who to root for. At first my sympathies tended toward the countries where women are given the same athletic opportunities and respect as men. Not surprisingly, most of these countries have socialist governments. Then, as I learned about the difficulties that face U.S. amateur athletes, I began to cheer for them.

But just as I'd get excited about some U.S. athlete, I'd hear some gossip from ABC or I'd read an interview in which the athlete proved to be grossly competitive, individualistic, single-minded, or macho, and I wouldn't like her or him any more. What did you do? Who did you root for, and why?

I guess my team hasn't entered yet.

# People's Party hold Convention

By Susan Steigerwalt, member Detroit NAM and Metro-Detroit Human Rights Party and Milton Takei, member L.A. NAM Westside and L.A. County Peace and Freedom Party.

The 1976 National Convention of the People's Party, held in San Francisco, August 4-6, voted by acclamation to nominate Margaret Wright for President and Benjamin Spock for Vice-President. Wright and Spock will campaign on the People's Party's socialist platform (virtually identical to that adopted in 1975). Wright is a Black community and schools organizer, and Spock was a noted opponent of the War in Vietnam. The People's Party is a national coalition of third parties, including the Peace and Freedom Party of California, and the Human Rights Party of Michigan.

The party voted to favor a national or regional conference to move towards the unity of the democratic socialist movement. NAM, MPOC, the Socialist Party, and other groups and individuals would be invited, provided they substantially share the views of the People's Party and "are willing to work together in an open and democratic way."

In its program for the coming year, the People's Party called for an emphasis on organizing the unorganized into "strong and new political formations." The program states that

unorganized poor people need to wage struggles against capitalist attacks, win victories and unite with organized, unionized workers (e.g. fight evictions, tenants unions, food stamp organizing). This program asks for increased efforts to organize working people in non-electoral struggles.

The convention passed a new structure which "tightened up" the organization. The party voted to replace its National Committee with a three-person leadership which will staff its national office, beginning in November. Local party organizations can make decisions for the national organization through a process which grants a vote to each national dues-paying member of a local. Henceforth, candidates or groups affiliated with the party are forbidden to actively advocate a position that is contrary to the principles of the party, although minority positions may be stated publicly after clarifying the position of the People's Party.

The convention rejected a motion that would have allowed an organization from Hawaii to affiliate with the national party, in spite of their support for gun control. The convention expressed a strong commitment towards the People's Party principle which calls for "respect for the right of self-defense for working people, including the right of people to defend themselves from rape and assault, and the constitu-

tional right to keep and bear arms, so long as governments are armed. Inez Garcia, accused of murder because she shot one of the men who had raped her, was one of several speakers to address the convention.

Two new pamphlets available: *Revolution & Democracy*, by Frank Ackerman and Harry Boyte, 75 cents; *Strategies for Change, the Marxian Tradition*, by Frank Ackerman and Harry Boyte, 50 cents. Write for bulk rates. Available from Middlesex NAM, Box 443, Somerville, MA 02144.

July Fourth Coalition continued from page 10

In applauding the successes of the July 4 Coalition, it is important also to note its shortcomings. While it was successful in bringing together much of the progressive movement, it did not reach out beyond it (with the exception of Third World communities). White working class support was minimal, as was the participation of trade unions. Part of this had to do with the failure of many organizations in the coalition to appreciate the strength a broadly focused event would have -- but most of the trouble lay in the practical realities of the times.

Perhaps most importantly, the event showed that one-shot mobilizations cannot in themselves build a movement; they can only manifest its power and focus it at one place for maximum effect. The real organizing work must still go on day-by-day, on a wide front of issues and concerns.