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The Anti-Feminist Movement

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TO OUR READERS



After this issue, the NAM Newspaper may no longer exist. A debate is currently going on within the New American Movement as to what kind of publication can best serve the interests of the organization. At the least, this discussion entails a temporary suspension of publication. There will be no January edition of this newspaper. Subscribers can expect to be notified if the outcome of the discussion results in the NAM Newspaper's termination.

We, the collective, believe that the organization requires an attractive and useful publication. We feel that the NAM Newspaper has become that kind of publication, but there is considerable skepticism about this within the national organization. We hope that this debate is settled soon with results which promote the growth and betterment of the organization, and with a minimum of self-serving sentiment from any quarter. Readers who feel inclined to comment on the future direction of a NAM publication should write to:

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Anti-Castro Cubans Launch Terror Campaign

by Eric Davin, Newspaper Collective

The Oct. 6 bombing of a Cubana Airlines DC-8 off the coast of Barbados claimed the lives of all aboard. At first it was thought to be merely the latest in a recent series of unsolved anti-Cuban bombings. The unfolding investigation, however, has revealed the outlines of a vast network of conspiracy, sabotage and murder.

The destruction of the airliner -- Cuba's worst air disaster -- resulted in the death of 73 passengers, including Cuba's champion fencing team. The day after the crash, a Trinidadian taxi driver overheard two of his passengers discussing and laughing about the incident. Following this tip, Trinidad police arrested the pair at the Port of Spain Holiday Inn where they had checked in without luggage. The two men, Venezuelans Freddie Lugo and Hernan Ricardo, confessed to the bombing and to membership in an anti-Castro underground known as CORU (Commandos of the United Revolutionary Organizations).

CORU was organized earlier this year as an umbrella for diehard anti-Castro exiles from five separate organizations. Its ideological leader and primary founder is pediatrician-turned-guerrilla, Dr. Orlando Bosch.

From its beginning, CORU has attempted to isolate Cuba from other Caribbean countries and intensify hostility between Cuba and the U.S. Towards this end it has bombed Cuban offices in Trinidad, Barbados, Jamaica, Panama, Costa Rica and Mexico. Last July it also attempted to kidnap a Cuban consul in the Yucatan but killed a visiting Cuban fisheries expert by mistake.

CORU's leader, Bosch, left Cuba in 1960 for Miami. There he quickly became known as a fanatic anti-Castro militant and was jailed in 1968 for leading a bazooka attack on a Polish ship which traded with Cuba. Paroled in 1972 from a ten-year sentence, Bosch jumped parole in 1974 to roam the Caribbean organizing anti-Castro activities.

Cubans believe Bosch's activities are orchestrated by the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). This is due to the fact that anti-Castro attacks all but ceased following the signing of the 1973 anti-hijacking agreement but flared up again after Cuba's military involvement in Angola. In a recent speech, Prime Minister Fidel Castro

alleged that Hernan Ricardo was a known CIA agent.

Both Ricardo and Lugo had been on the Cubana airliner and had deplaned in Barbados before flying back to Trinidad. Ricardo confessed to Trinidad police that he had left the bomb on board the plane in a camera case. After deplaning, Ricardo called Orlando Bosch in Caracas and gave him a message: "The truck has left with a full load."

On their arrest, the pair claimed to be photographers for a Caracas detective agency headed by Luis Posada, former head of the operations arm of the Venezuelan secret police. Posada, a Cuban and former policeman under Batista, had been trained by the CIA in anti-guerrilla warfare and demolition techniques.

In a raid on Posada's fortress-like home, Venezuelan police arrested Posada, Bosch, and a dozen other Cuban exiles. To force bombers Lugo and Ricardo and organizers Posada and Bosch to talk, Venezuelan authorities threatened to deport them to Cuba. All decided to talk.

BOSCH AFTER 1968 ARREST IN MIAMI



When confronted with documents found in Posada's home, Bosch also confessed to police that CORU had ordered two of its U.S.-based agents, "the Novo brothers," to assassinate former Chilean Ambassador and Foreign Minister Orlando Letelier in Washington, D.C. last Sept. 21.

On Nov. 2, Venezuelan Judge Delia Estava indicted Bosch, Posada, Ricardo and Lugo on charges of murder in the sabotage of the Cubana DC-8. The murder charges -- termed "qualified", meaning they are less than first-degree murder -- carry a maximum penalty of 30 years.

The indictments leave undecided the politically tense issue of whether the case is to continue in the civil courts or be handed over to a military tribunal. The decision is expected to be made shortly by the government, some of whose highest members have argued that a military trial would preempt any future opposition claim that eventual judgements might be politically biased.

The indictments also make it unlikely that Bosch will be handed over soon to U.S. authorities, who want him as a parole violator. According to Washington sources, Bosch is also wanted for questioning in connection with several bombings and murders in the Miami Cuban exile community. The FBI also wants Bosch for questioning about the murder of Letelier.

According to Norman Kempster of the Los Angeles Times, the fiancée of an FBI agent assigned to the Letelier case was recently warned off the investigation. The woman had just landed in New York at JFK Airport and was approached in the busy terminal by a stranger who intoned: "Tell your boyfriend to stay away from the Letelier case or somebody will get hurt." He then disappeared into the crowd.

Kempster reasons that Letelier was murdered by members of a group sophisticated enough to find out which FBI agent was handling the case; place him under surveillance; determine the identity of his fiancée; learn her travel plans and pick her out in a crowd -- in short, an organization with an effective intelligence apparatus. It would seem CORU and the "Novo brothers" are still active in the United States.

However, despite Bosch's identification of the assassins, which was carried in the Nov. 1 issue of TIME Magazine, the FBI states that the murder of Orlando Letelier remains a mystery.

NEW AMERICAN MOVEMENT Newspaper

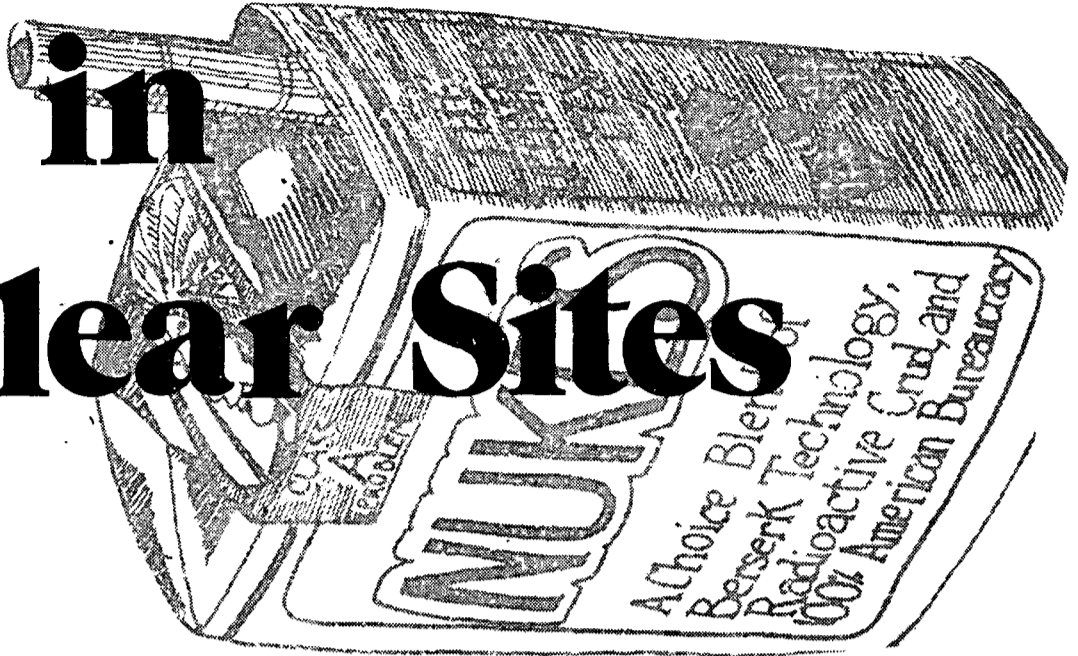
The New American Movement (NAM) exists to help organize a movement for democratic socialism in the United States. Our aim is to establish working class control of the enormous productive capacity of American industry, to create a society that will provide material comfort and security for all people, 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.

Frank Bove, Chris Casey, Eric Davin, Chris Ghibelline, Roger Gottlieb, Hardy Green, Herb Klein, Jenny Lovejoy

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Sitting in On Nuclear Sites



from Environmental Action of Colorado.

by Frank Bove, newspaper collective

"Split wood not atoms"--this is the cry of New England anti-nuclear activists, part of a growing international movement of citizens trying to defend themselves against the nuclear industry conglomerates. At Wyhl, West Germany, 28,000 people halted the construction of a proposed nuclear power station by occupying the site for eight months. Other mass demonstrations have occurred at a number of proposed nuclear power sites in Western Europe in the past five years. Unions in Australia have prevented the processing and export of uranium until environmental studies take place. In Japan, public resistance to nuclear power continues to grow, sparked by a local fishing fleet's blockade of Japan's first nuclear powered submarine. (the blockade was finally broken by typhoon winds.)

In the U.S., actions against nuclear power have for the most part been legal and educational. Court suits, initiatives on the ballot in 7 states, books, teach-ins and debates have substantially slowed nuclear development and pressured the Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC) into recently issuing a two month moratorium on new construction. But construction is now continuing on 73 plants, 61 are in operation, and more than 100 are planned. And the nuclear industry has been fighting back, pouring tens of millions of dollars into a media campaign against the initiatives. Frightened by the industry's dire predictions of a new energy

At Wyhl, West Germany, 28,000 people halted the construction of a proposed nuclear power station by occupying the site for eight months.

crisis, high unemployment and economic depression, voters turned down all the initiatives. Court suits filed by nuclear power opponents have been lost, and in some cases, court victories were overturned on appeal, as the nuclear industry successfully argued against the loss of its huge investment in projects already begun.

Compounding these problems for the anti-nuclear movement is the fact that more than half of the top officials of the two major Federal energy agencies (NRC and Energy Research and Development, ERDA), are from private industries holding contracts, licenses, or permits from the agencies. Two months before the California initiative vote on nuclear safeguards, ERDA, the agency responsible for conducting Federal energy research, printed and distributed in that state nearly 100,000 copies of a pro-nuclear pamphlet, at a cost of over \$10,000 in

Federal funds.

Prior to the two month moratorium issued on August 13, the NRC and its predecessor, the Atomic Energy Commission, never denied a permit for nuclear plant construction. With the moratorium at an end for now, the NRC has allowed construction to proceed at all sites, pending final studies by the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA). The NRC, charged with assuring the safe operation of the commercial nuclear industry, has instead surrendered to the interests of the industry.

Facing these limitations to legal and educational tactics, the anti-nuke movement in the U.S. has begun to turn to the models of Wyhl and the antiwar movement of the late 60's.

Seabrook

The demonstrations at a nuclear power plant construction site in Seabrook, New Hampshire, during the summer of 1976, mark the first time that citizen action for safe energy has taken the form of mass sit-ins and occupations. The demonstrators, demanding "people before profits" and advocating the use of safe energy alternatives, were organized by the Clamshell Alliance.

"Clam" is an umbrella organization of 15 anti-nuke groups. It formed in July, 1976, at a meeting attended by 50 people, mostly farmers, fishers, clamdiggers, and other workers from New Hampshire. Clam is dedicated to halt construction of the Seabrook plant and to oppose construction of other plants in New England. It is also organizing protests against already functioning plants. Clam's tactic is non-violent direct action--forums, one-to-one dialogue, public demonstrations, and a planned occupation of the site on Mayday 1977.

Seabrook, a tightly-knit community of 5700 people, is located near beaches and marshes teeming with seabirds and marine life. Seven years ago, Public Service Co. (PSC), which supplies New Hampshire with 90 per cent of its electricity, announced its plans to construct twin atomic reactors at Seabrook. Environmental groups have fought to stop construction ever since. But their efforts have failed. Promises by the PSC that the town would benefit from increased tax revenues, jobs and business were met with disbelief by the community which voted 768-632 against the plant.

Loeb and Thomson

The town opposition joined Clam. Facing them (besides the power and money of PSC and the nuclear industry, with its staunch supporters, NRC and ERDA) are arch-conservatives Governor Meldrim Thomson and Manchester Union-Leader publisher William Loeb. Thomson blamed the town meeting vote on "outside agitators" and encouraged PSC to ignore it. He then threatened to fire any state employee who voiced negative feelings about the plant. Thomson was forced to change his mind when his own Attorney General filed an exception against the NRC's granting of a construction permit at Seabrook because the final EPA impact studies

had not been completed. The NRC, has allowed construction to continue pending the final EPA report.

At first, New Hampshire Clam members were opposed to the plant because they lived there and would be immediately affected, not because of any overall criticism of nuclear power. Their main concern was for the clambeds and the ocean waters since fishing is a vital industry for

Demonstrations at Seabrook, N.H. mark the first time that citizen action for safe energy has taken the form of mass sit-ins and occupations.

Seabrook. The same was true at Wyhl. Economic reasons, specifically the survival of wine and tobacco growers, moved the people to action. Objections were raised only to the particular site, not to nuclear power in general. But, like the Wyhl movement, Clam has developed an overall position in opposition to nuclear power.

On August 1, 1976, Clam organized a rally of 600 people near the site. Eighteen New Hampshire residents were arrested for trespassing on the site and planting trees. The police dragged the nonviolent resisters 200 yards through mud and brush. On August 22, 1500 people attended a rally near the site and 179 people were arrested for occupying the site. Again the resisters practiced nonviolence and had to be dragged to police vans. According to a Boston spokesperson, an alternative energy fair was planned for October, instead of another occupation because N.H. Clam members felt they were being severed from their community. Civil disobedience is a new and unsettling tactic for many N.H. people, and the Clam members sensed that they might lose community support if they continued with the tactic.

Energy Fair

The purpose of the alternative energy fair was to gain support for Clam by showing that the organization could offer positive solutions to New England's energy problems. Over 1300 people participated in workshops on solar, wood, wind and other types of renewable energy sources as safe, sound alternatives to nuclear power. As preparation for the fair, Clam organized 20 forums during the week of October 4, throughout New England.

Presently, local Clam chapters are investigating power plants in their area and organizing demonstrations which deal with other aspects of

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NAM in Somerville

Destroying Minds

and

Businesses ?



by Frank Ackerman, Middlesex NAM

"Where do you live?" "Are you still a student?" "How long have you lived in Somerville?" "We're not harrasing you, we just want to get you well identified. We don't know you." "Are you still a student?" "How long have you lived in Somerville?" "What did you say your address was?"

The Somerville Board of Assessors had invited their critics in general, and NAM in particular, to discuss the city's property tax assessments at their October 13 meeting. But discussion was hardly what they had in mind. "You people are here to destroy businesses and destroy the minds of the people of Somerville," shrieked Chairwoman Mary Tomeo. She and the other four Assessors had clearly decided to save the city's minds and businesses from the red menace they saw before them (that's about eight of us, presenting a two-page statement).

As the NAM spokesperson, I could scarcely finish a sentence without being interrupted by their repetitive, hostile, personal questions about me. Stating my address, a standard practice when speaking at community meetings here, gave them an opening for more than verbal harassment. While one or two Assessors kept up the babble of hostility, another dashed into the next room and pulled out the city's tax rolls. Their out-of-date records showed that our home was still a rooming house, its legal status before we bought it four years ago. (Currently eight people jointly own and occupy the 13-room house, and there is no need for a rooming house license.) John Howe, Assessor for our end of the city, screamed louder and louder: "You're running a rooming house. Why are you lying to us? You're running a rooming house. YOU'RE RUNNING A ROOMING HOUSE. You're cheating on your taxes!"

At that point the meeting was all over but the shouting, which the Assessors continued for about an hour. A few days later, they sent a Buildings Inspector and a Health Inspector to look at our house. After an unsuccessful attempt to find significant health code violations, they concluded that we were indeed running an unlicensed rooming house.

Blood From A Stone?

NAM's recent notoriety in Somerville resulted from our pamphlet, "Blood from a Stone?", analyzing the city's budget and tax crisis. Property taxes are going up 20 per cent this year, reaching an average level of \$1,000 per apartment or single-family home. Although the causes of this tax hike are largely beyond the control of Somerville officials (such as the cutbacks in state and federal aid, higher interest rates on debts, the long-term flight of business from inner cities), local corruption and discrimination make it even worse.

"Blood from a Stone?" identified three areas in which local changes could save the taxpayers money without hurting city workers: ending tax breaks for big landlords; cutting out administrative padding, especially in the school department; and instituting competitive bidding in the city's banking practices, rather than relying on one politically well-connected bank. The pamphlet called for an alliance of taxpayers and city workers to push for these reforms, rather than being played off against each other as usual. On a larger scale, the pamphlet argued that local property taxes should be entirely replaced by progressive state and federal income taxes, and that funds now wasted on the military should be spent on urban needs. It concluded with a brief description of NAM and what we mean by socialism.

We spent last summer researching and writing "Blood from a Stone?", and helping to plan a new community coalition around property tax reform. The two groups most active in starting the coalition were NAM and Fair Share (a new Massachusetts community organizing group which has been active in electric rate reform campaigns); we hoped to expand it to include city workers unions and other community groups. September 15 was a big day--the first meeting of the coalition, and the release of our pamphlet. After a final whirlwind of typing, printing and stapling, we held our breath and hoped that it all wouldn't just be ignored.

The City Discovers Us

The response was electrifying, completely unexpected and more than we could deal with. Within two weeks, we had become famous all over town; the subject of newspaper articles; a major topic of discussion at School Committee, Board of Aldermen, and Board of Assessors meetings; and the target of red-baiting campaigns by both reactionary politicians and the Fair Share leadership. The combination of local insiders' gossip, specific names, facts and figures, and an overall socialist analysis, apparently made our modest-looking pamphlet an unprecedented threat to the local power structure. In quick succession:

**The City Treasurer called up to yell at us for fifteen minutes about the banking section of the pamphlet, then called back calmer the next day to say that he was of course willing to release previously unavailable information on the city's bank deposits, showing that there was nothing corrupt about Somerville's banking. ("Blood from a Stone?" had reported in detail his earlier refusal to release this information.)

**Reactionary members of the Board of Aldermen seized on our distribution of the pamphlet at a community conference held in the public schools, as an excuse for a proposed ordinance making it nearly impossible for anyone to use the school buildings on evenings or weekends, and allowing the police to check literature at the door at any future meetings in the schools. This ordinance seems to have been defeated by the outraged response of numerous community groups who find it hard enough to get access to the schools already.

**The School Committee and the Assessors both challenged us to defend parts of the pamphlet at their regular meetings. Our debate with the School Committee was inconclusive, and was overshadowed by the theatrics at the Assessors meeting, described above.

**A landlord who had verbally agreed to rent a new office to the NAM Newspaper was visited by an Assessor and an Alderman, who told him that if he rented to "those commies," they would condemn the building and shut off the water. Initially he decided to resist, and told us about it. But over the next week he received so many threatening phone calls that he backed out of his agreement with us, and even refused to describe the threats in public.

**Most unexpected of all, Fair Share also took to red-baiting with a vengeance, and threw us out of the property tax coalition one week after its formal founding meeting. A right-wing newspaper reporter wrote a slightly garbled story from NAM and Fair Share press releases, describing us as the only two groups in the coalition, and taking most of the story from "Blood from a Stone?". Refusing our explanation that the confusion originated with the reporter, the Fair Share leadership took this as proof that NAM was impossible to work with, and maneuvered their way through a vote that expelled us from the coalition.

Since other groups that were interested in taxes but uncomfortable with Fair Share's authoritarian style had already decided to quit rather than fight, there was no basis left for opposing the decision within the coalition. The morning after the expulsion vote, Fair Share sent a letter to the newspapers and to a list of community liberals. The letter denied their involvement in an "alleged coalition with the New American Movement," rejected allegations that they were interested in any of the issues raised in "Blood from a Stone?" other than taxes and stated that NAM's "other interests" made any cooperation between the two groups unlikely now or in the future.

Following these rather overwhelming events, we hoped to regain some momentum on the underlying issues by presenting our critique of local taxes at the Assessors meeting. Instead, we were forced even further on the defensive by their personal attacks.

The Assessors Retreat

The inspectors' visit to my house (which the Assessors admitted they had requested) finally went too far for the community. The local weekly newspaper carried banner-headline coverage of our harassment and editorially urged everyone to protest at future Assessors meetings. Expressions of support poured in from all over the city. An acquaintance of ours offered to organize a legal defense fund. Our neighbors (lifelong Somerville residents) wrote a letter to the paper defending us. In contrast to Fair Share's attacks on us, the informal networks of longer-term community activists and liberals--people we have worked with over the past three years--identified with us in the crunch, and shared our outrage at the Assessors.

In addition, we hired the head of the state Civil Liberties Union to handle our legal problems. Several conversations with him, combined with the publicity and community support, seem to have persuaded the city officials involved to drop their case against us. We are pushing for a formal statement that it has been dropped, but have received no word so far.

We survived. But so did the Assessors, and all the specific injustices we were attacking. (Fair Share's property tax coalition has been unable to make much headway, and can only claim that its efforts have brought about some small recent payments of back taxes to the city.) As we begin another round of community organizing, we are a lot more famous, a little more cynical, and hopefully prepared to do a better job next time.

NEW HOPES, OLD FEARS

the Meaning of the Elections

by the NAM Political Committee

After a decade of serious division and internal strife the Democratic Party has pulled itself back together and won its first presidency since the 1964 election. As in 1964, the Democrats succeeded by running a southerner who was close to the ideological center of the party.

Carter's victory was built upon the reconstitution of the old Democratic Party constellation of forces, first fashioned by Roosevelt in the 30's. That constellation had been disrupted by the crises and movements of the last decade and a half—the Vietnam War, the black rebellions of the 60's, the anti-war and women's movements, soaring inflation and unemployment, the growing decay of the cities—which divided many of the interest groups with traditional allegiances to the Democrats.

Of particular importance was Carter's ability to bring organized labor (which refused to endorse McGovern in 1972) and large numbers of blacks back to the Democratic fold. Key to his victory was a "solid south" where black voters overwhelmed a white plurality for Ford, and several important northern industrial states where labor's get-out-the-vote drive combined with large black votes in the cities made the difference. More than 65 per cent of registered blacks voted and 92 per cent of them voted for Carter. In Texas, Chicano voters put the brakes on John Connally's ambitions in the Republican Party by delivering the state to Carter.

In contrast, the entrenched political machines failed to deliver. Carter's loss in Illinois, for example, can be laid on the doorstep of the Chicago Democratic Party, which delivered a smaller plurality for him than it did for McGovern in '72.

What we have, then, is a new President whose immediate post-election debts are to labor and minorities in the cities and south, not to the old machine leadership. Carter's margin of victory was so narrow that he will be forced to acknowledge the demands of these groups if he hopes to hold his rebuilt coalition together.

Beneath the surface of Unity, the Democrats remain deeply divided. The party contains three major tendencies. Its right wing, centered in the south, was severely set back by Wallace's defeat and Carter's southern victories. Nonetheless it remains strong. Forty per cent of voting union members cast ballots for Ford,

indicating very conservative impulses in the working class and a large base for right wing Democrats.

The Democratic center is dominated by organized labor's political apparatus and New Deal Democrats like Humphrey and Jackson. Clearly strengthened by Carter's win, its long-term structural weakness is implied by Daley's failure in Illinois. It is this section of the Democratic Party that has been the historic link between much of organized labor and big capital through its championing of domestic and international policies that served both their interests at the expense of the rest of the world.

The left wing is a credible but fundamentally weak force in the national party. It does have some considerable strength on local levels, however. Last spring and through the convention it was loosely organized through a caucus called Democracy '76 which was endorsed by Ron Dellums, Bella Abzug, George McGovern and a scattering of labor leaders. Its main programmatic focuses were on jobs, tax reform, income redistribution, and democratic control of investment. It supported the Humphrey-Hawkins full employment bill, but criticized it for "its overly optimistic reliance on the private sector and its failure to deal with the broad scope of democratic planning." And it advocated "greater public control of investment...to use all our economic resources to meet human needs and allocate our wealth more equitably."

The growing strength of this trend among Democrats was demonstrated in California's primary, where Tom Hayden got 1.2 million votes in his race against center liberal incumbent John Tunney.

The greatest strengths of the trend, though, remain strictly local, and are most often expressed in struggles outside elections. A few congressional districts can elect anti-corporate congresspeople—or even socialists like Ron Dellums. A conference last spring on alternative public policies drew 400 local labor and community activists and elected officials. Community organizations like ACORN in the south and midwest, CAL in California, and many of the democratic insurgencies in the labor movement—best exemplified by Ed Sadlowski's Steelworkers Fight Back—are coming to systemic understandings of the problems that they

face.

This embryonic trend, which could be called anti-corporatism, was also expressed in several non-partisan electoral ballot contests. Of particular importance were the several initiative measures in states across the country that challenged the power of the utility companies over nuclear development and rate structures. Though they lost in all states but Missouri (where the issues were considerably narrowed), a third of the electorate voted for measures that directly challenged the prerogatives of private industry and thousands participated in mass campaigns in support of this approach to our energy problems.

Though the media's complaints of Carter's "fuzziness" were exaggerated, he unquestionably hedged his bets in many respects. Well aware of the tensions in his party, Carter knew he could not afford to offend any tendency within it too much without threatening their fragile unity.

But the campaign is over now and Carter's vague promises must be translated into policies and programs. He is faced now with the same dilemma that has plagued American presidents since Johnson.

Carter is between the devil and the deep blue sea. He is torn between his debt to his electoral base—which includes labor, blacks and the left wing of the party and the forces it represents—and his understanding that revitalizing American capitalism means imposing austerity on that base in order to stop inflation from undermining high corporate profits. Arthur Burns, chair of the Federal Reserve Bank, has already warned that he will oppose Carter's efforts to "overstimulate the economy" by keeping money tight. Carter has already started to bend under the pressure and recently announced that he doesn't expect unemployment to drop below five per cent until 1980.

It is unlikely that Carter will be capable of developing an approach that can speak to the immediate needs of both the working class and big business. Something's got to give here. We can look forward to a political climate in which reform is on the agenda. But the precise content of programs will depend on the balance of power between the working class and capital. The low

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PROPOSITION 14

by Leslie Winik and Julia Wrigley, L.A. Westside NAM

On November 2, the voters of California defeated Proposition 14, a United Farm Workers Union initiative, by a margin of 3 to 2. The initiative was designed to guarantee and strengthen the provisions of the Agricultural Labor Relations Act (ALRB) in providing a mechanism for secret ballot union elections in the fields. The UFW had gathered the necessary signatures to place the initiative on the ballot after the California legislature, responding to pressure from agribusiness, had cut off funding from the ALRB after only six months of operation. Union elections were completely halted and the much-heralded ALRB became a dead letter. Proposition 14 was intended to restore the ALRB through direct popular vote instead of forcing the union to rely on the agribusiness dominated legislature.

Important Features

The two most important features of Proposition 14 were a provision requiring funding of the ALRB, and an amplification of the right of union organizers to enter growers'

property under certain conditions to speak with the farm workers. This provision was essential because many farm workers live on the growers' property. Under the terms of the Proposition, union organizers would be allowed to speak with the workers one hour before work started, one hour during lunch, and one hour after work ended. The right of access was already provided in an administrative ruling of the ALRB which had been upheld by the California Supreme Court, and by the U.S. Supreme court, which had refused to consider an appeal of the California decision brought by the growers.

The UFW's major campaign strategy was to engage in a massive voter registration drive followed by a telephone campaign to get the newly registered voters to the polls. In one of the most extraordinary registration drives in U.S. history, the UFW organizers and volunteers registered 312,000 voters in two and a half weeks. Even this achievement, however, was not sufficient to bring victory on November 2 because of the intense grower and business sponsored campaign against the proposition. The growers successfully mounted a multimillion

dollar media blitz that employed deceptive emotional appeals by so-called small farmers. The media campaign was actually funded by the state's largest business and agricultural interests, but they stayed well in the background and used "family farmers" in the media spots that saturated the airwaves. The UFW failed to respond compellingly to the false and reactionary but potent claim that the access rule violated the farmers' private property rights.

NAM's Role

NAM viewed Proposition 14 as the most critical issue facing California voters, particularly when the campaign posed the issue as a conflict between private property rights of the growers versus the basic union rights of workers. NAM chapters' primary focus was on door to door canvassing in their local communities. Chapters that were strongly rooted in local communities, such as Los Angeles Westside NAM, based in the Venice-Santa Monica area, were particularly active in building local support. The defeat of Proposition 14 is a setback for the UFW but the union is already mobilizing to continue the struggle in other directions.

WOMEN STILL THE PAWNS

by Judy MacLean, Chicago NAM



THE ANTI-FEMINIST MOVEMENT

The women's liberation movement has led to a re-evaluation in the U.S. of almost every aspect of women's lives. It has brought about changes (though sometimes trivial ones) in employment, credit practices, education, divorce law, family life, and sports participation. You can't watch TV for very long without hearing someone use the term "sexist" or "male chauvinist" -- a sure sign that the ideas of the women's liberation are part of the public dialogue, even if they aren't in the same form feminists would like. The movement grows steadily. There are small victories. However, in the past two years, two grassroots movements have sprung up seeking to block what seem like the women's movement's easiest and surest victories: the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) to the U.S. constitution and the right to abortion.

What are the roots of these movements? It is easy to charge that they are funded by men. The Catholic bishops are openly bankrolling and organizing the movement against abortion. There is evidence that business interests, particularly insurance companies, are funding the movement to stop the ERA. It is also true that organizations of the far right like the John Birch Society play a role in these movements. But the strength of these movements is in the large number of women they involve. The question feminists must ask is why are so many women becoming part of these movements? What makes the very women the women's movement should be reaching join Phyllis Schafly (head of the national organization Stop ERA) and the Catholic bishops instead?

The women's movement created the climate that made possible the Supreme Court decision that legalized abortion. But the decision itself was a surprise for most of us. It was the direct result of a suit by a small group, not of struggles by most of the abortion rights organizations.

And only two years before, a woman's right to choose abortion had been too controversial even for the McGovern democrats.

With the big victory, the issue receded from the agenda of much of the women's movement. There were small skirmishes around the right of women on welfare to have abortions covered by medical assistance, and on the issue of consent by husbands and parents in many states. But for most feminists, the basic right had been won, and it was time to get on to tougher issues.

Meanwhile, the Catholic Church and the right wing are building a grass roots movement. They try to chip away by lobbying for laws that erode a woman's right to choose, such as laws prohibiting saline abortions after twelve weeks of pregnancy.

Their most recent victory was the Hyde Amendment to the social services appropriations bill in September. Currently tied up in federal court, the bill would prohibit the use of federal funds for abortions. This would force women receiving medical assistance, both welfare recipients and poorly-paid working women, to seek illegal abortions. The effect would be more deaths of poor women due to botched abortions, and more children born into families that don't want them. The Committee to End Sterilization Abuse points out that minority women are already pressured by hospitals to be sterilized. With the Hyde Amendment's barring of abortions, the hospitals would be in an even stronger position to encourage sterilization.

Although many anti-abortion groups claim their members are not Catholics, it is clear the Catholic Church is using all its resources to make this the issue where it takes its moral stand. The Church has funded the movement from the outset and now the Catholic bishops are openly using the parish church as a recruiting ground for the movement.

The anti-abortion groups are well-organized. Their tactics flow from their assessment of the situation: they are a minority and so must call attention to the question whenever they can. They disrupt political meetings, demonstrate against candidates, and NOW Abortion Task Force chair Jeanne Clark charges that they

physically attack groups demonstrating for a woman's right to choose. They are full of zeal.

Although it is clear that the funding and prestige of the Catholic Church pull these women into the movement, I've been unable to discover what it is in their own lives that pushes them to work with such devotion. The anti-abortion movement is a relatively small group of people who have managed to make an issue of something every opinion poll keeps showing isn't an issue for the majority of the American people.

On the other hand, the ERA has been the object of mass struggle, off and on, for over 50 years. It began at the ebb of the suffrage wave of the women's movement in the 1920's, and was picked up by the new wave in the late Sixties and early Seventies. In the last few years, it seemed that almost everyone supported the ERA and that it was more or less assured of passage before 1978, the last year in which the required number of states can ratify it. Feminists were caught off guard, though, by a well-coordinated movement to defeat the state ERA's in New York and New Jersey last year.

In the May issue of MS., Elinor Langer wrote that it is difficult to prove, but the funding





WOMEN STILL THE VICTIMS

for the anti-ERA movement probably comes from insurance companies who make millions from discrimination in their policies, and from other businesses who are worried that a strict enforcement of the ERA could raise their payroll costs. The majority of women who vote against the ERA are not active against it in any other way, and they are not organized the way the women who work against abortion are. By and large, these voters will say they support some aspects of women's liberation, such as equal pay, but they see in the ERA a Pandora's Box that opens the way to things that would threaten their position: changes in marriage obligations and divorce laws, and the loss of the protection that marriage still affords many women. Many of these women see themselves primarily as housewives, even if they work, and even if they presently have no husband.

Why do they see the women's movement as a threat rather than as their movement? Around 1970, there was a lot of talk in the women's movement about how housewives and women with careers had been pitted against each other. We wanted the women's movement to speak for all women, and to assert that the work women do in the home is important, undervalued work in today's society. But the popular image today of

the women's movement is of a movement that represents women who make it in a man's world. It doesn't help when *MS.*, the magazine that purports to represent the women's movement as a whole, sells ads by claiming that its readers are the most educated and affluent of American women.

For all the women for whom walking out on their marriages would mean the end of any kind of emotional security and the beginning of a struggle for survival the image of career-oriented liberation is unrealistic. There just aren't enough jobs out there that pay enough for economic independence to be a real alternative. In 1970, only one percent of all women made over \$10,000 per year (today this figure is perhaps \$13,000). This is the basis for the appeal of Phyllis Schlafly, who says, "There are no laws that discriminate against women, so there is nothing the ERA can do for you. It will just wipe out homemaker's rights and the rights of family-oriented, religiously motivated people." The parts of the women's movement that have concentrated on getting more room at the top for women, increasing the number of women bank presidents, college presidents, government officials and the rest have not met the needs of most women. And the socialist-feminists and others who have always seen the necessity for struggles that benefit the majority of women haven't become a real enough force to engage the very women to whom we need to reach out most.

The women who vote against the ERA, many of them working class housewives, see the ERA as destroying the values of their lives without replacing them with anything. The ERA has become symbolic, at this point, of a whole range of things that threaten their way of life: free values about sex, men not paying child support, gay marriages, etc.

As a result, many ERA supporters at this point advocate not bringing in support of other

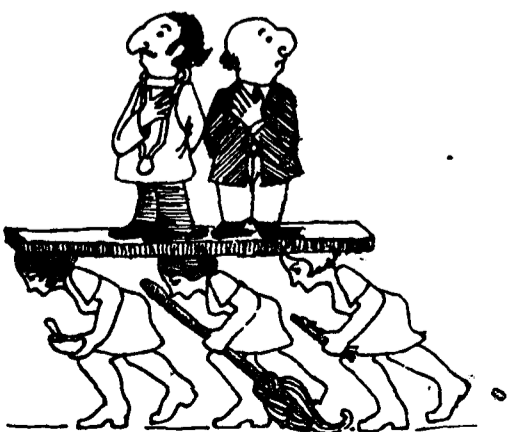
feminist issues, such as the right to abortion or rights of Lesbians, in order not to stir up these fears. They also defend the ERA by showing that it hasn't really meant that many changes in the ratified states—a strange sort of defense.

The ERA alone won't mean that many changes. It certainly won't mean integrated bathrooms and the other horrors the anti-ERA propaganda alleges. It can provide a basis for struggles for equal pay, education, legal and credit status. But each of these struggles will have to be waged and won independently. Discrimination against women won't end the day the ERA is ratified by 38 states.

The response of the feminist movement, although late in coming, is beginning to create an organized presence. The Coalition for Abortion Rights, which includes NOW and some other groups, has been visible lately confronting the anti-abortion forces. It is also working in the smaller struggles, for example, fighting to make state hospitals in New York and Pennsylvania provide abortions. ERAmerica, begun last spring, hasn't made the splash it was expected to but pro-ERA groups all over the U.S. are working to send money and help the unratified states. The target states for this year are Illinois, Indiana, South Carolina, Missouri, Florida and Arizona. In each state, they are quietly trying to defeat anti-ERA candidates for state legislature, and to elect those who favor it.

A Constitutional amendment prohibiting abortion is unlikely, but more attempts to erode the Supreme Court decision, like the Hyde Amendment, can be expected. Some women's rights activists hope Ford's defeat will mark the bishops' last attempt to make abortion a key political issue; election analysts say many heavily Catholic areas voted for Carter in defiance of the Catholic leaders.

The ERA's future is more uncertain. The passage of the state ERA in Massachusetts and defeat of the move to rescind the federal ERA in Colorado are good signs. But it will take active struggle to pass it in four more states by 1978. In both cases, a show of mass support on the feminist side will make the difference. Now, more than ever, feminists need to be organizing for these two goals, reaching out to the often-fearful working women.





COUP TIES UP THAILAND

by Chris Ghibiline and Richard Guelph,
Newspaper Collective

"Before dawn they began firing through the gates into the crowd. Several students held up white flags, but the police kept shooting..."

"I don't know how much earlier the students had been lynched, probably only a few minutes, but enraged rightists felt robbed by death and continued to batter the bodies."

These are eyewitness descriptions of the beginning of the seizure of power by right wing military leaders in Thailand on Oct. 6. Within hours, 100 students had been killed and hundreds injured, over 5,000 of the leading student, labor and political figures in the country had been imprisoned, parliament abolished, martial law declared and all media outlets closed. The mark of U.S. foreign policy and the CIA were unmistakable in this latest chapter of the continuing de-democratization of developing countries being financed by American tax dollars in the interests of the U.S. government's political and business needs. Just as the U.S. government's policies have been proved to have led to the overthrow of the Allende government in Chile, overt and covert actions by the State Department also set the stage for the tragedy in Thailand.

In Oct., 1973, a mass popular revolt of over 300,000 people toppled the repressive military regime of Thanom Kittikachorn, ending over 40 years of military dictatorship in Thailand. Since that time, however, U.S. policy has been directed at destabilizing the country. During the last year of the Thanom regime, U.S. economic aid was \$39 million while military aid totalled \$68 million. In the three years following the institution of democratic government, the U.S. decreased the economic aid to \$17 million and increased military aid to \$83 million.

The decrease in economic aid, coming at the same time as the scaling down of U.S. operations in the area (Thailand was used as a base of operations for over 48,000 U.S. troops during the Viet Nam War), and coming in the midst of a world-wide recession, caused serious economic problems for Thailand. Inflation worsened while unemployment was drastically increased, flooding the already over-crowded cities with poor from the countryside. The result was massive suffering and social unrest. Student and peasant demonstrations, unprecedented labor strikes and popular discontent faced the civilian government with almost insurmountable problems.

At the same time, the increase in U.S. military aid and training was channeled to the same right wing generals who had led the armed forces under the Thanom regime. Bolstered with these weapons and advanced training, these anti-democratic forces were consciously being strengthened and the civilian government weakened by State Department and CIA planners.

In addition to this overt subversion of the government, the CIA was actively involved in fomenting the social conflict which opened the door for the military takeover. Since progressive politicians and political groups began to make rapid gains in popular support in early 1974, the CIA has supplied the leadership, training, and funds to extreme rightist groups closely connected with Thai military intelligence.

These groups were used to intimidate and attack student and progressive leaders and demonstrations, to provide anti-student propaganda, and generally to erode the popular support for the growing and powerful progressive movements. Military radio and TV were also used in a massive anti-student campaign which alienated much of the support for the students among the poorer and middle classes, and which resulted in the extreme, right-left polarization of the Thai people.

The two major rightist organizations, Nawapol and The Red Gaurs, were responsible for over 40 assassinations of leading student, peasant and labor leaders between January and March of 1975, including Dr. Boonsanong Poonyudayana, leader of the Socialist Party. Both of these groups are known to not only be led by CIA trained Thai intelligence officials, but also to be financed by the CIA, as was documented by the Wall St. Journal owned magazine, The Far Eastern Economic Review, "...There is little doubt that some of these right wing groups (Nawapol and The Red Gaurs) have foreign backing, mainly from the U.S. and Taiwan."

Just as in Chile, these CIA backed groups played a crucial role in destabilizing the political situation in order to justify a military takeover. At the same time, they succeeded in alienating the progressive forces from their popular bases of support, thus eroding the potential resistance to the new repressive regime which has taken power under the pretense of restoring order to the chaos brought about by "left wing agitation".

After seizing power, Sagnad Chaloryu, figure-head for the junta, announced a pro-American shift in the government's policies. After announcing that the generals' major concern was the "external Communist threat" to Thailand, a civilian spokesman for the junta (Thanai Khoman, an ex-Thai Ambassador to the U.S.) stated that "Although I used to advocate withdrawal of the American presence from here, the situation has now changed so much that I think the government should maintain American bases here as a bargaining point with the Communists."

This is a clear reversal of the previous civilian government's policy. American troops and planes were ordered to withdraw from all Thai bases by the civilian leaders in response to student and labor demands that the U.S. presence be terminated. In addition, over the past 18 months, the elected civilian government had embarked on a policy of normalization of relations with neighboring Laos, Cambodia and Viet Nam in order to stabilize and de-militarize the Southeast Asian peninsula after decades of U.S. inspired armed conflict. The fervent anti-Communist nature of the U.S.-backed junta

promises to reverse this trend and again bring confrontation to the beleaguered people of S.E. Asia.

What the U.S. stands to gain at the expense of Thai freedom and S.E. Asian peace is two-fold. First, by keeping a foothold on the S.E. Asian peninsula, the U.S. can support reactionary forces fighting against the people's governments in Laos and Cambodia. In the past, the Thai military have consistently supported (with U.S. arms and money) rightist pockets of resistance to these governments, but now, the amount and nature of this support is expected to escalate considerably, endangering the peaceful development of these new nations. Secondly, by installing a repressive regime in Thailand, the U.S. hopes to build a "buffer zone" between the socialist countries of Indochina and the important U.S. corporate investments in Singapore, Indonesia and the Phillipines. The oil operations of Caltex and Esso are especially lucrative and important to U.S. businessmen, but these people clearly have higher hopes for further exploitation of the cheap labor and natural resources of these countries where labor and social unrest is tightly controlled by other U.S.-backed totalitarian regimes.

Once again, as in South Korea, Chile, Indonesia and the Phillipines, the interests of American corporate giants and their owners has cost the freedoms, democracy and futures of an entire nation of people in the "developing" world. Using the tax dollars of American people, the U.S. government engineered the coup in Thailand to benefit a relatively few wealthy Americans. With the instability and conflict in S.E. Asia which will inevitably be caused by the U.S. financed actions of the Thai junta, the price for Americans and for Asians will undoubtedly become higher, in dollars, lives and human suffering.

Growth of Resistance.

Already since the coup there has been a drastic upsurge in communist guerrilla activity throughout the country and particularly in the North Eastern jungles. Many student militants have joined the insurgents in the jungles and are expected to add a new level of expertise and leadership abilities to the movement. Some anticipate the students even returning to the cities, with which they are most familiar, to open up an urban front in the guerrilla struggle. Several leaders of the once-powerful National Student Union have already broadcast a plea over the clandestine Communist Party radio network for other students to join them.

As resistance grows, once "respectable" elements are joining the struggle. Middle class families, blaming the junta for imprisoning or driving underground their sons and daughters, are becoming vocal in their opposition to the generals. Most recently, the Socialist Party, previously a legal parliamentary social-democratic party, broadcast an appeal to their militants and the people of the nation over the Communist Party radio network. Their call was to take up arms and join in the armed resistance spreading across the country.

SOCIALISM

and Italy

by Jeff McCourt,
Pittsburgh NAM

Over the last year, many Americans have been concerned with the Italian political scene. Will the Communists ever become part of Italy's government? Will Italy become a socialist country? Establishment politicians like Ford and Carter, of course, respond to these questions with their own concerns about the effect an Italian government with Communist participation would have on NATO and the world capitalist system. Americans opposed to the capitalist order imagine what socialism in an advanced country like Italy could mean for the international working-class movement.

In October, The New American Movement sponsored the visit of three Italian leftists to a number of American cities. People in Pittsburgh and elsewhere had a rare opportunity to hear comments from the perspective of a small but influential part of the Italian left--the Party of Proletarian Unity [PdUP]. Vittorio Foa, a prominent union leader and political figure, and Gian Giacomo Migone, a specialist in American labor history, are leaders of this party, while Andrea Ginzburg is an independent Marxist economist.

The PdUP itself was born out of the mass struggles of the late sixties. Workers revolted against the capitalist organization of work, and the frustrations of urban life, while students fought against the repression of antiquated universities and middle-class family values. Women struggled for the rights of divorce [which they won] and for abortion on demand. Mass movements against imperialism's activities in Vietnam, Chile, and Palestine developed. Catholics struggled against the church hierarchy. All of these were reflected in the PdUP, which considers itself a "New Left" party to the left of the traditional Italian Communist Party.

This article will attempt to summarize the viewpoint of these visitors, as they expressed them in public forums with American audiences. Since they were unable to review this article, it should be viewed as my own understanding of their opinions.

The crisis of world capitalism has divided Western Europe into two blocs. France, Great Britain, and Italy have been severely hit, while Germany, the Netherlands, and Scandinavia have been less affected. And the whole Mediterranean area has been the scene of great political change--Spain, Portugal, Greece, the Mid-East. These combined situations have created new possibilities for the European left--and conflicting ideas on how to develop these possibilities.

One possibility is represented by "Euro-Communism," the common policy of the Communist Parties of Spain, Italy, and France, which seek to participate in the governments of these countries. (In a joint declaration issued late in 1975, the French and Italian Parties stated that they are committed to a defense of traditional democratic freedoms, and to the idea of a "constitutional" transition to socialism. This transition would involve mass popular struggles, alliances with other forces, and a heavy emphasis on using Parliament to carry out socialist reforms.--author's note). The policy includes independence from the dictates of the Soviet Union, with a defense of every party's right to find its own path to socialism based on its own country's particular circumstances.

In Italy, this policy has involved the Communist Party in the pursuit of an alliance with the Christian Democrats--the mass pro-capitalist party which has dominated Italian politics since World War II. (A description of this, also from a PdUP viewpoint, is in the September issue of the NAM Newspaper). They have done this despite the widespread contempt in which the Christian Democrats are held because of their incompetence and corruption. In its desire to avoid antagonizing the Christian Democrats and the conservative social forces they represent, the Communist Party has supported the deflationary economic policies of the government, which mean high unemployment for the workers. The Communist Party thus risks alienating its own base of support, the working class.

The Communists also defend Italy's participation in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, the U.S.-dominated military alliance in Europe, on the grounds that such involvement is essential to the detente between the Soviet Union and the United States. They reason that Italy's leaving NATO would result in a more aggressive U.S. policy and a return to the Cold War. Communist Party chief Belinguer has even argued that NATO is a necessary basis for a Euro-Communism free from Soviet pressure.

The Party of Proletarian Unity (PdUP) thinks that these policies mean that the Communists consider a socialist Italy impossible to attain, wishing only to create a "modernized" and more "democratic" Italian capitalism.

The problem of U.S. imperialism is of course, a crucial one for Italian socialists. Recent revelations in both the U.S. and Italian press of the Lockheed Aircraft Company's long-term bribery and blackmail of Italian politicians, and of U.S. ambassador Graham Martin's \$800,000 bribe of a top Italian security chief (now a neo-fascist leader) have made clear the extent of American interference in Italian affairs. This interference is even public, as when Kissinger backed the Christian Democrats' refusal to enter a coalition government with the Communist Party.

The U.S.'s control over the international money system gives it the power to deny Italy essential loans, and possibly the power to "destabilize" Italian political life in its favor, as it did in Chile. What's more, the coming to power of moderate and conservative regimes in Greece, Portugal, and Spain, along with the recent defeats suffered by the Palestine liberation movement, has strengthened U.S. power in the Mediterranean.

However, the PdUP thinks this increase in strength is a temporary one. Popular support for the U.S. in Italy and Western Europe is at an all-time low. It is unlikely that the U.S. can now afford--as it could after World War II--to revive faltering European capitalisms. And the victory of Vietnam, against overwhelming odds, showed that no nation is necessarily doomed to perpetual capitalist domination. While the U.S. role in the overthrow of the socialist government of Chile, headed by Salvador Allende, has made the Italian Communist Party argue for greater caution, it has also made many Italians aware of the incompatibility of socialist democracy with U.S. imperial domination of Italian affairs.

What, then, is PdUP's approach to this overall situation? First, it considers a struggle against the "balance of power" which allows the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. to have their own spheres of influence to be essential. Secondly, it considers that any real "democratization" of Italian society means overthrowing capitalism. While PdUP agrees with the Communist Party on the need to defend traditional democratic rights--freedom of speech, freedom of assembly, etc.--it claims that the best way to do this is to extend democracy into the factories and into communities. Working class control over the production process and over such community concerns as housing and health care allows the most consistent defense of democracy. Accordingly, the PdUP, although it now participates in elections, criticizes the Communist Party for too much emphasis on the role of Parliament. Real change will be made by people taking power over all aspects of their daily lives, as they understand more and more about how these aspects are interconnected. Because of the established strength of the Communist Party, the PdUP sees its role, in part, as one of stimulating mass movements which will pressure the Communists to move leftwards.

To conclude, the PdUP sees the defense of democracy and the struggle for socialism as tied closely together. In particular, Migone interpreted the Watergate scandal as representing a crisis in the relationship of Americans to their own institutions. Another indication of this, he said, was a recent issue of the American magazine *Commentary*, which stated that some sacrifice of democracy might be needed to save the American Republic. This suggests an increasing inability of the capitalist class to defend even their own limited version of democracy. Of course, this anti-democratic trend is the domestic counter-part to the imperialist activities of the U.S. in countries like Italy. Whatever the merits of PdUP's overall analysis, it is certainly clear that the results of the Italian struggle for socialism and democracy promise to have a powerful impact on the United States.

Showdown at Seabrook

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the nuclear industry, such as worker safety. Clam is also gearing up for the Mayday occupation. Only people trained in nonviolence and organized into support groups of 10 to 20 people will be permitted to occupy the site. Clam is not interested in getting just a mass of people there but an organized group. At least 600 and possibly as many as 1800 people will be ready for the occupation.

The showdown at Seabrook is important because the nuclear industry wants a victory in New England. The region has no coal and oil deposits, it's relatively low in hydroelectric power, and it endures long, cold winters. Nuclear power, which is steadily becoming less economical with the rising cost of uranium, plant construction and pollution control, seems most feasible in the region with the highest utility rates. There is the possibility that the Seabrook plant may not be built because the EPA has judged the cooling system inadequate. But the particular site is not important. Another site will be chosen and the struggle will continue because New England is the prime region for nuclear power.

Jobs And The Environment

In order to be successful, Clam must gain the support of labor. This will be difficult since union leaders have accepted the nuclear industry's position that jobs are more important than environmental concerns. This "contradiction" between jobs and the environment is more apparent than real. First of all, the Seabrook plant is being constructed with steel made in Japan; this demonstrates that the industry is more concerned with cutting costs and insuring profits than creating more jobs for U.S. workers. More importantly, the nuclear power industry is highly mechanized with high capital requirements and very low labor needs.

Construction and maintenance of the Seabrook plant is specialized work, creating few jobs for N.H. residents. Once the plant is built, it will take only 150 people to run it, most of whom would come from outside the state. And the jobs created by the nuclear industry are extremely dangerous. (See Box)

These arguments have not swayed labor from its position of supporting nuclear power. This situation has left the anti-nuke movement the options of risking confrontation with unions in a major "stop-it" campaign (as Clam tends to do), or of organizing the rank and file in the unions to overthrow their corrupt leadership and to take a position against nuclear power.

The second option means that a number of plants would be built without protest, in order not to antagonize labor. Environmental groups prefer the first option because they believe that nuclear power is a key technology underpinning the high technology society. Irreversible decisions about nuclear power are soon to be made. There is no time to "go through the unions" and build up rank and file support, they argue. Socialists, on the other hand, have either practiced the second option, or have not taken a position on nuclear power.

It has been suggested that an alliance between present labor leadership, environmentalists organizations and community groups might be organized around such issues as nuclear power. A United Autoworkers Union sponsored conference, "Working for Environmental and Economic Justice and Jobs," held in May, 1976, called on these groups to resolve their differences and build a movement for jobs and a cleaner environment. This alliance would mean that unions would struggle around environmental issues in and outside the workplace, environmentalist groups would seriously take into consideration the preservation of workers' jobs, and both groups would work more closely with community groups struggling to preserve their neighborhoods from urban decay. But serious obstacles were present at the conference. No rank and file union caucuses were invited to the conference, and the affair was dominated by bureaucrats from the unions and the large environmentalist

election

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level of working class response to the attacks of the Nixon-Ford administration gives business the upper hand. A deep conservatism runs through the American working class fed by traditional feelings for individualism and newer fears of losing ground in the fight for a decent life.

Nonetheless there are hopeful signs of resurgent opposition. Carter's victory and his campaign promises will definitely raise expectations and can change the terrain of the class struggle to a more favorable one for the working class in spite of Carter's commitment to the preservation of business dominance.

For example, while Ford vetoed all legislation for jobs development, Carter will push a jobs program. Whether this program will guar-

The anti-nuke movement must try to forge unity with rank and file union caucuses and community groups, women and Third World people....

groups. Also, the interests of community groups, women, and Third World people were not taken seriously.

The struggle against nuclear power is an occasion for people in one region to join with people in other regions. It could develop into a struggle for a new way of life, an new social, political and economic order. As Guy Chichester, spokesperson for Clam, stated in an interview with the newspaper, *Critical Mass*: "The implications of these things are such that I think the responsibility really lies with the people to stand up and say, 'our tragedies have to end, NO MORE!'"

antee work for all who want it or just offer incentives for industrial expansion is the issue now.

Or in health care: Carter supports a tax-financed national health insurance plan. Ford opposed national health insurance. The issue now is whether the plan will be run through private insurance companies or be publicly run and financed.

In the cities: Ford vetoed appropriations for aid to education and offered help to New York City only reluctantly. Even then he insisted that the aid be tied to direct corporate control of the city. Carter has indicated he favors significantly more aid to the cities and to education. The issue now is what form the aid will take.

These and other issues will not be resolved in the realm of ideas. Carter will make a priority of revitalizing American business. But whether he does this in an atmosphere of social stability or of class struggle will make all the difference. That alone is a call to action.

Nuclear Power Hazards

"Blow your mind! Sniff Uranium 235!"

The nuclear industry is extremely dangerous because of the presence, in concentrated form, of very large quantities of radioactive material, both in the reactors and in the fuel processing plants. From the uranium mine to the storage of waste, the fuel cycle consists of a series of complex operations which have to be carried out with the greatest possible precautions.

1) **Risks for workers who are in contact with radioactive substances.** In the uranium mines, the main danger is inhaling radon, a radioactive gas which causes lung cancer. The incidence of lung cancer in uranium mine workers is extremely high. In factories where the uranium ore is processed, the main danger is from uranium dust. AEC studies conducted in 1974 and 1975 show that since 1947 nearly two million AEC personnel have been exposed to whole body penetrations of radiation and the incidence of radiation exposure for U.S. atomic workers is increasing. "In 1969, an average of 141 persons had some exposure at each (nuclear power) plant. By 1973, this average had increased to 578 persons." Maintenance workers at the plants face the most danger -- 80% of the average exposure in 1973. At the Nuclear Fuel Services reprocessing plant in Buffalo, N.Y., (shut down in Jan., 1972) average body exposures had almost tripled from 1968 to 1971. The company hired 1,400 unskilled, mostly young, temporary workers for maintenance functions. Many worked for a few minutes, received a 3 month

allowable radiation dose, were given a half day's pay, and were then dismissed. These workers were used only for their ability to absorb radiation. (This practice also reduced the number of full time jobs available at the plant.) Radiation exposure has been known to cause bone and lung cancer and genetic mutations.

2) **Accidents at nuclear plants and their effects on the environment.** The AEC reported that reactors in the U.S. experienced 850 "safety related abnormal occurrences" during a 17 month period beginning in Jan., 1972. According to a conservative estimate made by the AEC, a major accident at a plant the size of Seabrook could kill 45,000 people, injure 100,000, cause \$17 billion in property damage, and seriously contaminate a land area the size of Pennsylvania. Quick evacuation of contaminated areas would be necessary, and land-use restrictions might persist for 500 years. Earthquakes pose a problem for nuclear plants as well. (Seabrook is located near the Boston-Ottawa fault.) A strong quake could shatter the containment facility before the reactor is completely shutdown causing massive radiation leaks.

3) **Effects to environment from normal operation.** The proposed cooling system for the Seabrook plant would utilize 750,000 gallons of ocean water per minute or a billion gallons a day. This water would be returned to the sea as much as 40 degrees hotter than normal which could

threaten the fishing industries of Maine, Massachusetts and New Hampshire. The EPA recently rejected this plan. As a result, the Seabrook plant may not be built. Waste disposal is one of the biggest problems facing the nuclear industry. For 30 years the government has been searching unsuccessfully for a safe and permanent way to dispose of radioactive spent fuel. These wastes must be kept away from water supplies for 25,000 years or more. Meanwhile, most of the 85 million gallons of waste is being stored temporarily in deteriorating and leaking tanks in the state of Washington. Already 422,000 gallons have leaked about 5 miles from the Columbia River.

4) **Costs.** Nuclear power is said to be cheaper than other forms of energy. However, even though billions of dollars in government research and development has been spent, nuclear plants still cost more to build and operate than coal-burning plants of the same capacity. This is due to the rising uranium fuel costs (from \$4.50/lb. in the late 60's to \$37.00/lb. in 1976, and estimated \$50.00/lb. by 1980!), the never-ending safety problems and design defects, and the increasing cost to police the sites and store wastes. If the government had invested as much money into solar, wind and other safe, renewable energy sources, these alternatives would probably be much more feasible than nuclear power is today.

HEALTH NOTES

by Rick Kunnes, Detroit NAM

A recent congressional subcommittee on Labor and Health reported that the stress placed on Americans in 1970 due to a 1.4 per cent increase in joblessness caused 27,000 fatal illnesses. In 1970 the unemployment rate reached 4.9 per cent. The study did not estimate the number of deaths due to the more recent unemployment rates of 9 per cent.

Aside from fatal illness, the subcommittee noted that the incidence of suicide in men about to be permanently laid off is 30 times higher than those with some form of job security.

A recent Ford Foundation study has found that poor and racial minority groups are the people most likely to suffer diseases caused by air pollution -- while the rich and well-off are most likely to produce it. A disproportionately large percentage of neighborhoods with an average household income of less than \$7,000 are exposed every weekday to carbon monoxide levels which exceed permissible government standards.



According to *Pediatrics*, a prestigious medical journal, the leading cause of death in children above one year old is not infectious diseases, but accidents due to dangerously designed toys and cars.

Last year 60 million Americans literally addicted to nicotine smoked 603 billion cigarettes. Tobacco corporations spent \$320 million on advertising. The U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare spent less than \$1 million on urging people to quit smoking. The U.S. Department of Agriculture spent \$60 million to subsidize and promote tobacco products. Of that sum, \$30 million goes to promote the export of cigarettes under the Food for Peace program.

Radioactive waste material from nuclear equipment is seeping into the environment all over the country, even from deep burial sites. In the rush to maximize corporate profits, safe burial methods have simply not been devised. Since 1958, at least two million gallons of radioactive waste were "lost", many of which will remain dangerously radioactive for 500,000 years. Many scientists believe that people are dying by the hundreds of thousands. For example, 10,000 people die a year due to radioactive plutonium induced lung cancer.

The state of California receives 50 contaminated food complaints a day, but has refused to crack down on food processors, because of political pressure from food processing corporations. Instead the state will follow the federal Food and Drug Administration guidelines which allow a certain level of insect and rodent contamination.

International News Highlights

Milton Friedman, the leader of the conservative "Chicago school" of economics, was recently awarded the Nobel Prize in economics for his contributions to monetary theory. The decision to award Friedman the award reportedly followed "an extraordinary and heated debate" within the Nobel committee over the economist's reactionary political activities and associations.

Friedman is the principal economic advisor to Chile's military junta; the other chief economists who serve the military dictatorship either studied under Friedman at the University of Chicago or regard themselves as his disciples. Consequently, Chile has become a laboratory for implementation of the "Chicago" economic theories. This has resulted in unemployment, bankruptcies, and stagnation in agriculture and industry. According to *Business Week*, Friedman's economic prescriptions have meant that "An already severe anti-inflationary policy was transformed into one of Draconian harshness."

QUEBEC MOVES LEFT

On Nov. 15, the Parti Quebecois, which wants independence for Quebec and its French-speaking majority from Canada, swept aside the Liberal Party government of Premier Robert Bourassa in a major election upset.

The separatist party had only six seats in the last Provincial government, but in the aftermath of the election landslide, it took 70 of the 110 seats. The Liberals took 27 seats and eleven Liberal cabinet ministers were defeated, including Bourassa.

Parti Quebecois leader Rene Levesque promised a referendum within two years to determine if Quebec should remain a part of Canada. However, on Nov. 16, Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau pledged in the House of Commons not to negotiate any form of separatism.

"This government is dedicated to an inseparable Canada, a Canada which is indivisible, and we have only one mandate. It is to govern the whole country," he stated.

Considerable investment capital has already fled the Province through fear of separatism, and more is likely to follow. Should investment dry up in the Province, the unemployment rate, already at 10%, could soar higher.

Quebeckers uncommitted to separatism nevertheless voted for Parti Quebecois because of the party's leftist social programs which promised to deal with the unemployment rate, the highest tax rate in Canada, and the Province's billion dollar deficit due to sponsoring the Olympics.

Conservative political commentators already are warning that Quebec could become a Cuba of the North, suggesting that if the Levesque government runs into economic trouble, the Soviet Union probably would offer to bail it out, as part of an alleged Soviet campaign to isolate the United States. They also fear that Marxist viewpoints in the party may come to predominate.

The Parti Quebecois itself is totally French-oriented, leftist and non-bureaucratic in character -- unlike any previous Quebec government. In a nation where French speakers are treated as second-class citizens, the new Provincial government should do more politically, economically, and socially for French Canadians than any previous government.

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Screenwriter Walter Bernstein and director Martin Ritt
by Roger Gottlieb, Newspaper Collective

Frisking the Stars

The Front, the Right, and the Left



"But, you've made a terrible mistake. I'm Harry Stone the actor. There's another Harry Stone. The director. He's the one."

"I'm sorry Mr. Stone, I can only help people who are willing to make a clean breast of what they've done."

"But, I haven't done anything!"

"That's precisely why I can't help you."

So runs the funny and tragic dialogue -- between a distraught and blacklisted actor and the director of the "Freedom Information Service" -- in *The Front*, a new movie about communist witch-hunts in the entertainment industry.

It is the early fifties. The U.S. has won WW II, "lost" China, sent 15,000 men to die in Korea and is quietly dominating most of the globe through economic power, foreign aid and support to fascist dictatorships. At home the leaders of the Communist Party are jailed, the American people are asked to forget that the U.S. and the Soviet Union fought on the same side in the war and post-war economic prosperity is combined with the attempt to stifle any and all dissent.

The message of the times -- as shown in a series of brief film clips which open *The Front* -- is a mixture of patriotism, spectacle and fear: Joe McCarthy and Ike, Marilyn Monroe and Joe DiMaggio, bomb shelters, crippled Korean war vets and the Rosenbergs.

And in the entertainment world -- as in teaching, labor unions and government -- it is the time of the blacklist: an unofficial and unacknowledged list of communists, communist sympathizers and "uncooperatives". If you're on the list, you don't work, your old friends don't know you, your old life is ruined and you might go to jail.

Favorite Schnook

In steps Woody Allen, America's favorite schnook. He plays Howard Prince, night cashier in a bar and amateur bookie who always gives the wrong odds. Alfred, an old school friend of Howard's, has been blacklisted and asks Howard to be his "front". Alfred will write TV scripts, Howard will sell them as his own and get 10% "off the top".

Howard is a hit. He double-talks his way through his fake identity and soon two more blacklisted writers join the operation. Howard moves to a fancy apartment, pays his bookie debts, buys tailor-made suits and has an affair with the assistant producer, Florence, who loves him as an "emerging talent".

But it can't last. Howard himself is apolitical, a man on the make. He's a nice guy, eager to help his blacklisted friends -- especially if it

means fame, fortune and sex for himself. But he can't escape his times: the "famous Howard Prince" is called to testify in front of the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC).

The Message

This is the dominant message of the film and, though it could be better, it's not a bad one. As Alfred says to Howard: "You always look for a middle ground you can dance around in. Well I'm telling you. This time there is no middle ground."

But of course, Howard can't believe him. He'll hustle the Committee, outsmart them; tell them what they want to hear, keep his success and keep his friends working. What's the harm in that? Because, as the film makes very clear, it's not really new names and information HUAC is after. It's compliance, obedience, showing the world that everybody plays ball.

"All you want is success," says Florence, who has just quit her job over the firing of blacklisted actor Hecky Brown (Zero Mostel). "So what should I want," replies Howard, in one of those bits that makes *The Front* a very funny movie about a sad and serious subject, "a disease?"

But in the last scenes Howard realizes that he can't simply have his success and any self-respect too. There is no "middle ground". It's play ball -- or be fired, go to jail, be ruined.

And many people are ruined. Hecky tries desperately to save his thirty-year acting career after he's fired from Howard's TV show. "I'll do anything," he pleads to the ex-FBI man who "clears" entertainers for the network. And he means it. Eyes bulging, fat body leaning forward, supplicating, begging, trying to make jokes as his voice cracks with fear.

But it's not good enough. He marched in a May Day parade once and signed petitions advocating aid to Russia during the war. He is guilty. "But," he says, "we were on the same side."

His letter of apology is not enough. He too must name names. And, as his career is ruined and his friends leave him ("My agent for thirty years won't answer my phone calls," he wails.) he is told that the only way he can redeem himself is to spy on Howard. He does so. But, in a moving scene of casual farewell to himself and his world, out of guilt or fear or failure, we are not quite sure which, he kills himself.

As A Movie

Afast pace, funny lines, and superb acting make *The Front* a real pleasure to watch. It was made by people who know what they're talking

about; the producer-director, writer and several of the actors were themselves blacklisted. And in a very limited way it gives us a taste of the times: frightened people passing the buck (But what can I do?); sponsors demanding that networks get rid of "pink" actors; the demand for a public acknowledgement of the legitimacy of government power. *The Front* is part of a series of books and movies--such as the documentary *Hollywood On Trial*, Lillian Hellman's autobiographical *Scoundrel Time*, and the books on the Rosenbergs--which reflects a growing post-Watergate sensitivity to how the U.S. government has manipulated and frightened the citizenry.

But it's a little too particular. Though the Communist writers are nice guys and the super-patriots are obvious villains, we're told nothing about why this is going on except that "They're trying to sell the Cold War." It wouldn't have been too hard to put this particular story in historical perspective, to show briefly how the same thing was happening throughout U.S. society, to give some idea of why the U.S. power structure needed to do this.

The whole situation is portrayed in familiar Hollywood terms: there are the nice guys who lose (Hecky Brown), the noble figures from the beginning (Florence), the bad guys (HUAC) and the late-blooming hero who strikes a blow for freedom (Howard). It's sad about Hecky, but everything will work out o.k. in the end--even if Howard has to go to jail for refusing to testify. Florence still loves him and he's a hero.

Also, though Mostel's marvelous performance makes us feel for Brown's fate, it's a little hard to identify with someone who now only gets \$250 for a night's work instead of \$3000.

Finally, what *The Front* should have made very clear, but didn't, is that communist witch hunts in the entertainment world meant more than that particular people had their careers ruined or went to jail for refusing to testify. It was, rather, an essential part of the ruling class's attempt to control the thinking of all of us in America. Making a movie which was sympathetic to working people was grounds for being blacklisted. Criticism of the American way of life was forbidden. Anything remotely sympathetic to Russia was part of a "communist plot." It wasn't just that entertainers had marched in parades or signed petitions, but that they might tell some hard truths about America in their work itself.

The victims of the anti-communist crusade are therefore not just our entertainers, but all of us. For we were taught, in part by a frightened and obedient entertainment industry, to accept our unfree and inhuman social system.

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