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Impeachment Actions Spread

A nationwide movement to Impeach Nixon is quickly developing. During November, a massive popular campaign for impeachment was begun through local demonstrations, petitioning, and community meetings. Below are some impeachment activities that NAM chapters have sponsored in coalition with other local and national organizations.

THE PITTSBURGH CHAPTER of New American Movement formed the Committee on Un-Electing the President (C.O.U.P.) in August and began collecting signatures on an impeachment petition. It became much easier to gather signatures after the firing of Cox. They've had good media coverage since then, including five radio appearances. They've also been selling bumper stickers (over 1,000), T-shirts, and buttons.

The chapter has received at least 50 letters from people in small communities as well as at large public events—concerts, football games, ethnic fairs, etc. Impeachment tables have been set up regularly at lunch time in a downtown square. They've also started to speak to people at community meetings about impeachment.

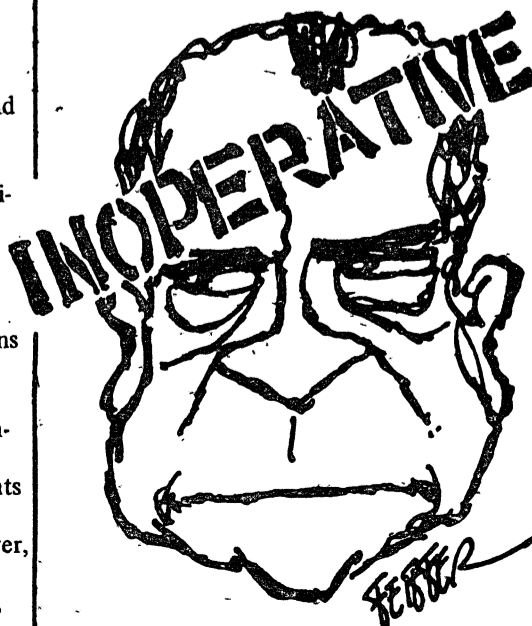
Two Congressmen have refused to come out publicly for impeachment despite a petition with 10,000 signatures that was presented to them by the chapter. Pittsburgh NAM is participating in an impeachment coalition at a very low level. A public meeting with Congressmen and other organizations may be held around December 1.

MIDDLESEX NAM (Somerville-Cambridge, Mass.) began their impeachment campaign a week before the firing of Cox. It was their first public activity and helped move the chapter beyond internal discussion and research.

The chapter's impeachment literature presents a clear socialist perspective on Nixon, elections, and the issue of impeachment. At one shopping center in a working class neighborhood, over 500 people signed the petition in just three hours. Since the firing of Cox, chapter members have worked in an ad hoc coalition for impeachment that organized a demonstration of 500 people in less than 24 hours.

In late October, both Middlesex and Harvard-Radcliffe NAM helped plan a second demonstration that drew about 1,500 people. Marches to and from the

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energy crisis

Nixon's Ploy For Power

by Dan Marschall
Berkeley NAM

RICHARD NIXON HAS revealed his secret plan for ending the energy crisis: "We are heading towards the most acute shortages of energy since World War II. The fuel crisis need not mean genuine suffering for any American. But it will require some sacrifice by all Americans."

Only the major oil corporations will not have to sacrifice, since Nixon's message gives them exactly what they want.

The "energy crisis" is the direct result of a policy by the major oil companies to restrict the supplies of crude oil, gasoline, and fuel oil. By not building the necessary refineries in the late 1960's, these companies made the current shortages of gasoline and fuel oil inevitable. By causing an "energy crisis," they could justify a rise in wholesale prices, drive independent refineries and marketers out of business, and combat environmental restrictions. The major oil companies have made record-breaking profits throughout the crisis (see chart on Page 12.):

The "energy crisis" has been worsened by the Arab oil embargo, but it would have occurred apart from developments in the Middle East. The seriousness of the current crisis is an outcome of the government's policy of support for Israel. Nixon's proposals for easing the crisis represent an all-out attack on environmental regulations.

THE HAZARDS OF NUCLEAR POWER

Nixon has ordered a speed-up in the licensing and construction of nuclear power plants. Reducing the building time from ten to six years could effectively abolish public hearings on the location of the plants. This proposal ignores the many unanswered questions about the dangers of nuclear power.

A major problem with nuclear power is the disposal of radioactive atomic waste. At the end of the nuclear process, certain radioactive fission products are left. These wastes may take as long as 100,000 years to be neutralized. In the meantime, they have to be safely stored in the ground or in the ocean. If an accident occurred, either in the transportation of these materials or at the deposit point, huge amounts of radiation would be released into the atmosphere.

The nuclear reactors themselves present another problem. A large reactor running for one year contains as much radioactivity as is produced by about 1,000 twenty-kiloton atomic bombs. The explosion of one of these plants could destroy a major city. The more nuclear plants that are built the higher the probability that one of these disastrous accidents could occur.

An increase in the building of nuclear plants would be a bonanza for the major oil companies, for they dominate many aspects of the nuclear industry. Petroleum companies now own up to 80 percent of uranium reserves. The key stages of uranium refining and processing are controlled by two oil companies, Atlantic-Richfield and Kerr-McGee.

MORE STRIP-MINING

Nixon also ordered that industries and utilities be prohibited from switching from coal to oil. This proposal in effect calls for more strip-mining with less environmental restrictions.

Land that has been strip-mined can never be fully reclaimed and can never be farmed again. The surrounding rivers and streams become polluted. This means people living in the area are driven out by landslides, flooding, and the loss of drinking water. Despite this environmental destruction, strip-mining has greatly increased in recent years. It now accounts for about 50 percent of all coal mined. Since strip-mining requires less manpower, the coal companies make more profits.

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ON THE INSIDE

Tuailand

Lip Strike

Teamsters

Indochina Conference

the Office Not the Man

by Ted Lieverman
Somerville NAM

AS NIXON'S TENURE in office becomes tenuous, Congress and the corporate elite are busy insuring that no substantial decrease of Presidential power occurs. Thus the public is being set up for future Executive excesses at a time when the potential for serious reform is present.

Nixon himself is fast becoming obsolete, both as an issue and as President. Most indications point to him leaving office within six months. Even the issue of the White House tapes, which Nixon has so far used as an effective smoke-screen to hide other actions, has worked against him. While public opinion focuses on the tapes, and thus on the president's role in the coverup of the Watergate break-in, Nixon's proven complicity in far more serious crimes—the 1970 Domestic Intelligence Plan, the secret bombing of Cambodia, the crimes of the plumbers, the acceptance of the ITT campaign bribe—is ignored.

Nixon used the issue of the tapes to fire special prosecutor Cox, but his real fear—as Cox and former Attorney General Richardson now tacitly confirm—was the investigation of these other events.

Moreover, one cannot avoid the conclusion that the tapes Judge Sirica finally gets will have been doctored. This assumption is reinforced by the surprise discovery that two crucial tapes and a dictabelt of conversations with John Dean and John Mitchell do not exist. The tapes remaining "operative" may not prove Nixon's innocence, but he will make damn sure they don't document his guilt.

However, in agreeing to comply with the court ruling to hand over the tapes and other documents, he has set himself up for the next request for other tapes, other documents—if not from new special prosecutor Jaworsky, then from

Continued

Thai Military Government Falls

by the Asia News Service

AS THE DUST settles after the forced resignation of the Thai government in mid-October, a major question facing the Thai people is the future of U. S. involvement in their country. The stakes are high for both the U. S. and for the Thais, and the answer to this question will have important repercussions for the rest of Southeast Asia.

For the U. S., Thailand is the key to continued U. S. power on the Southeast Asian mainland. Thailand became a key base for the U. S. shortly after the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949 and the outbreak of the Korean War the following year. It has served as a forward base for the encirclement of

China and, in the early 1960's, it became a key staging ground for U. S. operations in Indochina.

This U. S. vision for Thailand was dramatized last year at the height of the fighting in Vietnam when the U. S. escalated the air war, using Thailand as its main military base.

Although Congress forced President Nixon to accept a bombing cut-off August 15, the Administration has indicated that it plans to retain its bases in Thailand for five or ten years, mainly as a threat of re-intervention in Indochina.

Washington may not get its way, however. The U. S. military presence has become increasingly unpopular in Thailand. The domestic effects of

40,000 U. S. troops at six airbases have become a national outrage, even for the most conservative Thais who have seen their people turned into prostitutes and servants for the American GI's. And the government's compliance with U. S. attacks on Indochina from Thai territory is now criticized even by members of the Thai elite. Former Foreign Minister, Thanat Khoman, for example, is now calling for a total withdrawal of U. S. troops and renewed relations with China and North Vietnam.

Earlier this year, the student movement began calling for withdrawal of U. S. troops and for an end to the U. S.-backed military dictatorship. These

sentiments were behind the student-led explosion which overthrew the military rulers. (See box.)

But the question of U. S. presence is still not settled and it may lead to even bloodier struggles in the future. The new Thai government so far has indicated that it will not change the country's policy toward the United States. But the students, who catapulted the new government into power in Bangkok said, in a statement to the *New York Times*, that they "intend to campaign to eliminate American bases from Thailand and to make the country economically and militarily independent of the U. S." (10/21)

Office...

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a court-appointed prosecutor of the House Judiciary Committee assembling a bill of impeachment. Everything can't be doctored; sooner or later Nixon will be caught either destroying evidence or be found in defiance of the courts.

Nixon's scorned supporters don't want to wait that long. Among those calling for his impeachment or immediate resignation are Time magazine, the New York Times, columnists Joe Alsop and James J. Kilpatrick, Meany and the AFL-CIO, the Ripon Society, and prominent Republicans like Walter Hickel (if the President "cannot or will not" come clean) and Senator Edward Brooke.

More important, there are signs, such as the Washington Post survey of Nov. 1, that business leaders are giving up on Nixon as a viable leader of the country. Corporate executives who recently attended a dinner for William Rogers described themselves as "very blue and emotional" with "very great genuine concern about Mr. Nixon's ability to govern." The first two weeks of November saw the Dow-Jones index drop 120 points. "If it drops two hundred points," predicts a former White House aide under Kennedy, "he's out."

These are a far cry from the Washington Post, ACLU and Democratic National Committee, who also demand Nixon's removal from office. Most of the former were staunch supporters of Nixon who stood resolutely with him when he bombed North Vietnam, persecuted student radicals, and rolled back civil rights and liberties. They tend to be tolerant of many of Nixon's political excesses; their primary concern is his capacity to govern. Their public announcements of no-confidence should be seen as the tip of an iceberg of opposition to Nixon among certain powerful individuals and institutions.

The latest polls show 44% of the public want Nixon impeached, while 48% answering a separate question agreed he should resign—a plurality in both cases. The November 12 Harris poll shows only 32% of the people

approve of Nixon's present conduct in office, a twenty year low, exceeded only by Nixon's own 29% of the month before. As if things weren't bad enough, Nixon's military alert during the Arab-Israeli War so provoked the Soviet Union that even Breshnev denounced him. Thus Nixon lost his most loyal supporter apart from Julie and the now-deceased Checkers.

Confidence in Nixon has been further eroded by the widespread suspicion that his mind is disintegrating. In Russell Baker's metaphor, the President has become a werewolf who "hairs over" in the full moon and breaks out of his Constitutional cage to stalk and ravage the countryside.

Elliot Richardson testified before the Senate Judiciary Committee that, yes, he had been concerned last summer that the President was suffering from severe mental strain. When Kissinger announced the recent military alert, he was asked if he thought it was a "totally rational action"; reporters have been routinely asking questions about Nixon's mental health at press conferences for over a month. When the President's mental health becomes a serious topic of debate in the nation, then whatever the reality, it's a safe bet his end is near.

THAT CORPORATE TYCOONS would dump the man to whom they so recently pledged their fealty may seem strange, but we must understand that their loyalty is more to the office of President than it is to any temporary occupant. It is significant that throughout the Watergate crisis, almost no one, liberal or conservative has suggested that the powers of the President and his Executive apparatus be dismantled and returned to pre-1930's levels.

To the contrary, while Watergate dominated the public mood, Congress repeatedly capitulated to Presidential dictates. Confronted with the energy crisis (whatever its origin), Congress could only respond by legislating exceedingly broad and ill-defined powers for the President to exercise at will—a domestic Gulf of Tonkin resolution. Congress could not even manage to construct its own legislative remedy; it took, as usual, Presidential initiative to spark any action.

Meanwhile, Congress was unable to override seven Presidential vetoes of

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THAI STUDENTS BRING DOWN MILITARY GOVERNMENT

Force Drafting of New Constitution

- 1960's and early 1970's -- Thai students quiet.
- Dec. 1972 -- Formation of National Student Center in Bangkok.
- June 1973 -- Expulsion of 9 university students for "satirical writings" about Thai government. Reinstatement of students after 20,000 students demonstrate.
- July 1973 -- Students demand resignation of Thanom government and the drafting of a new constitution within six months.
- October 1, 1973 -- Arrest on charges of treason of 13 prominent students, intellectuals, and politicians ("Constitution 13") for leafletting and calling for a new constitution by April 1974.
- October 9, 1973 -- Students threaten violence if "Constitution 13" are not released; they begin to mobilize their forces.
- October 10, 1973 -- Bangkok newspaper calls on government to draft new constitution.
- October 12, 1973 -- Despite Deputy Prime Minister Praphat's threat of military retaliation, nationwide boycott closes 70% of all schools; 250,000 students demonstrate in Bangkok; more than a million jobless and dissatisfied workers join the protest and attempt occupation of government offices.
- October 13-15, 1973 -- "Constitution 13" are freed; police open fire on students who have seized or burned several police stations and government buildings; 200 demonstrators are killed, many more wounded, according to Agence France Presse.
- October 15, 1973 -- Thanom government resigns; King issues call for peace and appoints former university rector, Sanya Thammasak, prime minister; Sanya promises new constitution within six months. Student fighting continues until, at King's request, Praphat resigns and flees the country with Thanom. Student leaders proclaim victory; leaders pledge cooperation with new government.
- October 18, 1973 -- Despite students' strong opposition to U. S. military and economic presence, new prime minister reportedly assures U. S. government of continued relations.

The New American Movement (NAM) exists to help organize a movement for democratic socialism in the United States. Our aim is to establish working-class control of the enormous productive capacity of American industry, to create a society that will provide material comfort and security for all people, and in which the full and free development of every individual will be the basic goal. Such a society will strive for decentralization of decision making, an end to bureaucratic rule, and participation of all people in shaping their own lives and the direction of society. We believe the elimination of sexist and racist institutions and the dismantling of American economic and social control abroad are central to the struggle for socialism.

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Workers' Control

by John Stewart
Paris, France

ON SEPTEMBER 29, 1973, in a muddy field three miles outside the provincial French town of Besancon, 100,000 demonstrators gathered in the pouring rain before marching to a mass rally in the center of town. The demonstration was remarkable not only for its size, but even more for the fact that the entire French left was officially represented in an unprecedented display of unity. What were the events that had provoked this extraordinary demonstration?

The march had been called by the workers of the Lip factory at Besancon, now in the sixth month of their struggle against the dismantling of the Lip enterprise and proposed large-scale lay-offs. The roots of the struggle go back to 1967 when the Swiss firm, Ebauches SA, a subsidiary of the ASSUAG group of watch makers, bought a major interest in the French firm of Lip. The strategic aim of Ebauches SA was to use the prestige and marketing resources of Lip to provide outlets in France and the Common Market for ASSUAG products.

The Lip factory consisted of three sections: machine tools, armaments, and watch-making. The strategy of Ebauches SA required that the machine tool and armaments sections be dismantled and the watch making section be converted into a simple assembly plant and commercial outlet for watches manufactured by the ASSUAG group. This strategy was behind the deliberate installation at Lip in 1967 of an inefficient administration which, it was hoped, would demonstrate the unviability of the enterprise and necessitate its dismantling.

The workers of Lip responded to the threat of lay-offs by organizing and setting up an Action Committee. Open to union and non-union members alike, this Committee was to play a key role in the future struggle.

In early May of this year, a General Assembly of the workers decided on a work slow-down and began an educational campaign in the factory. Later, this campaign was extended to the population of Besancon in a demonstration with 5,000 participants. The Lip administrators responded with a threat to stop paying wages.

Up to this point the situation did not seem to be very different from innumerable other industrial conflicts; but now the struggle exploded. In mid-June, following a meeting between the provisional administrators of Lip and representatives of the workers, the trade unions, and the left, the administrators were locked in their offices. During this action the workers discovered copies of the plans for the liquidation of Lip, including lay-offs and dismantling. Riot police intervened to free the administrators.

The same night a small committee of workers decided to confiscate a stock of 60,000 watches, worth \$2 million. The following day this decision was ratified by a General Assembly and the occupation of the factory was begun. Two days of demonstrations involving some 15,000 participants ended with police brutality and violent clashes. On June 18 the workers of Lip made the important decision to resume production at the factory under their own control, and to pay themselves by selling the confiscated stock of watches.

The period that followed is the central experience of Lip: a living demonstration that although the capitalist bosses need the workers to make profits, the workers don't need the bosses to run the factory. Commissions were set up to

cover all aspects of the struggle—production, sales, restaurant, and maintenance of the plant, as well as cultural activities and publicity. The latter included receiving numerous visitors at the factory, answering letters, publishing a weekly newsletter, and sending delegations and representatives to all parts of France and abroad.

It was during this phase that the Lip affair first attracted national and international attention and support. It was then, too, that the French government first intervened. The government proposed a plan based on "industrial realities," calling for regrouping the enterprise into three separate firms and requiring 400 to 600 lay-offs. A French industrialist was charged by the government to negotiate this reorganization with the workers.

The success of the workers in running the factory was extremely dangerous for the French government and the corporate interests it represents. So, in a pre-dawn quasi-military operation on August 14, over 1,000 police stepped into the picture and took possession of the factory. The 50 workers guarding the factory did not offer violent resistance. This action was timed to fall in the middle of the summer holidays when, it was supposed, the French public would ignore "politics." Nevertheless, the police coup provoked strong reactions. Not only was there an angry demonstration of 15,000 from all over France the following day in Besancon, but there was a meeting in Paris of 12,000 supporters. Two days later, at a mass meeting in Besancon, the workers received the full support of the French trade unions. The next day the workers of Lip set up a new factory of their own in the Jean Zay gymnasium donated to them by the socialist mayor of Besancon, and the struggle entered its current phase of negotiations.

These have been called negotiations "a la Vietnamiennne" since they have not been preceded by any "truce" but are taking place with both sides in battle positions on the field. In further analogy with Vietnam, this has become a long, drawn-out "guerrilla" struggle; it is now in its sixth month and is far from over. Moreover, the struggle has assumed a symbolic importance above the immediate issues at stake—the slogans "Lip is

fighting for all workers," "Lip for all, all for Lip," are on all the walls of France. This explains the tough nature of the negotiations, with both sides repeatedly threatening to walk out, and the total firmness of the workers in insisting on their full demands (No dismantling, no lay-offs) in spite of the fact that their first demand has been largely met and the number of lay-offs reduced from 600 to 160. This symbolic importance of Lip was underlined by the great September 29 March on Besancon.

WHAT ARE THE lessons to be learned from Lip? Perhaps the most important and striking feature of this affair is the overwhelming degree of public interest, sympathy, and support that the Lip workers have aroused. This is nowhere better illustrated than in the question of "legality" and "illegality." The action of the Lip workers in confiscating and selling the stock of watches (which they themselves had produced) undeniably constitutes theft of property; and all those thousands of people who have bought the watches are guilty of receiving stolen goods. The local prosecutor has dutifully filed a suit against "person or persons unknown" for these offenses. Significantly, many people have publicly bought watches so that if the "person or persons" remain "unknown" this can only be willful ignorance on the part of the prosecutor. This de facto refusal of the authorities to prosecute the case reflects a recognition that in the present climate of opinion it would be impossible to prosecute successfully; the image of a historic "show trial" in which anyone convicted would immediately become a national hero(ine) and martyr is the last thing the government wants. In a famous phrase, the workers of Lip have "transcended the bourgeois legality of today and announced the legality of tomorrow." They have won acceptance of the proposition that a worker's right to security of employment takes precedence over rights of international monopoly capitalism to material property.

An essential element in the success of the Lip workers has been their conscious recognition that this was not just a local skirmish but a struggle that would be played out in the arena of public opinion. This recognition has been expressed from the beginning by a determination to seek the widest possible unity and support. The Action Committee has always been open to union and non-union members alike; its first action was specifically aimed at obtaining full support within the factory, and later much energy was spent publicizing and explaining the struggle locally, in the region, and to the whole nation.

Another important characteristic has been the very full participation of women, who have taken an active and often leading role in the Action Committee and later in the Commissions running the factory.

The Lip workers' insistence on wide support and unity has also been expressed by a number of ideological "compromises," such as the maintenance of hierarchical salary structures when the workers paid themselves, maintenance of the armaments section of the factory, refusal of violent resistance to police eviction, and the acceptance of negotiations aimed at returning the factory to capitalist control and management rather than demanding complete workers' control as a long-term solution. Indeed, explicit ideology has played little role in the affair; the workers themselves seem sometimes almost oblivious to the "historic" nature of their action, and certainly the internal feuds of the old left, from CP to ultra-left, have seemed totally irrelevant.

This, then, has been a "struggle for the hearts and minds of the people." The achievement of the Lip workers has been, by their audacity and imagination, to translate the spirit and principles of guerrilla war into a form of action applicable to industrialized Western nations. As a Lip worker said in response to a question at a meeting, the best support that can be given to Lip is not to concentrate attention on this affair, but to take inspiration from the qualities of originality and audacity and adapt them to the particular conditions of new struggles in the permanent action of the working class. ■



"we produce, we sell, we pay ourselves"

TEAMSTERS

rank-and-file fight back

by D. Biggs

Madison, Wisconsin

IN EARLY NOVEMBER, Teamster Local 695 of Madison was taken over by the International Union and was put in Trusteeship. All local union officers, including Secretary-Treasurer Donald Eaton, were asked to resign. The union treasury was removed from local control and will be managed by the International.

Yet what might have been a quiet coup by Teamster Union president Frank Fitzsimmons has turned into a confrontation between local union militants and the International. Within days of the trusteeship action, a new rank-and-file organization, "Teamsters for Democracy," was formed to fight the International's action.

In the past five years, since Don Eaton was elected Secretary-Treasurer, Local 695 has built up a reputation for being independent of Fitzsimmons's bureaucracy. Local 695 has been organizing steadily. Rank-and-file workers have been encouraged to participate in the union. Local union leadership was outspoken against

the Indochina War, and supported McGovern over Nixon in 1972. The union has endorsed liberal and progressive candidates in Madison elections, and voiced strong opposition to Nixon's wage controls and guidelines. All of this could not help but anger Fitzsimmons, who has long nurtured a "scratch my back and I'll scratch yours" relationship with the Nixon administration.

Under the leadership of Eaton and business agent James Marketti, membership rolls have grown by the hundreds. Local 695 has conducted three strikes within the past year, the shortest lasting 17 weeks. One strike, at General Beverage Company, was settled with an unheard of 50-percent wage increase.

Back in 1970, the local gave its support to the University of Wisconsin teaching assistants in their successful fight for the first union of its kind in the country. In the past year, 695 has also given support and advice to the Madison Independent Worker's Union which was begun by ex-student radicals to organize waitresses, restaurant, and hotel workers.

NOT ALL THE OFFICERS in the local were pleased with the union's direction. Former Secretary-Treasurer Al Mueller and former business agent Elmer Fosdal complained bitterly about Eaton's leadership. Happier with labor peace and more "business-like" unionism, Mueller hand-picked a slate of candidates to run against Eaton in December. In leaflet after leaflet, they accused the local of "shuffling funds" because strike benefits were allocated in excess of what is usually allowed in order to enable the hardest hit workers to continue striking. At union meetings they accused Eaton and Marketti of illegality, violence, and association with leftists. The red-baiting campaign dominated their efforts.

What Mueller and the International hoped would be a campaign focusing around the bureaucratic bungling of funds, slowly turned into a political debate around the issue of independent and militant unionism. The International might have preferred to let things ride for a time and slowly to weed out the

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Oppose U.S. Aid to Thieu

by Jay Westbrook
Mad. River NAM

Amid reports of increased fighting in Vietnam, more than 200 representatives of the major U. S. peace organizations have agreed on a united campaign to implement the Peace Agreement and end twenty-five years of United States intervention in Indochina. The focus of the campaign will be to free the thousands of civilian political prisoners in South Vietnam and end United States "aid" to the Saigon regime, which violates the Peace Agreement.

Current reports of increased fighting and the possibility of a new offensive by the Provisional Revolutionary Government (PRG) were viewed very seriously. It is expected that the Nixon Administration will use these developments to fight any attempt by Congress to limit or stop aid to Thieu and to support the reintroduction of direct U. S. airpower. General Jon W. Vogt, Jr., Commander of the Air Force in the Pacific, has predicted the need for renewed U. S. bombing in South Vietnam to stem the tide of an offensive. (*Los Angeles Times*, 11/1/73)

Meeting in Dayton, Ohio, Oct. 26 to 28, Conference participants supported the January Peace Agreement as the means for bringing about peace in Vietnam.

PRESENT SITUATION IN INDOCHINA

The U. S. has supported Thieu to maintain a foothold in Indochina. The Paris Agreement was forced on the Administration by domestic anti-war sentiment and continued losses in Vietnam. Thieu was dragged into signing the agreement. Thieu was violating every aspect of the Agreement while the PRG was distributing copies throughout the countryside.

Ninety percent of Saigon's budget is paid by U. S. taxpayers. Thieu's military forces and police gun down refugees on sight returning to their homes in PRG zones. These forces refuse to grant civil liberties to all political opponents and hold PRG delegates virtually hostage in military compounds. The massive imprisonment and torture of over 200,000 political prisoners—Communists, students, Neutralists, and refugees—has become an

Since the January signing of the Peace Agreement which called for an in-place cease-fire, many U. S. correspondents have reported aggressive military actions by Thieu's forces against the PRG zones. Supported by artillery, the ARVN has pushed into PRG areas and has carried out "pacification" operations which sweep peasants out of areas to which they had just returned. The purpose of this "pacification" is to create a no-man's land between the two zones, making future migration out of Thieu's zones more difficult. Seven-ton bombs ("Daisy Cutters") and defoliants were used for this operation.

At the end of October, the PRG made an official statement in Paris warning that they would begin to respond in kind to every military action by the Thieu government. Early in November, Thieu stated that he would respond to every PRG and North Vietnamese military action with ten times the force.

Thieu has nothing to gain and much to fear from political competition with the PRG. He must continue to build a vast repressive apparatus with U. S. aid and attempt to reinvolve American air power.

The PRG believes the Peace Agreement works in their favor because it calls for democratic political competition. They are confident of winning against a govern-



ment which must be repressive simply to survive. Ly Van Sau, spokesperson for the PRG, recently stated their position:

For the Vietnamese people there is only one way to continue our struggle. Now with the new basis of the Paris Agreement... we have the support of the population. The Agreement now is becoming known well to everybody. The prisoners in the jails speak about Article 8C, the third force speak about Article 11, and the journalists speak about Article 1 of the respect for the sovereignty of Vietnam.

The PRG demands implementation of the Peace Agreement. They call for 1) the formation of the National Council of National Reconciliation and Concord, with three components—PRG, Thieu, and Neutralists; 2) free elections; 3) release of the political prisoners; 4) granting of civil liberties.

Thieu's power is threatened by implementation of these provisions. In order of priority, Thieu calls for 1) discussion of a date for elections; 2) discussion of how to conduct elections; and 3) then an end to restrictions on democratic freedoms. The PRG demands 1) an end to cease-fire violations and release of the prisoners; 2) permission for peasants to return to their homelands; and 3) respect

for democratic freedoms. Only then will the conditions exist for the sixth stage—the formation of the National Council which will decide, as the Agreement requires, how and when elections will be held.

Continued U. S. aid to Thieu will only strengthen his ability to provoke a military crisis—perhaps through a PRG-North Vietnamese offensive. Such aid may eventually result in an attempt by the Administration to re-introduce American air power. This direct intervention would bolster Thieu for a short time and serve to divert attention from an embarrassing domestic situation.

CONFERENCE UNITY

Conference participants were unified around the major focus of the campaign to 1) implement the Peace Agreement, 2) release the 200,000 political prisoners, and 3) end all aid to Thieu and Lon Nol. The "Unity Statement" read:

1) Widespread peace sentiment awakened by Watergate and the growing movement for impeachment offer unique opportunities for action. The increased military tempo in Vietnam presents an urgency for our unified campaign to end U. S. military aggression.

1) Congress is currently in an unusually approachable position. Over a decade of sustained anti-war activity, U. S. losses in Indochina, revelations of Watergate and secret bombings, have made Congress more accessible to pressure for ending aid to Thieu and Lon Nol.

3) Other important areas of Indochina work, though not a primary focus, include: a) Friendship and Solidarity to implement Article 21 of the Agreement calling for U. S. reconstruction of U. S.-destroyed areas and b) Movement for Universal and Unconditional Amnesty. (Many of the conference participants work in amnesty alliances like the National Council for Universal and Unconditional Amnesty.)

S.F. Socialist Coalition

by Jim Weinstein
San Francisco NAM

IS IT POSSIBLE to build a coalition around the need for socialism? Can an organization that starts with the purpose of making socialism vs. capitalism a public issue develop programs on specific issues and work with groups organized around these? Can socialists of different tendencies work together to build a non-sectarian politics and an open, democratic organization? These are some of the questions that face the San Francisco Socialist Coalition, which has just completed its initial project of running three candidates for the San Francisco Board of Supervisors.

Not surprisingly, the answer to these questions is not yet clear. But a start has been made and we've learned a lot. We have had a generally favorable response, especially outside the organ-

ized radical movement. We've built an organization that shows signs of becoming substantial and stable (when it doesn't look like its coming apart at the seams). And we have developed a network of contacts and good will, especially for the coalition newspaper, COMMON SENSE.

HOW AND WHY THE COALITION FORMED

THE COALITION CAME together early last winter when Alex Forman, a former SDS activist and an independent, suggested a joint demonstration against a proposed Pacific Telephone & Telegraph rate increase. Forman suggested that the SF NAM chapter, the International Socialists (IS), and SF Peace and Freedom Party act jointly because none had either the public presence or organizational strength to

put together a substantial demonstration by itself.

At the same time, the SF Socialist Party (then still the Debs caucus) started talking about running a candidate for Supervisor. Some of the SP members had also belonged to the NAM chapter; NAM suggested that they be included and that the coalition continue indefinitely. Others agreed to try it and we worked together and organized a demonstration remembered only for its puniness and lack of political direction.

NAM had jumped at the coalition idea because the chapter had no program of action of its own. This was probably true of the other groups. Because of this, but also because the groups had worked together harmoniously, even if ineffectually, during the PT&T hearings, NAM pushed to

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Kayren speaking at Candidates' Night.

Photo by Joan Bodner

books

The New Look

ARE THE LIBERAL Democrats dead? A year ago, after McGovern's defeat, it looked that way. But they may gain new life from Nixon's current troubles. If the liberals do rise again, John Kenneth Galbraith's new book, *Economics and the Public Purpose*, is likely to be their bible of economic and political wisdom.

In his latest book Galbraith's critique of the American economy is broader than in his earlier writings. His tone is more discontented and militant than is usual for a famous liberal professor. But he is still, as he makes clear, a liberal, not a radical. Though he sees major corporations as the source of social ills, he believes that Congress can cure these ills: Galbraith's reform strategy

"accepts the commitment of the planning system [his term for the major corporations] to its own expansion, as also its need for autonomy of decision. It undertakes to discipline that growth, align it with public purposes and do this under public auspices." (p. 292)

The specific reforms he proposes, such as a guaranteed annual income, unionization of unorganized workers, a more progressive tax structure, are admirable enough in themselves. But Galbraith's strategy of seeking these reforms by revitalizing the Democratic Party and Congress can only distract people from the tasks of building a serious movement for social change.

CORPORATE POWER

Central to Galbraith's analysis is his view of corporate power. Once upon a time businesses were run by their owners, who wanted to maximize their profits. But with the rise of the large corporation, and the diffusion of stockholdings, direct control by the owners is declining. Moreover, ownership aside, he argues, the technical complexity of the business puts control in the hands of people inside the corporation, the only ones with day-to-day knowledge of its operations. Galbraith calls these insiders the "technostructure," since he believes their power comes from their technical knowledge.

The technostructure, he continues, is

Economic Research Group
Middlesex NAM

interested in growth rather than profits because its prestige and salaries depend on the long-run growth of the corporation rather than on its short-run profits. Somehow this is supposed to make an immense difference in how the corporation is run.

The long-run perspective of the technostructure, and its interest in security, combined with the power of the large corporation, lead to long-range planning and corporate control of markets. Accordingly, Galbraith calls large corporations the "planning system," as distinguished from the "market system" where competition still flourishes—for example, agriculture, construction, services, etc.

Galbraith occasionally recalls that somewhere below the technostructure there are also workers. But the planning system is well-unionized, so its workers succeed in protecting and even improving their wages and working conditions. The corporations cheerfully accept and pass the cost on to consumers. Apparently nothing more needed to be said on the subject.

Three major problems arise in Galbraith's analysis of Corporate power.

First, he fudges on the question of who controls corporations. It is unclear whom he includes in the technostructure. The choice of the word "technostructure," and the stress on technical complexity as the source of power, suggest that he means middle-level technicians. But whenever he talks realistically about corporate power, the technostructure sounds more like upper-level management. The difference is important. Many, perhaps most, large corporations are controlled by their top management figures. However, there are no known cases of corporations dominated by their middle-level technical staffs. By confusing the two groups, Galbraith makes it sound like management power comes from technical expertise, rather than from position at the top of the corporate hierarchy.

Galbraith's second weakness is his confusion about the goals of corporations. While managers do have some day-to-day independence, they are ultimately responsible to (and can be fired by) owners and financiers. Furthermore, the interests of top managers and of old fashioned owners of businesses are not very different. Often managers are on their way to becoming important stockholders, through stock options and bonuses. In any case, the growth which supposedly appeals to the "technostructure" and the profits which appeal to owners are quite compatible. As Galbraith notes once in a footnote

Continued on Page 7

books

A Healthy Antidote

by Judy MacLean
Pittsburgh NAM

Daughter of Earth, by Agnes Smedley.
Feminist Press, 1973.

Novels that try to integrate the personal and the political often fail. When they are true to the personal, the political analysis seems to be either grafted on or a part of the characters' personalities. When they are true to the political, the characters and situations are stereotyped. But Agnes Smedley's novel, *Daughter of Earth*, is a sprawling, passionate, fairly successful attempt at making synthesis.

Out of print since the 1930's, the book has been rescued from obscurity by the Feminist Press. It achieved world-wide popularity in its time. Smedley later wrote that the income from the sales of the book in Soviet Russia could have supported her there for life. It is not surprising that the Russians of that period, trying to build the world's first socialist state, liked *Daughter of Earth*. For a class analysis is the core of the book. Marie Rogers, the protagonist whose life is based on Smedley's, knows her life has been tragic chiefly because of material want, because she is a daughter of earth.

To die would have been beautiful. But I belong to those who do not die for the sake of beauty. I belong to those who die from other causes—exhausted by poverty, victims of wealth and power, fighters in a great cause. . . . For we are of the earth and our struggle is of earth.

The paradox of the book is that only by clawing her way out of the working class, rejecting all its habits, mannerisms and the language, and painfully acquiring an education, was she able to come in contact with ideas that explained her early existence and with a movement that sought to change it. She rejected the only roles for a woman that appeared open to her. Her mother and sister were pioneer wives, prematurely aged by hard work and pregnancies, constantly at the mercy of their husbands, who might beat them or leave them. Her aunt Helen, a prostitute, at least had some independence from the men who paid for her services, but she was a victim of venereal disease.

Marie is able to avoid these roles, but at a high price. To continue her education, she refuses to care for her brothers and sister after her mother's death, with the result that they grow up neglected, and abused.

Smedley is skillful at portraying ignorance, whether it is that of the Rogers family and the whole community "beyond the tracks" of the economic causes of their poverty, or Marie's own of her body's functions when she becomes pregnant. Marie is also a child with a lively, gut feminism. Though her mother beats her and her father is gay and playful, she somehow grasps the connection between her mother's suffering and her father's ways. When he threatens to leave, taking Marie along, she decides to stay with her mother.

Later she observes the marriages around her and sees how a neighbor's pregnancy makes her dependent on her husband, so that she cannot prevent him from beating her.

The words that passed between them are still carved into my memory as if a dagger had made its ruthless way there.

"Give me back the clothes I bought you!" he bellowed at her one day.

"Damn it, kid, you know I love you!" she begged through her tears—for now she could not go back to work even if she wished.

Two other women in the next yard heard the words through the window and they laughed. She couldn't be so uppish any more, they said. I did not laugh. There was something in the words so heart-corroding that I could not even repeat them at home; . . . Those two sentences sum up, in my mind, the true position of husband and wife in the marriage relationship.

As she grows up, we see her discovery of anarchists and socialists and her painfully developing understanding of how she has become who she is. No movement seems to completely engage her. She is a socialist for years, but finds most of their functions without "interest or beauty" and their romantic concept of the "working class" annoying. They are not much help in



teaching her, either, not understanding how little she knows and at what an elementary level she must begin. Later she is deeply drawn to the movement for the independence of India, as much because a leader takes an interest in her and begins to systematically see to her education, as well as for the cause itself. She finds herself respected as a human being, although she is a woman of lowly origins, in the Indian independence movement. Yet she is critical of the lack of feminism and working-class orientation in it.

Smedley describes Marie's life and loves not just in terms of particular personalities of her parents, husband, or lover, but also in terms of the social forces that lead them to act as they do. Thus her marriage to gentle, understanding Knut flounders when Marie becomes pregnant, ends her studies, and becomes economically dependent upon Knut. They are kept in ignorance of birth control methods by law and social custom of the time. An abortion is risky and painful and it is Knut's attempt to keep up appearances on the way back from the operation that makes Marie feel most betrayed. Since she sees no way to avoid repeating pregnancy and abortion, she leaves him.

Her need for tenderness again clashes with social forces in her relationship with Anand, a young Indian revolutionary. Although he accepts her past with other men, the mores of India prove stronger. Some of his comrades still accept the definition of Anand as disgraced by Marie's past lovers.

Though Marie and Anand try to keep their relationship intact, it is gradually poisoned by the atmosphere around them. They grow to hate each other.

In both relationships, Marie tries to define a love outside the roles assigned by society, but in both cases, social forces are too strong. Society, that is, early 20th century American capitalism, grinds down the people "of earth", not just materially; it blots out all hope of tenderness, of an escape through personal life.

The McCarthyism of the fifties explains the obscurity today of this once famous writer. Smedley went on to spend 12 years in China behind the lines in the war with Japan. She returned to urge the American people to support Mao and the Communists over the corrupt Kuomintang, but she never realized this goal. Her novel might well have seemed dangerous in the Fifties, when it was removed from many libraries. It is engaging reading, angry and alive, if overdramatic at times.

I wondered as I read this book, what effect it would have had on me as an adolescent in the late Fifties and early Sixties. I think it would have been shocking and wonderful to have read it, a healthy antidote to much mystification about pioneer life, marriage, education and World War I. Marie Rogers' struggle is individual and her movement work never really overcomes this; yet to know that such a woman existed and tried to live as she did would have meant a great deal to me then—as it does today. ■

DAWNING

when my oldman asked me one fine day, "do you remember when we sat around and watched the Friday Night Fights?" it was like dropping dynamite into holes bored into my plastic IBM skull blasting bits of crust and memories and life



back into my brain. "oh, yeah" I said thinking about killed dreams and the dream killers. "Yeah, I remember" but I didn't tell him I remember when he used to pay old blackmen in a shoeshine parlor a quarter to watch over yer two-year-old machinist's car parked on an Uptown Street. I remember when you sat down after work with Tex on a hot summer day,

ordered mom around gettin you big sandwiches and good homemade whiskey and shooting yer mouth off about how good YOU had it and callin. Tex "nigger" when he had left still sloshing around in his gut) (yer homemade whiskey



I guess working on a turretlathe for 60 hours a week... 11 hours a day; 5 hours on Saturday for 25 years could give anyone some funny ideas about who the enemy really is.



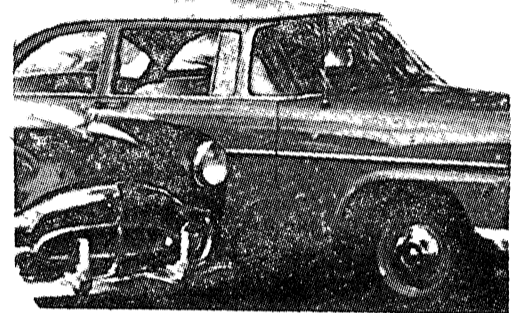
I remember when you washed dishes cooked dinner and biskits (jesus, he could cook biskits) and while working as a precinct captain in Pigcity for Hizhonnerdamayor he used to say "there just ain't no justice fer da workin man." It's just that you forgot oldman, there ain't no justice for women minorities or anybody else except for the ones what got money.



I remember the class humiliation you felt when I proudly announced to my 6th gr teacher "My parents met in a Douglas Aircraft Factory in WWII." and my oldman was allatime tellin me "cut yer hair, yer goin down the drain with all dem radicals and ya better study and make good grades and "five like a whiteman" Just to piss him off "d say I am a whiteman. "Yeah, well, if ya don't finish college yer gonna live like me, like a nigger." and I had to admit the oldman has been treated like a nigger. WE ALL HAVE. Yeah, I remember when he said, "live like a whiteman" while tromping through reality. I remember the face of the man who was beaten to death in our Uptown alley. "Yeah, I remember the Friday Night Fights."

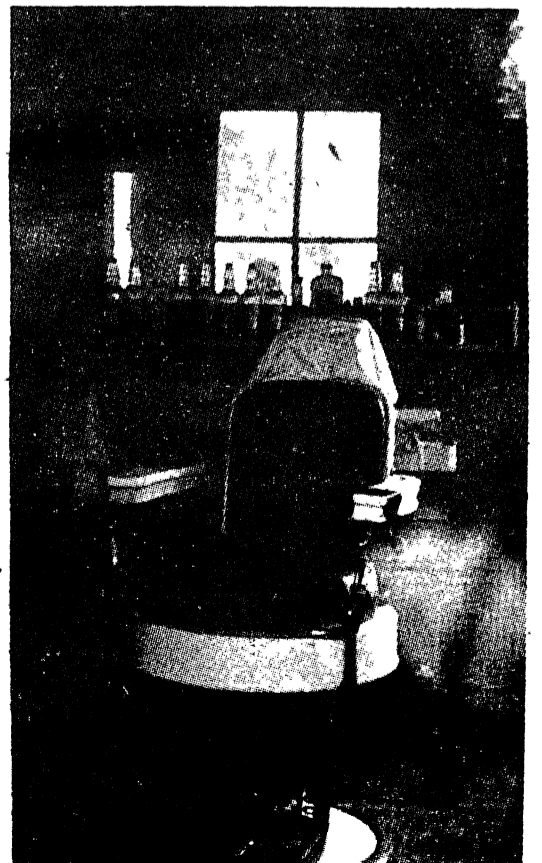
I used to sweat a bourgeois summer, a human timeclock sweating unskilled in the bowels of a hot bourgeois glue factory.

When I went home I watched while drinking beer the tv airline comm "French Summer." Working second shift on line number six deep in the summer night, sometimes in the shipping department when work was slack sweating o a bourgeois summer the timeclock splitting each hour into 60 bourgeois minutes. Time and a half. Live from day to day until you can put off tomor



Louie, Louie, oh, baby say I gotta go. Wish I could afford a color tv. Punch in punch out two hours overtime half day Saturday. Finish highschool in your own home. America, land of the bigroads continental Federal interstate hiways built for 400 horsepower phalluses.

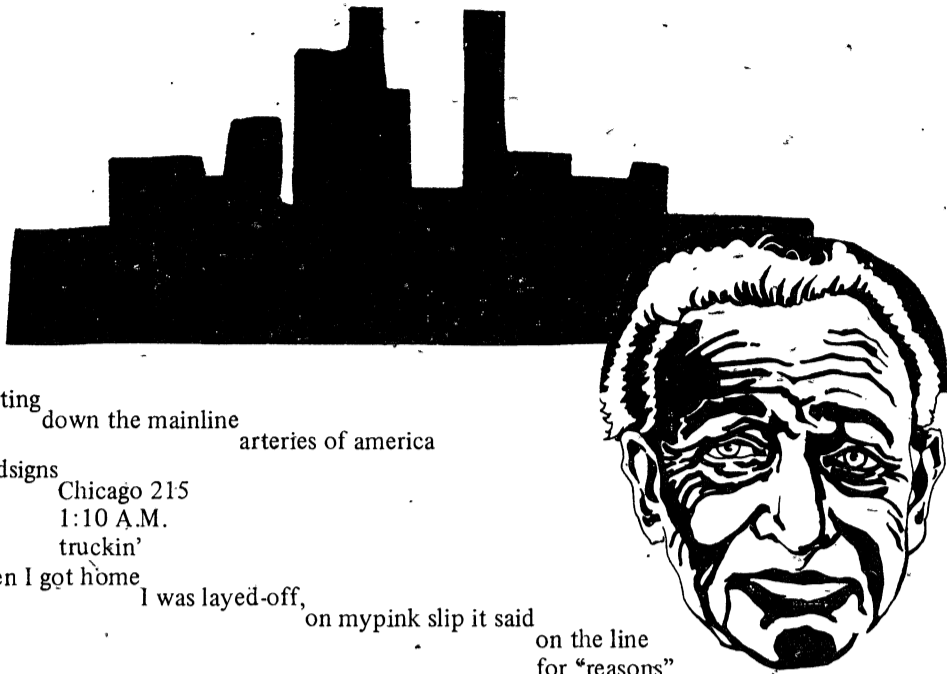
LEFT TURN



When I was a kid
I felt a spontaneous sense of liberation
springing onto a greyhound trucking across the midwest in the narcotic
false dawns of adolescence, a depersonalized mistake an outofbreath
mechanical pencil
twolaneblacktop. . . barns. . . blue light on midnight hiways

Lake Michigan waves rush the Illinois sand
with assorted industrial chemicals motor oil and urban interlake debris.
I watched while the stars disappeared the powerful movement
of the lake water. I thought of America as a wilderness
of towns, railroads, rents, alarm clocks, banks, checks, people,
roads, newspapers, noise, landlords, 3rd shifts, mortgages, corporations,
taxes, war vetrans, pomography, and police and god
I was sad:

And I thought about the american people, all the salesclerks, telephone operators, drill press operators, teachers, truckers, taxidrivers, high school students, janitors, bartenders, carpenters, laborers, unskilled industrial workers, autoworkers, miners, college students, service workers, gas station attendants, typists, secretaries, mechanics, jesus christ, I thought about all the goddamn mechanics I know, I thought about the whole American Workingclass that's a whole shitload
of working people tens of millions women and men
and I thought
"What would happen if all the people on the bottom stood up?"



drifting down the mainline arteries of america

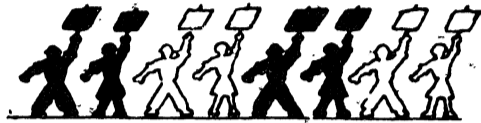
roadsigns Chicago 215
1:10 A.M.
truckin'

when I got home I was layed-off, on my pink slip it said

on the line for "reasons"

CHRONIC ABSENTEEISM

I've been chronically absent from American dream reality ever since.



These are a few lines from a much longer piece: DAWN: A BOOGIEPOEM by Revolutionary Workers' Arts Collective, c/o Fox River Valley NAM

GALBRAITH

Continued from Page 5

(p. 116) and then forgets, growth and long-run profit maximization are not in conflict—and owners, just as much as managers, care most about how their company does in the long-run.

Finally, Galbraith is oblivious to the nature of work and its discontents. Unions, whose extent and power he exaggerates, are supposed to protect everyone working in the corporate sector. Alienation is unknown. The growth-oriented technicians who run the corporations have no interest in forcing speed-ups and hazardous working conditions on workers, or in resisting pay increases. Galbraith's familiarity with the modern workplace must be obvious, at least to other Harvard professors.

CORPORATIONS AND THE REST OF US

The strongest aspect of Galbraith's analysis is his treatment of the corporation's external relations, especially its relations with the consumer. At least since the publication of *The Affluent Society* (1958), he has argued that corporations manipulate consumers through advertising. Now he recognizes that some of what seems to be wasteful consumption, for instance travel by automobile, is not based on the soothing sounds of commercials but on the absence of alternatives. In noting the lack of alternatives facing the individual in capitalist society, Galbraith has taken a giant step beyond the notion that consumerism works because people are so easily fooled by advertising. But he stops far short of a complete analysis. Nothing, for example, is said which explains why workers in capitalist society have no alternative but to turn to greater and greater consumption in an effort to fulfill themselves. An explanation might force recognition of the meaningless and stultifying atmosphere

of the workplace; a seemingly forbidden issue for Galbraith.

There is, however, a startling addition to Galbraith's theory of the consumer: his recognition of the role of women. A high level of consumption requires someone to administer each family's consumption, and run the household. This is accomplished by making women into what Galbraith calls a "crypto-servant class," discouraged from having full-time occupations outside the home, constantly congratulated for service to society in order to make up for the lack of income or independence. But just when it looks like Galbraith is finally understanding one major area of oppression, he blows it: since the housewife's work consists of administering the family's consumption, he feels it's harder work to be a rich housewife than a poor one, since there's more consumption to take care of. (P. 32—Galbraith does exclude families rich enough to have servants, but that hardly eliminates the absurdity.

WHAT GALBRAITH LEAVES OUT

There are some important areas in which Galbraith's analysis is especially shallow. Poverty is "explained" by the general impoverishment of small business and its ability to pay decent wages. Racism is mentioned in passing a few times, merely as a phenomenon that pushes non-white into the low-income small business sector of the economy. Imperialism is limited to the process of U. S. corporations buying raw materials from the Third World at prices controlled by the corporations.

Galbraith's view of the government is bound up with his failure to grasp these important problems. If he had a deeper analysis of poverty, racism, or imperialism, he would be much less confident in the possibility of reform through government action.

On one level Galbraith does recognize that the government is largely controlled by the big corporations. He attributes this to "bureaucratic symbiosis" between the branches of government and the businesses that deal with them regularly, most notably between the Defense Department and military contractors.

But once again Galbraith has passed off a few interesting partial insights as a general theory. The connections between the government and business amount to much more than interlocking directorates and bureaucracy gone astray. The

needs of the corporations provide the fundamental definition of the government's role in the economy. Lacking this perspective, Galbraith is unable to understand, for example, why the U. S. fought an all-out war, costing hundreds of thousands of lives and billions of dollars, to maintain control of Indochina. This is a chapter of history which can be explained better by radical theories of imperialism than by Galbraith's "bureaucratic symbiosis."

Why does a clever fellow like Galbraith say all these things? Why is he so clear on some things, and so fuzzy on many others? *Economics and the Public Purpose* is a very perceptive view of the U. S. economy as it affects the upper-middle-income consumer. Galbraith is strongest on the aspects of the economy experienced by such consumers: the growth and power, though not the internal workings, of the large corporation; the squeezing out of small business; the manipulated, frustrated, pollution-filled life in consumerland; the oppression of the suburban housewife; the unresponsiveness of government to even its moderately affluent subjects. In areas remote from upper-middle-income consumer experience Galbraith is much weaker: he understands little of power and conflict within the corporation, the nature of work, alienation, poverty, racism, and imperialism.

The area of Galbraith's strengths is related to the social basis of the reform movement for which he is writing. It is above all a movement of upper-middle-income suburban liberals. Galbraith's analysis of the economy, and his strategy for reform, grow primarily out of life within the affluent society.

GALBRAITH ON REFORMS: THE MILITANT MODERATE

Galbraith's recipe for reform consists of reheating the traditional reform program, stirring in a dash of feminism to give it an up-to-date aroma, and dropping in some rather flavorless lumps of academic conclusions from his economic analysis. He favors increased and extended minimum wage laws, a guaranteed annual income (at a level somewhat below the minimum wage), progressive taxation, unionization of unorganized workers, and more environmental protection and urban social services. Moreover, Galbraith now advocates "socialism," by which he means nationalizing a few

industries in which private enterprise has done a particularly lousy job: medicine, housing, and mass transportation. Galbraithian socialism also includes nationalization of corporations which do most of their business with the government, such as military contractors.

To this largely familiar list of reforms, Galbraith adds four proposals for attack: sexual discrimination: child care facilities, more flexible working schedules, and provisions for part-time work, an end to discrimination in hiring (exclusion of women from the upper levels of the technostucture seems of particular concern to Galbraith), and equal education.

Few reasonable people would object to Galbraith's reforms, as far as they go. But his strategy for achieving them is far more controversial. The executive branch of government and its bureaucracies are dominated by big business. Likewise, he says, the Republican Party and one wing of the Democratic Party. The way to achieve reforms is to revitalize the other wing of the Democratic Party and elect a more liberal Congress which can then control the abuses of corporate power.

No evidence for the possibility of change through Congress is presented, save for a vague nostalgia for the days of Franklin D. Roosevelt. Perhaps it is a religious faith in the moderate route to change, behind the militant rhetoric. Or perhaps the shallowness of Galbraith's analysis has indeed led to an underestimation of the strength of the corporations. From the endless list of examples of the futility of reform through Congress, consider the most recent: years of hard work organizing Congressional support for environmental protection had almost produced enough votes to stop the Alaska pipeline, when the energy crisis (an event the oil companies anticipated long in advance, and planned their strategy around) created a panic. The oil companies used that panic to push through the Alaska pipeline, and reverse virtually every environmental restriction which has ever been placed on their activities.

Galbraith's writing is witty and fun to read. His analysis of the economy is somewhat better than it used to be, and far better than that of Samuelson and other traditional economists. But you need to know a lot more than Galbraith tells you to understand the U. S. economy and how to change it.

The AMHERST CHAPTER and other local groups conducted a spirited public meeting around the Chile crisis. The background of the coup and the resistance of working class Chileans was presented by two individuals who had returned from Chile since the coup. This meeting was the second teach-in of its kind held in Amherst. It was characterized by a mood of combativeness rather than defeatism.

The NORMAN, OKLAHOMA CHAPTER recently lent support to the successful defeat of a bond issue to construct "bigger and better" Municipal offices. They have also sponsored a public panel discussion on feminism. They are now working in the Impeachment Campaign.

The PITTSBURGH CHAPTER is now engaged in a wide range of activities. The Social Service Committee is working within the City Task Force of the Coalition on Human Needs. Developing out of people's outrage over the massive cut-backs in human services, the Coalition has launched a City Budget Campaign around three program proposals: a) HOUSING--a revolving loan fund for home repair at low interest rates for those who cannot qualify for conventional loans; an urban homestead program that would deed city-owned unoccupied houses to people if they agree to live in them for three years and bring them up to code. b) ELDERLY AND HANDICAPPED--a network of people who would call or visit the elderly to assure their well-being; a comprehensive transportation program for the elderly and handicapped. c) AMBULANCE SERVICE--a city-wide ambulance program that would provide high quality, free emergency medical care and transportation to all residents of the city, to be contracted through an independent agency. The informal educational techniques of the Campaign are being followed up by direct actions aimed at the City Budget Hearings.

The Internal Education Committee has established monthly chapter discussions on the strategic direction of NAM in Pittsburgh as well as nationally.

Building the New American Movement

The People's History Committee is continuing to present their slide show on the history of Pittsburgh's early labor movement and is receiving encouraging response.

In addition, the chapter has been conducting open forums on current topical issues such as the Farah Strike and the Philippines.

The NEW ORLEANS SOCIALIST UNION CHAPTER is engaged in three priority projects: 1) working in the labor movement, i.e., strike support work and union organizing, 2) rallies, demonstrations against corporations and government politicians, 3) publishing the *Louisiana Worker*, P. O. Box 2677, New Orleans, LA 70176. The chapter also prepares a newsletter on NAM-oriented issues.

The CHICAGO CHAPTER was involved in an effort to prevent the closing of the home delivery service of the Chicago Maternity Center. Using letter and phone campaigns, a group of patients, medical students, nurses, doctors, and concerned community people were brought together to express their discontent to the Board of Directors. Despite the pressure, the Board of Directors' decision was not reversed. The plans to close the home delivery service and eventually the Center itself are being acted on. The new proposed center on Chicago's Gold Coast will not meet the needs of the Black and Chicano communities.

The chapter is also working with the Movement for a Free Philippines (MFP) to distribute information concerning the present situation in the Philippines to Filipino Nationals and immigrants as well

as to U. S. citizens. Funds are being raised and channelled to the Philippines through a sister group known as the Filipino Freedom Fighters (FFF). The orientation of MFP is "civil libertarian." On December 30, 1973, Pres. Ferdinand Marcos' tenure in office will terminate under the valid constitution. Should Marcos continue in present posture of Prime Minister, the struggle toward democracy of the Filipino people will significantly escalate. Further energies of the Chicago Chapter are being directed towards initiating new chapters on the university campuses.

The BOSTON AREA CHAPTER has been functioning primarily as a study group. Some individuals have been working on the "Middle East Emergency Aid Fund" which is aiding war victims regardless of nationality.

The NEW YORK No. 2 CHAPTER is continuing regular leafletting and support action for the farmworkers. One of the stores they were picketing agreed to stop selling non-union grapes and lettuce. They are urging the farmworkers to establish a more democratic way of decision-making about boycott activities so that supporters will have a greater voice in the process.

The PHILADELPHIA AREA CHAPTER continues to publish *Critical Times*, a Philadelphia labor newspaper directed towards social service workers. They recently made contact with Trailways bus drivers who have been striking for 19 months. Their Local 1699 of the United Transportation Union has maintained picketlines in New York City, Philadelphia, and Washington, D. C. The

Philadelphia Area Chapter is calling for a labor support rally and is trying to obtain as many union endorsements as possible. They have built some good contacts with the rank and file through their involvement and view their efforts as a real opportunity for gaining credibility in the labor movement there.

The FOX RIVER VALLEY CHAPTER has begun communications with the UFW and community people to spearhead the picketing of Jewel Food Stores in their area.

A broad popular movement has arisen in opposition to the building of a Sears-Marshall Fields Shopping Center. After researching, attending public meetings of trustees, and talking to community and labor groups, they have formed an Ad Hoc Committee to Stop the Shopping Center. They have strong hopes that the group will grow into a strong, ongoing coalition.

The MAD RIVER CHAPTER sponsored a speaking tour by two Attica brothers who offered excellent talks on the history of racism, capitalism, and the prisoner's movement. They spoke to enthusiastic audiences at Black high schools, a Black university, two mixed universities, and at community gatherings. Substantial funds were raised for the Attica Defense Committee.

The Women's Caucus has begun working formally with Dayton Women's Liberation as a socialist feminist group. Model Cities in Dayton recently voted \$15,000 for the creation of a Women's Center--a major victory following many months of work. NAM women are working closely with the collective planning the Center's program and will continue their efforts after the Center opens.

The QUEENS COLLEGE WOMEN'S CHAPTER and the QUEENS COLLEGE CHAPTER are two new chapters which grew out of the Attica Brigade. Recently they turned their efforts toward the New York Campaign to Impeach Nixon. Now they are planning to engage in action around proposed increases in transit fares.

letters

Continued from Page 10

Upon reflection, this separatism, as a reaction to oppression, has the same effect of dividing potential friends.

But most of all, the theory of Mother Right is inadequate on feminist grounds. It reinforces the rigid sex roles we are all fighting today. Reinforcing the cult of motherhood, after the successful efforts of the Women's Liberation Movement to discredit biological determinism, is regressive.

Even as more and more women spend more of their time working outside the home and fewer years in childbearing, we are still taught that our life's work is as mothers and wives. Thus, we are more easily exploited as a reserve labor force in time of war and economic boom, we are used as poorly paid part time workers, and we are heavily exploited in labor intensive industries. And how many times have we been told that our "natural qualities" rightly place us in motherlike jobs--of course, at lesser pay.

Most labor done in the home is free. Corporations like it that way. No matter what its ultimate goal, the Mother Right Theory unwittingly continues to reinforce the idea of unpaid labor in the home.

Feminists cannot let men and society off the hook. Jane Alpert's theory encourages men to forget about the problem of childcare and childbearing. It does so ultimately on the basis of an anthropology that may be outdated (see *Feminist Studies*, Fall, 1972, which suggests that Alpert's position is grounded on a theory of prehistoric matriarchy based on matrilineage (descent or inheritance through the female line), with matriarchy (society ruled by women).)

Its biological basis is so extreme as to deny what we have all come to learn: that most of what people develop out of is their social and economic conditions. Women have been stunted by their social conditions under capitalism. Women, because they are women, are not immune to internalizing destructive characteristics of capitalist social relations.

There are reasons for the appearance of such a theory at this time. Obviously, there is much chauvinism among males on the left as there is in the rest of society. We do not mean to deny that Jane Alpert's theory is in part a response to this glaring fact. More importantly, there is a sense in which the Mother Right Theory is an expression of despair not simply with men, but with the failure of radical politics to deal with sexism in the late '60's. People understandably get discouraged when the political and social system cannot easily be changed. There is a strong tendency to turn to theories which seem to guarantee more certain results: women will save the world because they are superior. Political disillusionment has all too often in the past followed periods of political upsurge to the ultimate benefit of those who run the system and gain from it.

We do not have any easy solutions, but we know two things: 1) we can work in a socialist movement in which feminism is central to its theory and practice and 2) we must do so if we are to build a society in which our feminist ideals of liberation and equality are to be realized for every woman and can improve the life of every human being in every class and race.

In Constant Struggle,

Women on the National Leadership Collective of the New American Movement

ON GUINEA BISSAU AND THE CAPE VERDE ISLANDS

GUINEA BISSAU is a West African country with a population of 500,000; the Cape Verde Islands lie off the coast of West Africa and have a population of 300,000. Since 1956 the African Independence Party of Guinea and Cape Verde (P.A.I.G.C.) has struggled to liberate these two areas from Portuguese colonial rule.

On September 24, 1973, the National Popular Assembly, which consists of 80 representatives elected by the people and 40 representatives elected from the P.A.I.G.C., proclaimed the independent Republic of Guinea Bissau. The Assembly elected Luiz Cabral, brother of assassinated P.A.I.G.C. founder, Amilcar Cabral, the first president of the Republic.

The new Republic of Guinea Bissau controls three-fourths of the territory of the country--Portuguese colonialists

still hold the capital, Bissau, several towns, and the Cape Verde Islands.

Over sixty countries, including 39 African nations, Russia, China, and the Scandinavian nations, have recognized the Republic of Guinea Bissau. But the U. S. government, which has been a staunch ally of Portugal, flatly refuses to recognize this new Republic.

During its ten years of armed struggle, P.A.I.G.C. has built a nation in the liberated areas. It has established hundreds of schools and clinics, popularly-elected village councils, and the National Popular Assembly. At least two of the five council members in the larger villages must be women; at least one of three in the smaller villages must be women. The P.A.I.G.C. has also struggled with tribal attitudes which had created a highly stratified class system in some tribes. In short, the P.A.I.G.C. has struggled not only on the military front, but also on the social, economic, and political fronts.

impeachment

Continued from Page 12

IN DURHAM AND CHAPEL HILL, North Carolina, NAM chapters have initiated an impeachment coalition composed of the state AFL-CIO, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Students for Impeachment, some student government activists throughout the state, the People's Party, Peace Centers and the local ACLU. The coalition is planning a statewide rally for December 1.

In preparation for the rally, chapters are selling bumper stickers, distributing NAM literature, and leafletting widely. C. P. GILMAN NAM has produced a leaflet focusing on impeachment as an issue crucial to women. The leaflet states that the Nixon Administration has:

1. Illegally impounded over \$40 billion allocated by Congress to health, education and welfare.
2. Vetted the Daycare bill in order to force women to stay in their place--"the home." (It would "destroy the moral fiber of our country.")

3. Hypocritically tried to force women on welfare out of their homes and into meaningless work at poverty wages.

4. Pursued economic policies which have driven the prices of meat, food, and other life necessities to astronomical heights.

The leaflet concludes: "impeachment of Nixon alone will not solve the problems inherent in a system which values profit above the quality of human life. But the impeachment campaign, if successful, will have seriously challenged the existing power structure, and help cut through the cynicism and impotence that most of us feel--an impotence that we as women particularly feel--and will create a sense of popular power and victory. We as women must begin to claim our share of the people's victories! From this perspective we in C. P. Gilman urge our sisters to join the demand to impeach Nixon; we hope women's groups will join the coalition as women, proudly march together as women. SISTERHOOD IS POWERFUL!!"

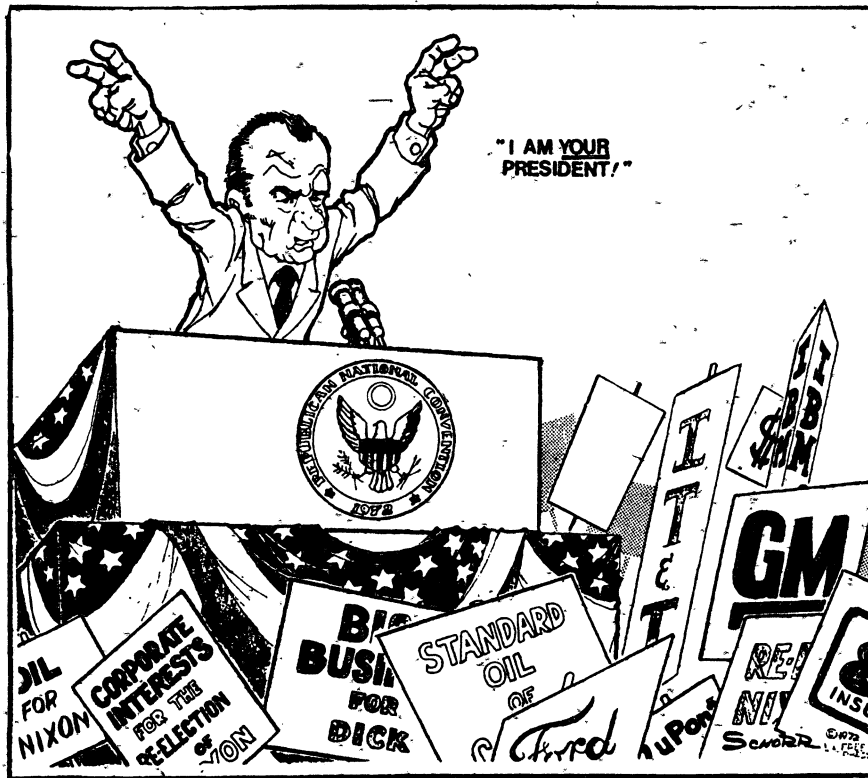
Why Socialists Should Work for Impeachment

by Eli Zaretsky
S.F. NAM

SOCIALISTS MUST participate in any mass, popular, democratic movement that develops. To abstain from such movements because they are "liberal", "populist", or "economist" would guarantee that socialism will remain a sectarian tendency, isolated from the broad political issues facing people in this country. At the same time, socialists must participate critically—i.e., by continually demonstrating the relevance of socialism, a socialist analysis and a socialist movement to the issues being raised. Uncritical support would guarantee that socialism will be absorbed as the left-wing of an all-embracing liberal protest. This swing between sectarianism and popular front liberalism has characterized the 20th century U.S. left. The question for socialists is not whether to participate, but how.

There have been "mass, popular" movements in which socialists could not participate. For example the Wallace movement was anti-corporate and anti-state, but racism was so integral to it that socialists could only comment on it from the outside. This is not true of the impeachment campaign. Its popular content is well worth supporting and provides socialists the opportunity to make explicit the latent content of the drive for impeachment. In this way socialists could define the meaning which impeachment would have.

The Nixon administration is not just another capitalist administration, though of course it is that. It is making a deliberate attack on the living standards and life expectations of the working class in this country. It is attempting to reverse half a century of social reform and promises of a higher standard of living. It is trying to build a new political coalition to replace the alliance of labor and minorities that has underlain national politics since the New Deal. To claim that struggles for a higher standard of living and reform efforts in fields such as education, childcare and welfare are necessarily steps toward socialism (as the Communist Party sometimes has) would be disastrous, and would, in fact, guarantee the irrelevance of socialism. But to fail to fight to protect and expand these popular gains would be equally disastrous and would equally guarantee the irrelevance of socialism. Socialists should support impeachment and fight to make actions such as the impounding of congressionally approved funds or the bribery perpetrated by the dairy producers part of the grounds for impeachment. This would keep pressure on future administrations in a period of capitalist economic decline. It would raise the question of who is



going to pay for that economic decline and not allow it to be a foregone conclusion that the working class will pay.

Socialists should also raise the issue of imperialism in the impeachment campaign. The understanding of imperialism that the left developed during the 1960s is one of its greatest accomplishments. Hundreds of thousands of us, perhaps millions, have developed a deep understanding of the systematic, world-wide character of capitalist exploitation, and a deep sense of solidarity with revolutionary movements throughout the world. We should see ourselves rather than any foreign socialist government(s) as the representatives of these movements within the metropole of world imperialism. To exclude this understanding from the impeachment campaign would be to deprive impeachment of any international significance (other than immediate, accidental consequences).

Finally the questions of law, constitutionality and democracy, which are at the forefront of the impeachment campaign, are important to socialists. The ideas that no individual can put him or herself above the law and that government must be responsible to the people that elected it are the underlying ideas of the impeachment campaign. These ideas originated with capitalism and marked a great advance over the monarchical and tyrannical systems that preceded it. They are not only "myths" put over by the ruling class but are actually embodied in bourgeois political democracy. They distinguish the system of liberal democracy from fascism, the other modern variant of

capitalist political rule. Devotion to these principles explains why people have endured poverty, discrimination and the daily grind of alienated labor and at the same time have gone off and died for "their country".

Capitalism continually betrays the promise of democracy. Promising, and over time delivering, legal and political equality for all, it provides the most ruthless and increasingly narrow dictatorship over the very basis of society—the economic organization of production. Its promise of a "neutral" state, embodying such "universal" ideas as justice, law and equality is continually belied by the threat of disintegration into class rule and special interests.

Only socialism can unlock this contradiction and give a social content to the promise of political democracy. But to do so, socialists have to stand unequivocally as the proponents of democracy and show that democracy can only be achieved through socialism. To stand aside from the impeachment movement on the basis that it only concerns superficial political processes—a squabble within the ruling class—once again guarantees that socialism will be irrelevant to the question of democracy.

This is particularly important at present because the popular understanding of socialism is that it is a soulless, materialistic system, promising a higher standard of living, but unconcerned with democracy and individual freedom. During the Cold War this image was reinforced by the identification of socialism with the "totalitarian" regime of the Soviet Union. It is probably the

greatest popular prejudice against socialism that we have to overcome. To stand aside from the impeachment movement reinforces this image and grants liberals a free hand in defining the meaning of impeachment. For them, impeachment will demonstrate the success of capitalist democracy, not its failure.

More immediately the impeachment campaign involves a readjustment of the power relations among dominant institutions in this country. For example, it represents a reassertion of the press against the threat of executive repression, and it represents the assertion of congress against the presidency. This latter tendency is very important for socialists to support. The presidency has expanded like cancer in the 20th century because of the needs of the capitalist class. The attempt to dominate world geopolitics and economics from one corner of the globe, and to rationalize an economy geared to waste, unemployment and inflation require centralized administrative power of a sort that congress cannot supply. This development has consistently removed questions of policy from the political arena and transformed them into administrative questions over which there is no popular check and no public debate.

As socialists we have every interest in reversing this process. Legislative activity, involving votes, pressures from constituents, etc., forces political debate. It is almost impossible to maintain secrecy for congressional activity. The legislative branch is currently the only branch of government in which popular movements are directly represented—e.g. Bella Abzug or Ron Dellums. As socialists begin to participate in electoral politics this is the branch in which they will be represented, at least for a long time to come. Furthermore, the strengthening of legislative as opposed to executive politics, will not only strengthen us under capitalism, but should continue under socialism. Surely the dominant form of government under socialism will be popular assemblies and councils, and then elected representative bodies. The kind of deeply democratic, decentralized society that socialism stands for will not tolerate the towering executive figures that characterize contemporary politics.

I have heard people argue that impeachment will strengthen other bourgeois politicians or the Democratic Party against the Republican, and this is, of course, true. All our politics involves mixed and self-contradictory elements. As a socialist movement becomes a real factor in American politics it will often work with liberal and bourgeois interests. As it begins to challenge state power it will attract all manner of self-seeking opportunists and special interests. There is no way to become political and remain pure. Our ultimate victory depends upon challenging bourgeois political tendencies and surpassing them; not in disdain and avoiding them from some private sanctuary of the spirit.

HELP!

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

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

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

Subscribe to the NEW AMERICAN MOVEMENT
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Letters

Dear Editors:

I am glad you want to publish articles on subjects like the Billie Jean King-Bobby Riggs tennis match and the National Women's Political Caucus which were in your last issue. "Women's articles" in left newspapers often report only the activities of the "radical" women's liberation movement. Such articles are very important but they tend to be internal to the movement. We need more attempts to interpret other events from a socialist feminist perspective. I hope you will continue to include articles on subjects like this and also continue to report developments within the "radical" women's movement.

But a shift in subject matter should not mean that you take a shift in perspective. Dave Gold's article on Billie Jean King's tennis match did provide background on the tennis industry and women's history in tennis, but even so it was a real lapse in critical reporting. There were a number of important implications of the match that a socialist feminist perspective should have dealt with. As editors I think you could have asked Gold at least to comment on what was the most important implication of this event: the fact that women's liberation is still a joke to most Americans although now it has become a money-making one. The event was a measure of the enormous task we still face in simply "raising consciousness" about women's oppression. It would be horrifying to most Americans if there were an attempt to market a "Battle of the Races." Or can you imagine the Vietcong baseball team playing Detroit?

One complicated aspect of this tennis event was the way the publicity played on the "men are the enemy" idea of the women's movement, and made a joke of it. It might have been too difficult to make a socialist criticism of the "men is the enemy" position. But Gold's article accepts the implicit argument of the jokes: Bobby Riggs is an exceptional man--"the ultimate male chauvinist." Of course, we all know that all men aren't like Bobby Riggs. We are free to detest him and laugh about women's rage at the same time. The strawman makes women's oppression a trivial matter. People are right basically to reject the simple argument that men are the enemy, but since that is posed as the explanation of women's oppression and then spoofed they reject the importance of fighting it.

Unfortunately, the graphics you chose for this article reinforce the popular understanding of the "Battle of the Sexes." The one of Billie Jean King carrying a pig on a platter saying, "Come and Get it, Ladies" was particularly offensive.

One of the underlying currents in the match was the age difference between Riggs and King. Those with some doubts

asked, "Could she have beaten someone her own age?" And those who grooved on detesting Riggs could snicker at the old man. The Gold article might not have had to deal with the agism question but you could have avoided reinforcing the agism in your headline "Old Man and the She."

Anne Farrar
San Francisco NAM

November 8, 1973

Dear Editors:

The research group that submitted the article, "Mideast Power Play," on the front page of the New American Movement paper of November, 1973, sees the world through the eyes of American Imperialism. Reading their "research" one comes to the conclusion that the world and all in it was created to serve and be disposed according to the Nixon-Kissinger doctrine. The struggle for National Liberation of countries from colonial and imperialist powers, the struggle of social forces within those countries, the struggle of capitalism to contain socialism, the Russian versus American interests in the Mediterranean, the competitive interests of the producers versus consumers of oil, the historic attachment of the Jews to Palestine and the Zionist movement--all are twisted and squeezed out of shape and historical context to serve a simplified pre-conceived thesis. Research should state indisputable facts or, at least, authoritative opinion, but to fit all history into a tall tale to suit the occasion is as fantastic reading as the Protocols of Zion, Herr Goebbels, the Birch Society, etc.

It is not my intention now, however, to refute this "research," but to develop a point with which I do agree. Both Israel and the warring Arab countries deliberately ignore the existence of the Palestinian Arab movement for independence and self determination. Israel, because it is easier to deal with organized states, because the Palestinian Arab claims extend to within their inner boundaries, and because they hope that the Arab governments will, for their own interests, suppress the Palestine Liberation Movement. The Arab countries ignore the Palestinians because they partitioned their territory and because they expect that the claims of the Palestine Arabs will continue to hang against, and pressure, Israel. The crocodile tears they shed over the fate of the Palestinian Arabs reminds one of the tears reportedly shed by Empress Maria Theresa of Austria at the Partition of Poland. The United Nations resolution, around which the armistice and peace is being organized, also ignores the Palestinian Arabs. The resolution contains a

built-in future disaster. Assuming that Israel is forced to return the conquered lands for the price of a recognized Israel with recognized boundaries, and the expectation that the Arab governments will suppress the Palestine Liberation Movement, it leaves the Palestinians a scattered subject people without self-government and, therefore, compelled to create violence within and without Israel in order to achieve their freedom "by any means available."

The NAM convention, held around July 4th, 1973, mandated the National Committee to prepare a statement on the Middle East within three months. Seemingly the Middle East countries, unaware of our interest, went to war before we could state our position on the subject. To date, the National leadership of NAM did not find the political maturity to carry out the mandate of the convention. This may excuse the NAM paper for not knowing the NAM position on the subject.

Anyone desiring settlement of the Middle East wars and peaceful coexistence of all peoples in the future, must include beside an independent Israeli government a parallel Palestinian Arab government. In addition there must be a just settlement of Arab refugee claims and full citizenship rights for Arabs remaining within Israel borders; similarly, of course, that would apply to Jews remaining in Arab Palestine.

Yours,

Leon Blum
Member, Chapter 1
New York City

Indochina

Continued from Page 4

4) The popular groundswell for impeachment, as well as the growing demand within Congress and the press, is strongly encouraged by Indochina activists. Our relation to such moves should center around Watergate and the War as rooted in the crisis of counterinsurgency.

5) Joint Planning Committees at the national, regional, and local levels will be established where possible to coordinate joint work and program. Improved communication among groups and activists is a crucial step in being prepared for any contingency.

The structure of the campaign is twofold: 1) mass education and organizing as characterized by the recent Indochina Peace Campaign tour with Tom Hayden, Jean-Pierre Debris (former prisoner of Thieu), Robert Chenowith (former POW), Jane Fonda, and folk-singer Holly Near. (This activity includes leafleting, film showings, speakers, small dramatic actions, etc.) and 2) focused political pressure on Congress and other institutions.

It was agreed that the major elements of the campaign would be:

— Encouraging a wide spectrum of community groups (church organizations, unions, city councils, etc.) to adopt resolutions urging Congress to end aid to the Thieu and Lon Nol regimes.

— Organizing special activities during the Holiday period around freeing the political prisoners, amnesty for American war refusers, and aid and solidarity to the peoples of Indochina. This project includes asking individual Americans to take personal responsibility for a certain Vietnamese prisoner, writing directly to that prisoner and to responsible officials.

— On January 27, organizing teach-ins, Solidarity Banquets, Vietnamese cultural events, etc., to commemorate the first anniversary of the Paris Peace Agreement. International activities are also planned.

In August 1973, a letter from Jane Alpert was printed in MS. and in AIN'T I A WOMAN, a radical feminist paper in Iowa City. Jane Alpert, who has been underground for more than three years, writes of her "personal voyage through and out of a part of the patriarchal left."

The following letter is the response of the women on NAM's national leadership collective to Jane's manifesto.

Dear Ms.:

As Feminists and Socialists in the New American Movement, we would like to offer our ideas and experiences in response to Jane Alpert's article. It is our personal experience that Feminists can now work in mixed left organizations. The possibility depends on the seriousness of the group's commitment to the struggle to insure that sexual politics remains a focus to the overall politics of both men and women in the group.

Not only can Feminists work in mixed groups, but we feel we must, if millions of women (and men) are to be liberated from poverty, alienating work, and powerlessness into a society founded on community, equality, warmth and support. None of us can be free in a society dominated by the need for profits of a small corporate class who place the value of property above the quality of human life.

There is no reason to believe that a new female ruling class will solve these problems much better than the male ruling class has solved them. Also, we have tactical objections to the Mother Right Theory. It is historically understandable that any group that has been oppressed fantasizes regaining, in a total form, the power that has been denied them so long.

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— In the spring, organizing "Days of Concern" and "Taxes for Thieu" for the political prisoners and for a ban on aid to Thieu and Lon Nol.

The organizations represented in the Unity Conference included: Indochina Peace Campaign, American Friends Service Committee, Clergy and Laity Concerned, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Fellowship of Reconciliation, Episcopal Peace Fellowship, War Resisters League, Chapters and Members of the New American Movement, members of Vietnam Veterans Against the War, People's Coalition for Peace and Justice, International Committee to Free the Political Prisoners in South Vietnam, Medical Aid to Indochina, Indochina Resource Center, Indochina Mobile Education Project, SANE, the Union of Vietnamese in the U.S.A., and the Indochina Solidarity Committee.

The conference resolved that the primary emphasis of this organizational cooperation will be ending the war, implementing the Agreement, and self-determination for the people of Indochina. Differences exist as to the centrality of Indochina to political activity at the present time--some believe it to be the central focus of all activity, others view it as a central focus among others. Conference participants stand unified in the belief that only a campaign by the American people to implement the Agreement by ending aid to Thieu and Lon Nol will gain peace in Indochina.

NEWSPAPER COLLECTIVE

Barbara Easton
Michael Gallant
Laurie Gitlin
Del Griffin
David Kotz
Dan Marschall
Jean Nute
Jain Simmons
Jim Weinstein

Joan Bodner, Staff Photographer

Teamsters

Continued from Page 3

local militants. But as the election campaign intensified, it became clear to all that Eaton would be re-elected by a large majority. So the International stepped in before the election to crush the obvious rank-and-file support for Eaton's policies, as well as to suppress the political issues of the campaign.

On Friday morning, November 2, International representative Frank Ranny and Secretary-Treasurer Jim Jesinski asked for the resignations of all officers and agents of Local 695. Everyone resigned except Marketti who was fired three days later for being a "bad influence on the local union."

The International will probably rehire both Eaton and Mueller supporters eventually, but only after they prove that they have "learned their lesson." The International may then allow an election when both sides can compromise on a single slate of candidates--one that won't rock the Teamster boat.

The newly-formed Teamsters for Democracy have another idea. Formed by Marketti and other rank-and-file members of 695, TFD is pledged to fight to get the Trusteeship lifted and restore democracy to their local. They have already started a suit in federal court to halt the Trusteeship. They're circulating petitions, setting up plant committees and contacting rank-and-file Teamsters in other locals. Some of their efforts have already begun to show results. At the Madison local meeting on November 20, the Trusteeship leaders were confronted by a hall filled with angry workers. The meeting was typified by such angry responses as, "What you're saying is that the International union sent in a bunch of dummies, took away our right to vote, and we're supposed to pay our dues and keep our mouths shut." Not one worker at the meeting spoke in favor of Trusteeship.

Teamsters for Democracy needs money. Please send contributions to

Teamsters for Democracy
Box 190
Madison, Wisc. 53701

s.f. coalition

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keep the coalition going and to run a joint campaign in the Fall elections. This was agreed to by all except IS, which dropped out after the PT&T hearings.

THE ELECTORAL COALITION

THE SAN FRANCISCO SOCIALIST COALITION reorganized in March. It then included the local NAM chapter, the Socialist Party, the Peace and Freedom Party, and two or three independents. The total number of active people was only seven or eight, with a few more attending meetings. NAM members were the largest single group and often were a majority of those present.

With seven months ahead of us, we decided to concentrate our early efforts on developing a platform, and to use that process to get to know as many groups in the city as possible. Although we wanted to develop a fairly comprehensive platform (ours were the only candidates to have one), we concentrated on two issues around which there was already much activity—health care and child care—and two others that spoke to people not yet being organized by the left—taxation and jobs and industry.

Of these, the health care and taxation programs were the most fully developed. Health care because we were able to enlist the help of thirty or more people active in hospital work or clinics, including a NAM activist and one other person who put in a lot of work. Taxation because NAM had a taxation committee that had worked on a city tax program for the previous year and a half.

Our child care platform was written in consultation with several groups, including Child and Parent Action (CAPA), which put a child care initiative on the ballot this Fall, and a rank and file AFT group. We did not, however, work closely with these groups. The jobs and industry plank was developed mostly by one of our candidates, Harry Siitonen of the SP, himself a printer and an active member of the ITU local. In addition, we contacted and learned from several others—street artists, a Muni bus driver, the committee for district election of supervisors, etc. And we worked hard to reach collective agreement on the platform at a series of weekly meetings.

This process was very valuable, not only in bringing us in touch with many groups and developing good working relations, but also in giving us a shared outlook on the problems of the city and outlines of our campaign. It was helpful to the candidates and shaped the content of the two issues of our newspaper that were published in September and October.

THE CANDIDATES, THE NEWSPAPER, THE VOTE

THERE WERE FIVE openings on the Board of Supervisors, all at-large. The election is nonpartisan, which means that most candidates simply run as individuals. It is possible to run a slate, but not as a party since candidates names appear in alphabetical order with only their occupations listed. We decided on more than one candidate, to reduce the pressure and burdens on each one and to provide a range of views and representation of the different groups. We decided on three because we didn't want to compete with radical, third world or gay candidates, and because we could only find three people to run. The candidates were Kayren Hudiburgh, a twenty-nine-year-old unemployed school teacher

from Houston, Texas; Hary Siitonen, a 48-year-old printer and long time Socialist; and John Webb, a 25 year old railroad clerk. Kayren and John are on the Central Committee of Peace and Freedom. NAM could find no one willing to run.

Of course, we had very little money to run our campaign, and only a few active people in the early stages. Partly for these reasons, but also because we wanted to use the campaign to begin presenting a comprehensive socialist perspective to the people of San Francisco, we decided to publish a newspaper as our main campaign literature. Leaflets might have been more effective for publicizing single issues or the candidates' names, but could not give an overall view of our politics. And since we saw the election as a means of organizing a long term movement, it was important to utilize it as a means of starting a permanent publication.

The newspaper has been an unqualified success. We printed and distributed 20,000 copies of the first issue (dated October 1), and 15,000 of the second (dated Nov. 1). Both issues reflected the programmatic work we had done, but the first was more limited to the platform and related materials. The second issue had a much wider range of articles, many written by (or with the help of) people outside the coalition.

The paper's name was a problem because we wanted something that would have broad appeal and at the same time that would help us politically. COMMON SENSE was a stroke of genius. People love it, and since we are trying to show that socialism is the only thing that makes sense today, the name is a political plus. It helped set the tone of our campaign and distinguish us from other socialist groups.

The campaign itself consisted basically of two things, the candidates speaking at forums several nights and some days each week for five or six

weeks, and the distribution of the newspaper. We had few people to do precinct work and did almost no door-to-door canvassing. We did a minimum of press work, but did get partial endorsement from the BAY GUARDIAN, the leading liberal "alternative" newspaper—mostly on the basis of our platform—and from the PHOENIX, a left cultural/porno paper. Our candidates received from 4 to 7 votes in the SF Labor Council, which placed us about in the middle of the field of 27 candidates, although, of course, way behind the major candidates (high vote 130).

A few days before the election we realized that aside from the candidates' speaking, we had done very little directly to get votes. The newspaper did not feature the election. In fact, you had to read it carefully to figure out that we had three candidates and what their names were. Our posters were an artistic success, but it took a magnifying glass and some effort to divine that they advertised the Supervisorial election and Hudiburgh, Siitonen, and Webb. Worse, most of our efforts were for the Socialist Coalition, but on the ballot only the names and occupations appeared. Our candidates listed their occupations—teacher, printer, railroad worker. The Socialist Workers Party was smarter. They listed their occupations as "Socialist Worker"—all five of them.

Despite all of this, our high vote was 5500 (about 4%) for Kayren Hudiburgh. John Webb got 4550, and Harry Siitonen got 2500. Since we had hoped for a minimum of 2500, this was not bad, although the spread was mystifying. On the other hand, all the minor candidates ran better than expected, so the actual vote was inconclusive.

CONCLUSIONS

WE CAME OUT OF THE campaign mildly encouraged. If we had relied entirely on the vote to sustain our spirits we probably would have folded, but the

vote was only one of several measures of our achievement, and the others were generally positive. We have grown as an organization and have almost doubled the number of active people. We have started COMMON SENSE, have six or seven people committed to it, and plan to continue with a smaller press run (5,000). We have come to know the city and to be known and respected fairly widely.

Since the election we have joined the Bay Area Coalition to Impeach Nixon. We are also making plans to begin a campaign to municipalize Pacific Gas & Electric Company, starting with a public meeting and demonstration in February against a proposed \$230 million rate increase. The PG&E campaign is a long-term project that will involve getting an initiative on the ballot next November, as well as sustained activity this Winter and Spring. We also hope to keep our storefront headquarters for Coalition activity and a newspaper office, and as we grow to begin work around a municipal health care program.

At the same time, almost everyone in the coalition feels the need to develop a clearer idea of our long range politics and purpose. We have not discussed what relationship the Coalition has to the development of a new socialist party, how it differs from each of our own organizations, what we must agree on and what can remain open questions for discussion within the coalition, etc. Partly because they feel uncomfortable about this lack of definition, and partly because they themselves are unclear about their political direction, the Socialist Party has decided to drop out of the Coalition, although they may work with us on specific issues. Their departure points up the need to clarify our politics, and we plan to begin with a weekend retreat soon. ■

Not the Man

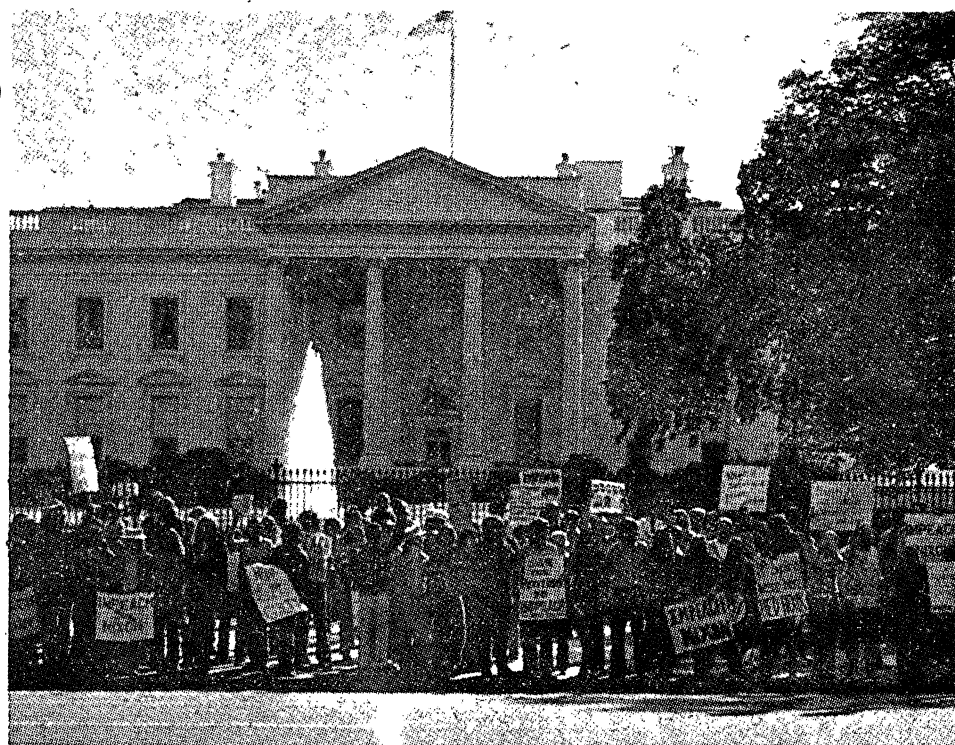
Continued from Page 2

appropriations for social services, a fund cut-off for the Cambodian bombing, or the new minimum wage law. The one veto they did override, on the War Powers bill, has erroneously been paraded as a sign of Congressional assertion of its lawful power. In fact, the new law legitimizes a Presidential practice that is unconstitutional. It provides that no President may engage U.S. armed forces for longer than 60-90 days without Congressional approval. Yet the Constitution gives the President no such authority.

Moreover, once "our boys" are committed to battle under the new law, the President can easily use a "stab-in-the-back" appeal to blackmail Congress into approving the latest intervention. The ironic effect of the War Powers law may be not to limit the President but to embolden him.

The current campaign to save the Presidency by getting rid of Nixon is rooted in the needs of the advanced industrial, liberal state. Beginning with the New Deal, Congressional/Presidential government was rapidly replaced by executive management operating on behalf of the most developed corporate interests. The President is in effect chief planner for the government-business partnership. While Congress contributes oratory to the pages of the Congressional Record, policy is now hammered out in private talks and negotiations at the White House and grey stone buildings along Pennsylvania Ave.

Public approval of Presidential action is engineered through elaborate mixtures of secrecy, lies and public relations campaigns. As the President's power increases, and as the crises to



which he must address himself become permanent aspects of American society, he breaks loose from Constitutional and legal restraints.

Nixon is not too different in this respect as his five predecessors. There were additional factors that caused his administration to self-destruct: the end of the post-war consensus furthered by the lack of victory or resolution in Indochina, the decision to continue the war rather than trying to recoup U.S. losses elsewhere, dependence on politically naive ad-men and bondslawyers to administer the nation's political life, personal paranoia, etc.

True, Nixon has not been a disaster for business. Corporate profits are at record heights: Kissinger appears (wrongly) to have stabilized the empire; socialism was crushed in Chile thanks to American financial manipulations; and firms that paid adequate tribute to the godfather in the White House have been

showered with favors. Still, Nixon has been unable to deal with inflation, the oil and gasoline shortage, or high food prices.

Moreover, Watergate has not been good public relations for corporate power and has weakened Nixon's grip on the society as a whole. The prospect of three more years is not appealing even on Wall Street—as the current stock market plunge indicates.

If a corporate executive pulled one-fifth the blunders that Nixon has in the past year, he would be replaced overnight by the firm's board of directors and sent to manage the Icelandic concession. Nixon, too, will likely be farmed out, but unfortunately not for the right reasons. Unless the exercise of Presidential power becomes a dominant issue in the removal process, the near future will not be too different from the past twenty years or so.

Impeach

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demonstration were spirited and they received a good response from people along the route. The only problem was a liberal-radical split, with some reform Democrats urging people to collect signatures door-to-door instead of participating in the demonstration.

Middlesex NAM is now working on some possibilities for radio talk shows, a teach-in, and guerrilla theater on impeachment.

The chapter's leaflet concludes: "any real democracy must include the principle that officials should be removed from office when they lose the support of the people whom they represent. Under the present laws, impeachment is the only way to do this. Impeaching Nixon would be a step towards democracy. From there, we could go on to build a movement for real democracy--for socialism. We must not rely on Congress. . . They will impeach Nixon only if we push them. Help us in pushing."

BERKELEY-OAKLAND AND SAN FRANCISCO NAM have been active in BACIN--the Bay Area Coalition to Impeach Nixon. Following the firing of Cox, 700 people met to plan a demonstration that would demand Nixon's impeachment. About 1,000 people attended the demonstration and BACIN was formed to involve organizations and individuals in a long-term effort to get rid of Nixon.

BACIN's tactics have included petition tables, neighborhood and campus rallies, and small demonstrations around specific Nixon policies. Casper Weinberger was picketed when he spoke at a convention of the Public Health Association in San Francisco. A march and demonstration will be held in San Francisco on Dec. 1.

Groups and individuals in BACIN share two basic principles. First, impeachment is seen broadly as a political recall. Their literature and activities are directed towards Nixon's policies, not just the constitutional issues around impeachment. Secondly, within the coalition, socialists can produce their own literature and are guaranteed representation on the speaker's platform in demonstrations and rallies. Socialists in BACIN have refused to go along with the lowest common denominator politics. At least two speakers at the Dec. 1 demonstration will discuss the need to build a socialist movement in the United States.

BACIN is the major group doing impeachment work in the Bay Area. New organizations join each week. They want the demonstration on Dec. 1 to reach well beyond the usual constituency for demonstrations called by the left in the Bay Area. But it's likely that much more work on a smaller scale is necessary before

such a demonstration is possible. Whether or not BACIN attempts to build another mass demonstration in January, their strategy after Dec. 1 will be to build more grass-roots support through petition tables, talks to church groups and unions, and neighborhood meetings.

SEVERAL NEW YORK NAM chapters are involved in the New York Campaign to Impeach Nixon, a coalition of diverse groups that coordinates activities, literature, and publicity. The campaign recently ran an ad in the *Village Voice*, with NAM as one of the sponsors.

The New York chapters have met together several times and are now writing a joint leaflet. Those involved in impeachment work are: NY No. 1, Interboro, Queens College Women's chapter, Queens College (mixed) chapter, Queens NAM, and representatives from Huntington, NY. No. 2 attended the first coalition meeting

but has decided not to work on impeachment.

The founding meeting of the coalition was attended by Youth Against War and Fascism, People's Committee to Impeach Nixon (Columbia), Lincoln Hospital Collective, Revolutionary Union, Park Slope People, American Civil Liberties Union, NYU Students for Impeachment, NAM, and other organizations. Each of these groups maintains its own politics within the Campaign.

On November 10, about 75 people participated in a march for impeachment across the Queensboro-59th Street Bridge. A rally following the march drew about 1,000 people. Several of the New York chapters used Somerville NAM literature to organize for the demonstration. The previous Saturday, NAM did leafletting and petitioning in downtown Flushing. The response was excellent and over 500 signatures were collected.

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No Crisis In Oil Profits

ACCORDING TO A SENATE study reported by the Los Angeles Times (11/8/73), the current fuel shortages are an outcome of monopoly practices by the major oil companies and of Nixon Administration policies in 1972.

During the first 4 months of last year the major oil companies simultaneously reduced their refinery operations from 92% of capacity to 89%. By September, inventories of heating oil were 10% below 1971 levels.

The oil companies concentrated on refining heating oil at that time because it was more profitable than gasoline under Phase II price controls.

Independent wholesalers and retailers were immediately affected by the shortage. They responded by lobbying for a raise in import quotas to increase

the domestic supplies of crude oil. The major oil companies lobbied against more imports by saying that there was enough crude oil to meet the needs of the independents. They also claimed that sufficient heating oil would be available that winter.

The Administration compromised by slightly raising import quotas, though not enough to make up for the intentional slack created by the majors.

But a heating oil shortage did occur last winter. Only after the November elections did the Nixon Administration react to the public outcry by relaxing heating oil ceilings. The oil companies then hiked their prices and avoided severe shortages by refining more heating oil.

The refineries were then producing heating oil when they'd usually be turning out gasoline. The result was the gasoline shortage of last summer.

The report concludes that since fuel inventories are still low, both gasoline and heating oil will be in short supply this winter.

According to a recent Cost of Living Council study, the exports of fuel oil in 1973 will "drastically surpass" 1972 levels by 284%. In the words of Les Aspin (Dem.-Wis.) who sponsored the report, "Apparently the lure of big profits is persuading major oil companies to export desperately needed fuel oil. It is nothing less than a total disregard for the welfare of the American consumer."

ENERGY

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Much of this strip-mining will probably be done in the West where the coal companies can escape the strength of the United Mine Workers union. The oil shale of the Rocky Mountains will be a central target of this Western strip-mining. The likely result is that the reservations of American Indians will be bought up and devastated. National Parks and other "public lands" may also be attacked.

At the present time, the coal industry is too weak even to produce the huge amount of coal demanded by Nixon's proposal, especially since the cost of mining coal has nearly doubled in the last twenty years. The industry has suffered severely from equipment shortages and from competition with oil as the main source of energy in the U. S. It may take 15 years for the industry to begin fully functioning again.

But the reviving of the coal industry will mean even more profits for the oil corporations, for they own 11 of the 15 largest coal companies. Throughout the 1960's, the oil companies bought up huge reserves of coal. With the greater demand and the resulting higher prices, they can now increase coal production. They can also afford to synthesize natural gas and petroleum from coal, a process that has only now become profitable.

Using the "energy crisis" as justification, coal industry executives are now calling for certain measures to increase coal production. Their proposals include: 1) relaxing laws against strip-mining and air pollution, 2) repealing mine safety laws, 3) freedom from Phase IV price restrictions, and 4) forcing unions to cooperate with industry and government.

OIL FROM ALASKA AND THE ATLANTIC

Nixon has demanded increased offshore drilling for oil. The Administration has proposed the resumption of drilling in the Santa Barbara Channel, the scene of a disastrous oil spill in 1969. The state of California has followed suit by urging that a ban on drilling in state tide-lands be lifted.

The Atlantic seacoast, however, is the main target for increased offshore drilling. The government is already tripling the number of leases to oil companies for exploration off the coasts of Long Island, Florida, Delaware, and Maryland. Opposition from residents has delayed the leasing. If oil is discovered, the Eastern seaboard would undergo major industrialization with refineries, docking facilities for oil tankers, and petrochemical works. As more of this offshore drilling is done, large oil spills become inevitable.

In his November 7 speech, Nixon also ordered Congress to quickly approve construction of the Alaska pipeline. Environmental considerations were passed off as "irrelevant and unnecessary provisions."

The Alaska pipeline has been opposed since the discovery of oil on the North Slope in 1968. Its construction may cause irreversible damage to the ecological balance of the Arctic tundra. If the pipeline broke at any point, millions of gallons of oil would be spilled onto the Alaskan countryside. The tankers transporting the oil down the west coast could easily be involved in accidents--with very serious consequences.

The Alaska pipeline was approved by Congress one week after Nixon's message. The bill passed provides that it "be constructed promptly without further administrative or judicial delay or impediment." It also bars court review of the Environmental Impact Statement filed by the Interior Department to justify the pipeline. Predictably enough, Nixon has signed the bill into law.

Nixon also demanded that Congress grant him special powers to "relax environmental regulations" and to take emergency steps to conserve energy. Congress appears to be cooperating fully with his proposals.

SOLVING THE CRISIS

The energy crisis will have a tremendous impact on the quality of life in the

United States. Gas rationing will almost certainly be imposed this winter and last for two or three years. Massive unemployment could result from cutbacks in certain industries dependent on petroleum products. Numerous consumer goods will be in short supply.

Nixon's proposals for solving the crisis are completely in line with the demands of the major oil corporations for greater monopoly control over the industry and for increased profits.

The solution to the crisis is not for everyone to turn down their thermostats but to build a movement to challenge the power of the Nixon Administration and the oil companies over our daily lives. The roots of the energy crisis lie in the capitalist system that squanders scarce energy resources for the profits of a ruling elite.

The demands of such a movement could include 1) the nationalization of all industries engaged in the production of energy, 2) a freeze and rollback on the wholesale prices of gasoline and fuel oil, 3) a moratorium on the building of nuclear plants, 4) increased federal funding for mass transportation, and 5) an immediate ban on the exports of fuel oil.

One demand must also be directed at the perpetrator of this disastrous government policy: the impeachment of Richard M. Nixon.

OIL COMPANY PROFITS --- THIRD QUARTER 1973

COMPANY	EARNINGS	INCREASE OVER 1972
Exxon	\$638 million	80 percent
Mobil	\$231.2 million	64 percent
Texaco	\$307.4 million	48 percent
Gulf	\$210 million	91 percent
Shell	\$83.6 million	23 percent
Atlantic-Richfield	\$59.8 million	16 percent
Standard of California	\$226 million	51 percent
Standard of Indiana	\$147.3 million	37 percent

For more information on the roots of the energy crisis:

- 1) "Middle East Oil and the Energy Crisis," Part Two, MERIP Reports No. 21, 50 cents. Box 48, Harvard Square Station, Cambridge, MA 02138
- 2) "Notes on the Energy Crisis," by James Ridgeway, *Ramparts*, October 1973